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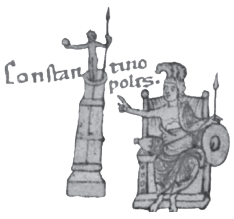
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Siglenverzeichnis

AA	Antichità Altoadriatiche
AASS	Acta Sanctorum. Antwerpen – Bruxelles 1643–1925
ABME	Archeion tōn byzantinōn mnēmeiōn tēs Hellados
ABSA	Annual of the British School at Athens
ACO	Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum, ed. E. SCHWARTZ [et al.]. Berlin 1927–
AD	Archaiologikon Deltion
AHC	Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum
AHG	Analecta Hymnica Graeca, I. SCHIRÒ consilio et ductu edita, I–XII. Rom 1966–1980
AJA	American Journal of Archeology
AnBoll	Analecta Bollandiana
ArchMed	Archeologia Medievale
ArchPont	Archeion Pontou
ASCL	Archivio Storico per la Calabria e la Lucania
ASM	Archivio Storico Messinese
ASN	Archivio Storico per le provincie Napolitane
ASNP	Annali della Scuola Normale superiore di Pisa, Classe di Lettere e Filosofia
ASP	Archivio Storico Pugliese
ASS	Archivio Storico Siciliano
ASSO	Archivio Storico per la Sicilia Orientale
BA	Byzantinisches Archiv
BAR	British Archaeological Reports
BBA	Berliner Byzantinistische Arbeiten
BCH	Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique
BF	Byzantinische Forschungen
BHG	Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca. 3e éd. par F. HALKIN. I–III. Novum Auctarium. Bruxelles 1957. 1984
BMGS	Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies
BNJ	Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher
BNV	Byzantina et Neograeca Vindobonensia
BollGrott	Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata
BHM	Bulletin of the History of Medicine
BSl	Byzantinoslavica
BV	Byzantina Vindobonensia
Byz	Byzantion
BZ	Byzantinische Zeitschrift
CAG	Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca, I–XXIII. Berlin 1882–1909
CahArch	Cahiers Archéologiques
CARB	Corsi di Cultura sull'Arte Ravennate e Bizantine
CCSG	Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina
CCCM	Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis
CFHB	Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae
CIG	Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum. I–IV. Berlin 1828–1877
CIMAGL	Cahiers de l'Institut du moyen-âge grec et latin
CPG	Clavis Patrum Graecorum, ed. M. GEERARD. I–V. Supplementum. Turnhout 1974–2018
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium
CSHB	Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae
DACL	Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie. I–XV. Paris 1913–1953
DChAE	Deltion tēs Christianikēs Archaiologikēs Hetaireias
DGE	F. ADRADOS [et al.], Diccionario griego-español. Madrid 1980–
DHGE	Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques. Paris 1912–
DIEE	Deltion tēs Historikēs kai Ethnologikēs Hetaireias tēs Hellados
Diktyon	Réseau numérique pour les manuscrits grecs, CNRS, IRHT Paris; https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/

DNP	Der neue Pauly. Enzyklopädie der Antike. I–XVI. Stuttgart – Weimar 1996–2003
DOML	Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library
DOP	Dumbarton Oaks Papers
DOS	Dumbarton Oaks Studies
DOT	Dumbarton Oaks Texts
EEBS	Epetēris Hetaireias Byzantinōn Spoudōn
EO	Échos d'Orient
EpAnt	Epigraphica Anatolica
EPhS	Ho en Kōnstantinoupolei Hellēnikos Philologikos Syllogos
FGrHist	F. JACOBY, Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker I–IV. Berlin 1923– (ab Teil 3: Leiden)
FM	Fontes Minores
GCS	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller
GRBS	Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies
HdA	Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft
Hell	Hellēnika
IJNA	International Journal of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Exploration
IRAIK	Izvestija Russkago Archeologičeskago Instituta v Konstantinopol'e
IstMitt	Istanbuler Mitteilungen
JbAC	Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum
JHSt	Journal of Hellenic Studies
JÖB	Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik (1969–)
JÖBG	Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft (1951–1968)
JRA	Journal of Roman Archaeology
JRSt	Journal of Roman Studies
KyprSpud	Kypriakai Spoudai
LBG	Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität, erstellt von E. TRAPP [et al.]. I–VIII. Wien 1994–2017
LCI	Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie. I–VIII. Rom u.a. 1968–1976
LexMA	Lexikon des Mittelalters. I–IX. München 1980–1998
LSJ	H.G. LIDDELL – R. SCOTT – H. STUART JONES – R. MCKENZIE, A Greek-English Lexicon. Oxford ^{9}1925–1940. Revised Supplement, ed. by P.G.W.GLARE with the assistance of A.A.THOMPSON. Oxford 1996
LThK^{2}	Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche. I–X. Freiburg ^{2}1957–1968
LThK^{3}	Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche. I–XI. Freiburg ^{3}1993–2001
Maked	Makedonika
MBM	Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia
MEFRA	Melanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Ecole Française de Rome
MEG	Medioevo Greco. Rivista di storia e filologia bizantina
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
Mill	Millennium
MiÖG	Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung
MM	F. MIKLOSICH – I. MÜLLER, Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi I–VI. Wien 1860–1890
MMB	Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae
NE	Neos Hellēnomnēmōn
NRh	Nea Rōmē. Rivista di studi biantinistici
OC	Orientalia Christiana
OCA	Orientalia Christiana Analecta
OCP	Orientalia Christiana Periodica
ODB	The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium, ed. by A. P. KAZHDAN [et al.]. I–III. New York – Oxford 1991
PAA	Praktika tēs Akadēmias Athēnōn
PG	Patrologiae cursus completus. Series graeca, ed. J.-P. MIGNE. 1–161. Paris 1857–1866
PL	Patrologiae cursus completus. Series latina, ed. J.-P. MIGNE. 1–221. Paris 1844–1880
PLP	Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit, erstellt von E. TRAPP [et al.]. Wien 1976–1996; teilaktualisierte CD-ROM-Version Wien 2002.
PLRE	The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire, ed. A. H. M. JONES – J. R. MARTINDALE – J. MORRIS [et al.]. 1–3. Cambridge 1971–1992
PmbZ I/II	R.-J. LILIE [et al.], Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit. Erste Abteilung (641–867), Zweite Abteilung (867–1025). Berlin 1999–2013
PO	Patrologia Orientalis, ed. R. GRAFFIN – F. NAU. 1– . Paris 1904–
PRK	Das Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel, hrsg. v. H. HUNGER – O. KRESTEN [et al.], 1– . Wien 1981–

Syntagma	G. RHALLES – M. POTLES, Syntagma tōn theiōn kai hierōn kanonōn kata stoicheion. I–VI. Athen 1852–1859
RAC	Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum. I– . Stuttgart 1950–
RbK	Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst. I– . Stuttgart 1966–
RE	PAULYs Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft. Neue Bearbeitung ... v. G. WISSOWA [et al.]. 66 Halbbde, 15 Suppl.-Bde. Stuttgart – München 1893–1978.
REB	Revue des Études Byzantines
REG	Revue des Études Grecques
RESEE	Revue des Études Sud-Est-Européennes
RGK	Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten. I– . Wien 1981–
RHM	Römische Historische Mitteilungen
ROC	Revue de l'Orient Chrétien
RSBN	Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici
RSL	Rivista di Studi Liguri
SBN	Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici
SBS	Studies in Byzantine Sigillography
SC	Sources Chrétiennes
Script	Scriptorium
SeT	Segno e Testo. International Journal of Manuscript and Text Transmission
SicArch	Sicilia Archeologica
SIFC	Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica
StT	Studi e Testi
Symm	Symmeikta
TAPA	Transactions of the American Philological Association
Tgl	Thesaurus Graecae Linguae I–VIII. Paris 1831–1865
ThEE	Thrēskeutikē kai Ēthikē Enkyklopaideia. I–XII. Athen 1962–1968
TIB	Tabula Imperii Byzantini. I– . Wien 1976–
TLG	Thesaurus Linguae Graecae. CD-ROM E. University of California at Irvine 2000, jeweils aktuelle Version unter www.tlg.uci.edu (mit *site licence*).
TM	Travaux et Mémoires
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen
VB	Veröffentlichungen zur Byzantinistik
VTIB	Veröffentlichungen d. Kommission für die TIB
VV	Vizantijskij Vremennik
WBS	Wiener Byzantinistische Studien
WSt	Wiener Studien
WZKM	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes
ZMNP	Žurnal Ministerstva Narodnago Prosvěščenija
ZPE	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik
ZRVI	Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta

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FABIO ACERBI[a] – SOFIA DI MAMBRO[b]

Barlaam's Refutation of the Chapters Added to Ptolemy's *Harmonics*. A Critical Edition*

with two figures

ABSTRACT: The article presents a critical edition, with a translation and an introduction, of the "refutation" of chapters 14–16 of Book III of Ptolemy's *Harmonica*, which were not handed down in the manuscript tradition. Chapters 14 and 15 were added in Byzantine times, the origin of chapter 16 is uncertain. The "refutation" was authored by the 14th-century scholar and polemicist Barlaam of Seminara, one of the two leading characters in the Palamite and hesychast controversies. In this way, the last item of Barlaam's scientific writings can now be read in a critical edition. The present edition explains in detail the background of Barlaam's work, describes all of its manuscript witnesses, and reconstructs a stemma codicum.

KEYWORDS: Barlaam of Seminara, Ptolemy's *Harmonica*, Refutation, Byzantine Reception of Ancient Greek Harmonic Theory

INTRODUCTION

Barlaam of Seminara (†1348), born in Calabria, was a noted personality in Palaiologan Byzantium, also serving as an imperial ambassador. He was one of the two leading characters in the Palamite and hesychast controversies, where he opposed the monk Gregorius Palamas[1]. After being defeated, in 1341 Barlaam left Constantinople for the Latin West, settled by the papal Curia in Avignon, and converted to Catholicism. It is tempting to speculate that he fell victim to the Black Death pandemic.

Many of Barlaam's works were collected in volume 151 of Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*; most of them have also been published in a critical edition[2]. Barlaam also composed five scientific works[3]:

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[b] Sofia Di Mambro: Università Ca' Foscari Venezia, Dorsoduro 3246, I-30123 Venezia; sofiadimambro@yahoo.it

* Reproductions of most manuscripts mentioned in this article can be found through the website https://pinakes. irht.cnrs.fr/, which also provides additional bibliography. We are grateful to Daniele Bianconi, Ciro Giacomelli, Anna Gioffreda, and Francesco Valerio for their expertises, and to Matthieu Cassin for his logistic support. FA had access to some of the manuscripts thanks to the digital repository of the project Sin-aps (Alexander von Humboldt-Professorship, FAU Erlangen-Nürnberg). FA translated and annotated the text; SDM prepared the critical text and wrote the four sections that precede it.

[1] For a first orientation on the Palamite and hesychast controversies, see A. RIGO, Gregorio Palamas e oltre. Studi e documenti sulle controversie teologiche del XIV secolo bizantino (*Orientalia Venetiana* 16). Firenze 2004; A. FYRIGOS, Dalla controversia palamitica alla polemica esicastica (con un'edizione critica delle Epistole greche di Barlaam). Roma 2005, 67–97; N. RUSSELL, The Hesychast Controversy, in: The Cambridge Intellectual History of Byzantium, ed. A. Kaldellis – N. Siniossoglou. Cambridge 2017, 494–508. On Barlaam, see S. IMPELLIZZERI, Barlaam, in: Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani 6. Roma 1964, 392–397; *PLP* 2284; A. FYRIGOS, Barlaam Calabro: l'uomo, l'opera, il pensiero. Atti del Convegno internazionale, Reggio Calabria, Seminara, Gerace, 10–11–12 dicembre 1999. Roma 2001; FYRIGOS, Dalla controversia palamitica 161–169. On Barlaam's philosophical stance, see most recently M. TRIZIO, «Una è la verità che pervade ogni cosa». La sapienza profana nelle opere perdute di Barlaam Calabro, in: Byzantine Theology and its Philosophical Background, ed. A. Rigo (*Byzantioς* 4). Turnhout 2011, 108–140, with bibliography.

[2] See the next footnote for the scientific works. Other editions include C. GIANNELLI, Un progetto di Barlaam Calabro per l'unione delle Chiese, in: Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati. III (*StT* 123). Città del Vaticano 1946, 157–208; R.E. SINKEWICZ, The Solutions Addressed by Barlaam the Calabrian to George Lapithes and their Philosophical Context. *MS* 43 (1981) 151–217 (this contains a complete list of Barlaam's writings, with references to the editions to that date; see also, more recently, FYRIGOS, Dalla controversia palamitica 169–182); T.M. KOLBABA, Barlaam the Calabrian. Three Treatises on Papal Primacy. Introduction, Edition, and Translation. *REB* 53 (1995) 41–115; and the complete edition A. FYRIGOS, Barlaam

a treatise of number theory, in six books (*Logistikē*); two short texts in which he computed the circumstances of the solar eclipses of 1333 and 1337 (*De eclipsi* I and II); a pamphlet on the determination of the date of Easter (*De paschate*); a number-theoretical rewriting of the first ten propositions of Book II of Euclid's *Elements* (*Demonstratio*); a tract in which he showed that the last three chapters of Ptolemy's *Harmonica* as they are handed down by a part of the manuscript tradition cannot be authentic (*Refutatio*). Barlaam was a scientific polemicist: *De eclipsi* I and II, *De paschate*, and *Refutatio* have Nikephoros Gregoras as their polemical target[4]; the *Demonstratio* covertly criticises George Pachymeres' approach to the same subject-matter.

The present article contains a critical edition of the *Refutatio* accompanied by an annotated translation. Until now, this work could be read only in the text of Franz's 1840 edition, which was reprinted with corrections in Düring's 1930 edition of Ptolemy's *Harmonica*[5]. The present edition is preceded by four sections, whose contents are as follows: an outline of the background of the *Refutatio*; an analysis of the structure and of the style of the treatise; a detailed description of its manuscript witnesses; and a discussion of the stemmatic relations between these manuscripts. An iconographic complement reproduces the beginning of the *Refutatio* in the prototype of the tradition and, at the very end of the article, the diagram associated with the treatise in some witnesses.

A BACKGROUND TO THE *REFUTATIO*

A division of the monochord, or canonic division, is a rational method for locating the notes of specific harmonic intervals. Several procedures were put forward in Greek antiquity to locate the notes; individual authors and harmonic schools differed as to the rational tools to be used to carry out the division and as to the exact location of the notes (*phthongoi*)[6]. If we use numerical ratios to represent musical intervals and focus on the interval of one octave, this is compounded of a fifth and a fourth: $^{2}/_{1} = (^{3}/_{2})(^{4}/_{3})$; the compounding intervals differ by an epogdoic tone: $(^{3}/_{2}):(^{4}/_{3}) = {}^{9}/_{8}$. Thus, an octave is compounded of two intervals of a fourth "disjoined" by a tone: $^{2}/_{1} = (^{4}/_{3})(^{9}/_{8})(^{4}/_{3})$. These three "conjoined"—that is, sharing a bounding note—intervals are bounded by four notes:

Calabro. Opere contro i Latini. Introduzione, storia dei testi, edizione critica, traduzione e indici (*StT* 347). I–II. Città del Vaticano 1998; FYRIGOS, Dalla controversia palamitica.

[3] See the following editions: P. CARELOS, Barlaam tou Kalabrou. Logistikē. Barlaam von Seminara, Logistiké (*Corpus philosophorum Medii Ævi. Philosophi byzantini* 8). Athens – Paris – Bruxelles 1996 (*Logistikē*); J. MOGENET – A. TIHON – D. DONNET, Barlaam de Seminara, Traités sur les éclipses de soleil de 1333 et 1337. Louvain 1977 (*De eclipsi* I and II); A. TIHON, Barlaam de Seminara. Traité sur la date de Pâques. *Byz* 81 (2011) 362–411 (*De paschate*); F. ACERBI, Barlaam's Paraphrase of Euclid, *Elements* II.1–10. A Critical Edition. *JOeB* 72 (2022) 1–62 (*Demonstratio*), which also contains summaries of all these works. On the grounds of allusions in some of Palamas' writings, Barlaam's scientific activity can be limited to *c*. 1330–37, see FYRIGOS, Dalla controversia palamitica 170–172.

[4] Assessments of the Gregoras-Barlaam controversy are found in MOGENET – TIHON – DONNET, Barlaam 150–157, and in TIHON, Barlaam, which also contains a detailed description of Gregoras' contribution to Easter Computi. Gregoras' computation of the solar eclipse of July 1330 is edited in J. MOGENET – A. TIHON – R. ROYEZ – A. BERG, Nicéphore Grégoras, Calcul de l'éclipse de soleil du 16 juillet 1330 (*Corpus des Astronomes Byzantins* 1). Amsterdam 1983. Gregoras wrote three pamphlets against Barlaam: possibly the *Antilogia*, certainly the *Philomathēs* and the *Phlorentios*: see the editions in P.L.M. LEONE, Nicephori Gregorae «Antilogia» et «Solutiones Quaestionum». *Byz* 40 (1970) 471–516; P.L.M. LEONE, Il Philomathēs ē Peri hybristōn di Niceforo Gregora. *RSBN* 8–9 (1971–72) 171–201; P.L.M. LEONE, Niceforo Gregora, Fiorenzo o Intorno alla sapienza (*Byzantina et Neo-Hellenica Neapolitana* 4). Napoli 1975.

[5] See J. FRANZ, De musicis graecis commentatio. Berolini 1840, 14–23 (based on the manuscript Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele III, III.C.3 [1330–50; *Diktyon* 46279]), reprinted in I. DÜRING, Die Harmonielehre des Klaudios Ptolemaios. Göteborg 1930, 112–121 with corrections coming from manuscripts that also contain Ptolemy's *Harmonica*, among which our witnesses P^1 and V.

[6] On canonic division, the genera, the "systems", and, more generally, on ancient Greek harmonic theory see A. BARKER, Three Approaches to Canonic Division. *Apeiron* 24.4 (1991) 49–83; A. BARKER, The Science of Harmonics in Classical Greece. Cambridge 2007; D.E. CREESE, The Monochord in Ancient Greek Harmonic Science. Cambridge 2010; S. HAGEL, Ancient Greek Music. A New Technical History. Cambridge 2010.

these are the "standing" (*hestōtes*) notes in an octave. Each of the intervals of a fourth within an octave was called a "tetrachord". One of the essential tasks of Greek harmonic theorists was to locate two more notes within each tetrachord; these are the "movable" (*kinoumenoi*) notes, whose different positions produce the standard genera (enharmonic, chromatic, and diatonic) and their shades. Traditionally—and very much as the fixed notes in the construction just outlined, which are pairwise set one fifth apart—the movable notes within the two disjoined tetrachords that make an octave were placed one fifth apart; thus, only the movable notes within either of the tetrachords had to be located. The outcome of this procedure is a canonic division over the span of one octave; the structure can be enlarged by suitably joining other tetrachords and single notes to this core octave.

The so-called "(greater) perfect system"[7] spans two octaves, that is—as $^4/_1 = (^2/_1)(^2/_1)$—an interval with which a quadruple ratio is associated. The numerical ratios associated with the tetrachords and to the epogdoic tones that compound the double octave of the perfect system are arranged as follows: $(^4/_3)(^4/_3)(^9/_8)(^4/_3)(^4/_3)(^9/_8)$[8]. These six conjoined intervals are bounded by seven standing notes, some of which are named by means of a genus-plus-species denomination: the generic name of the tetrachord, in the genitive plural, qualifies the specific name of the note. The names of the tetrachords are, from highest to lowest, *hyperbolaiōn*, *diezeugmenōn*, *mesōn*, *hypatōn*. Accordingly, and again from highest to lowest, the names of the seven standing notes of the perfect system are *nētē hyperbolaiōn*, *nētē diezeugmenōn*, *paramesē*, *mesē*, *hypatē mesōn*, *hypatē hypatōn*, *proslambanomenos*. The lowest note does not belong to any tetrachord; it was "added" (hence its name) one epogdoic tone below the *hypatē hypatōn* in order to complete the span of a double octave.

The most accomplished Greek technical treatise of harmonic theory is Ptolemy's *Harmonica*[9], in three Books[10]. Book I first expounds introductory matters on methods and aims of harmonics, then goes deeper into notes, concords and associated intervals and ratios, and into the divisions of the genera and of the tetrachords. In this Book, Ptolemy scrutinises the approaches of the Pythagoreans and of Aristoxenus and his school. Book II begins by treating again genera; it passes then to systems, and to clarifying the notions of "form" (*eidos*) of a concord, and of "position" (*thesis*) and "function" (*dynamis*) of a note; chapters II 7–11 investigate into *tonoi* and their modulations; chapters II 12–13 expound specific issues of canonic division; chapters II 14 and 15 set out the divisions of the octave in the three genera according to several harmonic theorists, and the divisions of the genera in each *tonos*, respectively. *Harm*. III 1–2 show how to realise the double octave of the perfect system on a *kanōn*.

Harm. III 3–13 are of a radically different nature[11]. They hardly include any technical argument, but outline—on the grounds of their sharing a mathematical structure (the *harmonia*) which gives an appropriate form to the underlying matter—a comparison between harmonic items, features of the human soul, and relative positions and motions of the heavenly bodies (the Sun, the Moon, and the planets). *Harm*. III 3–4 set out the general coordinates of this comparison. As for the human

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[7] In general, a "system" is a harmonic structure compounded of at least two intervals. All Greek harmonic theorists define a system in this way, see for instance Aristoxenus, *El. harm*. I, 21, 6–7 Da Rios.

[8] The core octave of the perfect system is the one associated with the compounded ratio $(^4/_3)(^9/_8)(^4/_3)$.

[9] The best introduction to Ptolemy (fl. AD 127–160) and his works is G. TOOMER, Ptolemy, in: Dictionary of Scientific Biography, ed. Ch.C. Gillispie. I–XVII. New York 1970 XI 186–206. The reference edition of Ptolemy's *Harmonica* is DÜRING, Die Harmonielehre; see also the emendations proposed in B. ALEXANDERSON, Textual Remarks on Ptolemy's Harmonica and Porphyry's Commentary (*Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia* XXVII). Göteborg 1969. The reference translation is A. BARKER, Greek Musical Writings. I–II. Cambridge 1984–89 II 275–391; see also J. SOLOMON, Ptolemy, *Harmonics*. Translation and Commentary. Leiden – Boston – Köln 2000. A comprehensive study of the *Harmonica* is A. BARKER, Scientific Method in Ptolemy's *Harmonics*. Cambridge 2000.

[10] Very detailed descriptions of the contents of Ptolemy's *Harmonica* are in T.J. MATHIESEN, Apollos' Lyre. Greek Music and Music Theory in Antiquity and the Middle Ages. Lincoln (NE) – London 1999, 434–494, and in CREESE, The Monochord 283–355. A useful overview of the *Harmonica* is in BARKER, Greek Musical Writings II 270–275.

[11] Read the bewilderment at Ptolemy's arguments in *Harm*. III 5–13 in BARKER, Scientific Method 268–269.

soul, *Harm*. III 5–7 set a parallel between harmonic concords, genera, and modulations of the *tonoi*, and primary divisions of the soul, the forms of knowledge, and the changing attitudes of the soul in specific moments of life, respectively. As for heavenly matters, *Harm*. III 8 shows that the (periodic) structure of the perfect system and the circle of the zodiac can be most naturally mapped into one another; III 9 maps concords and discords into the astrological aspects (this section is quite technical); III 10–12 set a parallel between the sequence of the notes, the genera, and the modulations of the *tonoi*, and the motions of the heavenly bodies in length (the diurnal motion), in depth (the anomalistic motion), and in breadth (the motion along the zodiac)[12], respectively; III 13 expounds a correspondence between the tetrachords and the tones in the perfect system and the "phases" of the heavenly bodies with respect to the Sun.

The last three chapters of Ptolemy's *Harmonica* are missing in the manuscript tradition; their presence in Ptolemy's original plan is proved by the fact that their titles are independently preserved in the *pinakes* of the treatise. These titles are as follows: III 14, κατὰ τίνας ἂν πρώτους ἀριθμοὺς παραβληθεῖεν οἱ τοῦ τελείου συστήματος ἑστῶτες φθόγγοι ταῖς πρώταις τῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ σφαίραις "According to which first numbers the standing notes of the perfect system ought to be mapped into the first heavenly spheres"; III 15, πῶς ἂν λαμβάνοιντο διὰ τῶν ἀριθμῶν οἱ τῶν οἰκείων κινήσεων λόγοι "How the ratios of the motions proper <to each sphere> ought to be found in terms of numbers" ; III 16, πῶς ἂν αἱ τῶν πλανωμένων συνοικειώσεις παραβάλλοιντο ταῖς τῶν φθόγγων "How the affinities of the planets ought to be mapped into those of the notes".

The missing chapters *Harm*. III 14–15 were restored by Nikephoros Gregoras, and added to his own recension of the *Harmonica*. As for chapter III 16, its origin is unclear; its text is witnessed in some manuscripts only. In these manuscripts, what Byzantine scholars came to identify with chapter III 16 is included, obviously out of place, in III 9[13]. It is a safe guess—Barlaam is explicit about this—that Gregoras himself extracted "*Harm*. III 16" from *Harm*. III 9 and made it the last missing chapter. That chapters 14 and 15 were authored by Gregoras is borne out by partly autograph scholia in the manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Coislin 173 (*c*. 1334; *Diktyon* 49312), see in particular ff. 32r and 108r[14]. Par. Coislin 173, which was annotated and amply glossed by Gregoras himself, is also the oldest witness—and the only independent one—of Gregoras' recension of the *Harmonica*, and *a fortiori* of *Harm.* III 14–15 too. The oldest witness—and the only independent one—of the text of "*Harm*. III 16" as located in the middle of III 9 is the manuscript München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. graec. 361a (end of 13th century; *Diktyon* 72898)[15], f. 40v. The *Harmonica* in this manuscript was also annotated by Gregoras; "*Harm*. III 16" was here collated by Gregoras' pupil Philotheos of Selymbria against a witness carrying Gregoras' recensi-

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[12] The Greek terms are κατὰ μῆκος (*kata mēkos*, transl. "in length"), κατὰ βάθος (*kata bathos*, transl. "in depth"), and κατὰ πλάτος (*kata platos*, transl. "in breadth"). We adopt the translations in N.M. SWERDLOW, Ptolemy's *Harmonics*, and the 'Tones of the Universe' in the *Canobic Inscription*, in: Studies in the History of the Exact Sciences in Honour of David Pingree, ed. Ch. Burnett – J.P. Hogendijk – K. Plofker – M. Yano. Leiden 2004, 137–180: 158–160.

[13] Of course, one must disregard the manuscripts in which *Harm*. III 14–16 are witnessed by contamination with Gregoras' recension. One such manuscript is mentioned just below.

[14] See DÜRING, Die Harmonielehre LXXVIII–LXXXVIII, for this and other documents. Gregoras speaks of his recension of Ptolemy's *Harmonica* in a letter to Michael Kaloeidas: P.L.M. LEONE, *Nicephori Gregorae epistulae*. I–II. Matino 1982 II 301.95–302.107. The date given for Par. Coislin 173 coincides with the date of one of the watermarks; the letter to Kaloeidas is posterior to AD 1331/2.

[15] On Monac. gr. 361a, see ACERBI – GIOFFREDA, Manoscritti scientifici, *passim*; F. ACERBI – A. GIOFFREDA, Harmonica Membra Disjecta. *GRBS* 59 (2019) 646–662, and in particular 659–661. Monac. gr. 361a was once one and the same manuscript with the oldest portion of the manuscript Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 2338 (end of 13th century; *Diktyon* 68969). For the late history of this manuscript, see L. CALVIÉ, Un manuscrit médiéval d'anciens musicographes grecs: le Vaticano, BAV, gr. 2338. *Script* 74 (2020) 219–250.

on[16]. An omission in the text of "*Harm*. III 16" witnessed by Monac. gr. 361a and a variant reading in its title suggest that Gregoras could not have used this manuscript as his model for the text he relocated as *Harm*. III 16. Accordingly, Düring makes Par. Coislin 173 depend on a hyparchetype to which Monac. gr. 361a is also subordinated.

The contents of the added chapters can be summarised as follows[17]:

Harm. III 14. The zodiac is divided into 360 degrees; the astrological aspects with respect to the Sun are associated with these subdivisions (opposition to 180 degrees, trine to 120 degrees, quartile to 90, sextile to 60). The perfect system is mapped into these items, as follows: *proslambanomenos* is mapped into the aspect (*stasis*) at 180 degrees and hence into opposition, *hypatē mesōn* into the aspect at 120 degrees and hence into trine, *nētē diezeugmenōn* into the aspect at 90 degrees and hence into quartile, *nētē hyperbolaiōn* into the aspect at 60 degrees and hence into sextile. The two standing notes that bound the disjunctive tone are mapped into the point from which the degrees are measured.

Harm. III 15. The sesquialter, sesquitertian, double, and quadruple ratios show up both in the numerical values associated with aspects (with 90 acting as a mean, these values are 90 to 60, 120 to 90, which make the double ratio once compounded, and 360 to 90) and in concords (a fifth, a fourth, which make the homophone of an octave once compounded, and a double octave). Alternatively, 120, 90, and 60 degrees reduce to 4, 3, and 2 if measured in zodiacal signs; these terms, 3 acting as a mean, make the sesquitertian, sesquialter, and double ratios. In its turn, the number of zodiacal signs, namely, 12, makes with 3 a quadruple ratio, which is also associated with a double octave. Alternatively, one might set out the same mapping by using the angles of the polygons associated with the aspects, but a fuller account of this is left to another occasion[18].

Harm. III 16. We shall not describe the astrological folklore expounded in this chapter; we only give the mapping between the planets and some specific notes: Saturn to *nētē hyperbolaiōn*, Jupiter to *nētē diezeugmenōn*, Mars to *nētē synēmmenōn*[19], Sun to *paramesē*, Venus to *mesē*, Moon to *hypatē mesōn*.

Barlaam's *Refutatio* is an *anaskeuē* "refutation" of *Harm.* III 14–16 insofar as Barlaam did not set out to prove that these chapters are not Ptolemy's—for he is explicit about this in the very first lines of his tract, while not mentioning Gregoras (henceforth "the opponent", in this context)—but that they *could not* be Ptolemy's because of their shortcomings.

In the prototype of the manuscript tradition—which does not contain Ptolemy's *Harmonica*—the *Refutatio* is preceded by the added chapters *Harm*. III 14–16. This is a constitutive feature of the *Refutatio*, for Barlaam refers to these chapters as preceding his own text. He also states: "in the oldest copies we have found [the last chapter] as part of the text somewhere in the middle of the third <book> of the harmonics", which is exactly what one finds in the family whose prototype is Monac. gr. 361a. A collation of the text of *Harm*. III 14–16 in the prototype of the *Refutatio* (see the Appendix) exhibits the same variant readings as Monac. gr. 361a. As Gregoras' and Philotheos

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[16] On f. 42r–v, Philotheos of Selymbria added *Harm*. III 11–15 (numbered as III 12–16) taking them from Gregoras' recension, but as for III 16 he referred to the text on f. 40r.

[17] A thorough discussion of the astronomical underpinnings of Book III of Ptolemy's *Harmonica* is found in SWERDLOW, Ptolemy's *Harmonics* 151–165, and see 165–176 for *Harm*. III 14–16. That part of the contents of the lost *Harm*. III 14 can be recovered from some of the Byzantine musical excerpts known as *Excerpta Neapolitana*, which in their turn nearly coincide with the relevant part of Ptolemy's *Inscriptio Canobi*, is just Swerdlow's conjecture. As we shall explain in a moment, "*Harm*. III 16" does expound a mapping between notes and planets that (after a plausible integration) coincides with part of the one set out in the *Inscriptio Canobi* itself (see below), but we do not see how the scenario can be ruled out in which the connection between "*Harm*. III 16", the *Excerpta Neapolitana*, and the *Inscriptio Canobi* goes the other way around (see also below). This makes the flimsy ground on which Swerdlow's conjecture rests evaporate.

[18] This is trivial, since these angles subtend the arcs resulting from the division of the zodiac into 360 parts.

[19] This note belongs to the so-called "lesser perfect system"; see for instance BARKER, Three Approaches 58 and 60–61, and CREESE, The Monochord 21.

of Selymbria's interventions in this manuscript show that the codex was available in highbrow milieux in Constantinople exactly when Barlaam composed his *Refutatio*, we may apply a principle of economy and suppose that Barlaam has had access to this very manuscript too.

Barlaam's *Refutatio* settled the issue of authenticity of *Harm.* III 14–16 once and for all. This was already recognised by Johannes Kepler in his annotated translation of *Harm.* III 3–16[20]. Kepler also elaborated a reconstruction of *Harm.* III 14–16.

STRUCTURE AND STYLE OF THE *REFUTATIO*

Barlaam states six requirements that should be fulfilled if the added chapters are to be regarded as authentic, and shows that none of these requirements is met. The six requirements are: first, the added chapters should not repeat what Ptolemy has expounded in previous chapters; second, the added chapters should contain particular, and not general, arguments, for, at the end of III 13, Ptolemy states that this is exactly what he will do in the subsequent chapters; third, the mappings set out in the added chapters should be in agreement with the observative data available in Ptolemy's times; fourth, these mappings should be "fitting" (*oikeioi*), that is, they should not map dissimilar items into one another; fifth, the language should be correct and it should fit the subject-matter; sixth, the contents of the added chapters should fit their titles.

The six requirements are discussed unevenly. After their presentation at lines 15–41 (they are summarised again in the wind-up at lines 314–321), the first is allotted lines 42–95; the second, lines 90–95; the third, 96–113; the fourth, 113–159; the fifth, 160–194; the sixth, which includes a clarification of the meaning of "prime number" (lines 197–211) and a geometric argument (259–283) about the straight line being the shortest path between two points, 195–297. Contrary to Barlaam's initial claim, *Harm*. III 16 is treated separately, in a dozen lines (298–308) and by means of an argument that does not correspond to any of the six requirements (the other argument is about the contents not fitting the title). This is followed by a new attack on the opponent, about his making III 16 preceded by unfitting material (lines 309–313). The *Refutatio* is opened by a statement of its aims (3–9) and by a quick overview of the status of the added chapters in the manuscript tradition (9–14); it is closed by the beginning of Barlaam's reconstruction of the missing chapters (322–329). The *Refutatio* breaks up in the middle of a sentence, but we cannot exclude that Barlaam deliberately left his tract incomplete, maybe as an allusion to the incompleteness of the *Harmonica*.

Barlaam's tract is a compendium of refutation strategies. Some of his refutations are very subtle, some are straightforward arguments, some are weak, some prove too much, some are tendentious or squarely against the rules of the refutation game. We give a summary in what follows, and go into detail in the footnotes to the translation. There is a gross mistake in the mapping the opponent sets out in *Harm*. III 14–15, for this mapping associates relations (the aspects) to terms (the notes)—which are logically and factually inhomogeneous items (that this is the case is proved at lines 113–130 of the *Refutatio*)[21]—and it does that in a way that is patently at variance with Ptolemy's similar mapping in *Harm*. III 9. Pointing out such an error would allow the autenticity's case for chapters III 14–15 to settle rapidly. Barlaam wants to do more: he wants to show that his opponent

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[20] See Ch. FRISCH, Joannis Kepleri astronomi opera omnia. V. Francofurti a. M. et Erlangae 1864, 392 Nota I. Kepler asserts that he owned a transcription of the *Refutatio*, *ex dono J.G. Herwarti*. This manuscript is lost. On Kepler's interest in harmonics see B. STEPHENSON, The Music of the Heavens. Kepler's Harmonic Astronomy. Princeton 1994, in particular ch. VII. Düring's attempts at showing that "*Harm*. III 16" was authored by Ptolemy (DÜRING, Die Harmonielehre LXXXIV–LXXXVIII) are unconvincing: "*Harm*. III 16" expounds standard astrological lore and must be a scholium—possibly linked with the *Excerpta Neapolitana*—that found its way into the text.

[21] The opponent considers only planetary aspects with respect to the Sun, and keeps the position of the Sun fixed. However, and as Barlaam points out, an aspect is a relation in its essence, and cannot be reduced to the position of only one of the two heavenly bodies involved in this relation.

argues inconsistently and that he is unable to master basic technical terms of the three disciplines involved, namely, harmonics, arithmetic, and astronomy. For this reason, Barlaam fires on his target from several positions, and using different dialectical weapons.

The fifth requirement, about lexicon and phrasing, is not met by the opponent's use of "music" instead of "harmonics", "arithmetical" as referred to heavenly matters, "proportional" as referred to ratios, and by his conflating a place and the fact that something lies in that place. The counterargument about prime numbers (197–211), which Barlaam categorises under the sixth requirement, also amounts to showing that the opponent did not know the meaning of "prime" as predicated of numbers. The same can be said of the counterargument about the "first spheres", that the opponent incorrectly identifies with the heavenly bodies they carry (lines 247–256). The lexical section also contains a kind of refutation that will be met elsewhere: the opponent overspecifies his arguments, which are thereby flawed. The point here is that the opponent refers to the "perfect system" but he maps the heavenly items only into the standing notes of this system, or just into its bounding notes (which would require using simply "double octave"). Other examples of the opponent's overshooting, that is, regarding specific features as necessary while they are not, are pointed out by Barlaam. One such feature is dividing the zodiac into 360 parts, a move that Barlaam repeatedly attacks as unnecessary and hence fallacious (see lines 56–73, 73–78, 203–209, and 235–246).

The opponent is also charged with establishing his mapping without supporting his move by means of observations (96–102) or of pieces of evidence (103–113), with using "the two standing notes that contain the disjunctive tone […] as one, even if they are two and differentiated as to function" (151–153), and with incorrectly measuring distances along arcs and not by means of straight lines (256–293).

As for the logic of his own counterarguments, Barlaam shows that his opponent's choice of the sets to be mapped into one another (namely, notes and aspects) is incorrect, first by arguing that the two sets do not share any essential property (113–130), and then by proving that the assumption that a mapping between them obtains entails either an impossible conclusion (130–134), or two conclusions that are logically incompatible (134–139, 139–151 and 239–243), or a conclusion that, while possibly being true, contradicts the intended assumption (151–159). The latter argument—a little logical masterpiece indeed—is what the ancient sceptical tradition called *peritropē*.

Barlaam's terminology and argumentative patterns show that he was perfectly at ease with number theory, harmonics, geometry, and, most notably, with Aristotelian doctrines and with dialectical techniques[22]. The *Refutatio* sets out the arguments at a very fast pace, enlivening them by steep rhetorical *climax* (Barlaam spends four rhetorical questions, three of which in the core section at lines 113–130), and bristles with lexical resonances and wordplays. Sometimes, Barlaam slightly cheats, which is part of the rules of the game after all.

MANUSCRIPT WITNESSES OF THE *REFUTATIO*

The manuscript witnesses of Barlaam's *Refutatio* are listed below; they are arranged in alphabetical order of the names of the towns where the several libraries are located, which coincides with an increasing *Diktyon* number; most of the *sigla* are standard in the editions of Barlaam's scientific treatises. We describe in detail such family relations among manuscript witnesses as can be established on the basis of the contents of the manuscripts and on the stemmas established in critical

[22] One must not forget that the Palamite controversy began with Palamas and Barlaam disagreeing about what kind of Aristotelian syllogism allows us to know God's attributes. On this issue, see K. Ierodiakonou, The Anti-Logical Movement in the Fourteenth Century, in: Byzantine Philosophy and its Ancient Sources, ed. K. Ierodiakonou. Oxford 2002, 219–236, in particular 225–236.

editions of treatises other than the *Refutatio*[23]. It is not difficult to see that most family relations of the tradition of Barlaam's *Refutatio* can be anticipated in this way. This is one of the reasons why the descriptions of the manuscript witnesses are very detailed.

L[1]. Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, B.P.G. 16D (*Diktyon* 37637), 1651, copyist <Gerard Langbaine the Elder>[24]. The *Refutatio*, without a title, is on ff. 103v–111r (*des*. 246 ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν τἀναντία, see the edition below); it is preceded on f. 103r by *Harm*. III 16 and, on f. 103v, by a scholium and a blank space of 6 lines[25]. Other works in the manuscript: ff. 3r–101v Porphyry, *In Ptolemaei Harmonica I–II 7*[26]; 102r *diagramma harmonicum*.

This manuscript is one of the outcomes of a copying campaign of musical treatises coordinated in Oxford by John Selden on behalf of Marcus Meibom (see the manuscript Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek 1.A.1 [Tiele 11; *Diktyon* 64497] for Ptolemy's *Harmonica*; the apograph containing Manuel Bryennios' *Harmonica* is apparently lost[27]). The copies were collated with other Oxford witnesses, and partly carried out personally, by Gerard Langbaine (notes on f. 1r; the second note is in the hand of John Selden). Meibom immediately drew apographs of these exemplars: these are the manuscripts Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek 1.A.2 (Tiele 12; *Diktyon* 64498) for Ptolemy's *Harmonica*; Leid. Periz. Q° 22 (our witness L^2) for Porphyry's commentary thereon; Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, B.P.G. 16E (*Diktyon* 37638) for Manuel Bryennios' *Harmonica*. As stated on f. 1r of L^1, its model for Porphyry was the manuscript Oxford, Magdalen College, gr. 13 (composite; 2nd half of 16th century; copyists Nikolaos Tourrianos, ff. 1r–138r, and Sophianos Melissenos[28], ff. 143r–273r; *Diktyon* 48706), collated with two Bodleian witnesses (these are listed in De Meyier's catalogue). From f. 103r on, the antigraph of L^1 was the manuscript Oxon. New College 299 (our witness O^2), as stated in a note located on f. 103r, before the Greek text: *Libru(m) 3tium et ultimum Harmonicorum Claudij Ptolomaei (in Codice MS°*

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[23] Editions are cited on the first occurrence of a treatise in the whole list. For descriptions of some of these manuscripts in the editions of Barlaam's scientific treatises other than the *Refutatio*, and for their stemmatic relationships, a reference to the relevant pages of Carelos, Barlaam (*Logistikē*), Mogenet – Tihon – Donnet, Barlaam (*De eclipsi* I and II), Tihon, Barlaam (*De paschate*), and Acerbi, Barlaam's Paraphrase (*Demonstratio*) is understood. We use the abbreviations and numberings in Sinkewicz, The Solutions 185–194 for Barlaam's non-scientific works: Or. = Greek discourses; AL = Antilatin treatises; EG = Greek Letters.

[24] Langbaine copied only ff. 1r, 95r, 103r–111r. Two other hands penned ff. 3r–18v, 47r–94v, 96r–102r, and ff. 19r–46v, respectively; John Selden added a note on f. 1r. See K.A. De Meyier, Codices Bibliothecae Publicae graeci (*Bibliotheca Universitatis Leidensis. Codices Manuscripti* 8). Lugduni Batavorum 1965, 18–19; T.J. Mathiesen, Ancient Greek Music Theory. A Catalogue Raisonné of Manuscripts. München 1988, no. 276. This manuscript was originally paginated from f. 3r on; page numbers are absent from f. 102v (blank).

[25] The scholium, a citation from Diodorus Siculus I.16.1 autograph of Nikephoros Gregoras in Par. Coislin 173, is edited in Düring, Die Harmonielehre xcix–c, and in F. Acerbi, I problemi aritmetici attribuiti a Demetrio Cidone e Isacco Argiro. *Estudios Bizantinos* 5 (2017) 131–206 Testo 6, second transcript. The text, which in this position can be traced back at least to the model of the manuscript Oxon. New College 299 (our witness O^2)—see below—reads here as follows: φησὶν ὁ Διόδωρος ὁ Σικελιώτης ὅτι Αἰγύπτιος ὁ Ἑρμῆς ἐποίησε πρῶτος λύραν τετράχορδον (τρίχορδον 173) μιμησάμενος τὰς κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ὥρας· τρεῖς γὰρ ὑπεστήσατο φθόγγους, ὀξύν, βαρὺν καὶ μέσον, ὀξὺν μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ θέρους βαρὺν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος μέσον δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔαρος καὶ τοῦ φθινοπώρου "Diodoros the Sicilian asserts that Hermes the Egyptian first made a four-chord lyra, by imitation of the yearly seasons: for he conceived three kinds of sound, high, low, and intermediate, high from Summer, low from Winter, intermediate from Spring and Autumn."

[26] The reference edition of Porphyry is I. Düring, Porphyrios Kommentar zur Harmonielehre des Ptolemaios (*Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift* 38). Göteborg 1932. The recent edition M. Raffa, Porphyrius, Commentarius in Claudii Ptolemaei Harmonica. Berlin – Boston 2016, depends on Düring's as for the textual tradition.

[27] On Meibom and Bryennios see most recently A. Weddigen, Marcus Meiboms Briefe an Marquard Gude und andere. Studie zu einem gescheiterten Editionsversuch der *Harmonica* des Manuel Bryennios. *Wolfenbütteler Renaissance-Mitteilungen* 39 (2018) 29–66.

[28] For these two copyists, see *RGK* I 319, II 438, III 520, and G. De Andrés, El cretense Nicolás de la Torre, copista griego de Felipe II. Biografía, Documentos, Copias, Facsímiles. Madrid 1969; *RGK* I 362 and P. Carolla, A proposito di stemmi multipli: Andrea Darmario e i suoi collaboratori. Con 22 nuovi manoscritti di Sofiano Melisseno tra Parigi e Lisbona, in: Griechisch-byzantinische Handschriftenforschung, hrsg. von C. Brockmann – D. Deckers – D. Harlfinger – S. Valente. Berlin – Boston 2020, 381–394: 382–388, respectively.

in Collegio quod Oxonij vulgò Novum audit) excipiunt haec parabysmata. The model was already incomplete, as confirmed by a note appended to the Greek text on f. 111r: *Desiderantur reliqua ob folium extremum excisum* […], with a final reference to a peculiarity of the model: […] *tanta est in MS^o Codice et chartae amplitudo, et characterum exilitas*[29]. A letter by R.W. Hunt to De Meyier, dated 15 March 1955, is inserted between ff. I and II of L^1; the letter confirms that the relevant quire of Oxon. New College 299 had been manipulated (see also *infra*): "The 10th. quire, which begins on fol. 68, originally had 8 leaves. The last 5 are now missing, of which the first has been torn out and the remaining 4 cut out and the stubs oversewn together." As for Porphyry's commentary, Düring, almost certainly without collating the manuscripts, confirms the family relations just outlined: DÜRING, Porphyrios Kommentar X–XI, XXIV–XXVI, XXIX (stemma); he also shows that the manuscript Oxford, Magdalen College, gr. 13 is a copy of the very prolific manuscript Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, gr. Z. 322 (coll. 711; 1468–72; copyist <Iohannes Rhosos>; *Diktyon* 69628).

L^2. Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Periz. Q^o 22 (*Diktyon* 37873), *c*. 1651, copyist <Marcus Meibom>[30]. The *Refutatio*, without a title, is on ff. 126v–132v (*des*. 246 ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν τἀναντία); it is preceded on f. 126r by *Harm*. III 16 and by the same scholium as in our witness L^1. Other works in the manuscript: ff. 2r–124v Porphyry, *In Ptolemaei Harmonica I–II 7*; 125r–v *diagrammata harmonica*[31].

This is Meibom's conformal apograph of Leid. B.P.G. 16D (our witness L^1); he also copied Langbaine's working notes and *marginalia* to the *Refutatio*. Meibom wrote the following note by the side of the first line of the *Refutatio*, which begins on a new page: *inter haec et praecedentia spatium 6 vers. erat relictu*(*m*).

A. Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, E 76 sup. (gr. 292; *Diktyon* 42700)[32], composite, *c*. 1340, Barlaam's copyist III[33]. The *Refutatio*, with the standard title, is on ff. 180r–190r; it is preceded on ff. 178v–180r, headed τὰ ὑπό τινων προστεθέντα κεφάλαια ταῖς τρισὶ τελευταίαις ἐπιγραφαῖς τοῦ τρίτου τῶν ἁρμονικῶν Πτολεμαίου "chapters appended by someone to the last three titles of the third <book> of

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[29] To give an idea of the *exilitas* of the script of Oxon. New College 299, Aristotle's *Organon* takes 43 folios only.

[30] See K.A. DE MEYIER, Codices Perizoniani (*Bibliotheca Universitatis Leidensis. Codices Manuscripti* 4). Lugduni Batavorum 1946, 76; MATHIESEN, Ancient Greek Music Theory no. 283. This manuscript was originally paginated from f. 2r on; page numbers begin again with 1 on f. 126r. Marcus Meibom (*c*. 1630–1710) is an interesting yet little-studied figure of *clericus vagans*. The manuscripts he copied are found in Leiden (these were bought in bulk in 1752) and in Utrecht (the town where he died); see DE MEYIER, Codices Bibliothecae Publicae graeci X–XI and *ad locos*. These items are the manuscripts Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, B.P.G. 2B, 16C, 16E, 16G–H*, 37A, f. 4–5, 67A (*Diktyon* 37626, 37636, 37638, 37640–42, 37668, 37701) and Periz. Q^o 22 et Q^o 39 (*Diktyon* 37873 and 37878; in the latter, the annotations only), and the manuscripts Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek I.E.1, I.G.1, I.A.2, I.A.8–10, I.C.1 (Tiele 3, 5, 12–16; *Diktyon* 64520, 64528, 64498, 64502–4, 64507). A bio-bibliographic synthesis on Meibom can be read in R. HÖISTAD, Marcus Meibom and the Lost Codex Meibomianus. *Eranos* 83 (1985) 103–112: 103–105; detail on incidents that marked Meibom's life is given in J.-Ch.-F. HÖFER (éd.), Nouvelle Biographie Générale. Tome Trente-Quatrième. Paris 1861 cc. 764–766; see also R.J. LEONHARDT, Meibom, Marcus, in: Geschichte der Altertumswissenschaften. Biographisches Lexicon, hrsg. von P. Kuhlmann – H. Schneider (*Der neue Pauly, Supplemente* 6). Stuttgart – Weimar 2012, cc. 803–804.

[31] The first diagram is identical to that on f. 102r of L^1; the second diagram reproduces the diagram, in Langbaine's hand, located on f. 95r of L^1.

[32] The two Milan manuscripts are described in E. MARTINI – D. BASSI, Catalogus codicum Graecorum Bibliothecae Ambrosianae. I–II. Milano 1906, 326–328 and 836–839, respectively; see also MATHIESEN, Ancient Greek Music Theory nos. 178 and 182. On Pinelli's library, see M. GRENDLER, A Greek Collection in Padua: The Library of Gian Vincenzo Pinelli (1535–1601). *Renaissance Quarterly* 33 (1980) 386–416 (407–408 on Manuel Moros, see below) and, more recently, A.M. RAUGEI, Gian Vincenzo Pinelli e la sua biblioteca (*Cahiers d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 151). Genève 2018.

[33] On this copyist, who penned ff. 111r–190r and 291r–305v, see A. GIOFFREDA, Su scrittura, libri e collaboratori di Barlaam calabro. *Segno e Testo* 14 (2016) 361–378. Folios 191r–290r of Ambr. E 76 sup. were copied by Barlaam's copyist II, who is also found in Marc. gr. Z. 332 (see below); other hands are engaged in the copy, for instance on ff. 108r–110v. Folios 2r–v, 8r–10v, 38v–40v are in the hand of Theodoros Rentios: S. MARTINELLI TEMPESTA, Per un repertorio dei copisti greci in Ambrosiana, in: Miscellanea Graecolatina I, a cura di F. Gallo. Roma 2013, 101–153: 140; see also *RGK* III 215 (a copy is subscribed in 1557).

Ptolemy's harmonics", by *Harm*. III 14–16. Other works in the manuscript: ff. 1r–107v Ptolemy, *Harmonica* I–III 16[34]; 108r–110v *varia mathematica*; 111r–172r Barlaam, *Logistikē* I–VI; 172r–178r Barlaam, *Demonstratio*; 191r–243r Barlaam, *De Spiritu Sancto adv. Latinos* (AL 1–6); 243r–247v Barlaam, *De principatu Papae* (AL 7); 247v–252r Barlaam, *Legatus seu de Spiritu Sancto* (AL 11); 252r–254r Barlaam, *Confutatio dogmatis Latinorum* (AL 10); 254v–267v Barlaam, *Solutiones ad Georgium Lapitham*; 268r–283v Barlaam, *Oratio de concordia* (Or. 1); 283v–290r Barlaam, *Oratio ad Synodum de unione* (Or. 2); 291r–294v Barlaam, *De eclipsi* I; 294v–300v Barlaam, *De eclipsi* II; 301r–v *scholium de cyclo lunari et computationes astronomicae*; 302r–305v, 290v (*alia manu*) Barlaam, *De paschate*.

Barlaam's works in this manuscript are penned by two of his collaborators. Contrary to what happened in Marc. gr. Z. 332 (our witness M), Barlaam did not revise his own texts, which exhibit typical copying mistakes. A is the sole independent witness for the *varia mathematica* it carries on ff. 108r–110v: ACERBI, Barlaam's Paraphrase 5, and Appendix 2 for the edition. A is a copy of the manuscript Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 185 (composite; 1330–50; *Diktyon* 66816), and a stemmatic sibling of Oxon. New College 299 (our witness O^2), as for Ptolemy's *Harmonica*: DÜRING, Die Harmonielehre LXV and LXIX (stemma). A is a direct copy of M as for the *Demonstratio*, the *Logistikē*, and *De eclipsi* I and II.

L. Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, R 117 sup. (gr. 724; *Diktyon* 43201), composite, *c*. 1565, copyist <Manuel Moros>[35]. The *Refutatio*, with the standard title, is on ff. 133r–140v; it is preceded on ff. 132r–133r by *Harm*. III 14–16, headed τὰ ὑπό τινων προστεθέντα κεφάλαια ταῖς τρισὶ τελευταίαις ἐπιγραφαῖς τοῦ τρίτου τῶν ἁρμονικῶν Πτολεμαίου "chapters appended by someone to the last three titles of the third <book> of Ptolemy's harmonics." Other works in the manuscript: ff. 3r–47r Herennios, *in Aristotelis Metaphysica*; 52r–81v [Georgius Codinos], *De officiis*; 86r–127r Barlaam, *Logistikē* I–VI; 127r–131v Barlaam, *Demonstratio*; 140v–143v Barlaam, *De eclipsi* I; 143v–148r Barlaam, *De eclipsi* II; 148r–149r *scholium de cyclo lunari et computationes astronomicae*; 149v–152v Barlaam, *De paschate*; 152v–155r *varia mathematica*; 158r–188r Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *De Thucydide*; 191r–195r, 196r–200r, 203r–207r (triplex) *De comoedia*; 209r–225r, 247r–262v (duplex), 265r–266r Georgius Hamartolos, *Chronicon* (fragm.); 227r–235r Iohannes Scylitzes, *Synopsis Historica* (excerpts) *cum additamentis Theodori Scutariotae*; 237r–239v Theodoros Gaza, *Epistula de origine Turcarum*; 241r–v, 242r–v (duplex) Polyaenus, *Stratagemata* (excerpt); 243r–244v *apographum inscriptionis*; 269r–270v, 273r–274v (duplex) *Vita Aristotelis*; 277r–323v Origenes, *Contra Celsum cum Gennadii Scholarii scholiis*.

This codex is a recent assemblage of parts of several manuscripts. The Barlaam block was entirely copied by Manuel Moros, one of Pinelli's favourite calligraphists, using Ambr. E 76 sup. as a model.

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[34] The edition of Ptolemy's *Harmonica* is DÜRING, Die Harmonielehre.

[35] On Moros, see *RGK* I 252 (which confirms the identification by Martini and Bassi), II 348, III 417; P. GÉHIN, Évagre le Pontique dans un recueil de mélanges grammaticaux du fonds Pinelli, l'Ambr. C 69 sup., in: Nuove ricerche sui manoscritti greci dell'Ambrosiana. Atti del Convegno Milano, 5–6 giugno 2003, a cura di C.M. Mazzucchi – C. Pasini. Milano 2004, 265–313. The four hands engaged in the copy are distributed as follows: Camillo Zanetti on ff. 3–47, 191–241, 243–323; an anonymous hand supplies f. 242; Maximus Margounios on ff. 52–81 (†1602; *RGK* I 259 [which identifies the copyist], II 356, III 427; G. FEDALTO, Massimo Margunio e il suo commento al "De trinitate" di S. Agostino [1588]. Brescia 1967; F. CICCOLELLA, Maximos Margounios and Anacreontic Poetry: An Introductory Study, in: Greeks, Books and Libraries in Renaissance Venice, ed. R.M. Piccione [*Transmission* 1]. Berlin – Boston 2021, 147–160, with recent bibliography), who also copied the entire Mosq. Mus. Hist. gr. 315 (our witness m) and was engaged in the copy of Vat. gr. 1756 (our witness v); Manuel Moros on ff. 86–155 and 171–188. Folios 158–170 were excised from the Aldine no. 1559 of Dionysius of Halicarnassus.

m. Moskva, Gosudarstvennyj Istoričeskij Musej, Sinod. gr. 315 (Vlad. 441; *Diktyon* 43940), 1590–1600, copyist <Maximus Margounios>[36]. The *Refutatio*, with the standard title, is on ff. 297v–303v; it is preceded on f. 297r–v by *Harm*. III 14–16, headed τὰ ὑπό τινων προστεθέντα κεφάλαια ταῖς τρισὶ τελευταίαις ἐπιγραφαῖς τοῦ τρίτου τῶν ἁρμονικῶν Πτολεμαίου "chapters appended by someone to the last three titles of the third <book> of Ptolemy's harmonics." Other works in the manuscript: ff. 1–13v Leo medicus, *Conspectus medicinae*[37]; 16r–129r Arethas, *Opuscula*; 135r–159r Barlaam, *epistulae tres* (EG 1–3); 161r–251v Demetrios Cydones, *De processione Spiritus Sancti ad amicum*; 252r–255r Manuel Chrysoloras, *De processione Spiritus Sancti*[38]; 257r–290v Barlaam, *Logistikē* I–VI; 294r–296v Barlaam, *De paschate*; 290v–294r Barlaam, *Demonstratio*; 303v–307v Barlaam, *epistulae quinque* (EG 4–8); 307v–309r Barlaam, *De eclipsi* I; 309v–312v Barlaam, *De eclipsi* II; 313r *scholium de cyclo lunari et computationes astronomicae*; 317r–321v Nikephoros Gregoras, *excerptum e Byzantina Historia X 8*; 321v–327r Nikephoros Gregoras, *In annuntiationem Deiparae*; 327r–328r Nikephoros Gregoras, *excerpta*; 331r–334v Nikephoros Gregoras, *Epistula XVI*[39]; 334v–339v Nikephoros Gregoras, *Oratio in Deiparam*[40]; 341r–351v Nikephoros Gregoras, *Vita Iohannis episcopi Heracleensis*; 360r–366r Maximus Planudes, *De compassione*; 366v–401r Maximus Planudes, *Laudatio Sanct. Petri et Pauli*; 401v–419v Maximus Planudes, *In Sanctum Diomedem*; 420r–440r Maximus Planudes, *Basilikos logos*[41]; 440r–442v *excerpta e Planudis operis et epistulis*; 442v–443r Maximus Planudes, *Versus politici*.

Maximus Margounios collaborated with Alvise Lollino in the copy of Vat. gr. 1756 (our witness v). WESTERINK, Arethae archiepiscopi IX–XVIII shows that several works contained in Mosq. Mus. Hist. gr. 315 were copied from manuscripts held in Venice: Barlaam's works from Marc. gr. Z. 332 (our witness M); the two treatises on the procession of the Holy Spirit from the manuscript Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, gr. Z. 157 (coll. 399; 1442; *Diktyon* 69628); Gregoras' and Planudes' works from two manuscripts held in the library of the monastery of St Anton in Venice, destroyed by a fire in 1687.

N. Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele III, III.C.3 (*Diktyon* 46279), once a unitary whole with the manuscript Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele III, III.C.4 (*Diktyon* 46280), *c*. 1321–26, a single copyist for most of both manuscripts, but not for the *Refutatio*, which was added later[42]. The *Refutatio*, with the standard title, is on ff. 103v–107v; it is preceded on

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[36] Margounios penned the entire manuscript with the exception of ff. 16r–26v, which contain Arethas' first pamphlet. The best description of this manuscript is found in L.G. WESTERINK, Arethae archiepiscopi Caesariensis scripta minora. I–II. Lipsiae 1968–72 I IX–XVIII. This volume of the edition of Arethas' writings exactly comprises all works contained in the Moscow manuscript (57 items), which is the sole witness of most of them.

[37] Leo medicus is edited in F.Z. ERMERINS, Anecdota Medica Graeca. Lugduni Batavorum 1840, 79–275.

[38] See A. SPOURLACOU, Einai o Manouēl Chrysolōras o suggrapheus tou ergou Kephalaia oti kai ek tou uiou to agion pneuma ekporeuetai. *Θησαυρίσματα* 2 (1963) 88–117.

[39] See the edition in S. BEZDEKI, Nicephori Gregorae epistulae XC. *Ephemeris Dacoromana* 2 (1924) 239–377: 303–311.

[40] This item is edited in L.G. WESTERINK, Nikephoros Gregoras, Dankrede an die Mutter Gottes. *Helikon* 7 (1967) 259–271.

[41] These four Planudean works are edited in *PG* 147, 985–1016 and 1017–1112; L.G. WESTERINK, Trois textes inédits sur Saint Diomède de Nicée. *AnBoll* 84 (1966) 161–227; L.G. WESTERINK, Le *Basilikos* de Maxime Planude. *BSl* 27 (1966) 98–103; 28 (1967) 54–67; 29 (1968) 34–50, respectively.

[42] See M. FORMENTIN – F. RICHETTI – L. SIBEN, Catalogus codicum Graecorum Bibliothecae nationalis Neapolitanae. Volumen 3. Roma 2015, 89–91; MATHIESEN, Ancient Greek Music Theory no. 202. As the quire numbers show, Neap. III.C.4 comprises quires 1–16 of the original whole, Neap. III.C.3 comprises quires 17–30. Other hands can be found at ff. 1r–v, 2r–v, 3r–v, 65v–66r, 79r, 103r–107v of Neap. III.C.3. The editions of the works contained in this manuscript are as follows: Nikomachos and *excerpta*, S. DI MAMBRO, Nicomaco, Manuale di Armonica (*Mathematica Graeca Antiqua* 5). Pisa – Roma 2024; Planudes, *Versus heroici*, A. STÜCKELBERGER, Planudes und die *Geographia* des Ptolemaios. *Museum Helveticum* 53 (1996) 197–205, and see also F. PONTANI, The World on a Fingernail: An Unknown Byzantine Map, Planudes, and Ptolemy. *Traditio* 65 (2010) 177–200, and C.M. MAZZUCCHI, Il Tolomeo Ambr. D 527 inf. e i versi di Massimo Planude sulle carte della *Geografia* (Ambr. A 199 sup.), in: Miscellanea Graecolatina I, a cura di F. Gallo. Roma 2013, 259–266; Planudes, *epigramma*, the second in C.F.A. NOBBE, Claudii Ptolemaei Geographia. Tomus I. Lipsiae 1843,

f. 103r–v by *Harm*. III 14–16, headed Βαρλαὰμ μοναχοῦ τοῦ Καλαβροῦ τὰ ὑπό τινων προστεθέντα κεφάλαια ταῖς τρισὶ τελευταίαις ἐπιγραφαῖς τοῦ τρίτου τῶν ἁρμονικῶν Πτολεμαίου "by the monk Barlaam of Calabria, chapters appended by someone to the last three titles of the third <book> of Ptolemy's harmonics." Other works in the manuscript: ff. 1r–v Porphyry, *In Ptolemaei Harmonica*, proemium; 2r–v *excerpta e Nicomachi Harmonico encheiridio*; 3r–v Maximus Planudes, *Versus heroici in Ptolemaei Geographiam* and *epigramma in Ptolemaeum*; 4r–v *notae harmonicae*; 5r–51r Ptolemy, *Harmonica* I–III 14 (*des*. 109, 11 Düring); 51v–52v *diagrammata harmonica*; 53r–65r [Plutarch], *De musica*; 65r–94r Theon of Smyrna, *Expositio* (*des*. 119, 21 Hiller); 94v–101v Nikomachos, *Harmonicum encheiridion*; 101v–102v Maximus Planudes, *excerpta ex commentario Macrobii in Somnium Scipionis graece verso*.

N and its complement Neap. III.C.4 are independent witnesses of some of the treatises of harmonic theory they contain: for Ptolemy, see DÜRING, Die Harmonielehre LIV and LXIX (stemma); for Nikomachos, see DI MAMBRO, Nicomaco, sect. II.3.2.

O[1]. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Savile 1 (*Diktyon* 48424), composite, 1589, copyist <James Darlymple of Ayr>[43]. A very short summary of the *Refutatio*, with the title Βαρλαὰμ μοναχοῦ ἀνασκευὴ εἰς τὰ κτλ. "by the monk Barlaam, refutation of the, etc." and including *incipit* and *desinit*, is on ff. 318v–319r; it is preceded on f. 318v by long *incipit* and *desinit* of *Harm*. III 14–16, headed τὰ ὑπό τινων προστεθέντα κεφάλαια ταῖς τρισὶ τελευταίαις ἐπιγραφαῖς τοῦ τρίτου τῶν ἁρμονικῶν Πτολεμαίου "chapters appended by someone to the last three titles of the third <book> of Ptolemy's harmonics". Other works in the manuscript: ff. 1r–195v Sextus Empiricus, *Adversus mathematicos*; 195v–199r Dissoi logoi; 200r–222r Euclid, *Data*; 224r–227v Autolycus, *De sphaera mota*; 228r–240r Euclid, *Phaenomena*; 240r–258r Theodosius, *De diebus et noctibus*; 258v–264r Theodosius, *De habitationibus*; 264r–275r Autolycus, *De ortibus et occasibus*; 276r–318r Barlaam, *Logistikē* I–VI; 318r–v Barlaam, *De paschate* (summary); 318v–319r Barlaam, *Refutatio* (summary).

The manuscript ends with very short summaries of Barlaam's *De paschate* and *Refutatio*. The only other witness that adopts the ordering *Logistikē – De paschate – Refutatio* is Marc. gr. Z. 332 (our witness M). The only editor who determines the stemmatic position of O[1] is Carelos (Barlaam LXV–LXVIII), who makes it a copy of the manuscript Oxford, Bodleian Library, Savile 6 (composite; *c*. 1582; copyist of the scientific part Henry Savile; *Diktyon* 48429), in its turn a copy of Marc. gr. Z. 332. As Oxon. Savile 6 begins with Book III and does not bear any trace of mutilation, and as two of the three separative innovations of O[1] are Carelos' false

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XXXIII no. VII; the first of the *notae harmonicae*, K. VON JAN, Musici Scriptores Graeci. Lipsiae 1895, 411, 2–412, 8 (= sects. 1–2 of the so-called *Excerpta Neapolitana*, for which see now F. ACERBI – S. PANTERI, Eratosthenes in the *Excerpta Neapolitana*. *GRBS* 59 [2019] 663–679); [Plutarch], A. MERIANI, Ps.-Plutarchi De musica. Berlin – Boston 2024; Theon of Smyrna, E. HILLER, Theoni Smyrnaei philosophi platonici Expositio rerum mathematicarum ad legendum Platonem utilium. Leipzig 1878; Planudes, *excerpta*, A. MEGAS, Macrobii commentariorum in Somnium Scipionis libri duo in linguam graecam translati. Thessalonike 1995.

[43] See F. MADAN – H.H.E. CRASTER – N. DENHOLM-YOUNG, A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. Vol. II part II. Oxford 1937 no. 6548. The *Data* (+ 1 blank folio) is copied in four ternions, numbered from α΄ το δ΄; the Barlaam section is paginated from 1 to 87. For the copyist, see *RGK* I 142 (identification in this manuscript). See also J.-L. QUANTIN, Historical Criticism, Confessional Controversy, and Self-Censorship: Henry Savile and the *Lives* of John Chrysostom. *Erudition and the Republic of Letters* 6 (2021) 138–223: n. 69 on 157–158. The editions of the works contained in this manuscript are as follows: Sextus, H. MUTSCHMANN – J. MAU, Sexti Empirici Opera. Vol. II–III. Lipsiae 1914–61; Dissoi Logoi, E. WEBER, Dissoi Logoi: Eine Ausgabe der sogenannten Dialexies, in: Philologisch-Historische Beiträge Curt Wachsmuth zum sechzigsten Geburtstag überreicht. Leipzig 1897, 33–51; Euclid's *Data* and *Phaenomena*, HEIBERG – MENGE, Euclidis opera omnia VI and VIII, respectively; Autolycus, J. MOGENET, Autolycus de Pitane. Histoire du texte suivie de l'édition critique des traités de la sphère en mouvement et des levers et couchers (*Université de Louvain, Recueil de travaux d'histoire et de philologie*, 3[e] série 37). Louvain 1950; Theodosius, R. FECHT, Theodosii De Habitationibus Liber. De Diebus et Noctibus Libri duo (*Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse, Neue Folge* 19, 4). Berlin 1927.

readings (likewise, two of the four conjunctive innovations are Carelos' false readings in O^1), and the third one just shows that Oxon. Savile 6 cannot be a copy of O^1, we conclude that the two Oxford manuscripts are independent witnesses of the *Logistikē*.

O^2. Oxford, New College 299 (*Diktyon* 48768), watermark range 1364–72, one single copyist for the entire manuscript[44]. The *Refutatio*, without a title, is on f. 70r–v (*des*. *mut*. 246 ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν τἀναντία); it is preceded on ff. 69v–70r, in continuity with Ptolemy's treatise, by *Harm*. III 14–16, by the same scholium as in our witnesses L^1 and L^2, and by a blank space of 2 lines. Other works in the manuscript: ff. 1r–51r Aristotle, *Organon*, of which 1r–2v Porphyry, *Isagōgē*, 2v–6r *Categoriae*; 6r–8r *De interpretatione*; 10r–20v *Analytica priora* I–II; 20v–27r *Analytica posteriora* I–II; 32r–45v *Topica*, 47r–51r *Sophistici elenchi*; 52r–59r Nikomachos, *Introductio arithmetica* I–II; 59v *diagrammata harmonica*; 60r–70r Ptolemy, *Harmonica* I–III 16; 71r–83v Ptolemy, *Apotelesmatica* I–IV; 84r–v Porphyry, *Introductio in Ptolemaei Apotelesmatica* 47–55; 85r–v [Ptolemy], *Centiloquium*; 86r–v text tit. περὶ τῶν τῆς σελήνης ἡμερινῶν παρόδων τίνα σημαίνει καθ' ἑκάστην αὐτῆς ἐν τοῖς τῶν ζῳδίων δεκανοῖς διάφορον πάροδον καὶ σημασίαν "about the daily passages of the Moon, what is a sign of in the decans of the zodiac for each of its different passages and indications"; 87r–89r John Philoponus, *De usu astrolabii*; 89v–90v Anonymus, *De constructione astrolabii*; 90v–91v text tit. περὶ τῶν ἑπτὰ τῆς γῆς κλιμάτων "about the three terrestrial *klimata*."

Because of a loss of folios, the *Refutatio* ends abruptly with the last line of f. 70v. The same curtailed text is carried by our witnesses L^1 and L^2. Düring shows that O^2 is a copy of Vat. gr. 185 and a stemmatic sibling of Ambr. E 76 sup. (our witness A) as for Ptolemy's *Harmonica*. Vat. gr. 185 is the earliest witness in which the scholium that precedes the *Refutatio* in our witnesses L^1, L^2, and O^2 is located at the end of Ptolemy's *Harmonica*, after the added chapters III 14–16; the variant reading τετράχορδον in the scholium also appears to originate in Vat. gr. 185. Hübner states that O^2 is an obvious copy of the manuscript Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. T.5.4 (Misc. 266; 4th quarter of the 13th century; *Diktyon* 47214) as for Ptolemy's *Apotelesmatica*; Boer does not identify a model in the case of Ptolemy's *Centiloquium*[45].

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[44] This in-folio, mm 420×295, comprises 92 folios written on 57 lines per page; watermarks "hunting horn", like Briquet *huchet* 7645 (1364), "griffon", like Briquet *griffon* 7453 (1370–76) and 7454 (1372); these dates are confirmed by a paleographic evaluation of the hand; the quire numbers run from α΄ to ιβ΄, but the folios carrying numbers ς΄ and ιβ΄ have been excised; the composition (the production units are separated by a vertical bar) is 1^8 (8) | 2^8 (24) | 1^6 (30) | 2^8 (46) | 1^{6-1} (51) 1^8 (59) | 1^8 (67) 1^{8-5} (70) | 2^8 (86) | 1^{8-2} (92). Folios 8v–9r, 27v–31r, 46r–v, 51v, 92r–v are blank. Folio 9v contains a few lines of text, followed by a representation of Aristotle; the same depiction is found on f. 31v, which is otherwise blank. See H.O. COXE, Catalogus codicum mss. qui in collegiis aulisque Oxoniensibus hodie adservantur. Oxonii 1852 Codies mss. Collegii Novi 107–108; Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum. I–XII. Bruxelles 1898–1953, IX 1 (S. WEINSTOCK) 96–97; MATHIESEN, Ancient Greek Music Theory no. 152. The hand has been dated on our request by C. Giacomelli, D. Bianconi, and A. Gioffreda, *per litteras*. The editions of the works contained in this manuscript are as follows: no truly critical edition exists of any of the treatises traditionally included in Aristotle's *Organon*; for Porphyry, see A. BUSSE, Porphyrii Isagoge et in Aristotelis Categorias commentarium (*CAG* 4, 1). Berlin 1887; for an overall assessment of the Aristotelian works, with a complete bibliography, see C. GIACOMELLI, Sulla più antica circolazione dell'*Organon* di Aristotele. Indagini sui *codices vetustissimi*. *Segno e Testo* 21 (2023); Nikomachos, R. HOCHE, Nicomachi Geraseni pythagorei Introductionis Arithmeticae libri II. Lipsiae 1866 (not a critical edition); Ptolemy's *Apotelesmatica*, W. HÜBNER, Claudii Ptolemaei opera quae exstant omnia. III 1. Apotelesmatika. Lipsiae 1998; Porphyry, Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum V 4 (Ae. BOER – S. WEINSTOCK), 187–228 (not a critical edition); [Ptolemy], Centiloquium, Fr. LAMMERT – Ae. BOER, Claudii Ptolemaei opera quae exstant omnia. III 2. De iudicandi facultate et animi principatu. Pseudo-Ptolemaei Fructus sive Centiloquium. Lipsiae 1952; text on f. 86r–v, J. CAMERARIUS, Astrologica. Norimbergae 1532, 31–36; Philoponus, C. JARRY, Jean Philopon, Traité de l'Astrolabe. Paris 2015 (the editor lists O^2 among the witnesses but he does not discuss its stemmatic position) and A. STÜCKELBERGER, Ioannes Philoponus, De usu astrolabii eiusque constructione. Berlin 2015 (not a critical edition). We were unable to find an exact parallel to the text copied on ff. 89v–90v in published or described Byzantine treatises on the astrolabe; see A. TIHON, Traités byzantins sur l'astrolabe. *Physis* 32 (1995) 323–357 for a synthesis. This text, however, intermittently coincides with Argyros' treatise.

[45] See DÜRING, Die Harmonielehre LXV and LXIX (stemma); HÜBNER, Apotelesmatika XVIII and XXV (stemma); BOER, Pseudo-Ptolemaei Fructus XXIX–XXX and XXXII (stemma).

P[1]. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 2381 (*Diktyon* 52013), mm 295×220; composite, *c*. 1371–73 (certainly before 1392: tables on ff. 100r and 101r; later note of the main hand on f. 104v; watermark range 1358–93)[46]. The *Refutatio*, with the title Βαρλαὰμ ἀνασκευὴ εἰς τὰ κτλ. "by Barlaam, refutation of the, etc.", is on ff. 32r–35r. Other works in the manuscript: ff. 1r–2v *notae chronologicae et metrologicae*; 3r–12v Maximus Planudes, *Psephophoria secundum Indos*; 13r–30v Barlaam, *Logistikē* I–VI; 30v–32r Barlaam, *Demonstratio*; 35v–41v Gregorius Palamas, *Physica, theologica moralia et practica capita CL*[47]; 41v–46v Gregorius Palamas, *Pro Hesychastis orationes duo*[48]; 46v *excerpta theologica*; 47r–62r Cleomedes, *Caelestia cum scholiis Pediasimi*; 55r marg. [Apollonius], *On finding two mean proportionals*[49]; 56r marg. Anatolius, *De generatione*; 56r marg. *nota astrologica*; 56r marg. [Melampos], *De divinatione ex naevis*[50]; 56v marg. *geographica et astronomica varia*; 62r Hermes Trismegistos, *De partibus hominis*; 62r *Oneirocriticon e Danielis psalmis*; 62r *excerptum e Galeni De dignotione ex insomniis*[51]; 62v Nicholas Rhabdas, *Methodus de arithmeticis et geometricis medietatibus, et problemata arithmetica octo*; 63r–v *De Persici astrolabii usu capita XX–XXXIX*; 64r–77v *Aratea, astrologica et brontologica varia*[52]; 78r–79v Anonymous and Demetrius Triclinius, *De lunae schematismis*; 80r *De climatibus*[53]; 80v *excerpta ex Adamantii De ventis*[54]; 81r–85v Iohannes Pediasimos, *Geometria*; 85v–86r *notae et tabulae metrologicae chronologicae astrologicae* (dated to 1371–73); 86r–88v [Aristotle], *De mundo*; 93r–96v Alexander of Aphrodisias medicus, *Quaestiones et solutiones physicae*[55]; 96v–99r [Philo], *De mundo*[56]; 99r–v

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[46] Very detailed descriptions of this manuscript (here completed) are found in Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum VIII 3 (P. Boudreaux) 43–59. See also P. Schreiner, Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken. I–III (*CFHB* 12). Wien 1975–79, I 191–192; P. Caballero Sánchez, El Comentario de Juan Pediásimo a los «Cuerpos celestes» de Cleomedes (*Nueva Roma* 48). Madrid 2018, 107–110 (watermarks and identification of the main copyist); Mathiesen, Ancient Greek Music Theory no. 75. The composition of Par. gr. 2381 is as follows: 1^{2} (2, marked α΄ by a later hand, a1–a2), 1^{10} (12, β΄, a3–a12) | 2^{8} (28, γ΄–δ΄, b1–b8 and c1–c8), 1^{10} (38, ε΄, d1–d10), 1^{8} (46, ς΄, e1–e8) | 2^{8} (62, ζ΄–η΄, f1–f8 and g1–g8) | 0^{5} (67, ιβ΄, h1–h5) | 0^{6} (73, ιε΄, i1–i6) | 0^{4} (77, h2–3, h7–8) | 0^{3} (80, h9–11) | 1^{8} (88, ιζ΄, l1–l8) | 0^{4} (92) | 1^{8+2} (102, ff. 100–101 are unwarrantedly added to a quire, ιη΄, m1–m10) | 0^{7} (109, n1–n7), where 0^{x} denotes *x* loose folios now bound together, | a junction, namely, a change of quire coinciding with a change of work. The Greek quire numbers are placed in the middle of the lower margin of the verso of the last folio of a quire. The Latin quire and page markers are placed in the lower outer corner of the recto of each folio. Folios 100 and 103 are bound with recto and verso interchanged. Folios 89–92 are blank. The last words of the last page are μετὰ γ φύλλα (solar symbol). The editions of the works contained in Par. gr. 2381 are sometimes listed in clusters; to simplify the references, some of these editions are given in the final assessment of the manuscript.

[47] This text is edited in R.E. Sinkewicz, Saint Gregory Palamas, The One Hundred and Fifty Chapters (*Studies and Texts* 83). Toronto 1988.

[48] These are parts 2 and 3 of the first Triad of Palamas' treatises edited in J. Meyendorff, Grégoire Palamas. Défense des saints hésychastes (*Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense. Études et documents* 30). Louvain 1973.

[49] This is a method for finding two mean proportional lines between two given straight lines, witnessed in several sources and variously assigned to Hero of Alexandria or to Apollonius; see W.R. Knorr, Textual Studies in Ancient and Medieval Geometry. Boston – Basel – Berlin 1989, 11–28 and 41–61, and earlier, and paying attention to Byzantine authors, V. De Falco, Sul problema delico. *Rivista Indo-Greco-Italica* 9 (1925) 41–56. The proof in Par. gr. 2381 is an abridged version of Knorr's text PK, transmitted in late witnesses of Philoponus' *in APo*.

[50] The first of these three texts is edited in Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum VIII 3, 188, the third is edited in J. Franz, Scriptores physiognomoniae veteres. Altenburgi 1780, 501–508, and now in S. Costanza, Una versione bizantina e una metafrasi neogreca dello ps. Melampo *De Naevis*. *Byz* 83 (2013) 83–102.

[51] The first of these three texts is edited in H. Diels, Beiträge zur Zuckungsliteratur des Okzidents und Orients. I. Die griechischen Zuckungsbücher (Melampus Peri palmōn) (*Abhandlungen der königlich preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse* 1907, 4). Berlin 1907, IV, 41–42; for the third see C.G. Kühn, Claudii Galeni opera omnia. I–XX. Lipsiae 1821–33 VI 832–835.

[52] This sequence of extracts is very accurately described, and partly edited, in Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum VIII 3, 47–53 and 189–191, to which we refer.

[53] This text is edited in J.A. Cramer, Anecdota Graeca e codicibus manuscriptis bibliothecae Regiae Parisiensis. I. Oxonii 1839, 362, 1–364, 7 μέρεσι.

[54] These excerpts are edited in V. Rose, Anecdota Graeca et Gaecolatina. I–II. Berlin 1864–70 I 49–52.

[55] This is a version of the compilation of problems edited in J.L. Ideler, Physici et medici Graeci minores. I–II. Berolini 1841–42 I 3–80.

[Aristotle], *De virtute*; 99v, 102r–v Theophylact Simocatta, *Dialogus de quaestionibus physicis*[57]; 100r–101v *tabulae (partim vacuae) et notae variae*[58]; 103v–r Barlaam, *De paschate*; 104r–105v line 2 Matthew Blastares, *Computus Paschalis*[59]; 105v line 3–107r line 5 Michael Psellos, *Opus chronologicum* (excerpts); 107r line 6–v *notae physiognomonicae*; 108r to line 14 *notae computisticae*; 108r line 15–v line 11 a.i. *notae theologicae*; 108v line 10 a.i. – 109r line 11 *De astris*; 109r–v *notae astronomicae*.

This is a highbrow manuscript written for personal use by a distinguished scholar, who possibly added the quire comprising ff. 3–12 (Planudes) to his notebook (our doubts come from the fact that our scholar did not leave traces in the added quire); he also briefly collaborated with another copyist on f. 88v. As first remarked by P. Caballero Sánchez, the main copyist also penned the so-called *textus tripartitus* of Manuel Bryennios' *Harmonica*, whose three *membra disiecta* we read in the manuscripts Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 2549 (*Diktyon* 52181), ff. 43r–46v and 75v–78v, Madrid, Biblioteca nacional de España 4625 (*Diktyon* 40105), ff. 2r, 68r–71v, and 122v–123v, and München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. graec. 487 (*Diktyon* 44935), ff. 272r–289r[60]. As is to be expected, the scientific texts contained in Par. gr. 2381, possibly by the intermediation of hyparchetypes, have very important witnesses as ancestors. This is the case for the following treatises. Planudes: the ancestor of P^1 is the manuscript Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashb. 1599 (14th century; *Diktyon* 15767); Barlaam: the ancestor is the manuscript Marc. gr. Z. 332 (our witness M); Cleomedes: the ancestor is the manuscript Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Adv. 18.7.15 (*c*. 1290; copied for the most part by Maximus Planudes; *Diktyon* 13730)[61]. Par. gr. 2381 is an independent witness of Triclinius' treatise and of Pediasimos' scholia to Cleomedes; it is the only witness of Rhabdas' short logistic text[62]. The presence of Barlaam's *De paschate* in P^1 is not recorded in the standard edition (the folio is bound with recto and verso interchanged), nor is it the fragment from Psellos' chronological treatise[63].

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[56] This work is a compendium of Philo's *De aeternitate mundi*: see F. Cumont, Philonis De aeternitate mundi. Berolini 1891, xxvii; L. Cohn – P. Wendland, Philonis Alexandrini opera quae supersunt. I–VI. Berolini 1896–1915 VI xxxiv–xxxvi. The edition can be read in K.E. Richter, Philonis Judaei opera omnia. I–VIII. Lipsiae 1828–30 VI 148–174.

[57] This text is edited in Ideler, Physici et medici I 168, 1–177, 16, and L. Massa Positano, Teofilatto Simocata. Questioni naturali. Napoli 1965, 7, 1–26, 15.

[58] The contents of these folios are as follows: f. 100v, day (Nov. 8 and 23, Dec. 8, Jan. 6, Feb. 5, Mar. 6, Mar. 11, Jun. 2, Dec. 19 AM 6881 [= AD 1372]), hour, longitude, distance from nodes of new and full Moons; definition of the base of the Moon; notes and expense reports for trips to Rhodes and back to Constantinople, and to Cyprus; f. 100r, incomplete (only the first row of tabulated values is inserted) table of the yearly mean longitude, mean anomaly, and double elongation of the Moon, years AM 6879–6900 [= AD 1371–90]; table (referred to long. 72º) of the mean longitude, mean anomaly, and double elongation of the Moon, for 1 to 10, 20 to 90, 100 to 300 days, 1 year of 365 days and 1 year of 366 days; astrological *thema*; f. 101r, table of the yearly anomaly and apogee of the Sun, years AM 6879–6900 [= AD 1371–90]; table of the anomaly and apogee of the Sun, for 1 to 10, 20 to 90, 100 to 300 days, 1 year of 365 days and 1 year of 366 days; reason for taking (0)0;59,8 as the value of the mean daily motion in longitude of the Sun, with associated tabular computations; f. 101v, tables 2a (hours) and 2b (both incomplete) according to the list in R. Leurquin, La *Tribiblos astronomique* de Théodore Méliténiote (Vat.gr. 792). *Janus* 72 (1985) 257–282: 270–276, as in the manuscript Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 210 (middle of 14th century; *Diktyon* 66841), f. 50r (only the last two columns).

[59] This extract coincides with G. Rhalles – M. Potles, Syntagma tōn theiōn kai hierōn kanonōn kata stoicheion. VI. Athēnai 1859, 404–425 (= *PG* CXLV 65–104) 404–419, 8.

[60] See G.H. Jonker, De textu Bryennii tripartito. *Mnemosyne* 19 (1966) 399–400; G.H. Jonker, Manouēl Bryenniou Harmonika. The Harmonics of Manuel Bryennius. Groningen 1970, 36, 37, 40, 46–47; B. Mondrain, Les écritures dans les manuscrits byzantins du XIVe siècle. Quelques problématiques. *RSBN* 44 (2007) 157–196: 194 and n. 70, who identified a fourth limb in the composite manuscript München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. graec. 489 (*Diktyon* 44937), f. 246r–v and provides references to other manuscripts where the hand of the copyist of Par. gr. 2381 can be found.

[61] See Allard, Maxime Planude, Le grand calcul selon les Indiens. Louvain-la-Neuve 1981, 12–14 (Planudes); Acerbi, Barlaam's Paraphrase, and below for Barlaam; R.B. Todd, Cleomedis Caelestia (Meteora). Leipzig 1990 x (Cleomedes).

[62] See the edition in F. Acerbi, A New Logistic Text of Nicholas Rhabdas. *Byz* 92 (2022) 17–45.

[63] For Pediasimos' scholia, see Caballero Sánchez, El Comentario 139 (stemma) and 165–166. For the Anonymous and Triclinius, see A. Wasserstein, An Unpublished Treatise by Demetrius Triclinius on Lunar Theory. *JOeB* 16 (1967) 153–174 and Acerbi, I problemi aritmetici 136 n. 16 and Testo 2. The excerpts from Psellos' treatise are sects. 1–3 and 21–22 (but other material is added); see G. Redl, La chronologie appliquée de Michel Psellos. *Byz* 4 (1927–28) 197–236, and G.

P[4]. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 2397 (*Diktyon* 52029), 2nd quarter of the 16th century, copyist <Konstantinos Mesobotes>[64]. The *Refutatio*, without a title, is on ff. 1r–7r. Other works in the manuscript: ff. 7v–9v Anonymus, *De astrolabio*; 9v–15r, Nikephoros Gregoras, *De constructione astrolabii*, the so-called version A; 15r–v *scholium Macarii in Gregorae astrolabium*; 19r–27r Ptolemy, *Psephophoria*; 27r–54r Theon of Alexandria, *In Ptolemaei Tabulas Manuales commentarium parvum*; 54r–v *nota astronomica*[65]; 55r–62r *excerpta e Gemini Introductione* (the entire ch. IV, V, XV, III, XVIII); 62r *methodus de radice quadrata*; 62r–100r Proclus, *Hypotyposis*; 100v–103v *notae astronomicae*; 105v–117r John Philoponus, *De usu astrolabii*; 117r–v *notae tres de usu astrolabii*.

Obviously copied from disparate models, P[4] stems from the manuscript Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. T.4.20 (Misc. 258; middle of 14th century; *Diktyon* 47206) as for Theon: TIHON, Le "Petit Commentaire" 81–82 and 75 (stemma). Ptolemy's primer on the *Handy Tables* derives from the manuscript Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 28.7 (2nd half of 14th century, *Diktyon* 16188): HEIBERG, Claudii Ptolemaei II CLXXVII, with the additional evidence of the square root method placed after excerpts from Geminus in both manuscripts. No other edition mentions P[4] or determines its stemmatic position.

V[1]. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Urb. gr. 77 (*Diktyon* 66544), a unitary whole of independent quire sequences[66], 1549–55, copyist <Johannes Franciscus from Candia>[67]. The *Refutatio*, with the standard title, is on ff. 177v–185r; it is preceded on ff. 176v–177v by *Harm*. III 14–16, headed Βαρλαὰμ μοναχοῦ τοῦ Καλαβροῦ τὰ ὑπό τινων προστεθέντα κεφάλεα ταῖς τρισὶ τελευταίαις ἐπιγραφαῖς τοῦ τρίτου τῶν ἁρμονικῶν Πτολεμαίου "by the monk Barlaam of Calabria, chapters appended by someone to the last three titles of the third <book> of Ptolemy's harmonics." Other works

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REDL, La chronologie appliquée de Michel Psellos (suite). *Byz* 5 (1929–30) 229–286. Pediasimos' *Geometria* is published in G. FRIEDLEIN, Die Geometrie des Pediasimus. Programm Ansbach 1866.

64 See A. TIHON, Le "Petit Commentaire" de Théon d'Alexandrie aux Tables Faciles de Ptolémée (*StT* 282). Città del Vaticano 1978, 68–69. On the copyist, see *RGK* I 224, II 315 (identification in this manuscript), III 363; S. MARTINELLI TEMPESTA, Alcune riflessioni sulla produzione scritta di Costantino Mesobote da codici Ambrosiani, in: Griechisch-byzantinische Handschriftenforschung, hrsg. von C. Brockmann – D. Deckers – D. Harlfinger – S. Valente. Berlin – Boston 2020, 215–232. The editions of the works contained in this manuscript are as follows: Anonymus, A. DELATTE, Anecdota Atheniensia et alia. Tome II. Textes grecs relatifs à l'histoire des sciences. Liège – Paris 1939, 254–262; Gregoras and scholium Macarii, C. JARRY, Nicéphore Grégoras, Isaac Argyros, Deux traités byzantins de construction de l'astrolabe. Paris 2021; Ptolemy, HEIBERG, Claudii Ptolemaei II 159–185; Theon, TIHON, Le "Petit Commentaire"; Geminus, J. AUJAC, Géminos, Introduction aux Phénomènes. Paris 1975; Proclus, C. MANITIUS, Procli Diadochi Hypotyposis Astronomicarum Positionum. Leipzig 1909; *methodus*, J.L. HEIBERG, Kleine Anecdota zur byzantinischen Mathematik. *Zeitschrift für Mathematik und Physik. Historisch-literarische Abtheilung* 33 (1888) 161–170: 164; *notae tres*, JARRY, Jean Philopon 49–50.

65 The *notae astronomicae* on ff. 54r–v, 100v–103v, and 117r–v are nos. 22, 16, 30, 79, 21, 13, 1, 39 in the list of TIHON, Le "Petit Commentaire" 359–369.

66 This is borne out by the composition, kindly determined by Francesco Valerio on our request (the production units are separated by a vertical bar): 1^{12} (12) | 4^{8} (44) | 7^{8} (100) 1^{4} (104) | 7^{8} (160) 1^{4} (164) | 1^{8} (172) 1^{12} (184) 1^{4} (188) | 2^{8} (204) | 7^{8} (260) 1^{2} (262) | 1^{8} (270) | 1^{10} (280) | 2^{8} (296) | 1^{8} (304) 1^{6} (310) | 1^{1} 1^{2} 1^{4} 1^{1} (318) 4^{8} (350) 1^{2} (352). Despite its composition, the quire made of ff. 311–318 does not exhibit any textual perturbations.

67 See C. STORNAJOLO, Codices Urbinates Graeci Bibliothecae Vaticanae. Romae 1895, 103–106; MATHIESEN, Ancient Greek Music Theory no. 255. For the copyist (but f. 185r appears to be in a different hand), see *RGK* I 188 (identification in this manuscript), II 247, III 312; R.S. STEFEC, Die griechische Bibliothek des Angelo Vadio da Rimini. *RHM* 54 (2012) 95–184: 101–102 n. 32. The editions of the works contained in this manuscript are as follows: for most of them, see already VON JAN, Musici; Cleonides, J. SOLOMON, Cleonides: Eisagōgē harmonikē; Critical Edition, Translation, and Commentary. PhD Thesis, University of North Carolina 1980; Euclid, A. BARBERA, The Euclidean Division of the Canon. Greek and Latin Sources. Lincoln (NE) – London 1991; Aristoxenus, R. DA RIOS, Aristoxeni Elementa Harmonica. Roma 1954, and R. WESTPHAL, Aristoxenos von Tarent. Melik und Rhythmik des classischen Hellenenthums. II. Band. Leipzig 1893, 68–95; Aristides Quintilianus, R.P. WINNINGTON-INGRAM, Aristidis Quintiliani De Musica libri tres. Lipsiae 1963; Dionysios, Ch. TERZĒS, Dionisiou technē mousikē: kritikē ekdosē. Athēna 2008; Mesomedes; *Anonymus Bellermann*, D. NAJOCK, Anonyma De Musica scripta Bellermanniana. Lipsiae 1975.

in the manuscript: ff. 1r–7v [Euclid] *immo* <Cleonides>, *Introductio harmonica*; 8r–12r Euclid, *Sectio canonis*; 13r–39r Aristoxenus, *Elementa harmonica* I–III; 39r–43r Aristoxenus, *Elementa rhythmica* II 1–36; 45r–102v Ptolemy, *Harmonica* I–III 14 (*des*. 109, 11 Düring); 105r–163r Porphyry, *In Ptolemaei Harmonica I 1–4* (*des*. 90, 5 düring); 165v–174v Nikomachos, *Harmonicum encheiridion*; 174v–176r Maximus Planudes, *excerpta ex commentario Macrobii in Somnium Scipionis graece verso*; 189r–192v Theon of Smyrna, *Expositio* (46, 20–57, 6 Hiller); 193r–201r [Pappus] *immo* <Cleonides>, *Introductio harmonica*; 205r–261v Aristides Quintilianus, *De musica*; 263r–268r Bacchius the Elder, *Ars harmonica*; 268r–270v [Bacchius the Elder] *immo* Dionysios, *Ars harmonica*; 272r–v Mesomedes *Hymna tria*; 273v–280r *Anonymus Bellermann* 1–82, 105; 280v [Ptolemy], *Harmonica* III 16; 281r–294r Alypius, *Introductio harmonica*; 297r–307v Gaudentius, *Introductio harmonica*; 311r–352r Theon of Smyrna, *Expositio* (*des*. 119, 21 Hiller).

Almost all models of this manuscript have been identified; the exception is the first version of Cleonides; the second version seems to be copied from the manuscript Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. gr. 265 (1535–63; copyist <Johannes Honorios>; *Diktyon* 64811): J. SOLOMON, Vaticanus gr. 2338 and the Eisagōgē harmonikē. *Philologus* 127 (1983) 247–253: 249 and 253 (stemma). The models are Marc. gr. Z. 322 for Euclid: BARBERA, The Euclidean Division 77 and 78 (stemma); the manuscript Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 191 (*c*. 1270; *Diktyon* 66822; on this manuscript see F. ACERBI – A. GIOFFREDA, Manoscritti scientifici della prima età paleologa in scrittura arcaizzante. *Scripta* 12 [2019] 9–52 *passim*) for Aristoxenus' *Elementa harmonica*: DA RIOS, Aristoxeni Elementa Harmonica LXXXVII–LXXXIX and CVI (stemma); Neap. III.C.3 (our witness N) for Ptolemy and Porphyry: DÜRING, Die Harmonielehre LIV and LXIX (stemma), and DÜRING, Porphyrios Kommentar XIX–XX and XXIX (stemma), and for Nikomachos: DI MAMBRO, Nicomaco, sect. II.3.2; the manuscript Neap. III.C.4 (middle of 14th century; once one and the same manuscript with Neap. III.C.3) for Aristides Quintilianus: WINNINGTON-INGRAM, Aristidis Quintiliani XII, for Dionysios: TERZĒS, Dionisiou technē mousikē LX and LXVII (stemma), for Mesomedes: E. HEITSCH, Die Mesomedes-Überlieferung (*Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-Historiche Klasse* 1959, 3). Göttingen 1959, 43, and for the *Anonymus Bellermann*: NAJOCK, Anonyma De Musica X and XIX (stemma). For V^1 stemming from the two Naples manuscripts, see already VON JAN, Musici LXXVI.

V. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 187 (*Diktyon* 66818), middle of 14th century, one single copyist for the entire manuscript[68]. The *Refutatio*, with the title Βαρλαὰμ μοναχοῦ καὶ φιλοσόφου λόγος ἀνασκευαστικὸς εἰς τὰ κτλ. "by the monk and philosopher Barlaam, refutation discourse of the, etc.", is on ff. 71r–81v; it is preceded on ff. 69r–71r by *Harm*. III 14–16, in continuity with Ptolemy's treatise but headed τὰ ὑπό τινων προστεθέντα κεφάλαια ταῖς τρισὶ τελευταίαις ἐπιγραφαῖς τοῦ τρίτου τῶν ἁρμονικῶν Πτολεμαίου "chapters appended by someone to the last three titles of the third <book> of Ptolemy's harmonics." Other works in the manuscript: ff. 2r–71r Ptolemy, *Harmonica* I–III 16; 82r–161r Porphyry, *In Ptolemaei Harmonica I* (*des*. 150, 22 Düring); 162r–214r Barlaam, *Logistikē* I–VI; 214v–220r Barlaam, *Demonstratio*; 220r–223r Barlaam, *De eclipsi* I; 223r–227v Barlaam, *De eclipsi* II (incomplete); 228r–v Barlaam, *De paschate* (fragm.)[69].

V is a copy of Monac. gr. 361a as for Ptolemy, and an independent witness of Porphyry: DÜRING, Die Harmonielehre LIV–LVI and LXIX (stemma) and DÜRING, Porphyrios Kommentar XX–XXI and XXIX (stemma). The

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[68] Descriptions of this manuscript and of the subsequent two items are found in G. MERCATI – P. FRANCHI DE' CAVALIERI, Codices Vaticani graeci. Codices 1–329. Romae 1923, 217–218, 218–219, and 232–233; see also MATHIESEN, Ancient Greek Music Theory nos. 211, 212, and 217. Vat. gr. 187 and 188 were owned by Angelo Colocci: G. CARDINALI, Il profeta e il monsignore: quarantasette nuovi manoscritti (e tredici nuovi stampati) di Angelo Colocci nella Vaticana e alla Nazionale di Parigi, in: Libri, scritture e testi greci. Giornata di studio in ricordo di Mons. Paul Canart (*StT* 554), a cura di C. Pasini – F. D'Aiuto. Città del Vaticano 2022, 259–334: 285–287.

[69] *De eclipsi* II *des*. *mut*. MOGENET – TIHON – DONNET, Barlaam 76 line 269 ἀπὸ τῆς; *De paschate inc*. *mut*. TIHON, Barlaam 378 sect. 26 πανσελήνους.

editions of *Logistikē*, *Demonstratio*, *De eclipsi* I and II confirm that V stems from M; however, the editors of *De eclipsi* I and II give reasons to posit a further witness between M and V: MOGENET – TIHON – DONNET, Barlaam 40–44.

V^2. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 188 (*Diktyon* 66819), 2nd quarter of 16th century, copyist <Michael Rhosaitos>[70]. The *Refutatio*, with the standard title, is on ff. 49v–53v (*des*. 175 ἤτοι ἐν ᾧ τόπῳ); it is preceded on ff. 48r–49r by *Harm*. III 14–16, in continuity with Ptolemy's treatise but headed τὰ ὑπό τινων προστεθέντα κεφάλαια ταῖς τρισὶ τελευταίαις ἐπιγραφαῖς τοῦ τρίτου τῶν ἁρμονικῶν Πτολεμαίου "chapters appended by someone to the last three titles of the third <book> of Ptolemy's harmonics." Other works in the manuscript: ff. 1r–49r Ptolemy, *Harmonica* I–III 16.

The *Refutatio* ends at the same point as in our witness V^3. V^2 is a copy of V^3 as for Ptolemy: DÜRING, Die Harmonielehre XXXIV–XXXV, XXXVI, LVI, and LXIX (stemma).

V^3. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 196 (*Diktyon* 66827), composite but of unitary conception, 1st half of 14th century, several copyists[71]. The *Refutatio*, with the standard title, is on ff. 74r–77r (*des*. 175 ἤτοι ἐν ᾧ τόπῳ); it is preceded on ff. 73r–74v by *Harm*. III 14–16, in continuity with Ptolemy's treatise but added by a different hand (the same as the *Refutatio*) and headed τὰ ὑπό τινων προστεθέντα κεφάλαια ταῖς τρισὶ τελευταίαις ἐπιγραφαῖς τοῦ τρίτου τῶν ἁρμονικῶν Πτολεμαίου "chapters appended by someone to the last three titles of the third <book> of Ptolemy's harmonics." Other works in the manuscript: ff. 1r–30v Nikomachos, *Introductio arithmetica* I–II; 31r–73r Ptolemy, *Harmonica* I–III 14 (*des*. 109, 11 Düring); 78r–229v Euclid, *Elements* I–XII, without diagrams from X 7 (f. 163r) on.

The *Refutatio* ends at the same points as in our witness V^2. V^3 is a copy of Monac. gr. 361a as for Ptolemy: DÜRING, Die Harmonielehre XXXVI, LVI, and LXIX (stemma). B. Vitrac shows that, as for the *Elements*, V^3 is a copy of the manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 2466 (3rd quarter of 12th century; *Diktyon* 68385) from f. 149 (beginning of *Elem*. VIII 10) on[72].

v. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1756 (*Diktyon* 68385), composite, end of 16th – beginning of 17th century, copyist <Alvise Lollino>[73]. The *Refutatio*, with title ἀνασκευὴ εἰς τὰ προστεθέντα τρία κεφάλαια "refutation of the three added chapters", is on ff. 158r–167v; it is preceded on ff. 156r–158r by *Harm*. III 14–16, headed τὰ ὑπό τινων προστεθέντα κεφάλαια ταῖς τρισὶ τελευταίαις ἐπιγραφαῖς τοῦ τρίτου τῶν ἁρμονικῶν Πτολεμαίου "by the monk Barlaam of Calabria, the chapters appended by someone to the last three titles of the third <book> of Ptolemy's harmonics." Other works in the manuscript: ff. 1r–88v Bessarion, *Opera theologica quinque*; 89r–127v

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[70] For this copyist, see *RGK* II 391, III 467 (identification in this manuscript).

[71] The composition of V^3 is as follows (the production units are separated by a vertical bar): 3^8 (24) 1^{8-1} (30a) (no original quire numbers) | 5^8 (70) 1^{8-1} (77) (original quire numbers α′–ς′) | 5^8 (117) 1^{10-1} (126) 1^8 (134) 1^{8-1} (141) 1^{8-1} (148) 10^8 (228) (original quire numbers α′–ιθ′) 1^2 (231, including 229a). The hand that copied the *Refutatio* is found on ff. 1r–12v, 73r11–75v20, 76r–98r21 αὐτὰ δὴ, 137r–142v (D. BIANCONI, Tessalonica nell'età dei Paleologi. Le pratiche intellettuali nel riflesso della cultura scritta [*Dossiers byzantins* 5]. Paris 2005, 134 n. 51); a different hand is at work in the last thirteen lines of f. 75v.

[72] See B. VITRAC, A propos de l'histoire du texte des *Éléments* d'Euclide : Préalables à une nouvelle édition critique. 2022. hal-03328161 version 2 Annexe 10G (https://shs.hal.science/hal-03328161/; accessed 10-01-2024)

[73] A detailed description of this manuscript is found in P. CANART, Codices Vaticani graeci. Codices 1745–1962. I–II. In Bibliotheca Vaticana 1970–73 I 54–62. Nine hands are engaged in the copy; one of these copyists is Maximus Margounios, who also penned Mosq. Mus. Hist gr. 315 (our witness m). On Lollino, see P. CANART, Alvise Lollino et ses amis grecs. *Studi Veneziani* 12 (1970) 553–587; P. CANART, Les Vaticani Graeci 1487–1962. Notes et documents pour l'histoire d'un fonds de manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Vaticane (*StT* 284). Città del Vaticano 1979, *passim* and in particular 41–78.

epistulae variorum, praesertim Bessarionis et Plethonis; 129r–142v *excerpta ex Aristotelis HA a Plethone collecta*; 145r–146r Theodoros Gaza, *epistula ad fratres Andronicum et Demetrium*; 148r–153r Barlaam, *De eclipsi* II; 169r–170v Vicellius, *Seismologium*; 171r–177v Libanius, *Declamatio XXVI*; 179v–189v Barlaam, *Logistikē* I[74]; 190r–192v Barlaam, *ex epistulis excerpta* (EG 3, 4, 8, 1, 3)[75]; 195r–204r Barlaam, *Demonstratio*; 207r–223r Barlaam *epistulae duo* (EG 2–3); 231r–278v *Operae quinque ad hesychasticam controversiam pertinentia*; 279r–294r Barlaam, *epistula ad Gregorium Palamam* (EG 1); 295r–297r Barlaam, *De paschate* (compendium); 298r–306v Barlaam, *epistulae quinque* (EG 5–8, 4); 307r–346r Demetrios Cydones, *De processione Spiritus Sancti*[76]; 347r–348v; Demetrios Cydones, *De processione Spiritus Sancti ad amicum* (incomplete); 350r–352r Hippolytus, *De universo* (fragm.).

Lollino, who copied Barlaam's works that precede the *Demonstratio*, notes on ff. 191v–192r that the model of the excerpted letters also contains, in this order, Barlaam, *Logistikē* I–VI, *Demonstratio*, *De paschate*, *Refutatio*, *De eclipsi* I and II. The only manuscripts that fit this description are Mosq. Mus. Hist. gr. 315 (our witness m, copied by Maximus Margounios, who was also engaged in the copy of Vat. gr. 1756) and Marc. gr. Z. 332 (M); M, m, and v are also the only witnesses that contain Barlaam's letters. The editions of *Logistikē*, *Demonstratio*, *De paschate*, *De eclipsi* I and II confirm that v is a direct copy of M.

M. Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, gr. Z. 332 (coll. 643; *Diktyon* 69803), watermark range 1335–38, Barlaam's copyist II[77]. The *Refutatio*, with the standard title, is on ff. 73r–85r; it is preceded on ff. 73r–74v by Ptolemy, *Harm*. III 14–16, headed τὰ ὑπό τινων προστεθέντα κεφάλαια ταῖς τρισὶ τελευταίαις ἐπιγραφαῖς τοῦ τρίτου τῶν ἁρμονικῶν Πτολεμαίου "chapters added by someone to the last three titles of the third <book> of Ptolemy's harmonics." Other works in the manuscript: ff. 1r–61r Barlaam, *Logistikē* I–VI; 61v–67r Barlaam, *Demonstratio*; 67r–71v Barlaam, *De paschate*; 85r–140v Barlaam, *epistulae octo* (EG 4–8, 1–3); 142r–145v Barlaam, *De eclipsi* I; 146r–152v Barlaam, *De eclipsi* II; 153r–v *scholium de cyclo lunari et computationes astronomicae*.

As is well known[78], M contains Barlaam's edition of some of his own writings; he did not copy the manuscript himself, but he revised it. M is the prototype of the entire tradition as for the *Demonstratio*, *De paschate*, *De eclipsi* I and II, and the *Letters*; it is the prototype of most of the tradition as for the *Logistikē*.

THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE MANUSCRIPT WITNESSES OF THE *REFUTATIO*

Establishing the relationships between the manuscript witnesses of the *Refutatio* is eased by a number of facts: Barlaam's scientific writings were often copied as a corpus; all of these writings have been published in a critical edition; these editions reconstruct one and the same stemma for all witnesses the edited works share; in all these stemmas, Marc. gr. Z. 332, whose text was revised by Barlaam himself, is the prototype of the entire tradition. With one exception, our edition confirms

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[74] The proemium is missing, the correct folio order is 180–181, 186, 184–185, 182, 187–189 (no folio is numbered 183), see CARELOS, Barlaam XLII.

[75] See FYRIGOS, Dalla controversia palamitica 29–32.

[76] See M. RACKL, Die ungedruckte Verteidigungsschrift des Demetrios Kydones für Thomas von Aquin gegen Neilos Kabasilas. *Divus Thomas* 2nd series 7 (1920) 303–317.

[77] This copyist is responsible for ff. 1r–140v of Marc. gr. Z. 332 and ff. 191r–290r of Ambr. E 76 sup.; ff. 142r–152v of Marc. gr. Z. 332 were copied by Barlaam's copyist I; f. 153r–v is entirely in Barlaam's hand: GIOFFREDA, Su scrittura. On this manuscript, see E. MIONI, Bibliothecae Divi Marci Venetiarum codices graeci manuscripti. Volumen II. Thesaurus Antiquus. Codices 300–625. Roma 1985, 60–61; MATHIESEN, Ancient Greek Music Theory no. 265.

[78] See MOGENET – TIHON – DONNET, Barlaam 46–49; FYRIGOS, Dalla controversia palamitica 23–24, 43; TIHON, Barlaam 363, 408–410; ACERBI, Barlaam's Paraphrase 24–31; GIOFFREDA, Su scrittura.

all the family relations between manuscript witnesses that were established in the critical editions of Barlaam's scientific works. However, organising the tradition of the *Refutatio* will prove tricky.

The tradition of the *Refutatio* is rooted in Marc. gr. Z. 332 (M) as its prototype; it comprises four families and two copies of M that were not further copied. These two isolated copies are Mosq. Mus. Hist. gr. 315 (m) and Vat. gr. 1756 (v). The four families are led by Ambr. E 76 sup. (A), whose copy is Ambr. R 117 sup. (L); by Neap. III.C.3 (N), whose copy is Vat. Urb. gr. 77 (V^1); by the common ancestor of Vat. gr. 187 (V) and Vat. gr. 196 (V^3), a copy of the latter being Vat. gr. 188 (V^2); and by Par. gr. 2381 (P^1), whose copy is Oxon. New College 299 (O^2), whose independent copies are Par. gr. 2397 (P^4) and Leid. B.P.G. 16D (L^1), a copy of the latter being Leid. Periz. Q° 22 (L^2). Oxon. Bodl. Savile 1 (O^1) contains only a very short Latin summary of the *Refutatio*, but its stemmatic position can be reasonably guessed on the grounds of the contents of the manuscript. Franz's 1840 edition was based on Neap. III.C.3 (N), as the editor himself states[79].

The variant readings we call "characteristic" or "peculiar" are the *Leitfehler* and are not shared by other (families of) manuscript witnesses. The variant readings of any witness are listed by taking the text of its model as a reference; accordingly, we shall sometimes omit pointing out that the witness under scrutiny reproduces all innovations of its model. If a manuscript carries characteristic readings, the minor variant readings it exhibits are listed in reduced font size; these minor variant readings are categorised by the kind of innovation. The following features are not recorded among the variant readings: presence or absence of elision and of movable *ny* and *sigma*; use of standard symbols; differences in spelling (like οὐδὲ μίαν vs. οὐδεμίαν), accent, and punctuation; writing numerals by means of numeral letters or by spelling them in full. All variant readings are identified by the number of the line in which they occur.

The ancestor of the tradition: Marc. gr. Z. 332 (M)

The copy of the *Refutatio* in Marc. gr. Z. 332 (M) is not flawless. There are six mistakes: 43 τὰς^2 248 αὐτοῖς 274 AHB 277 AΓ 278 ABΓ; a second, wrong letter Θ (*lege* K) in the diagram (the problems with lettering are noteworthy)[80]. There is also a misspelling: 52 διορίσθω. Note also the possible lapse 119 διαστάσει (which we do not correct) and the correction at 147 διπλασιεπιδιτρίτῳ. Seventeen other corrections, nearly half of which are words written above the line, were made by the main hand.

The family of Ambr. E 76 sup. (A) and Ambr. R 117 sup. (L)

Ambr. E 76 sup. (A) is a fairly correct copy of Marc. gr. Z. 332 (M). Taking the text of Marc. gr. Z. 332 (M) as a reference, its innovations are 22 ὑπάρχειν (very likely a misreading of the compendium in M) 55 ἢ] ἡ 86 κατομαῖς 92 σχημάτων 100 λογιστικῆς (but λογικῆς after correction in M) 111 ἀπέδωκεν 133–134 τὸ πεπερασμένον (note also the subsequent τῷ corrected from τὸ) 151 τοιοῦτον 219 ἀριθμοὺς 237 ἀριθὸς 272 ΔΓ ἐλάβωμεν (but ΔΓΕ λάβωμεν after correction in M) 277 om. τοῦ (written above the line in M) 292 om. τῶν^2 300 ἑξοῖς, and the omission of the diagram. Note also the capital letter in red at the beginning of line 79. If we exclude M, Ambr. E 76 sup. is the earliest manuscript of the *Refutatio*: it cannot be a copy of any extant witness apart from M. The readings listed above and the discussions in the editions of the *Demonstratio*, of *De eclipsi* I and II, and of the *Logistikē* show that Ambr. E 76 sup. is a copy of Marc. gr. Z. 332[81].

Ambr. R 117 sup. (L) reproduces almost all readings of Ambr. E 76 sup.; its restorations are 86 κατατομαῖς 219 ἀριθμὸς 237 ἀριθμὸς. L is a very good copy of A; excluding the restorations just listed, the innovations of L with respect to A are 24 διήλεκται 26 γινομένων 30 ἐπισκέψασθαι 97

[79] Franz, De musicis graecis 11. Barlaam's text is preceded on 12–14 by *Harm*. III 14–16, headed by the standard title.

[80] The diagrams found in a number of witnesses are reproduced in the Iconographic Complement at the end of this paper.

[81] See Mogenet – Tihon – Donnet, Barlaam 22–24; Carelos, Barlaam lvi–lviii; Acerbi, Barlaam's Paraphrase 24–25.

bis τοῦτο καὶ 99 τίνων] τόνων 104 τὴν] τὸν 140 om. καὶ 145 δὶς] διὸ 166 μουσικὸν] μουσικὴν 178 ἐπαγαγὴν 221 ἀποιεῖμαι 233 τῇ[1]] τῶν 240 τὴν[2]] τῇ 245 ὁμοιότητος] ὁμοιότητα 264 ἐπιζεύχθω 320 ἀπαγγέλων.

The family of Neap. III.C.3 (N) and Vat. Urb. gr. 77 (V^1)

Neap. III.C.3 (N) and Vat. gr. 187 (V) raise an interesting methodological problem, which we shall tackle in the following subsection. Taking the text of Marc. gr. Z. 332 (M) as a reference, the innovations of N are the restorations 52 διωρίσθω 248 αὐταῖς 274 AKB 277 AΓB 278 AΓB and letter K in the diagram (that is, N corrects almost all mistakes of M), the mistakes 28 τὸ[2]] τὸν 62 om. γὰρ 66 τεμνομένῳ 85 ἁρμονιῶν 90 τὰ] τὸ 104 δεῖ] δὴ 107 παρέσχε 136 ποιήσοιε 137 δόξῃ 146 om. τῶν 147 and 149 μέσον 182 τῷ[1]] τὸ 197 ἐπαγγελομένου 204 παραλειφθέντες 227 συσχηματισμοῖς 227 τῶν ἀριθμῶν 228 πάντα] τἄλλα (shared with V) 232 παραβαλομένου 239 διάμετρος 247 ἐπαγγελομένου 287 om. τοῦ 320 ἀπαγγέλων 328 λέγομεν, the variants 213 τασσομένου (shared with V) 222 τοιοῦτον, and the inversion 97 καὶ τοῦτο.

Vat. Urb. gr. 77 (V^1) is an obvious copy of Neap. III.C.3: reading 2 πρῶτον in V^1 for the compendium α^{χ} (= μοναχοῦ) in N already suggests that we are on the right track. V^1 reproduces all innovations of its model, sometimes elaborating on the mistake (147 and 149 μέσην). V^1 is a careless copy; the copyist was unable to follow Barlaam's argument (103 ἐξαρκεῖ] ἐκ σαρκὶ may suffice), was frequently unable to decipher N's script, had lost contact with the phonological system of ancient Greek (recall 1 κεφάλεα), and seems to take naps from time to time (trivial mistakes tend to cluster). Misspellings and syntagms supplied in the margins abound. The main variant readings of V^1 with respect to N are the omissions 6 τε καὶ ἁρμονικαῖς 14 καὶ τῶν 67 ἢ εἰς τόσα 278 ἢν 314 ἂν 319 τε. We refrain from listing the other innovations.

The family of Vat. gr. 187 (V), Vat. gr. 196 (V^3), and Vat. gr. 188 (V^2)

Vat. gr. 187 (V) was copied shortly after the composition of Barlaam's work. Its text is characterised by the variant 1–2 Βαρλαὰμ μοναχοῦ καὶ φιλοσόφου λόγος ἀνασκευαστικὸς — ἁρμονικῶν. Note also the interventions of the first hand 111 ἀποδέδωκεν] ἀπο– e corr., 228 μεταβάλοι] –λάβοι corr. s.l. m.1, and 235 μεταβληθέντος] –ληφθ– corr. s.l. m.1, and the reading 200 οὐδενὸς γὰρ] οὐδεν {sp. 3 litt}, pointing to a quirk in the model. Other variant readings are as follows.

Restorations. 52 διωρίσθω 248 αὐταῖς 274 AKB 277 AB 278 AB *Omissions*. 3 δὲ 67 εἰς[3] 150 λόγον 110 πρὸς ἀλλήλους 287 τοῦ *Mistakes*. 20 ἁρμονικοῖς 37 ἰδίαν] οἰκείαν 67 ρκ] ρ 68 ὁποιοῦν 105 τὰς] τὰ 142 ρπ πρὸς τὸν ξ 151 τὸν] τὸ 165 ὁποίας 180 ἐπόντα 198 ἀριθμητικοὺς 228 πάντα] τἄλλα (shared with N) 242 τὴν μὲν, τῇ ὑπάτῃ 257–258 δ' ἔτι 271 ἔσθω 272 σημείῳ 287 αὐτῷ 311 ἐπηγάγετο *Additions*. 12 τοῦ Πτολεμαίου 94 ἐν οἷς καὶ 275 ἔσονται αἱ *Dittographies*. 274 τούτου *Variants*. 30 ἐπισκέψασθαι 35 ἴσχει] ἔχει 56 ἐπειδὴ 103 οὐδὲ 132 ἐστὶν] εἰσὶν 213 τασσομένου (shared with N)

The main feature of V's text is that it corrects five mistakes in the text of Marc. gr. Z. 332, but not the wrong lettering of the diagram.

Vat. gr. 187 shares several—and crucial—variant readings with Vat. gr. 196 (V^3). The latter is characterised by the fact of ending abruptly, at the beginning of the ninth line of a page, with 175 ἤτοι ἐν ᾧ τόπῳ. The characteristic readings shared by Vat. gr. 196 and Vat. gr. 187 are as follows (note that none of the restorations is shared).

Omissions. 3 δὲ 110 πρὸς ἀλλήλους *Mistakes*. 20 ἁρμονικοῖς 37 ἰδίαν] οἰκείαν 67 ρκ] ρ 68 ὁποιοῦν *Additions*. 12 τοῦ Πτολεμαίου 94 ἐν οἷς καὶ *Variants*. 30 ἐπισκέψασθαι

These conjunctive readings are formalised in a hyparchetype. Additional innovations of Vat. gr. 196 are as follows.

Omissions. 145 δὲ *Mistakes*. 31 συμπτώματι 101 κεφάλεα 108 ἐνεργηκωτάτους 111 παραδέδωκεν (recall the correction in V) 147 διπλασιεπιτρίτῳ 165–166 τὸ δὲ, ὁ Πτολεμαῖος *Additions*. 139 δὲ καὶ

No codicologically conspicuous feature of Marc. gr. Z. 332 or of Vat. gr. 187 (V) helps explain why the text in Vat. gr. 196 (V^3) breaks off where it does. We conclude that this relates to a feature of the hyparchetype—most likely, a loss of folios that occurred between the copying of V and the copying of V^3. This also entails that we may identify the hyparchetype with a lost manuscript[82]. The presence of a lost manuscript from which Vat. gr. 187 derives confirms the conclusion drawn by the editors of *De eclipsi* I and II on the sole basis of the kinds of mistakes occurring in the Vatican manuscript.

Let us now tackle the methodological problem we have alluded to above. As the text in Marc. gr. Z. 332 (M) is not flawless, and as Neap. III.C.3 (N) and Vat. gr. 187 (V) do not carry M's mistakes but they contribute several innovations of their own, these three witnesses exhibit nearly disjoint sets of innovations. The genealogical method would seemingly force us to organise M, N, and V as independent witnesses of a stemma without an archetype[83]; this contradictis the stemma whose structure we are explaining. In fact, a sensible application of the genealogical method is here required. First, let's free ourselves from the myth of the "best text": an "original" may contain mistakes[84]. Second, correcting M's mistakes is very easy (although they were not so obvious to all copyists): for a misspelling is just a misspelling; 248 αὐτοῖς does not find any masculine or neuter referent in the preceding clauses; the three lettering mistakes in the text are exposed by the mathematical context; a diagram with two letters Θ cries out for revenge. Third, the two mistakes whose correction is not univocal are amended in different ways by N and V: 277 ΑΓΒ 278 ΑΓΒ (which we adopt) versus 277 AB 278 AB, respectively. Fourth, the lettering of the diagram is restored in N only. Fifth, 52 διορίσθω is also corrected in Par. gr. 2381 (P^1). Sixth, 52 διορίσθω in M is not corrected in Vat. gr. 196 (V^3), which strongly suggests that V (partly) corrects on its own initiative. Seventh, Barlaam's other works in V derive, directly or indirectly, from M. These seven facts make us believe that the most economical explanation of the *varia lectio* is the one we adopt: M is a prototype that contains mistakes; N, V, and partly P^1, correct them independently. The issue is complicated by the two innovations shared by N and V: if 213 τασσομένου is a polygenetic trifle, 228 πάντα] τἄλλα is no trifle, even if it might be polygenetic and it makes the resulting designator τἄλλα τὰ περιττά asyntactic. We shall resist using this mistake as the sole basis for positing a hyparchetype above N and the hyparchetype VV^3. Likewise, we do not make the lettering mistake in the diagram separate N from the rest of the tradition, thereby grouping the latter under the umbrella of a hyparchetype. There is really no point in multiplying hyparchetypes on the basis of a single shared innovation, when a more economical stemma explains the same *varia lectio*.

Vat. gr. 188 (V^2) is a copy of Vat. gr. 196 (V^3); the text of the former ends exactly where the text of the latter ends, and this suffices to prove the filiation. V^2 also inherits all innovations of V^3. A characteristic innovation of V^2 is the omission of 36–37 τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις — οἰκείως. The other variant readings of V^2 with respect to V^3 are as follows.

Restorations. 52 διωρίσθω *Omissions*. 121 γὰρ *Mistakes*. 3 ὑμᾶς 15 ἔκτινα 24 προσκαιδεκάτου 32 τοινῶν 35 ἔσχει 37 ἔχει 76 ἐνελλιπῶς 83 διπλασίωνι 84 διπλάσιον 99 λόγος] μόγος 101 ὑποθέσεις 101 ἐπίγαγέ 104

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[82] This remark is not idle: see the discussion in F. Acerbi, Editing Scientific Texts. Lessons from Greek and Byzantine Textual Traditions. *The Vatican Library Review* 2 (2023) 121–144. This paper also explains the underpinnings of the discussion in the next paragraph.

[83] There would be no archetype because no innovation is shared by the entire tradition. The reading 43 τὰς^2 is shared by the entire tradition, but we correct it hesitatingly.

[84] This is very frequently the case if the author is Byzantine: see F. Acerbi, Riscrivere Tolomeo a Bisanzio. Concezione ed appropriazione delle *Tabulae Novae* di Isacco Argiro. *Bollettino dei Classici* 44 (2023) 1–112.

ὁμηότητος 106 διαμέτρων (διαμέτρῳ[[ν]] V^3) 112 φάσεων 126 ἀνάφορος 132 ὅμοιο 167 πραγματίαν *Dittographies*. 93–94 καὶ τετραγωνίζουσι· καὶ ἐξαγωνίζουσι *Variants*. 103 οὐδὲν μίαν 138 ἔγνωκεν

The family of Par. gr. 2381 (P^1), Oxon. New College 299 (O^2), Par. gr. 2397 (P^4), Leid. B.P.G. 16D (L^1), and Leid. Periz. Q° 22 (L^2)

This family presents an interesting state of affairs. The learned scholar who penned Par. gr. 2381 (P^1) made systematic use of abbreviations, compendia, and signs of all kinds. His system is consistent and most of the time unambiguous, yet it requires time and care to be mastered. His copy of the *Refutatio* is quite correct; he sensibly amended the text; less frequently, he committed a mistake. Shortly after its making, the *Refutatio* in P^1 was copied in Oxon. New College 299 (O^2). Confronted with a text bristling with abbreviations, the copyist of O^2 decided to reproduce it conformally (one shared omission shows that the two witnesses are genealogically linked; three omissions in O^2 only make the filiation direction obvious); when he did not do that, Barlaam's original text got modified more often than not. Somewhere between the middle of the 16th century and 1651, the folio containing the last third of the *Refutatio* was torn out from O^2. Before that time span, O^2 was copied (the three characteristic omissions included) by Konstantinos Mesobotes in Par. gr. 2397 (P^4); in 1651, an irremediably defective O^2 was copied in Leid. B.P.G. 16D (L^1) by Gerard Langbaine the Elder. Both copyists decided to resolve all abbreviations and signs. The outcome is acceptable in the latter case; it is a real disaster in the former case. Mesobotes' copy is so bad as not to allow us to get a likely picture of the last third of the *Refutatio* as it was reproduced in O^2.

Before setting out the variant readings of the above-mentioned witnesses, let us point out that a lesson of method can be drawn from the overabundant *varia lectio* associated with this family. The lesson to be drawn is as follows: whenever a text passes through a stage of copying in which abbreviations are used systematically, the *exact* reading of well-defined parts of the original text may be beyond recovery. This happens whenever equally acceptable readings correspond to one and the same abbreviated word or syntagm. As most, if not all, Greek mathematical and astronomical texts have passed through at least one stage of copying in which abbreviations were systematically used[85], we must come to terms with the fact that the exact *dictum* of all of, say, Euclid's *Elements* cannot in principle be recovered. A typical example are the competing forms of Χπλασίων vs. Χπλάσιος: the former is used in Marc. gr. Z. 332, the latter in Oxon. New College 299 and in its copies, which resolved in this way the ambiguous abbreviations $Χπ^{λ\cdot}$ occurring in Par. gr. 2381. Replying that this sounds trifling (as in fact it is) just confirms that the philology of Greek and Byzantine mathematical texts may not be interested in the *exact* reading of the "original". Conversely, this phenomenon corroborates the contention that conservative textual criticism is the only sensible stance on editing technical texts[86].

Let us start with Par. gr. 2381 (P^1). Its characteristic reading is the omission 136–137 εἴ τις — παραβολὴν. Note also the reading 84 /συν\τεθεῖσαν, where the preverbal συν is most unusually written below the line. Other innovations are as follows (we take it that most of the variant readings are deliberate corrections; we categorise them accordingly).

Restorations. 52 διωρίσθω *Corrections*. 4 τινων] τινος 24 διαλέξασθαι 30 ἐπισκέψασθαι 58 ὡς] ὅτι 59 συμβαίνειν 138 παραβάλλειν 172 ἀριθμητὰ (but marg. μήπο [!] ὀφείλει λέγειν ἀριθμητικὰ) 290 ὅταν *Omissions*. 2 μοναχοῦ 50 οὖν 51 τὰ 69 τῆς^2 73 χρείαν 81 μὲν 132 ἐστὶν 186 αὐτῇ 263 οἷον 271 καὶ^1 273 δὲ 273 καὶ^2 287 τοῦ 310 πρὸ *Mistakes*. 237 τούτῳ sed marg. τοῦτο m.1 *Additions*. 17 πρῶτον μὲν 125 ἢ καὶ 149 τῶν διεζευγμένων

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[85] See the evidence adduced in F. Acerbi, Topographie du Vat. gr. 1594, in: La « collection philosophique » face à l'histoire. Péripéties et tradition, a cura di D. Bianconi – F. Ronconi. Spoleto 2022, 239–321: 271 n. 80.

[86] On the last point, see already P. Tannery, review of Heronis Alexandrini opera quae supersunt omnia. *Journal des Savants* (March 1903) 147–157 (April 1904) 203–211, reprinted in Id., Mémoires Scientifiques. I–XVII. Toulouse – Paris 1912–50, III 131–157: 133.

Variants. 1–2 Βαρλαὰμ ἀνασκευὴ — ἁρμονικῶν 218 ἐλάττους *Inversions*. 64 τμήματα ἴσα 145 τὸν ρπ ποιεῖ 218 οὐ περιέχουσι τοὺς τοιούτους λόγους 271 γραφόμενος (κύκλος) 310 ἔχειν βουλομένου 312 δεῖν ᾠήθη *Lettering*. 272 ΔΓ

Oxon. New College 299 (O^2) inherits all innovations of Par. gr. 2381 and exhibits three characteristic omissions: 1–2 Βαρλαὰμ ἀνασκευὴ — ἁρμονικῶν, 132–133 τὰ δὲ — συμφωνίᾳ, and 178–180 ἐπαγαγεῖν — διαστάσεων, and of course, in its present state, the entire portion of text from 246 συμπεραίνεσθαι on. The copyist of O^2 did not understand that the συν between the lines in Par. gr. 2381 must be attached to the verb placed above it; accordingly, he wrote 84 τεθεῖσαν. The copyist of O^2 struggled with P^1's abbreviation system; most of the additional variant readings in the Oxford manuscript come from resolving abbreviated forms in P^1.

Omissions. 19 πάλιν 171 ὡς] sp. 2 litt. 245 γὰρ *Mistakes*. 22 ὑπάρχουσι 23 μερικῶν λαμβανάνομεν 38 ἰούσης 38 ἀναιρεῖν 48 τετράγωνος 59 τῶν τξ ἀριθμῶν 63 τηρεῖ 64 ὁμοιώτης 69 δυνάμεως 87 γε] τε 102 ἀνάρμαστον 104 προσθῆναι 112 ἑκάστου 116 ἱστάμενα 133 συντεθέντι 134 τῷ] τὸ 135 τῇ^2] τῷ 149 περιέχουσι 153 ἕνι 155 τῆς εἰρημένης διαστάσεως 167 οὐδαμῶς 171 ἀριθμητὰ] ἀριθμητικὴ 173 ὅταν 185 λέγεσθαι 197 ὁ α^{ov} ἐχρήσατο ἀριθμῷ 211 ἀριθμοῖς] ἀριθμῷ 213 τάττομεν 214 κατὰ] μετὰ 216 τάσσομεν 218 ἀριθμοὶ] ἀριθμοὺς 219 τούτων 222 τοιοῦτον 226 τοιαῦται 235 ἔχουσιν 241 τετραπλάσιος 243 διπλάσιος *Additions*. 42 τῷ θ^{ω} 83 ἐν τῷ 202 ὁ (ἀριθμὸς) 233 τῶν διεζευγμένων *Dittographies*. 177 πρὸς *Variants*. 13 ποιήσομεν 77 ἀριθμῶν μόνων ἀντιμεταληφθέντων 77 τοῦ^1] τῶν *Inversions*.

Leid. B.P.G. 16D (L^1) is a copy of O^2 where all abbreviations are resolved. L^1 inherits all readings of O^2. Langbaine also added some marginal notes. In these notes, corrections are proposed (these are preceded by ἴσως); original readings are recorded (preceded by γρ.) when the correction is placed in the main text or, most frequently, when the signs used in O^2 are reproduced on their first occurrence. On one occasion, Langbaine proposes a wrong correction because he has misunderstood an abbreviation: 142 τριπ$^{\lambda}$ γὰρ ὁ ρπ τ(οῦ) ξ is read as τριπλάσιος γὰρ ὁ ρπ τξ and is consequently amended to τριπλάσιος γὰρ ὁ ρκ {marg. γρ. ρπ} τξ. Among the *marginalia* related to abbreviations, one reads *hoc est ½ et ⅓ et ¼ et ⅙* by the side of a sequence of abbreviations of aliquot parts. Additional innovations of L^1 are as follows.

Restorations. 23 λαμβανομένης 69 δύναμιν 73 ἀναγκαίως … ὁμοιότητα 149 τῇ νήτῃ 177 semel πρὸς 226 τοιαύτας *Corrections*. 38 ἰούσης] οὔσης 38 ἀναιρεῖν] ἀνευρεῖν 116 ἱστάμενα] διιστάμενα 125 (κέντρου)] τεταρτημορίου perperam 134 τὸ] τῷ 135 τῷ] τῇ^2 153 ἕνι] ἐνὶ 185 λέγεσθαι] λέγεται 197 ὁ α^{ov} ἐχρήσατο ἀριθμῷ] οὐ πρώτοις ἔχρ. ἀριθμοῖς 218 ἀριθμοὺς] ἀριθμοὶ *Omissions*. 108 τε 145 δὲ 170 ἐστὶ 174 τὰ^1 176 τῶν *Mistakes*. 5 ἐναρμοθέντα 19 ἕτερον 26 ἐν οὐρανῷ κινήσεσιν 26 ἐξομοιώσαντες 32 μεταλήψεως 34 παραβεβληθῆναι 40 τῶν … σκοπῶν 43 τοῦ] τῶν 48 τρίγωνος 60–61 τῶν τξ ἀριθμῶν … προσληφθέντων … τούτων 62 ὁμοιότης 65 ἡμικύκλου 71 ὁμοιότητα πανταχοῦ 80 ἁρμονικῇ 90 πρότερα 92 κοινῇ 100 αἰσθητῆς 100 ἐχόμενον 107 ἑκατέρῳ 116 Πτολεμαῖος ἐμμελέστερον 117 παραλογότατον 119 ὁμοίους 171–172 ἀριθμουμένων καὶ μετρουμένων 175 ᾖτε 192 διάστημα 192 συστήματα 193 αὐτῶν 199 μόνος μόνῳ 213 αὐτὴν 228 μεταβαλεῖ *Additions*. 88 δύο γὰρ 236 αὐτὸν 237 ἔτι] ὡς *Variants*. 22 προτέροις 75 ἐθελήσῃ 77–78 τοῦ] τῶν (*nonies*) 107 διπλάσιον 140 ἀναλόγοις 142 τριπλάσιος 155 ἀντιστρέφεται 181 διπλάσιον 182 τετραπλάσιον 185 διπλάσιος 189 τετραπλάσιον 190 τετραπλάσιον 197 δεῖξαι 202 τέταρτον] τεταρτημόρια 208 μόνου 231 τρίτον] τριτημόριον 231 ς^{ov}] ἑκτημόριον 234 τεταρτημόριον 234 ἑκτημόριον 240 τριπλάσιος

As seen in the previous section, Marcus Meibom copied conformally Leid. B.P.G. 16D in Leid. Periz. Q^o 22 (L^2), thereby reproducing the marginalia of the former manuscript. He also put forward a couple of corrections of obviously mistaken readings in its model: 5 ἐναρμοθέντα] ἐναρμοσθέντα and 119 ὁμοίους] ὁμοίως. Additional variant readings are the mistake 133 τῷ^1] τὸ and the omission 220 τοὺς^2.

Par. gr. 2397 (P^4) inherits all innovations of O^2 and exhibits three characteristic omissions: 27–31 πιθανῶς — συμπτωμάτων, 93–94 καὶ τετραγωνίζουσι· καὶ ἑξαγωνίζουσι, 113–115 οὐδεμιᾷ —

τὰ μὲν, 150–151 ἡ γὰρ — λόγον. The diagram is not present. There are more than one hundred additional variant readings, among which the systematic misreading of forms of προσλαμβανόμενος as forms of προλαμβανόμενος, and likewise τέλειος instead of τέλος. The reader will forgive us for not listing all these innovations.

Mosq. Mus. Hist. gr. 315 (m)

With Vat. gr. 1756 (v), Mosq. Mus. Hist. gr. 315 (m) is the most recent witness of the *Demonstratio*; no extant witness other than v can be a copy of m. The text of Mosq. Mus. Hist. gr. 315 (m) is almost flawless: Margounios strove for accuracy[87]. The only variant readings are 9 δύο 225 τὴν παραβολὴν 247 ἐοικέναι 265 ΔΓΕ corr. e δὲ ΓΕ 272 ΔΓ ἐλάβομεν 322 ὀρθῶς] καλῶς. The diagram is present but it is torn off for the most part; what remains exhibits the incorrect lettering that affects the diagram in most witnesses.

Mosq. Mus. Hist. gr. 315 does not share any of the characteristic readings of the other independent copies of Marc. gr. Z. 332. Therefore, it is an independent copy of it[88].

Vat. gr. 1756 (v)

With Mosq. Mus. Hist. gr. 315 (m), Vat. gr. 1756 (v) is the most recent witness of the *Demonstratio*; no extant witness other than m can be a copy of v. Apparently, Lollino got increasingly tired of copying Barlaam's text: Vat. gr. 1756 is characterised by a series of long omissions (1–2 ταῖς — μοναχοῦ, 30–32 ἐπισκέψεσθαι — εἰληφότα, 34–36 οὐ — παραβαλεῖν, 69 ἢ τῆς τριγώνου — τοιούτων, 185–186 ἀνάλογον δὲ αὐτῇ οὐδαμῶς, 188–189 σύστημα — ἄκρους, 192–193 ὥστε — λόγον, 205–206 πρῶτοι εἰσὶ — λόγους, 252–253 ὡσαύτως — ὁμοίως, 257 φανερὸν — κεφάλαιον, 277–278 ἐλάττων — ἀχθήσεται, 279 καὶ — τινά, 288–289 ὥστε — εἴληφεν). Towards the end of the tract, this degenerates into omissions of entire sections and into plain rewriting by elimination of syntagms perceived as superfluous. The last 36 lines of the text become (we keep the punctuation of Marc. gr. Z. 332):

ἀλλὰ μὲν οὐδὲ ἐν τῷ β^{ω} κεφαλαίῳ ἀψάμενος φαίνεται τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς· ἡ μὲν γὰρ, τὰς κινήσεις βούλεται τῶν πρώτων σφαιρῶν ἀναγαγεῖν, κατὰ τὰ τάχη, ὑπὸ λόγους ἀριθμητικούς· τούτῳ δὲ, οὔτε περὶ τῶν κινήσεων, οὔτε περὶ τῶν λόγων ἔστι τις λόγος· ἀλλὰ πάλιν τὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ ζῳδιακοῦ, ὑπόκειται αὐτῷ, τῷ λόγῳ·

περὶ τοῦ γ^{ou} κεφαλαίου, ὅτι μὲν οὐκ ἔστι Πτολεμαίου, δῆλον ἐκ τοῦ τὸν τοῦ Ἄρεος ἀναλόγως ἔχειν τῇ νήτῃ συνημμένων λαμβάνειν· ὅτι δὲ οὐ καλῶς τῇ ἐπιγραφῇ ἥρμοσται, φανερὸν ἔκ τοῦ. τὸν Ἑρμῆν παραλελεῖφθαι πλανώμενον ὄντα, καὶ τοῦ. τοὺς ἑστῶτας μόνον τῶν φθόγγων παρειλῆφθαι, τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς μήτε τινῶν πλανώμενον λεγούσης, ἁπλῶς καὶ καθόλου καὶ πλανωμένων καὶ φθόγγων·

ὃ δὲ μάλιστα θαυμάζω, ὅτι μηδεμίαν τὸ κεφάλαιον ἀναφορὰν ἔχει πρὸς τὰ προσεχῶς εἰρημένα, οὐδὲν γάρ ἐστι τῶν ἐν τῷ β^{ω} κεφαλαίῳ τοιοῦτον, πρὸς ὃ ἂν. ἀνάγοιτο τὰ ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ·

τὰ μὲν δὴ τῆς ἀνασκευῆς, ἐνταῦθα πέρας ἐχέτω. καιρός δ' ἂν. εἴη λοιπὸν ἅπερ οἰόμεθ' αὐτοὶ ὀρθῶς ἔξειν, ἐντεῦθεν [[προ]] ἐκθέσθαι προδιορισαμένους τοσοῦτον, ὅτι παραβαλὼν ἐν τοῖς πρότερον Πτολεμαῖος τὰ ἐν ἁρμονικῇ διαστήματα τοῖς κατ' οὐρανὸν, ἐν τούτοις βούλεται αὐτὰ τὰ ποιοῦντα τὰ διαστήματα παραβαλεῖν· ἅπερ ἔστιν ἐκεῖ μὲν φθόγγοι· ἐνταῦθα δὲ, αἵ τε πρῶται τῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ σφαῖραι, καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐταῖς φερόμενα σώματα· τριῶν δὲ τούτων περὶ ταῦτα ὄντων· ὄγκων τε καὶ κινήσεων καὶ δυνάμεων, ἐν μὲν τῷ $\iota\delta^{\omega}$, βούλεται παραδοῦναι τὴν κατὰ τοὺς ὄγκους παραβολήν· ἐν δὲ τῷ $\iota\varepsilon^{\omega}$, τὴν κατὰ τὰς κινήσεις· ἐν δὲ τῷ $\iota\varsigma^{\omega}$, τὴν κατὰ τὰς δυνάμεις· λέγομεν τοίνυν

There are dozens of other variant readings in m. The reader will forgive us for not listing them.

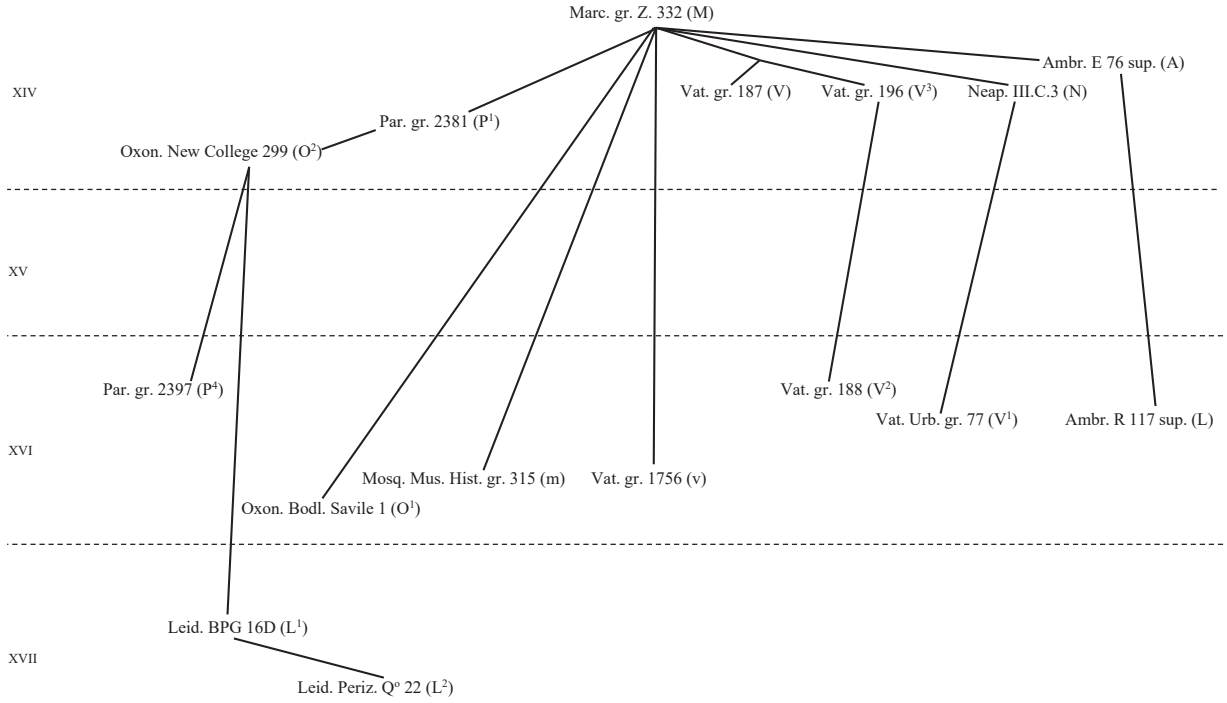
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[87] This confirms the remarks in WESTERINK, Arethae XVI–XVII and XXII.

[88] See also MOGENET – TIHON – DONNET, Barlaam 45–46; FYRIGOS, Dalla controversia palamitica 37–64; ACERBI, Barlaam's Paraphrase 28. Fyrigos' discussion allows us to exclude the possibility that Vat. gr. 1756 is a copy of m.

The fact that Vat. gr. 1756 does not share any of the characteristic readings of the other independent copies of Marc. gr. Z. 332, Lollino's description of the model, and the discussions in the editions of *De eclipsi* I and II, of the *Demonstratio*, and, most notably, of Barlaam's letters make it certain that the Vatican manuscript is a copy of Marc. gr. Z. 332[89]. This copy is independent of the contemporary copy in Mosq. Mus. Hist. gr. 315, for the omissions listed above prove that m is not a copy of v; conversely, m's readings 247 ἐοικότας 272 ΔΓΕ λάβομεν 322 ὀρθῶς show that v is not a copy of m.

The stemma of the manuscript tradition of the *Demonstratio* is depicted below. Accordingly, our edition reproduces the text of Marc. gr. Z. 332. The required corrections—all of which can be found in late witnesses—are made in the text and recorded in the critical apparatus.



PRELIMINARIES TO THE EDITION

Edition. We have reproduced the text of the *Refutatio* as it stands in Marc. gr. Z. 332, keeping the original punctuation and accents (even in cases like φᾶναι). In particular, the grave accent of oxytone words before a weak pause (marked by a comma) is retained. We have marked only upper and lower points; no attempt has been made to detect and reproduce middle points, if indeed any was marked by the copyist. When adscript iota is present in Marc. gr. Z. 332, it is transcribed as follows: τῷ˛. We chose to write the adscript iota because it is a noteworthy feature of the prototype; we chose to write it as we did because we regarded writing, for instance, τῶ˛, as even less reader-friendly. Paragraphs are inserted whenever the text is segmented by a conspicuous blank space. Misspellings and likely mistakes are corrected in the main text and recorded in the critical appa-

[89] See MOGENET – TIHON – DONNET, Barlaam 44–45; ACERBI, Barlaam's Paraphrase 29; FYRIGOS, Dalla controversia palamitica 37–64. TIHON, Barlaam 367, shows that Vat. gr. 1756 contains only an abridged version of *De paschate*.

ratus; words between back- and forward slashes were written above the line; the brackets are used according to the standard conventions. The critical apparatus is located at the end of the text; it is keyed to it by means of superscript Latin letters. The diagram that accompanies the text in Marc. gr. Z. 332 and in other manuscripts is reproduced in the Iconographic Complement at the end of this study. In the Greek text, we have marked where Marc. gr. Z. 332 goes to a new page. In the translation, we have marked the approximate beginning of every tenth line of our edition.

Translation. The paragraph structure of the translation is the same as the one of the Greek text. Different Greek terms are translated with different English terms, but the inverse is not always the case. All particles are translated, with intermittent exceptions for coordinant δέ. Specific choices of translation are motivated in the footnotes to the translation. We have strived to render the fast pace Barlaam's *Refutatio* obviously has in Greek. Most importantly, we have strived to render the lexical resonances and the wordplays that make the *Refutatio* a fine piece of technical prose.

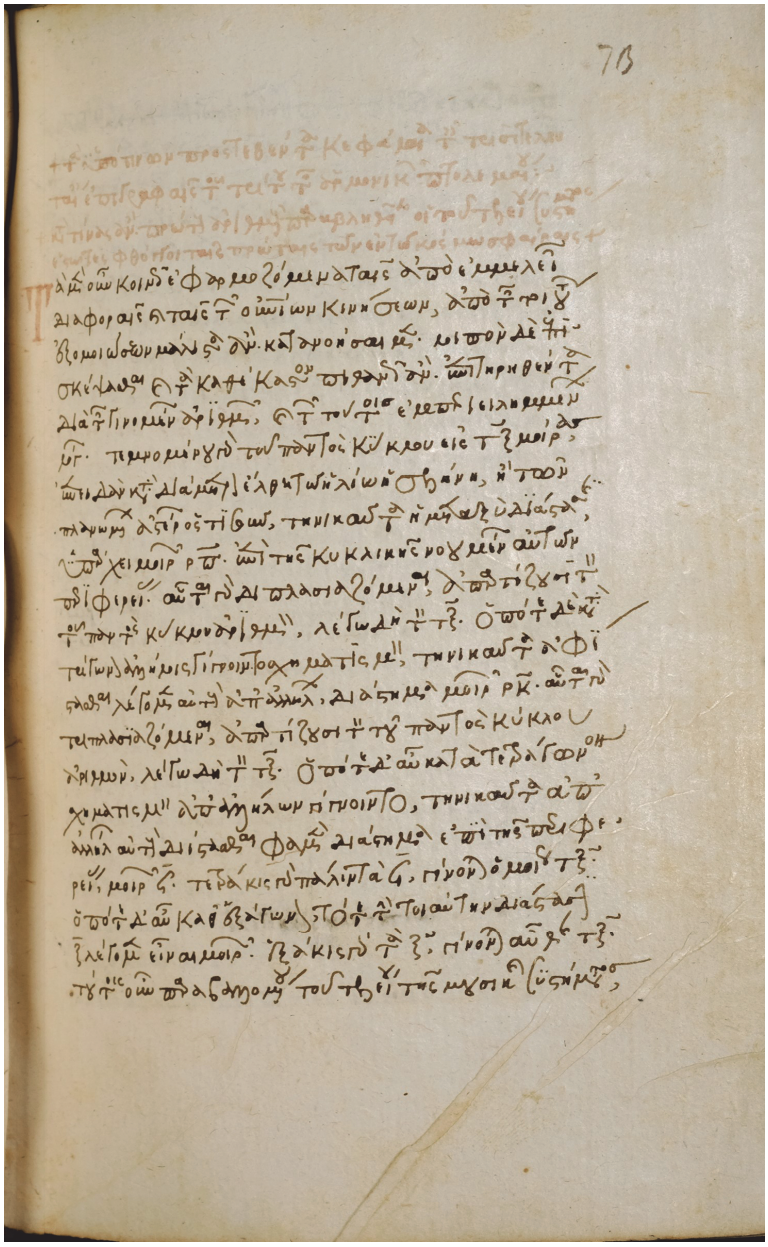


Figure 1: Marc. gr. Z. 332, f. 73r: The opening page of the *Refutatio* in the prototype of the tradition

CRITICAL EDITION OF THE *REFUTATIO*

Ἀνασκευὴ εἰς τὰ προστεθέντα τρία κεφάλαια ταῖς τελευταίαις ἐπιγραφαῖς τοῦ τρίτου τῶν τοῦ Πτολεμαίου ἁρμονικῶν· Βαρλαὰμ μοναχοῦ

Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐπιγραφὰς τῶν μὴ σῳζομένων κεφαλαίων ἀπαιτεῖς ἡμᾶς ἐξηγήσασθαι καὶ ἐκδοῦναι τίνα ἂν μάλιστα περὶ αὐτῶν Πτολεμαῖος εἶπεν, ἐκθέμενος πρῶτον τὰ μὴ καλῶς ὑπό τινων ἐναρμοσθέντα κεφάλαια ταῖς εἰρημέναις ἐπιγραφαῖς, καὶ ἐξελέγξας ὅπῃ ὀρθῶς οὐκ ἔχουσι, παρακολουθῶν ταῖς τοῦ Πτολεμαίου ἀστρονομικαῖς τε καὶ ἁρμονικαῖς ὑποθέσεσι, πειράσομαι αὐτὸς περὶ τούτων εἰπεῖν, ὅσα γέ μοι φανεῖται συμφώνως ἔχοντα τοῖς περὶ τῶν (οὐρανίων) σωμάτων καὶ τῶν ἁρμονικῶν συστημάτων ὑπ’ ἐκείνου εἰρημένοις· ἔστι δὲ τά γε προστεθέντα κεφάλαια ταῦτα· ὧν τὰ μὲν πρότερα β, νέου τινὸς τῶν καθ’ ἡμᾶς ἔοικεν εἶναι· τεκμαίρομαι δὲ τῷ μηδαμοῦ \ἐν/ τοῖς παλαιοῖς τῶν ἀντιγράφων φαίνεσθαι γεγραμμένα· τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον παλαιοῦ τινός ἐστιν· ἐν τοῖς παλαιοτάτοις γὰρ τῶν ἀντιγράφων εὑρήκαμεν αὐτὸ μέσον που |75r τοῦ τρίτου τῶν ἁρμονικῶν κείμενον. ὅτι δὲ οὐδ’ αὐτό ἐστι Πτολεμαίου, οὐδὲ οἰκείως ἔχει πρὸς τὴν τελευταίαν ἐπιγραφήν, διὰ τῶν ἑπομένων ἔσται φανερόν· ποιήσομαι δ’ ὅμως τὸν λόγον, διὰ τὸ προχειρότερον· ὡς τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὄντων καὶ τῶν τριῶν κεφαλαίων·

Ἀρχὴ οὖν ἔστω αὕτη· τὸν βουλόμενον ἐπιτυχεῖν ἐν τούτοις τῆς τοῦ Πτολεμαίου διανοίας ἕξ τινα δεῖ μάλιστα παραφυλάξαι·

Πρῶτον, μὴ ταυτὰ τοῖς ἤδη εἰρημένοις ἐν \τοῖς/ προλαβοῦσι κεφαλαίοις εἰπεῖν· οἷον ἐπεὶ ἐν τοῖς πρότερον τινὰ τῶν περὶ ἀστρονομίαν τισὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἁρμονικὴν παραβέβληται, παραφυλάττειν δεῖ, ὅπως μὴ τῶν αὐτῶν πάλιν ἐν τούτοις γένηται ἡ παραβολή· δῆλον γὰρ ὡς ὁ Πτολεμαῖος ἕτερα τῶν πρότερον ἐνταῦθα, ἐκ τῶν τῆς ἀστρονομίας τοῖς τῆς ἁρμονικῆς ἐβούλετο παραβαλεῖν· δεύτερον, ὅπως τὰ ἐν τούτοις ῥηθησόμενα, μερικωτέρας ἔχηται θεωρίας, καὶ μὴ ἐξίσου τοῖς πρότερον καθόλου ὑπάρχῃ· διττῆς γὰρ οὔσης τῆς περὶ τούτων ἐφόδου, τῆς μὲν. κοινῆς πάντων ἢ τῶν πλείστων, τῆς δὲ. ἰδίας καθ’ ἕκαστον τῶν μερικῶς λαμβανομένων, περὶ μὲν τῶν κοινῶν, μέχρι τοῦ τρισκαιδεκάτου διείλεκται· περὶ δὲ τῶν ἰδίων, ἐντεῦθεν ὑπισχνεῖται διαλέξεσθαι· φησὶ γὰρ πρὸς τῷ τέλει τοῦ κεφαλαίου· “τὰ μὲν οὖν κοινῶς ἐφαρμοζόμενα ταῖς τῶν ἐμμελειῶν διαφοραῖς, καὶ ταῖς τῶν (οὐρανίων) κινήσεων, ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων ἐξομοιώσεων, μάλιστα ἂν κατανοήσαιμεν· λοιπὸν δὲ ἐπισκέψασθαι καὶ τὰ καθ’ ἕκαστον πιθανῶς ἐπιτηρηθέντα διὰ τῶν γενομένων”: δεῖ οὖν τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα ῥηθησόμενα πρὸς τὰ ἤδη εἰρημένα |75v ἔχειν, ὡς τὸ μερικὸν πρὸς τὸ καθόλου· τρίτον· ὅπως αἱ ῥηθησόμεναι τούτων ἐξομοιώσεις, ἐκ τῶν δι’ αἰσθήσεως πάλαι τηρηθέντων, ἔχωσι τὸ πιστόν· τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτὸς ὑπισχνεῖται Πτολεμαῖος, ἐπισκέψεσθαι τὰ διὰ τῶν πολλάκις γενομένων ἐν τῷ παντὶ συμπτωμάτων πιθανῶς ἐπιτηρηθέντα· ταῦτα δέ ἐστι δηλονότι, τὰ δι’ αἰσθήσεως τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς περὶ αὐτὰ καταλήψεως εἰληφότα. δεῖ οὖν τοιούτων τινῶν τοὺς μετὰ ταῦτα ἠρτῆσθαι λόγους· τέταρτον, ὅπως οἰκεία ᾖ. ἡ παραβολὴ, καὶ μὴ συμβῇ τὰ ἀνόμοια τοῖς ἀνομοίοις. ἀλλ’ ὡς ἐνδέχεται μάλιστα τὰ ὅμοια τοῖς ὁμοίοις· καὶ οἷς τί ταυτὸ συμβέβηκε παραβληθῆναι· οὐ γὰρ τὰ τυχόντα τοῖς τυχοῦσι φᾶναι δεῖ ἐοικέναι· ἀλλ’ ὅσα φύσει ἴσχει τινὰ ὁμοιότητα, ταῦτα καὶ τῷ λόγῳ ἀλλήλοις παραβαλεῖν· πέμπτον, ὀρθῶς τῇ λέξει χρῆσθαι, καὶ οἰκείως τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις πράγμασιν· ἕκτον, ὅπως ἕκαστον τῶν κεφαλαίων οἰκείως ἔχῃ πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν ἐπιγραφὴν, ὥστε δύνασθαί τινα καὶ μὴ οὔσης τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς, ἀνευρεῖν αὐτὴν ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ λόγου·

Τούτων οὖν τῶν ἓξ ἀναγκαίως ὀφειλομένων τηρεῖσθαι, τῷ μὴ παντάπασιν ἐκπεσεῖν προαιρουμένῳ τοῦ περὶ ταῦτα τοῦ Πτολεμαίου σκοποῦ, φανεῖται ὁ τὰ παρόντα ἐκδοὺς κεφάλαια, οὐδενὸς αὐτῶν πεφροντικώς.

Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου, ἐντελῶς ἤδη ἔν τε τῷ ἑνάτῳ καὶ δεκάτῳ τοῦ παρόντος συντάγματος παραδεδωκότος, τὰς τοῦ διὰ μέσων τῶν ζῳδίων κύκλου, πρὸς τὰ{ς} ἐν ἁρμονικῇ παραβολὰς, ὅπως τε αἱ κατ’ αὐτὸν |76r κατανενοη[[.]]μέναι, σύμφωνοι καὶ δραστικαὶ στάσεις, ὁμοίως ἔχουσι τοῖς τοῦ ἡρμοσμένου συμφώνοις, τῷ τε διὰ τῶν ἰσαρίθμων ταῖς συμφωνίαις τομῶν

ἀπαρτίζεσθαι, καὶ τῷ περιέχειν τοὺς τοιούτους σχηματισμούς, τούς τε τῶν ὁμοφώνων καὶ συμφώνων λόγους πρὸς τῷ τονιαίῳ, καὶ τίνι τῶν συμφωνιῶν τίς τῶν σχηματισμῶν προσέοικεν, ὅτι ὁ μὲν κατὰ διάμετρον τῇ διὰ πασῶν συμφωνίᾳ, ὁ δὲ τριγωνικὸς τῇ διὰ πέντε· ὁ δὲ τετραγωνικὸς τῇ διὰ τεσσάρων, καὶ προσθέντος τὸ τῆς ὁμοιότητος αἴτιον, καὶ ἔτι ἀποθεμένου ὡς ἤδη ἀπηρτισμένον τὸν περὶ τούτων λόγον, ἐν οἷς λέγει, "τὰ μὲν οὖν παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἐγκύκλιον κίνησιν θεωρούμενα κατ' ἀμφοτέρας τὰς ἁρμονίας, καὶ τὰ κοινῶς καλούμενα σύμφωνά τε καὶ διάφωνα τῶν σχημάτων, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον διωρίσθω[a]", οὗτος ὡς μηδενὸς τοιούτου εἰρημένου, πάλιν τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων παραδίδωσιν ἡμῖν τὰς πρὸς τὰ ἁρμονικὰ παραβολάς· φάσκων τὴν μὲν διάμετρον στάσιν ἐοικέναι τῷ προσλαμβανομένῳ, ἣν ἐκεῖνος παρέβαλε τῇ¸ διὰ πασῶν συμφωνίᾳ. τὴν δὲ τρίγωνον, τῇ¸ ὑπάτῃ μέσων ἢ ὑπ' ἐκείνου παραβέβληται τῇ διὰ πέντε συμφωνίᾳ. τὴν δὲ τετράγωνον, τῇ¸ νήτῃ διεζευγμένων· ἣν ἐκεῖνος τῇ διὰ τεσσάρων παραβέβληκεν. ἔτι ἐπεὶ οἱ τοιοῦτοι σχηματισμοὶ κατὰ τὰς ἀκριβεῖς τῶν πλανωμένων ἐποχὰς κρίνονται· αἱ δ' ἀκριβεῖς ἐποχαὶ κατὰ τὸν διὰ μέσων τῶν ζῳδίων κύκλον θεωροῦνται, φανερὸν ὡς ἐνταῦθα τοῦ ζῳδιακοῦ κύκλου πεποίηται καὶ οὗτος τὴν |76v κατατομὴν, διὰ τοῦ τξ ἀριθμοῦ· ὥστε πάλιν συμβαίνει αὐτῷ ἐνταῦθα, περὶ τῆς ὁμοιότητος τοῦ τελείου συστήματος καὶ τοῦ ζῳδιακοῦ κύκλου διαλέγεσθαι· περὶ οὗ ἤδη ἐκεῖνος διείλεκται, τοῦ τξ ἀριθμοῦ μόνον ἐν τούτοις προσληφθέντος· καὶ τούτου μάτην καὶ ἀσυλλογίστως ὅσα γε πρὸς τὸν τῆς τούτων ὁμοιότητος λόγον· εἴπερ γὰρ ἡ κατὰ διάμετρον στάσις ἔοικε τῷ προσλαμβανομένῳ, ὡς οὗτός φησιν, ἄν τε ἄτμητόν τις τηρῇ¸ τὸ ἡμικύκλιον, ἄν τε εἰς ὁποσαδηποτοῦν τέμῃ, οὐδὲν ἧττον ἡ τούτων ὁμοιότης σωθήσεται· ἄλογον γὰρ τὸ φᾶναι, ὅτι εἰς μὲν ρπ ἴσα τμήματα τεμνομένου τοῦ ἡμικυκλίου ἔοικεν ἡ διάμετρος στάσις τῷ¸ προσλαμβανομένῳ¸, ἀτμήτου δὲ μένοντος, ἢ κατ' ἄλλον ἀριθμὸν τεμνομένου, οὔ. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἡ τρίγωνος στάσις οὐ διότι τὸ τριτημόριον τῆς ὅλης περιφερείας εἰς ρκ τέμνεται, ἔοικε τῇ ὑπάτῃ μέσων· τὸ γὰρ εἰς τόσα ἢ εἰς τόσα διαιρεῖν, ἢ τὴν ὅλην περιφέρειαν, ἢ τὸ τρίτον αὐτῆς μέρος, ἢ τὸ τέταρτον· ἢ ὁποιονοῦν ἄλλο, οὐκ ἀλλοιοῦν ἐστι τὴν τῶν κατ' αὐτὰς στάσεων, ἢ τῆς τριγώνου ἢ τῆς τετραγώνου, ἢ ἄλλης τινος τῶν τοιούτων δύναμιν· ἀλλ' εἰς ὅσ' ἄν τις διέλῃ¸ τὴν ὅλην τοῦ κύκλου περιφέρειαν, ἡ αὐτὴ τοῖς τοιούτοις σχηματισμοῖς πρὸς τὰ ἐν ἁρμονικῇ ὁμοιότης πάντως σῴζεται· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ὁμοιότης, φύσει αὐτοῖς πρόσεστιν· ἡ δὲ εἰς τόσα κατατομὴ, λόγῳ μόνῳ ἐπινενόηται· ὥστε ὅ γε προσληφθεὶς ἐνταῦθα ἀριθμὸς, οὐδεμίαν ἀναγκαίαν χρείαν παρέχεται ταῖς ἐκκειμέναις ὁμοιότησι· δῆλον δὲ. καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τὰ αὐτὰ δυνατὸν εἶναι δεικνύναι, καὶ ἐλάττονος ἀριθμοῦ μεταληφθέντος· τεμνομένου γὰρ τοῦ παντὸς |77r κύκλου καὶ εἰς δώδεκα ἴσα τμήματα, εἴ τις ἕκαστον τῶν τμημάτων μοῖραν ἐθελήσει ὀνομάσαι, ἐξέσται αὐτῷ¸ διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν λέξεων, ἅπαντα τὰ ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ¸ καὶ δευτέρῳ κεφαλαίῳ¸ εἰρημένα, ἀνελλιπῶς δεικνύναι, τῶν ἀριθμῶν μόνον μεταληφθέντων, ἀντὶ μὲν τοῦ τξ, τοῦ ιβ· ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ ρπ, τοῦ ς· ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ ρκ, τοῦ δ· ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ ρ, τοῦ γ· ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ ξ, τοῦ β·

Φανερὸν οὖν ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων, ὡς ἅπερ ἤδη τῶν περὶ ἀστρονομίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου τοῖς ἐν ἁρμονίᾳ παραβέβληται, τῶν αὐτῶν[b] καὶ οὗτος πεποίηται ἐν τούτοις τὴν παραβολήν· ἔτι δὲ τῶν ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ κεφαλαίῳ λεγομένων οὐδέν ἐστιν, ὃ οὐ καὶ πρότερον ἐλέχθη· τὸ μὲν γὰρ, τὴν μὲν διὰ τεσσάρων συμφωνίαν ἐν ἐπιτρίτῳ εἶναι λόγῳ, τὴν δὲ, διὰ ε ἐν ἡμιολίῳ. τὴν δὲ διὰ πασῶν ἐν διπλασίονι, τὴν δὲ δὶς διὰ πασῶν ἐν τετραπλασίονι, καὶ τὸ καθάπερ ὁ ἐπίτριτος λόγος συντεθεὶς τῷ ἡμιολίῳ, ποιεῖ τὸν διπλασίω λόγον, οὕτω καὶ τὴν διὰ τεσσάρων συμφωνίαν συντεθεῖσαν τῇ \διὰ/ πέντε ποιεῖν τὸ διὰ πασῶν, ταῦτα πάντα ἔν τε τῷ ζῳ καὶ ηῳ τοῦ πρώτου[c] τῶν ἁρμονικῶν ἱκανῶς εἴρηται· ὅπως δὲ αἱ τοιαῦται συμφωνίαι ὁμοίως ἔχουσι ταῖς ἐν τῷ¸ ζῳδιακῷ κατατομαῖς, ἐν τῷ θῳ τοῦ τρίτου παραδέδοται· ὥστε ἔν γε τῷ δευτέρῳ¸ τούτῳ κεφαλαίῳ, οὐδὲν πλέον τῶν πρότερον εἴρηκεν, ὅτι μὴ καὶ ἐλλιπέστερον, δύο παραλελοιπὼς συμφωνίας· τοῦ Πτολεμαίου τῶν λόγων πασῶν τῶν συμφωνιῶν, ἕκαστον ἑκάστης πολλαχῶς δείξαντος γινόμενον διὰ τῆς εἰς ιβ τοῦ ζῳδιακοῦ τομῆς· ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ μερικωτέρας ἔχεται θεωρίας παρὰ τὰ πρότερον κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Πτολεμαίου ὑπόσχεσιν τὰ ἐν τούτοις τοῖς |77v κεφαλαίοις λεγόμενα· ὁ γὰρ περὶ τῶν δραστικῶν σχηματισμῶν λόγος, τῶν κοινῶς λεγομένων περὶ τῶν πλανωμένων ἐστί· τέσσαρες γὰρ τῶν πλανωμένων ἀλλήλους τε καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς τρεῖς, καὶ διαμετροῦσι· καὶ τριγωνίζουσι· καὶ

τετραγωνίζουσι· καὶ ἐξαγωνίζουσι· διὸ καὶ Πτολεμαῖος περὶ τούτων διείλεκται, ἐν οἷς περὶ τῆς κοινῆς αὐτῶν ἐφόδου, διαλέγεσθαι ὑπέσχετο·

Ὅτι δὲ οὐδὲ ἐκ τῶν δι' αἰσθήσεως τηρηθέντων ἔχουσι τὰ ἐνταῦθα λεγόμενα τὸ πιστὸν, ὡς ἔφη τοῦτο καὶ Πτολεμαῖος, φανερόν· τὸ γὰρ εἰς τόσα· ἢ εἰς τόσα διαιρεῖν· ἢ τὸν ὅλον κύκλον· ἢ τὰ μέρη αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸ φᾶναι τήνδε μὲν τὴν στάσιν, ἐοικέναι τῷδε τῷ φθόγγῳ, τήνδε δὲ τῷδε, καὶ τὸ[d] διεξιέναι τίνες μὲν ἀριθμοὶ περιέχουσι τὸν δεῖνα λόγον, τίνες δὲ τὸν δεῖνα, καὶ τίς λόγος ἐκ τίνων σύγκειται, ἐξ οὐδεμιᾶς τηρήσεως ἐστὶν εἰλημμένα οὐδ' αἰσθητικῆς· ἀλλὰ λογικῆς ἐστιν[e] ἐχόμενα ὑποθέσεως· διὸ οὐδ' αὐτὸς ὁ τὰ κεφάλαια ταῦτα ἐκθέμενος ἐπήγαγέ τι τοιοῦτον πρὸς τὴν τῶν λεγομένων πίστιν· ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὴν τῶν ἐκκειμένων παραβολὴν, ἀνάρμοστον παντάπασι πεποίηται· πρῶτον μὲν, οὐδεμίαν παρασχόμενος ἀπόδειξιν τῆς τῶν ὑποκειμένων ὁμοιότητος· οὐ γὰρ ἐξαρκεῖ τὸ φᾶναι τόδε τῷδε ἐοικέναι· ἀλλὰ δεῖ καὶ τὴν τῆς ὁμοιότητος προσθεῖναι αἰτίαν· ὅπερ Πτολεμαῖος πανταχοῦ φαίνεται ποιῶν, καὶ τὰς ἐξομοιώσεις λέγων, καὶ τὰς αὐτῶν πίστεις παρεχόμενος· ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν συμφωνιῶν· τὴν γὰρ διὰ πασῶν συμφωνίαν εἰπὼν ἐοικέναι τῇ διαμέτρῳ κατὰ τὸν κύκλον στάσει, τρία τεκμήρια |78r τούτου παρέσχε\το/· τό, τε τὸν διπλασίω λόγον ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ περιέχεσθαι, καὶ πλεῖστον ἰσότητος παρὰ τὰς ἄλλας στάσεις τε καὶ συμφωνίας, καὶ ἐνεργητικωτάτους εἶναι, καὶ τοὺς κατὰ διάμετρον τῶν ἀστέρων τοῦ ζῳδιακοῦ σχηματισμοὺς, καὶ τῶν φθόγγων τοὺς ποιοῦντας πρὸς ἀλλήλους τὸ διὰ πασῶν· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τὰς παραβολὰς, πρὸς ταῖς ἐγχωρούσαις παραστάσεσιν ἀποδέδωκεν· ἐπιστήμονος γὰρ ἔργον, οὐ τὸ ὅτι μόνον· ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ διότι περὶ ἕκαστον δεικνύναι· οὗτος δὲ, φάσκων ἐοικέναι τοὺς ἑστῶτας τῶν φθόγγων ταῖς ἐκκειμέναις στάσεσιν, οὐδεμιᾷ χρῆται παραστάσει· τοῦτο τὲ οὖν ἥμαρτε, καὶ ὅτι τὰ ἀνόμοια τοῖς ἀνομοίοις παρέβαλε· δύο γὰρ ὄντων τούτων ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ τῶν ἐπιστημῶν· διαστημάτων τε καὶ τῶν ποιούντων τὰ διαστήματα, ἤτοι τῶν διισταμένων, εὔλογον τὰ μὲν διαστήματα τοῖς διαστήμασι παραβάλλειν· τὰ δὲ διιστάμενα τοῖς διισταμένοις· ὅπερ Πτολεμαίῳ ἐμμελέστατα πανταχοῦ τετήρηται· οὗτος δὲ, τὰ διαστήματα τοῖς διισταμένοις παραβάλλει· πρᾶγμα παραλογώτατον ποιῶν· τὸν γὰρ προσλαμβανόμενον[f] διιστάμενον καὶ ποιητικὸν διαστάσεως ἀλλ' οὐ διάστημα ὄντα, τῇ κατὰ διάμετρον ἀφομοιοῖ διαστάσει· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους· φέρε γὰρ, ἐπεὶ ταῦτα ἐοικέναι ἀλλήλοις λέγομεν οἷς τι συμβέβηκε ταυτὸ, τί ταυτὸ σὺ εὑρὼν, τῷ τε προσλαμβανομένῳ καὶ τῇ διαμέτρῳ στάσει, φῂς ταῦτα ἀλλήλοις παραβάλλεσθαι· ἡ μὲν γὰρ διάμετρος στάσις, μεγίστη καὶ ἐνεργητικωτάτη τῶν ἄλλων· ὁ δὲ προσλαμβανόμενος, ἐλάχιστός τε καὶ ἀσθενέστατος |78v τῶν ἐν τῷ τελείῳ συστήματι φθόγγων, ἅτε βαρύτατος πάντων ὤν· καὶ ἐν μὲν τῇ διαμέτρῳ στάσει, περιέχεται ὁ διπλασίων λόγος τοῦ τε ὅλου κύκλου πρὸς τὸ ἡμικύκλιον, καὶ τῆς διαμέτρου πρὸς τὴν ἐκ τοῦ κέντρου· ἐν δὲ τῷ προσλαμβανομένῳ ἢ ἐν ἄλλῳ τινὶ φθόγγῳ, οὐδεὶς περιέχεται λόγος· "μόνος γάρ φησιν ἕκαστος τῶν φθόγγων ἄλογος· καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀδιάφορος· ὁ γὰρ λόγος τῶν πρός τι, καὶ ἐν δυσὶ τοῖς πρώτοις"· καὶ ἡ μὲν διάμετρος στάσις, δύο τινῶν ἐστι μεταξὺ τῶν κατὰ διάμετρον ἀλλήλων διισταμένων· ὁ δὲ προσλαμβανόμενος, οὐ πέπονθε τοῦτο· βαρύτερος γὰρ αὐτοῦ φθόγγος ἐν τῷ τελείῳ συστήματι οὐκ ἔστι· πῶς οὖν ὁ προσλαμβανόμενος τῇ διαμέτρῳ στάσει παραβληθήσεται, μηδενὸς αὐτοῖς τοῦ αὐτοῦ συμβεβηκότος· εἶτα εἰ ὁ προσλαμβανόμενος ἔοικε τῇ διαμέτρῳ στάσει· ἐπεὶ κατὰ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον τῇ τοιαύτῃ στάσει ἔοικεν ἡ διὰ πασῶν συμφωνία· τὰ δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ ὅμοια καὶ ἀλλήλοις ἐστὶν ὅμοια, ἔσται ἄρα ὁ προσλαμβανόμενος, ὅμοιος τῇ διὰ πασῶν συμφωνίᾳ· τὸ διιστάμενον τῇ διαστάσει· τὸ ἁπλοῦν τῷ συνθέτῳ· τὸ πέρας τῷ πεπερασμένῳ· τὸ ἄλογον τῷ ἐν λόγῳ· ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ εἴ τις ἀναστρέψας εἴποι τὴν μὲν νήτην τῶν ὑπερβολαίων ἐοικέναι τῇ διαμέτρῳ στάσει· τὴν δὲ νήτην τῶν διεζευγμένων τῇ τριγώνῳ, τὴν δὲ ὑπάτην μέσων τῇ τετραγώνῳ, τὸν δὲ προσλαμβανόμενον τῇ ἑξαγώνῳ, εἴ τις οὖν οὕτω ποιήσειε τὴν παραβολὴν, οὐδὲν χεῖρον δόξει εἰρηκέναι, ὅτι μὴ καὶ βέλτιον· ὅσῳ τὰ τιμιώτερα τοῖς τιμιωτέροις ἔγνωκε παραβαλεῖν· |79r τί οὖν ἡ διάμετρος στάσις τῷ προσλαμβανομένῳ μᾶλλον, καὶ οὐ τῇ νήτῃ τῶν ὑπερβολαίων παραβληθήσεται· συνίσταται δὲ τὸ παράλογον τῆς ἐκκειμένης παραβολῆς, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ταῖς ἀνάλογον στάσεσι παραβαλεῖν τοὺς φθόγγους· ἡ μὲν γὰρ νήτη τῶν ὑπερβολαίων πρὸς τὸν προσλαμβανόμενον, ἐν τετραπλασίονι ἐστὶ λόγῳ· ἡ δὲ διάμετρος στάσις, πρὸς τὴν ἑξάγωνον ἐν τριπλασίονι· τριπλασίων γὰρ ὁ ρπ τοῦ ξ· καὶ πάλιν ἡ μὲν νήτη τῶν

διεζευγμένων πρὸς τὸν προσλαμβανόμενον, ἐν τριπλασίονι ἐστὶ λόγῳ, κατὰ τὴν διὰ πασῶν καὶ διὰ πέντε συμφωνίαν· ἡ δὲ διάμετρος στάσις πρὸς τὴν τετράγωνον, αἷς τοὺς τοιούτους φθόγγους παραβέβληκεν, ἐν διπλασίονι· δὶς γὰρ ὁ ϱ, ποιεῖ τὸν ρπ· ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ ἡ μὲν νήτη τῶν ὑπερβολαίων πρὸς μὲν τὴν νήτην τῶν διεζευγμένων, ἐν ἐπιτρίτῳ ἐστὶ λόγῳ, κατὰ τὸ διὰ τεσσάρων· πρὸς δὲ τὴν ὑπάτην μέσων, ἐν διπλασιεπιδιτρίτῳ[g] κατὰ τὸ διὰ πασῶν καὶ διὰ τεσσάρων· ἡ δὲ ἐξάγωνος στάσις πρὸς μὲν τὴν τετράγωνον, ἐν ἡμιολίῳ˛ ἐστὶ λόγῳ· πρὸς δὲ τὴν τρίγωνον, ἐν διπλασίονι· ὁμοίως δὲ τῆς νήτης διεζευγμένων πρὸς ὑπάτην μέσων, διπλασίονα περιεχούσης λόγον, οὗτος παραβάλλει τοὺς τοιούτους φθόγγους στάσεσι περιεχούσαις τὸν ἐπίτριτον λόγον· ἡ γὰρ τρίγωνος στάσις πρὸς τὴν τετράγωνον, τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν λόγον· οὐ μὴν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς περιέχοντας τὸν διαζευκτικὸν τόνον δύο ἑστῶτας φθόγγους, ἀνομοιότατα παραβέβληκεν· ἐχρήσατό \τε/ γὰρ αὐτοῖς[h] ὡς ἑνὶ, δυσὶ καὶ διαφόροις οὖσι κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν, καὶ τοῖς |79v αὐτοῖς πάλιν καὶ αὐτοὺς παραβάλλει· ἐπεὶ γὰρ παραβάλλεσθαι αὐτούς φησι τῇ στάσει, ἀφ' ἧς ἐστιν ἡ ἀρχὴ τῶν εἰρημένων διαστάσεων, τὰ δὲ διιστάμενα ἀντιστρέφει πρὸς ἄλληλα· ὅτε γὰρ \ὁ/ Ἄρης διαμετρεῖ τὸν Κρόνον. τότε καὶ ὁ Κρόνος διαμετρεῖ τὸν Ἄρην, καὶ ἐξαγωνίζει ὅ τε Κρόνος τὸν Δία καὶ ὁ Ζεὺς τὸν Κρόνον, ὁμοίως καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων, φανερὸν ὡς καὶ τούτους τοὺς φθόγγους τοῖς τέσσαρσι σχηματισμοῖς παραβάλλει· καὶ περὶ μὲν τοῦ, ἀνάρμοστον πεποιηκέναι αὐτὸν τὴν παραβολὴν, τοσαῦτα εἰρήσθω·

Περὶ δὲ τοῦ μὴ ὀρθῶς κεχρῆσθαι τῇ λέξει, ἐντεῦθεν ῥητέον·

Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἡμάρτηται αὐτῷ, τὸ, "τούτοις οὖν παραβαλλομένου τοῦ τελείου τῆς μουσικῆς συστήματος"· οὐ γὰρ ὅλου τοῦ τοιούτου συστήματος ἐστὶν ἡ παραβολὴ, οὐδὲ τοῦθ' ὑπισχνεῖται ἡ τοῦ κεφαλαίου ἐπιγραφή· ἀλλὰ τῶν ἑστώτων μόνον φθόγγων, καὶ τὸ, "τῆς μουσικῆς", παρελκόντως καὶ παρὰ τὴν τοῦ Πτολεμαίου χρῆσιν προσείληπται· τὸ μὲν, ὅτι ἤρκει φάναι "τοῦ τελείου συστήματος"· δῆλον γάρ ἐστι ποίας ἐπιστήμης ἐστὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον σύστημα· τὸ δὲ, ὅτι Πτολεμαῖος μουσικὴν καὶ μουσικὸν ἐπὶ τῆς χειρουργικῆς μόνον χρήσεως ἐκλαμβάνει, τήνδε δὲ τὴν πραγματείαν, οὐδαμοῦ "μουσικὴν" προσεῖπεν· ἀλλ' "ἁρμονικήν"· ἔδει οὖν "τοῦ τελείου τῆς ἁρμονικῆς συστήματος" εἰπεῖν· εἶτα καὶ τὸ. "τῇ στάσει τουτωνὶ τῶν ἀριθμητικῶν διαστημάτων", οὐ καλῶς ἔχει· ἡ γὰρ στάσις, οὐ τῶν διαστημάτων ἐστὶ στάσις· ἀλλὰ τῶν διισταμένων· ἵσταται μὲν γὰρ τὰ διιστάμενα· |80r οὐ τὰ διαστήματα· ἡ δὲ στάσις τῶν ἱσταμένων ἐστὶ στάσις· ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὰ διαστήματα οὐ καλῶς προσεῖπεν "ἀριθμητικά"· "ἀριθμητὰ" γὰρ ὡς "ἀριθμούμενα" καὶ "μετρούμενα" λεγέσθω· "ἀριθμητικὰ" δὲ οὔ· ἐπεὶ γὰρ πᾶν διάστημα διισταμένων ἐστὶ διάστημα, τότε μόνον τὸ διάστημα καλῶς ἔχει "ἀριθμητικὸν" ὀνομάσαι, ὅτε τὰ διιστάμενα ἀριθμοί εἰσιν· ἐνταῦθα δὲ διιστάμενά εἰσι, τὰ τῶν ἀστέρων μεγέθη· ὥστε οὐκ ἔδει "ἀριθμητικὰ" τὰ τοιαῦτα διστήματα προσαγορεῦσαι· ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸ. "τῇ˛ ὅθεν ἡ ἀρχὴ τῶν εἰρημένων διαστάσεων, ἤτοι ἐν ᾧ˛ τόπῳ˛ νοεῖται ἡ στάσις τοῦ ἡλίου", ἀμούσως εἴρηται· ἑτέρου γὰρ ὄντος τοῦ τόπου παρὰ τὴν τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ ἱσταμένων στάσιν, εἰ μὲν πρὸς τὴν στάσιν ἐβούλετο ποιῆσαι τὴν παραβολὴν, ἔδει μετὰ τὸ εἰπεῖν "τῇ ὅθεν ἡ ἀρχὴ τῶν εἰρημένων διαστάσεων", ἐπαγαγεῖν "καθ' ἣν νοεῖται ὁ ἥλιος ἱστάμενος"· ἢ ἄλλός τις· εἰ δὲ πρὸς τὸν τόπον, ὤφειλε γράφειν "τῷ τόπῳ, ἐξ οὗ ἡ ἀρχὴ τῶν εἰρημένων διαστάσεων· ἐν ᾧ νοεῖται ἡ στάσις τοῦ ἡλίου". τὸ δὲ "τῇ στάσει" εἰπόντα, ἐπενεγκεῖν τὸ, "ἐν ᾧ τόπῳ", ἄμουσον ὡς εἰπεῖν καὶ ἀσύντακτον· ὁμοίως δὲ ἡμαρτημένως τὸν διπλασίονα λόγον, ἀνάλογον ἔφη τῷ διὰ πασῶν· καὶ τὸν τετραπλασίω ἀνάλογον τῷ˛ δὶς διὰ πασῶν· τὸ γὰρ ἀνάλογον, οὐ τῶν λόγων κατηγορεῖται· ἀλλὰ τῶν ὅρων τῶν τοὺς λόγους περιεχόντων· οὐδαμοῦ γὰρ οἱ μαθηματικοὶ τοὺς λόγους αὐτοὺς, ἀνάλογόν τῳ˛ φασὶν εἶναι· ἀλλὰ τοὺς ὅρους τοὺς τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχοντας λόγον· αἴτιον οὖν τῆς διὰ πασῶν συμφωνίας λεγέσθω ὁ διπλασίων |80v λόγος· ἀνάλογον δὲ αὐτῇ οὐδαμῶς·

Ἔτι ἐπεὶ τὸ τέλειον σύστημα "δὶς μὲν διὰ πασῶν" ὀνομάζεται. κατὰ τοὺς ἄκρους φθόγγους, σύστημα δὲ τέλειον κατὰ τὴν σύνταξιν τὴν τοιάνδε τῶν μεταξὺ τῶν ἄκρων φθόγγων, ἀνάγεται δὲ ὑπὸ τὸν τετραπλασίω λόγον, οὐ κατὰ τοὺς μεταξὺ φθόγγους· ἀλλὰ κατὰ τοὺς ἄκρους, ἔδει μὴ λέγειν ἀνάλογον ἔχειν τὸν τετραπλασίω λόγον, τῷ˛ δὶς διὰ πασῶν τελείῳ συστήματι· ἀλλὰ μόνον τῷ˛ δὶς διὰ πασῶν ὁμοφώνῳ· οὐ γὰρ καθὸ τέλειόν ἐστι σύστημα, ἀνάγεται ὑπὸ τὸν τοιοῦτον λόγον·

ἀλλὰ κατὰ τοὺς ἄκρους φθόγγους· ὥστε ὡς ἁπλῶς διαστήματος, καὶ οὐχ ὡς συστήματος ἔδει ἐνταῦθα ποιεῖσθαι τὸν περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγον·

Ἃ μὲν οὖν καὶ περὶ τὴν λέξιν αὐτῷ ἡμάρτηται, ταῦτά ἐστιν·

Ὅτι δὲ οὐκ οἰκείως ἔχουσι τὰ κεφάλαια πρὸς τὰς ἰδίας ἐπιγραφὰς, κατανοῆσαι οὐ χαλεπόν·

Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν ἐπιγραφῶν τοῦ Πτολεμαίου διὰ πρώτων ἀριθμῶν ἐπαγγελλομένου δείξειν τὰ τῆς παραβολῆς, οὗτος οὐ πρώτοις ἐχρήσατο ἀριθμοῖς· ἔστι δὲ πρῶτος ἀριθμὸς κατὰ τοὺς μαθηματικοὺς, τριχῶς· καθ' ἑαυτὸν, καὶ πρὸς ἕτερον, καὶ τάξει· καθ' ἑαυτὸν μὲν, ὁ μονάδι μόνῃ μετρούμενος· οἷον ὁ ε, ἢ ὁ ζ· πρὸς ἕτερον δὲ, πρὸς ὃν οὐ χρῆται κοινῷ μέτρῳ ἀριθμῷ τινι, οἷον πέπονθεν ὁ η πρὸς τὸν ιε· ὑπ' οὐδενὸς γὰρ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀριθμοῦ μετροῦνται· τάξει δὲ, ὥσπερ λέγομεν ὅτι τῶν ἐχόντων ἥμισυ καὶ τρίτον |81r μέρος, πρῶτος ἐστὶν ὁ ς· ἐπεὶ ἐλάττων αὐτοῦ ἀριθμὸς, οὐκ ἔχει τὰ τοιαῦτα μέρη· καὶ τῶν ἐχόντων ἥμισυ καὶ τέταρτον, πρῶτος ἐστὶν ὁ δ· ὁμοίως καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων· τριχῶς οὖν λεγομένου ἐν ἀριθμοῖς τοῦ πρώτου, κατ' οὐδένα τῶν τρόπων πρῶτοι εἰσὶν οἱ παραληφθέντες ὑπὸ τούτου ἀριθμοί· ὁ γὰρ τξ. καὶ ὁ ρπ· καὶ ὁ ρκ· καὶ ὁ ϙ· καὶ ὁ ξ· οὗτοι οἱ ἀριθμοὶ, οὔτε καθ' ἑαυτούς εἰσι πρῶτοι, οὔτε πρὸς ἀλλήλους· οὔτε πρῶτοι εἰσὶ τῶν ἐχόντων αὐτοῖς τοὺς αὐτοὺς λόγους· ἐπεὶ γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν στάσεων, περὶ ὧν ποιεῖται οὗτος τὸν λόγον, συμβαίνει τὸν κύκλον τέμνεσθαι, εἵς τε δύο ἴσα· καὶ εἰς τρία· καὶ εἰς τέσσαρα· καὶ εἰς ς, ἀριθμοῦ μόνον ἐδεῖτο, ὅστις ἔχει ἥμισυ· καὶ τρίτον· καὶ τέταρτον· καὶ ἕκτον μέρος· πρῶτος δὲ τῶν ἐχόντων τὰ τοιαῦτα μέρη ἐστὶν ὁ ιβ· οὐχ ὁ τξ· φανερὸν οὖν ὡς εἴπερ Πτολεμαῖος διὰ τούτων τῶν ἀριθμῶν ἐβούλετο παραδοῦναι τὰς παραβολὰς, ἀνοήτως καθάπαξ εἶχε πρὸς τὰ ἀριθμητικά· ἀγνοῶν τί ποτέ ἐστι τὸ ἐν ἀριθμοῖς πρῶτον· περιέχει δὲ πρῶτος ἀριθμὸς, τοὺς τῶν ἑστώτων φθόγγων τοῦ τελείου συστήματος λόγους, κατὰ μὲν τὴν ὕλην ἤτοι τὰς χορδὰς, ὅταν τῷ μήκει μόνῳ διαφέρωσιν, ὁ λς· κατὰ δὲ τὴν αὐτῶν τῶν φθόγγων [[.]] δύναμιν, ὁ λβ· ταῖς μὲν γὰρ χορδαῖς ταττομένου τοῦ προσλαμβανομένου κατὰ τὸν λς, ἡ μὲν ὑπάτη ὑπατῶν, ἔσται τοιούτων λβ· ἡ δὲ ὑπάτη μέσων, κδ· ἡ δὲ[i] μέση, ιη· ἡ δὲ παραμέση, ις· ἡ δὲ νήτη, διεζευγμένων ιβ· ἡ δὲ νήτη ὑπερβολαίων, θ· πάλιν δὲ |81v κατὰ τὸ εἶδος τασσομένου τοῦ προσλαμβανομένου κατὰ τὸν η, ἡ μὲν ὑπάτη ὑπατῶν, τοιούτων ἔσται θ· ἡ δὲ μέσων ὑπάτη, ιβ· ἡ δὲ μέση ις· ἡ δὲ παραμέση ιη· ἡ δὲ νήτη, διεζευγμένων κδ· ἡ δὲ νήτη ὑπερβολαίων λβ· ἐλάττονες δὲ τούτων ἀριθμοὶ, τοὺς τοιούτους οὐ περιέχουσι λόγους· ὁ δὲ τούτου τξ ἀριθμὸς, περιέχει μὲν τοὺς τῶν ἑστώτων φθόγγων λόγους, τούς γε κατὰ τὴν ὕλην· ἀλλ' οὐ πρῶτος· εἶτα δέον διελεῖν τὸν τξ ἀριθμὸν, εἰς τοὺς ἀριθμοὺς τοὺς περιέξοντας αὐτοὺς τοὺς τῶν ἑστώτων φθόγγων λόγους, καὶ ἀπονεῖμαι ἑκάστῳ τῶν φθόγγων, τὸν ἀνάλογον ἀριθμὸν, οὐδὲν τοιοῦτο πεποίηκεν, ἐπ' ἄλλ' ἄττα μὴ προσήκοντα ἐκτραπείς·

Τὸ μὲν δὴ πρῶτον τῶν ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ κεφαλαίῳ ἁμαρτημάτων, περὶ τὸ ἐν ἀριθμοῖς συμβεβηκὸς πρῶτον, τοιοῦτόν ἐστι· δεύτερον δὲ, ὅτι τοῦ Πτολεμαίου παραλαμβάνοντος ἐνταῦθα τοὺς ἀριθμοὺς, ὡς ἀναγκαίους πρὸς τὸν τῆς παραβολῆς λόγον, καὶ ὡς ἀδυνάτου ὄντος, ἄνευ τῶν ἀριθμῶν τὰ τῆς παραβολῆς δειχθῆναι, οὗτος ἡμῖν τοιαύτας παραδίδωσι παραβολὰς, οἵας μηδενὸς δεῖσθαι ἀριθμοῦ, πλὴν τοῦ τοῖς σχηματισμοῖς συστοίχου· δῆλον δὲ, εἴ τις τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἀφελόμενος καὶ πάντα τὰ περιττὰ, οὑτωσὶ μεταβάλοι τὸν λόγον, τεμνομένου γὰρ τοῦ παντὸς κύκλου εἵς τε δύο ἴσα· καὶ τρία· καὶ δ· καὶ ς, τὸν μὲν κατὰ διάμετρον σχηματισμὸν, (σελήνης) πρὸς ἥλιον, ἢ ἄλλού τινος τῶν πλανωμένων, κατὰ τὸ ἥμισυ φαμὲν εἶναι τῆς ὅλης περιφερείας, τὸν δὲ τρίγωνον, κατὰ τὸ τρίτον· τὸν δὲ |82r τετράγωνον, κατὰ τὸ τέταρτον· τὸν δὲ ἑξάγωνον κατὰ τὸ ς^{ov}· τούτοις δὲ παραβαλλομένου τοῦ τελείου συστήματος, ὁ μὲν προσλαμβανόμενος παραβληθήσεται τῇ \κατὰ/ τὸ ἡμικύκλιον στάσει· ἡ δὲ τῶν μέσων ὑπάτη, τῇ κατὰ τὸ τριτημόριον· ἡ δὲ νήτη διεζευγμένων, τῇ κατὰ τὸ τέταρτον· ἡ δὲ νήτη ὑπερβολαίων, τῇ κατὰ τὸ ἕκτον·

Οὕτως οὖν τοῦ λόγου μεταβληθέντος, ἆρ' ἔστι τι ἔλαττον ἔχουσα ἡ τῆς ὁμοιότητος ἀπόδοσις; οὐδαμῶς· οὐκοῦν εἰ ὄντος τὲ καὶ μὴ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ, οἱ αὐτοὶ τῇ παραβολῇ σῴζονται λόγοι, περιέργως ὁ ἀριθμὸς εἴληπται· ἔτι δὲ φανερόν ἐστι τοῦτο μᾶλλον καὶ ἐκ τοῦ δυνατὸν εἶναι τοῖς τοιούτοις ἀριθμοῖς χρῆσθαι πρὸς παράστασιν τῆς τῶν φθόγγων πρὸς τὰς στάσεις ἀνομοιότητος· σκόπει γάρ· ἐπεὶ ἡ μὲν κατὰ διάμετρον στάσις μοιρῶν ἐστιν ρπ· ἡ δὲ καθ' ἑξάγωνον ξ, ὧν τριπλασίων ἐστὶν ὁ λόγος, ἀδύνατον τὴν μὲν, τῷ προσλαμβανομένῳ ἐοικέναι· τὴν δὲ, τῇ νήτῃ

τῶν ὑπερβολαίων· ὧν τετραπλασίων ἐστὶν ὁ λόγος· καὶ πάλιν ἐπεὶ ἡ μὲν τρίγωνος στάσις μοιρῶν ἐστιν ρκ, ἡ δὲ τετράγωνος ϱ, ὧν ἐπίτριτός ἐστιν ὁ λόγος, ἀδύνατον τῇ μὲν, τὴν ὑπάτην μέσων, τῇ δὲ, τὴν νήτην διεζευγμένων ἐοικέναι, ὧν διπλασίων ἐστὶν ὁ λόγος· καὶ ἁπλῶς ῥᾴστά τις τοῖς ἀριθμοῖς τούτοις παρακολουθῶν ἀποδείξει, μηδὲν μετεῖναι ταῖς στάσεσι πρὸς τοὺς φθόγγους ὁμοιότητος· ὥστε πρός γε τὴν ὁμοιότητα, οὐδὲν χρησιμεύουσιν· ἀδύνατον γὰρ ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν τἀναντία συμπεραίνεσθαι·

Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου ἐπαγγελ|82vλομένου δείξειν ἐοικότας τοὺς ἑστῶτας τῶν φθόγγων ταῖς πρώταις σφαίραις τῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, οὗτος οὐ ταύταις, οὐ τοῖς ἐν αὐταῖς[j] σώμασιν· ἀλλὰ τοῖς τούτων διαστήμασι τοὺς φθόγγους παραβάλλει· σφαίρας δὲ πρώτας ὀνομάζει Πτολεμαῖος, οὐ τοὺς ἀστέρας αὐτούς· ἀλλ' ἐν αἷς αὐτοὶ φέρονται· οἷον σεληνιακὴ μὲν σφαῖρα ἐστὶν, ἐν ᾗ ἡ σελήνη φέρεται· αὕτη δέ ἐστιν, ἧς κέντρον μὲν τὸ αὐτὸ τῷ παντὶ διάστημα δὲ, τὸ μέγιστον τῆς σελήνης ἀπόστημα· ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἡλίου· ἡλιακὴ λέγεται σφαῖρα, ἧς κέντρον μὲν, τὸ εἰρημένον. διάστημα δὲ, τὸ μέγιστον αὐτοῦ ἀπόστημα· καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὁμοίως· ἑπτὰ δὲ οὐσῶν τῶν τοιούτων σφαιρῶν, ἰσαρίθμων δὲ καὶ τῶν ἑστώτων φθόγγων τοῦ τελείου συστήματος, βούλεται ταύταις τούτους κατὰ βάθος παραβαλεῖν· δι' ἣν δ' αἰτίαν, ἐν τοῖς ἑπομένοις ἔσται δῆλον· οὗτος δὲ, οὐδένα ἐν τούτοις περὶ τῶν τοιούτων σφαιρῶν πεποίηται λόγον·

Φανερὸν οὖν ἐκ τούτων ὅτι ἀνοικείως ἔχει πρὸς τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν τὸ τοιοῦτον κεφάλαιον· ἥμαρτε δέ τι παρὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἕτερον ἐν τῷδε τῷ κεφαλαίῳ, τὸ τὰς τῶν διισταμένων διαστάσεις κατὰ τὰς περιφερείας ἐκλαμβάνειν· δέον κατὰ τὴν ἐπιζευγνυμένην ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑτέρου ἐπὶ τὸ ἕτερον εὐθεῖαν· δύο γὰρ δοθέντων σημείων ἀπείρων μὲν δι' αὐτῶν δυναμένων γράφεσθαι περιφερειῶν, εὐθείας δὲ μόνον μιᾶς, κατ' οὐδεμίαν τῶν περιφερειῶν φαμὲν αὐτὰ διίστασθαι |83r ἀπ' ἀλλήλων· ἄπειροι γὰρ ἂν. οὕτω γε τῶν αὐτῶν αἱ διαστάσεις εἶεν· ἀλλὰ κατὰ μόνην τὴν εὐθείαν· αὕτη γὰρ μία καὶ ὡρισμένη, ἅτε ἐλαχίστη οὖσα τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ σημείου ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἀγομένων γραμμῶν· οἷον ἔστωσαν δύο σημεῖα, τὰ ΑΒ· καὶ ἐπεζεύχθω ἡ ΑΒ εὐθεῖα· καὶ τετμήσθω δίχα κατὰ τὸ Γ· καὶ ἀνεστάτω ἀπὸ τοῦ Γ τῇ ΑΒ πρὸς ὀρθὰς ἐφ' ἑκάτερα τὰ μέρη, ἡ ΔΓΕ[k]· ἀπείρων δὴ σημείων δυναμένων λαμβάνεσθαι ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ τῶν ΔΓ ΓΕ, καὶ ἑκάστου τῶν γραφομένων κύκλων κέντρῳ, ἑκάστῳ τῶν σημείων καὶ διαστήματι τῷ ἀπὸ τοῦ σημείου μέχρις ὁποτερουοῦν τῶν ΑΒ σημείων ἥκοντος, καὶ διὰ τοῦ ἑτέρου, ἀπείρους συμβήσεται ἀπὸ τοῦ Α ἐπὶ τὸ Β περιφερείας γράφεσθαι· εἰλήφθω γὰρ τυχὸν σημεῖον ἐπὶ τῆς ΔΓ, τὸ Ζ· καὶ ἐπεζεύχθωσαν αἱ ΖΑ, ΖΒ· καὶ ἐπεὶ ἴση ἐστὶν ἡ ΑΓ τῇ ΓΒ, κοινὴ δὲ καὶ πρὸς ὀρθὰς ἡ ΓΖ, ἴση ἄρα ἐστὶν ἡ ΖΑ τῇ ΖΒ· ὁ ἄρα κέντρῳ μὲν τῷ Ζ· διαστήματι δὲ τῷ ΖΑ κύκλος γραφόμενος, ἥξει καὶ διὰ τοῦ Β σημείου· γεγράφθω· καὶ ἔστω ὁ ΑΗΒ· ὁμοίως δὲ κἂν ἄλλο τι σημεῖον ἐπὶ τῆς ΔΓΕ[l] λάβωμεν, ὡς τὸ Θ, καὶ κέντρῳ μὲν αὐτῷ, διαστήματι δὲ τῷ ΘΑ γράψωμεν κύκλον, ἥξει καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ διὰ τοῦ Β σημείου· ἔστω οὖν ὡς ὁ ΑΚΒ[m]· ἀπειραχῶς οὖν τούτου γινομένου, εἰ μὲν κατὰ τὰς περιφερείας αἱ διαστάσεις τῶν διισταμένων νοοῦνται, ἄπειροι ἔσονται τοῦ Β ἀπὸ τοῦ Α διαστάσεις· |83v ἄπειροι γὰρ αἱ περιφέρειαι· ὅπερ ἄτοπον· εἰ δὲ ἀνάγκη μίαν εἶναι καὶ ὡρισμένην τὴν τοῦ Β, ἀπὸ τοῦ Α διάστασιν, μία δὲ καὶ ὡρισμένη ἐστὶν ἡ ΑΓΒ[n] εὐθεῖα, ἐλάττων γὰρ αὐτῆς ἢ μείζων εὐθεῖα, ἀπὸ τοῦ Α ἐπὶ τὸ Β οὐκ ἀχθήσεται, ἀνάγκη τὴν ΑΓΒ[o] εὐθεῖαν, τὴν διάστασιν εἶναι, ἣν φαμὲν τὰ ΑΒ ἀπ' ἀλλήλων διίστασθαι, καὶ οὐ τὴν ΑΗΒ περιφέρειαν· ἢ τὴν ΑΚΒ, ἢ ἄλλην τινά· οὕτως οὖν καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ζῳδιακοῦ τὰ διαμετροῦντα ἄλληλα σώματα, τὴν διάμετρον αὐτὰ [[δια]] διεστηκέναι φαμὲν, εὐθεῖαν οὖσαν καὶ οὐ τὴν περιφέρειαν· σημεῖον δὲ, πλεῖστον αὐτὰ διεστᾶναι λέγομεν, οὐ τῷ τὴν ἡμίσειαν τῆς ὅλης περιφερείας μεγίστην εἶναι· ἔστι γὰρ αὐτῆς καὶ μείζονα λαβεῖν· ἀλλὰ τῷ τὴν διάμετρον μεγίστην εἶναι τῶν ἐν τῷ κύκλῳ εὐθειῶν· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰ τριγωνίζοντα ἄλληλα, φαμὲν διεστᾶναι τὴν τοῦ ἰσοπλεύρου τριγώνου πλευρὰν, τοῦ ἐγγραφομένου εἰς τὸν κύκλον. ἥτις ὑποτείνει τὸ τρίτον τῆς ὅλης περιφερείας· τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων στάσεων· φανερὸν δὲ καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν ὀνομάτων· τρίγωνος γὰρ ὀνομάζεται σχηματισμὸς, οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ τρίτου τῆς περιφερείας· ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς ὑποτεινούσης αὐτὸ εὐθείας. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τετράγωνος, ἀπὸ τῆς \τοῦ/ τετραγώνου πλευρᾶς, εὐθείας οὔσης· ὥστε οὐκ ὀρθῶς τῶν τοιούτων σχηματισμῶν τὰς διαστάσεις, κατὰ τὰς περιφερείας εἴληφεν· ἰστέον μέντοι ὡς οἱ ἀστρονόμοι χρῶνται μὲν τῷ τῆς διαστάσεως

ὀνόματι, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν περιφερειῶν· |84r ὡς ὁπόταν ἐπὶ τοῦ ζῳδιακοῦ κύκλου τὴν ἀπὸ ἐποχῆς τινὸς τῶν ἀστέρων, μέχρις ἐποχῆς ἄλλου τινὸς ἐπισκέπτωνται περιφέρειαν· πλὴν οὐ κυρίως· ἀλλ' ὁμωνύμως· δηλῶσαι μὲν γὰρ βούλονται μόνον τὴν τῆς μεταξὺ περιφερείας πηλικότητα· δι' οὗ δ' ἂν. ὀνόματος τοῦτο ποιήσωσιν, οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς διαφέρει·

Ἀλλὰ μὲν οὐδὲ ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ κεφαλαίῳ, ἀψάμενος φαίνεται ὅλως τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς· ἡ μὲν γὰρ, τὰς κινήσεις βούλεται τῶν πρώτων ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, σφαιρῶν ἀναγαγεῖν, κατὰ τὰ τάχη, ὑπολόγους ἀριθμητικούς· τούτῳ δὲ, οὔτε περὶ τῶν κινήσεων τῶν σφαιρῶν, οὔτε περὶ τῶν λόγων τῶν κινήσεων ἔστι τις λόγος· ἀλλὰ πάλιν τὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ ζῳδιακοῦ διαστήματα, ὑπόκειται αὐτῷ, τῷ λόγῳ·

Περὶ δὲ τοῦ τρίτου κεφαλαίου, ὅτι μὲν οὐκ ἔστι Πτολεμαίου, δῆλον ἐκ τοῦ τὸν τοῦ Ἄρεος ἀναλόγως ἔχειν τῇ νήτῃ συνημμένων λαμβάνειν· ἐκβαλὼν γὰρ τὸ λεγόμενον συνημμένον σύστημα τοῦ τέλειον εἶναι, ἀποδείξας μόνον εἶναι τοιοῦτον τὸ δὶς διὰ πασῶν, οὐδένα ἐν τοῖς ἑξῆς περὶ τοῦ συνημμένου συστήματος πεποίηται λόγον· οὔτε ἐν ταῖς τοῦ κανόνος κατατομαῖς οὔτε ἐν ταῖς πρὸς τὰς ψυχὰς καὶ τὰ (οὐράνια) παραβολαῖς· ἀλλ' ἐν πᾶσι τὸ τέλειον αὐτῷ ὑπόκειται σύστημα· εἶτα εἰ τὰς πρώτας τῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ σφαίρας τοῖς ἐστῶσι φθόγγοις τοῦ τελείου συστήματος ἐν τῷ ιδ^{ῳ} παρέβαλε, δῆλον ὡς καὶ ἡ τοῦ Ἄρεος, τινὶ τῶν τοιούτων φθόγγων ὑπ' ἐκείνου παρεβλήθη. καὶ οὐ τῇ νήτῃ συνημμένων· ὃς οὐκ ἔστι φθόγγος τοῦ τελείου συστήματος· |84v ὅτι δὲ οὐ καλῶς τῇ ἐπιγραφῇ ἥρμοσται, φανερὸν ἔκ τε τοῦ. τὸν Ἑρμῆν παραλελεῖφθαι πλανώμενον ὄντα, καὶ τοῦ. τοὺς ἑστῶτας μόνον τῶν φθόγγων παρειλῆφθαι, τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς μήτε τινῶν πλανωμένων λεγούσης, μήθ' ἑστώτων φθόγγων· ἀλλ' ἁπλῶς καὶ πλανωμένων καὶ φθόγγων·

Ὃ δὲ μάλιστα θαυμάζω, τοῦ συντεταχότος τὸ τελευταῖον τοῦτο κεφάλαιον, τοῖς πρὸ αὐτοῦ, ὅτι τοῦ "μή τις δὲ οἰέσθω"· ἀναφορὰν βουλομένου ἔχειν πρὸς τὰ προσεχῶς πρὸ αὐτοῦ, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα δέον, τὰ ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ κεφαλαίῳ εἰρημένα τοιαῦτ' εἶναι, ἐφ' οἷς ἂν. ἁρμοζόντως ἐπήγετο τὰ ἐν τούτῳ λεγόμενα, οὐδὲν φροντίσας εἴ τις αὐτοῦ ἐπιλάβοιτο, τὰ ἀνάρμοστα συναρμόσαι ᾠήθη δεῖν· οὐδὲν γάρ ἐστι τῶν ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ, τοιοῦτον, πρὸς ὃ ἂν. ἀνάγοιτο τὰ ἐν τῷ, τρίτῳ·

Ἃ μὲν οὖν ἔχοι τις ἂν. εἰπεῖν καὶ περὶ τοῦ μὴ ἀκολούθως ταῖς ἐπιγραφαῖς τὰ κεφάλαια αὐτὸν ἐκθέσθαι, ταῦτά ἐστιν· ὅτι δὲ τοπαράπαν οὐχ ἥψατο τῆς περὶ ταῦτα τοῦ Πτολεμαίου διανοίας, οὐ χαλεπὸν ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων συμπεράνασθαι· ἐξ γὰρ ὄντων ἀναγκαίων αὐτῷ, τηρεῖσθαι, τοῦ θ' ἕτερα τῶν πρότερον λέγειν καὶ μερικώτερα· καὶ τηρήσεων ἐχόμενα· καὶ οἰκείως παραβαλλόμενα· καὶ ὑγιῶς ταῖς λέξεσι δηλούμενα· καὶ οἰκείως ἔχοντα πρὸς τὰς ἐπιγραφὰς, κατὰ πάντα φαίνεται ἡμαρτηκὼς. ταυτά τε τοῖς πρότερον λέγων, καὶ ἐπίσης καθόλου μήτε τηρήσεσι προσχρώμενος, |85r μήτε οἰκείαν ποιούμενος τὴν παραβολὴν, μεθ' ὑγιῶς ἀπαγγέλλων, μήτε περὶ ὧν εἰσιν αἱ ἐπιγραφαὶ τὸν λόγον ποιούμενος·

Τὰ μὲν δὴ τῆς ἀνασκευῆς, ἐνταῦθα πέρας ἐχέτω. καιρός δ' ἂν. εἴη λοιπὸν ἅπερ οἰόμεθ' αὐτοὶ ὀρθῶς ἔξειν, ἐντεῦθεν ἐκθέσθαι προδιορισαμένους τοσοῦτον, ὅτι παραβαλὼν ἐν τοῖς πρότερον Πτολεμαῖος τὰ ἐν ἁρμονικῇ, διαστήματα τοῖς κατ' οὐρανὸν, ἐν τούτοις βούλεται αὐτὰ τὰ ποιοῦντα τὰ διαστήματα παραβαλεῖν· ἅπερ ἔστιν ἐκεῖ μὲν φθόγγοι· ἐνταῦθα δὲ, αἵ τε πρῶται τῶν ἐν τῷ, κόσμῳ σφαῖραι, καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐταῖς φερόμενα σώματα· τριῶν δὲ τούτων περὶ ταῦτα ὄντων· ὄγκων τε καὶ κινήσεων καὶ δυνάμεων, ἐν μὲν τῷ ιδ^{ῳ}, βούλεται παραδοῦναι τὴν κατὰ τοὺς ὄγκους παραβολήν· ἐν δὲ τῷ ιε^{ῳ}, τὴν κατὰ τὰς κινήσεις· ἐν δὲ τῷ ις^{ῳ}, τὴν κατὰ τὰς δυνάμεις· λέγωμεν τοίνυν

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[a] διωρίσθω mNP^{1}V : διορίσθω M [b] τῶν αὐτῶν e τὸν αὐτὸν fecit m.1 M [c] τοῦ πρώτου e τῷ πρότῳ fecit m.1 M [d] τὸ e corr. M [e] λογικῆς ἐστιν e corr. M [f] προσλαμβανόμενον e corr. M [g] –διτρίτῳ e corr. M [h] αὐτοῖς corr. e του– M [i] δὲ e με fecit m.1 M [j] αὐταῖς NV : αὐτοῖς M [k] ΔΓΕ e corr. M [l] ΔΓΕ λάβωμεν e corr. M [m] ΑΚΒ NV : ΑΗΒ M [n] ΑΓΒ N : ΑΒ V : ΑΓ M [o] ΑΓΒ N : ΑΒ V : ΑΒΓ M

TRANSLATION OF THE *REFUTATIO*

Refutation of the three chapters added to the last titles of the third <book> of Ptolemy's harmonics; by the monk Barlaam

Since you[90] ask us to explain the titles of the unpreserved chapters too[91], and to publish what exactly Ptolemy said about them, I shall try myself—after setting out first the chapters some authors[92] did not finely tune[93] to the titles mentioned, and after refuting, by closely following Ptolemy's astronomic and harmonic models, the points where they are not correct—to say about them all that will seem *to me*[94] to be in consonance with what has been said by him about the heavenly bodies and the harmonic systems. The added chapters are indeed as above[95]. The first 2 of them appear to have been recently authored by someone among our contemporaries[96]; I infer this |10 from the fact that <these chapters> do not show up witnessed anywhere in the oldest copies[97]. The last <chapter> was authored by someone of old, for in the oldest copies we have found it as part of the text somewhere in the middle of the third <book> of the harmonics[98]. That this is not Ptolemy's either, nor does it fit[99] the last title, will be clear in what follows[100]. Nevertheless, for the sake of a greater simplicity I shall frame my argument as if the three chapters were authored by the same person.

Now, let the beginning be this: anyone willing to be, in these <chapters>, in keeping with Ptolemy's thought must carefully meet six requirements.

First, never say the same as what has already been said in the foregoing chapters. For instance, since in the previous <chapters> something related to astronomy has been mapped[101] into some-

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[90] The addressee is not named, and it might well be fictitious.

[91] This adverbial καί "too" does not entail that Barlaam explained other portions of the *Harmonica*. Adverbial καί is highly idiomatic of ancient Greek; its abundance is a notorious headache for any translator. For adverbial καί in Greek mathematics see F. ACERBI, The Logical Syntax of Greek Mathematics (*Sources and Studies in the History of Mathematics and the Physical Sciences*). Heidelberg – New York 2021, 297–299.

[92] We use "author(s)" (and "opponent(s)" in these footnotes), but Barlaam refers to them by means of pronouns. Here, as intermittently elsewhere, we have turned the construct from passive to active. Passive constructs are much more idiomatic in Greek than in English; their frequency in the *Refutatio* is not higher than one would expect though.

[93] We take it that Barlaam makes deliberate use of technical terms of harmony in their generic sense. Two technical ranges are involved: the one that includes the verb ἐναρμόζω "to tune" and the adjective ἀνάρμοστος "out of tune", and the one that includes συμφώνως "in consonance", as at line 7 below.

[94] Italics translates the particle γε.

[95] This sentence proves that the presence of *Harm*. III 14–16 before the *Refutatio* is an original, and essential, feature of the *Refutatio* itself.

[96] This "someone" (and our "opponent") is Nikephoros Gregoras. Barlaam, a sharp polemicist, never mentions the polemical targets of his technical writings; for the *Demonstratio* being aimed at George Pachymeres, see ACERBI, Barlaam's Paraphrase 10.

[97] The oldest witness—and the only independent one—of the texts located as the last three chapters of the *Harmonica* is Par. Coislin 173, the blueprint of Gregoras' exegetic work on Ptolemy's treatise, annotated by Gregoras himself. See the section "A Background to the *Refutatio*" for a fuller discussion.

[98] The oldest witness of "*Harm*. III 16" in the position specified by Barlaam is Monac. gr. 361a, f. 40v. The *Harmonica* in this manuscript was annotated by Gregoras, and collated by Gregoras' pupil Philotheos of Selymbria against a witness carrying Gregoras' recension. See again the section "A Background to the *Refutatio*" for a fuller discussion.

[99] The lexical range of οἰκεῖος "fitting" is crucial to the *Refutatio*. It figures in three of the six requirements the additional chapters should meet to be regarded as originally Ptolemaic, see lines 33–38.

[100] We shall keep in translation almost all proleptic sentences. These are typical of the Greek language, and an obvious rhetorical tool Barlaam uses to convey saliency to his opponent's mistakes.

[101] We translate παραβάλλω by "to map" and παραβολή by "mapping". The point is that the παραβολή here is really a "mapping" in a mathematical sense, namely, a one-to-one correspondence between two sets that preserves some relevant relations between the elements of the sets (we hesitated over "isomorphism"). Using a technical term of modern mathematics is validated by the fact that παραβάλλω "to apply" (within the so-called "theory of application of areas"; see *Elem*. II 14 and VI 28–29) and παραβολή "application", hence "parabola" (see most famously Apollonius, *Con*. I 11), are also technical

thing related to harmonics[102], one must be careful about there not coming about again, in these matters, a mapping between the same items; for it is clear that here[103] Ptolemy wanted |20 to map items pertaining to astronomy[104] into items pertaining to harmonics that are different from the previous ones. Second, <one must be careful>[105] about that which will be said in these matters being encompassed by a more particular outlook, and not holding in general, on an equal level to what precedes. For as the approach to these matters is double—a general one whenever all or most of the items are taken into account, a specific one for each of the items taken particularly—<Ptolemy> has discussed general matters up to the thirteenth <chapter>, and undertakes to discuss specific matters here; for at the end of the chapter he states[106]: "Now, from such relations of similarity as these we can grasp most clearly the general concordances between the features distinguishing melodic intervals and those distinguishing the heavenly motions. It remains to investigate, in each particular case too, what has been reliably detected by observation through what has come about"[107]. Then, what will be said after this must relate to what has already been said as the particular to the general. Third, <one must be careful> about the relations of similarity that will be stated between these items gaining |30 their warrant from what has long been detected by factual observation. For Ptolemy himself undertakes to do that, namely, to investigate what has been reliably detected by observation through events that have frequently come about in the Universe[108]: clearly, these are the events that turn out to take on the principle of their understanding through factual observation. Then, the subsequent arguments must be made to depend on some such events. Fourth, <one must be careful> about the mapping being fit, and not such that dissimilar items[109] came to agree with one another, but such that, as far as possible, similar items did that[110], and in such a way that some shared essential property[111] was mapped; for one should not assert that random items are alike; on the contrary, in an argument, one should map into one another such items as also keep some simi-

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terms of Greek geometry. The last meaning gave rise to παραβολή "division" as a technical term of Greco-Byzantine logistic.

[102] Ptolemy does this from *Harm*. III 8 on.

[103] That is, in the missing chapters whose titles have been preserved. Barlaam takes it for granted that Ptolemy did write these lost chapters, despite a Byzantine debate, witnessed by scholia stemming from Gregoras' recension, about Ptolemy's untimely death leaving the *Harmonica* incomplete (see DÜRING, Die Harmonielehre LXXXI–LXXXIII).

[104] Barlaam frequently uses the standard locutions τὰ τῆς X and τὰ περὶ X to denote the items related to discipline X, and ultimately discipline X itself. We always translate with periphrases, like "items pertaining to" here or "items related to" just above. We normally nominalise Greek gender neuter in the plural by adding "items".

[105] The syntax of the list of requirements is complex, and the scope of the ruling verb wide.

[106] Contrary to Düring's edition, Barlaam locates the quote at the end of a chapter, which is indeed the case in all witnesses of the text prior to Barlaam. Some of these manuscripts do not carry a coherent partition into chapters though.

[107] *Harm*. III 14, 109, 8–11 Düring, which echoes the opening statement at III 8, 100, 26–28 Düring. We adapt the translation in BARKER, Greek Musical Writings II 388. The quotes from Ptolemy are part of Barlaam's strategy of refutation.

[108] Barlaam takes up Ptolemy's sentence, which he has just quoted, and he completes it with πολλάκις "frequently" and ἐν τῷ παντί "in the Universe"; he also specifies the συμπτώματα "events" as the object of the dangling participle γενομένων.

[109] Writing "dissimilar items come to agree with dissimilar items", as Greek idiomatically does, is opaque in English. We modify the expression, here as elsewhere.

[110] In clauses that contrast the approach of the opponent and what Barlaam claims he should have done, the former comes usually first, and within a negative clause. Giving saliency to the opponent's wrong approach is part of Barlaam's strategy of refutation.

[111] Our translation of Barlaam's syntagm nominalises the verb συμβαίνω "to occur" to the standard Aristotelian term τὸ συμβεβηκός "essential property" (see H. BONITZ, Index Aristotelicus. Berolini 1870 s.v. συμβαίνειν 3*b*), a term that will occur—within an obvious reference to the clause at line 120 (which is in its turn nearly the same as the one here)—at line 130 below (see also line 223). A less connoted translation is simply "some shared property was mapped", litt. "something identical has happened to be mapped", but Barlaam's barring, in the subsequent clause, random items from being mapped into one another makes us believe that he wanted to bar random shared properties too. To clarify our point, items in harmonics and aspects share the property of being named by a syntagm that contains more than two Greek letters, but this cannot count as a property relevant for their being mapped into one another. Finding properties that allow to establish even the weirdest mappings is easy as well.

larity as a matter of fact[112]. Fifth, using a phrasing which is correct and fits the underlying objects. Sixth, <one must be careful> about each chapter fitting its own title, so that, even if the title is missing, anyone can find it out starting from the argument itself.

Now, these six requirements necessarily ought to be observed by anyone willing not to fall short altogether |40 of Ptolemy's goals about these matters; however, it will appear that the author of the present chapters took no heed of any of them.

As for the first requirement, in the ninth and tenth <chapter> of the present treatise[113] Ptolemy has already expounded completely a mapping of the circle of the zodiac into items in harmonics[114]—in such a way that the aspects[115] he came to regard as concordant and active are in a relation of similarity to the concords of the attunement[116], both because the former are made up of sections exactly equal in number to the concords and because such configurations[117] encompass the ratios of homophones and concords[118] in addition to the tone—and <he has expounded> what configurations seem like what concords—namely, an opposition, an octave concord, a trine, a fifth, a quartile, a fourth—and he added the cause of the similarity, and further he set aside a discussion about such things insofar |50 as already completed, when he says: "then, let that be a sufficient account of circular motion itself, considered in respect of both kinds of harmony, and of the configurations that are generally called 'concordant' and 'discordant'"[119]. As if nothing of the sort were said, our author expounds again to us a mapping of these same <heavenly items> to harmonic items[120], by claiming that an opposition, which <Ptolemy> mapped into an octave concord, is like *proslambanomenos*, that a trine, which has been mapped by <Ptolemy> into a fifth concord, is like *hypatē mesōn*, that a quartile, which <Ptolemy> had mapped into a fourth, is like *nētē diezeugmenōn*. Further, since such configurations are determined according to the exact positions of the planets, and the exact positions are observed along the circle of the zodiac, it is manifest that in this case the author also turns out to carry out, by means of number 360, a partition of the zodiacal circle. Consequently, it occurs to him to discuss here again the similarity of the |60 perfect system and of the zodiacal circle—something <Ptolemy> had already discussed[121]—number 360 being just brought to bear in addition in these <chapters>—and this, to no purpose and on the grounds of bad logic[122], as of course regards the argument about their similarity. For if an opposition is really like *proslambanomenos*, as the author claims, whether one keeps the semicircle uncut or cuts it in as many <parts> as one pleases, nevertheless their similarity will stand. For it is unreasonable to claim that an opposition is like *proslambanomenos* the semicircle being cut into 180 equal segments, whereas, when

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[112] Here and at line 71, "as a matter of fact" translates φύσει.

[113] See again the section "A Background to the *Refutatio*" for a fuller discussion. Writing τοῦ παρόντος συντάγματος "of the present treatise" is not entirely congruous; read "the treatise under present examination". One also expects to find the indication of the book.

[114] The clause is asyntactic as it stands. No ancient copyist corrected it though. We did that hesitatingly.

[115] The στάσεις are the astrological "aspects", for which see the classical account in A. BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ, L'astrologie grecque. Paris 1899, 165–179. We sometimes omit the noun when it is qualified, as in ἡ διάμετρος στάσις "an opposition".

[116] Here, and to a lesser degree just below, Barlaam's sentences are a patchwork of cut-and-pasted clauses, syntagms, and words from the title of *Harm*. III 9 and from the beginning of this chapter, most notably 102, 2–3 and 10–11 Düring.

[117] Barlaam takes the word "configuration" (σχηματισμός, and σχῆμα at line 51, within Ptolemy's citation) to be a synonym of "aspect", but in *Harm*. III 10 Ptolemy uses it with the meaning of "phase" (see also Ptolemy, *Tetr*. I, 8).

[118] The distinction between homophones and concords is introduced in *Harm*. I 7, 15, 10–14 Düring.

[119] *Harm*. III 10, 104, 18–20 Düring. We adapt the translation in BARKER, Greek Musical Writings II 384.

[120] This is done in *Harm*. III 14, 109, 25–28 Düring.

[121] Ptolemy does this in *Harm*. III 9.

[122] Our "on the grounds of bad logic" is Barlaam's ἀσυλλογίστως. He easily shows that number 360 can (and should) be replaced by a smaller number, but he is unable to prove that the opponent's argument is flawed. The main drawback in Barlaam's refutation here is ascribing the numerical sequence based on 360 a character of necessity that is not borne out by the opponent's argument. Barlaam insists on the number sequence based on 360 because its presence could be perceived as an element of originality in the opponent's exposition with respect to Ptolemy's.

staying uncut or being cut according to another number, <an opposition> is not <like *proslambanomenos*>[123]. Similarly, too, a trine is like *hypatē mesōn* not because the third part of the whole circumference is cut into 120 <parts>: for dividing the whole circumference, or its third part, or its quarter, or whatever else, into so many or so many <parts> is unable to change the power of the associated aspects, either trine, or quartile, or any such other of them. |70 On the contrary, the same similarity of such configurations to items in harmonics will in any case stand, into however many <parts> one cuts the whole circumference of the circle: for this similarity belongs to them as a matter of fact, whereas any partition into so many <parts> turns out to be conceived for the sake of the argument only. Consequently, the number actually taken in this case does not convey any necessary support to the similarities set out[124]. This is also clear from the fact that it is possible to prove the same things by taking a smaller number too: for the entire circle being cut into twelve equal segments too, if one wished to call each of the segments "degree", it will be possible for him to prove without any loss, by means of the same words, everything that has been said in the first and in the second chapter, just by taking other numbers, 12 instead of 360, 6 instead of 180, 4 instead of 120, 3 instead of 90, 2 instead of 60[125].

So, it is manifest from what has been said that, in these <chapters>, the author also turns out to map into harmonic items |80 exactly such astronomical items as have been mapped by Ptolemy. Further, there is nothing of what is said in the second chapter that was not said before either: for that the concord of a fourth is in a sesquitertian ratio, a fifth in a sesquialter ratio, an octave in a double ratio, a double octave in a quadruple ratio, and that, exactly as a sesquitertian ratio compounded with a sesquialter gives a double ratio, so the concord of a fourth compounded with a fifth also gives an octave—all of this has been abundantly said in the 7th and in the 8th <chapter> of the first <book> of the harmonics, whereas the way such concords stand in a relation of similarity to the partitions of the zodiac, this has been expounded in the 9th <chapter> of the third <book>. Consequently, in this second chapter the author did not really say anything more than before—on the contrary, the author even did so quite defectively, for he has neglected two concords[126], whereas Ptolemy has repeatedly discussed the ratios of all concords, each of each, by referring to a partition of the zodiac |90 into 12 <parts>. Moreover[127], that which is said in these chapters is not really encompassed by a more particular outlook beyond what has been said before, as it should be according to Ptolemy's undertaking. For the argument about the active configurations is part of a general discourse about the planets: for four of the planets[128] can be in opposition and in trine and in quartile and in sextile both to one another and to the remaining three; this is also why Ptolemy discussed these issues in those <chapters> in which he undertook to discuss a general approach to them.

That what is said here does not gain warrant from what has been detected by factual observation either, as it should be according to what Ptolemy itself said, this is manifest. For dividing the whole

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123 The opponent never states the second clause of this sentence.

124 The gist of the argument is this: as no specific number sequence conveys any necessary support to the similarities set out, any sequence is used to no purpose. As pointed out in the next-to-last footnote, Barlaam's actual argument purports to (dis)prove more, for he (tendentiously) has his opponent claim that the numerical sequence based on 360 is necessary for mapping aspects into items in harmonics. This argument will be refined at lines 235–246.

125 This sequence of numbers will be (implicitly) used more than once by Barlaam because they are the smallest numbers that have the same ratios as the sequence based on 360; Ptolemy uses these numbers in *Harm*. III 9, and asserts that we should reasonably expect that Nature made the zodiac a twelve-part item because the perfect system spans almost exactly twelve tones (103, 12–104, 2). This is one of the key technical points of Barlaam's refutation.

126 The neglected concords are an octave plus a fifth and an octave plus a fourth, see *Harm*. III 9, 102, 27–29 and 102, 31–103, 2 Düring, respectively.

127 Checking the second of Barlaam's requirements takes a handful of lines, from here to the end of the paragraph.

128 This must be Barlaam's slip, for the correct numbers appear to be five (Sun, Moon, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn) and two (Mercury and Venus, neither of which can form any of the four aspects with the Sun).

circle or its parts into so many or so many <parts>, and to claim that this aspect is like this note, and this one is like this one, and spending so much detail about what numbers contain such-and-such a ratio and what such-and-such a one, and about what ratio is compounded |100 of what <ratios>[129]—all of this could not be grasped through any observation, not does it pertain to sense-perception, but to abstract modelling[130]. This is why the author of these chapters did not adduce anything of the sort to lend credibility to his arguments either. Further, he has also carried out the mapping of the items set out in a way that is altogether out of tune. First, he did not adduce any proof of the similarity of the items set out[131]. For it is not enough to claim that this is like that, but one must also add the reason for the similarity, something Ptolemy appears to do everywhere, both when he spells out the relations of similarity and when he adduces elements of credibility for them. Take the concords: when he says that the concord of an octave is like an opposition in a circle, he adduced three pieces of evidence[132] for this[133]: (1) that the double ratio is contained in both of them and (2) that <this ratio> pertains more to equality than the other aspects and concords[134], and (3) that both the oppositions of the heavenly bodies on the zodiac and the notes that make |110 to one another an octave are the most active ones[135]. Similarly, he also related the mappings of the others to corroborating evidence[136]. For the job of a scientist about each object of study is not only to prove the fact, but also the reason why[137]. The author, on the contrary, while claiming that the standing notes are like the aspects set out, does not adduce any evidence. Well, this was a mistake[138], and also the fact that he mapped dissimilar items into one another[139]. For there being two kinds of item in both sciences, the distances[140] and the things that make the distances, namely, what is set at a distance, it is reasonable to map distances into distances and what is set at a distance into what is set at a distance, a requirement which is everywhere met with the greatest care by Ptolemy. The author, on the contrary, maps distances into what is set at a distance, thereby doing something utterly absurd. For he makes *proslambanomenos*, which is set at a distance and productive of a

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[129] On compounded ratios see F. ACERBI, Composition and Removal of Ratios in Geometric and Logistic Texts from the Hellenistic to the Byzantine Period, in: Revolutions and Continuity in Greek Mathematics, ed. M. Sialaros. Berlin 2018, 131–188.

[130] The copying mistake λογιστικῆς "computational" for λογικῆς "abstract", found in some witnesses and very likely in M before correction, was certainly induced by the list of actions it refers to.

[131] Barlaam is widening the scope of his third requirement, something he is not entitled to do in a dialectical game, once he has clearly set out the grounds of his refutation.

[132] The term τεκμήριον "piece of evidence", allowing to establish a demonstrative argument, is standard Aristotelian terminology: see *Rh*. II 25, 1402b13–20 and 1403a10–16.

[133] *Harm*. III 8, 101, 18–26 Düring. Here again, Barlaam uses only words that can be read in the *Harmonica*.

[134] This is explained in *Harm*. I 7, 15, 24–25 Düring.

[135] Of course, Ptolemy's—and Barlaam's—ἐνεργητικώτατοι "most active" is an astrological term, even if there are no occurrences in Ptolemy's *Apotelesmatica*, in Paul of Alexandria, or in Hephaestion, all of which use ἐνεργής. The term occurs in Vettius Valens.

[136] See *Harm*. III 9, 103, 5–12 Düring, but Barlaam is slightly cheating here.

[137] Litt. "to prove 'that', but also 'because'". This is a standard Aristotelian distinction: see *APo*. I 13. We adopt the translation in J. BARNES, Aristotle, Posterior Analytics. 2nd ed. Oxford 1993.

[138] The transition to the discussion of the fourth requirement takes place here.

[139] This is the most obvious blunder in the chapters added by the opponent, for (1) the mapping associates relations with terms and (2) this move is patently at variance with Ptolemy's discussion in *Harm*. III 9 (for whose drawbacks, however, see the notes in BARKER, Greek Musical Writings II 381–385). Barlaam rightly, and mercilessly, insists on this point (which BARKER, Greek Musical Writings II 389 concealed in translation). Here as elsewhere, our translation does not use the same construct as the Greek expression.

[140] This is the first occurrence of a diabolical wordplay by Barlaam, namely, the one involving the lexical range of διὰ + ἵστημι, which denotes items set apart and the interval that separates them. We keep the wordplay and translate διάστημα by "distance" (usually, "interval"), διίσταμαι by "to be set at a distance", διάστασις by the atrocious "distancing", and, when it does not mean "aspect", στάσις by "standing". The only exception to our translation rule is rendering διάστημα by "radius" in the formulaic expression for tracing a circle with a given centre and radius (first occurrence at line 267).

distancing but is not a distance, similar to the opposition distancing[141], and similarly for the others too. Now, since we say that such items are like |120 to one another as share some essential property, what on earth did you[142] find shared by *proslambanomenos* and an opposition enabling you to claim that they can be mapped into one another? For opposition is the widest and most active aspect as compared to the others[143], whereas *proslambanomenos* is the smallest and feeblest note in the perfect system because it is the lowest of all. And, the double ratio of the whole circle to a semicircle and of the diameter to the radius is contained in an opposition, whereas in *proslambanomenos*, or in any other note, no ratio is contained, for <Ptolemy> says "taken in isolation, no note can be in a ratio, and each of them is undifferentiated with respect to itself, for a ratio is a relation and occurs first in two <terms>"[144], and an opposition lies between any two items that are set at a distance in opposition to one another, whereas *proslambanomenos* does not turn out to have this property, for in the perfect system there is no note lower than it. Then, how will *proslambanomenos* be possibly |130 mapped into an opposition, if they do not share any essential property[145]? Next, if *proslambanomenos* is like an opposition, since according to Ptolemy the concord of an octave is like such an aspect[146], and items similar to the same are also similar to one another[147], therefore *proslambanomenos* will be similar to the concord of an octave, what is set at a distance to a distancing, a simple to a composite, a boundary to what is bounded, what cannot be in a ratio to what is in a ratio. And moreover: even if, by converting[148], someone were to claim that *nētē hyperbolaiōn* is like an opposition, *nētē diezeugmenōn* is like a trine, *hypatē mesōn* is like a quartile, *proslambanomenos* is like a sextile—well, if someone were to set out the mapping in such terms, he will not seem to have said anything worse, and possibly even something better, to the extent that he knew to map the most valuable items to one another[149]. Why then will an opposition be more properly mapped into *proslambanomenos* and not into *nētē hyperbolaiōn*[150]? The absurdity of the mapping |140 set out also consists in not comparing the notes to proportionally related aspects[151]. For *nētē hyperbolaiōn* is in a quadruple ratio to *proslambanomenos*, whereas an opposition is in a triple

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[141] One would expect to read στάσει "to the aspect". We do not correct because we assume that Barlaam wants to keep his linguistic lightshow on.

[142] The presence of "you" is the *akmē* of Barlaam's polemical tone; this pronoun makes Barlaam's outrage manifest.

[143] Ptolemy says that at *Harm*. III 8, 101, 24–26 Düring.

[144] *Harm*. I 4, 10, 19–21 Düring. We adapt the translation in BARKER, Greek Musical Writings II 284. For a discussion of the meaning of ἄλογος here required, see F. ACERBI, Unaccountable Numbers. *GRBS* 55 (2015) 902–926: 921–924.

[145] This argument shows that the fundamental mapping in *Harm*. III 14–15 is ill-conceived, for it can be applied only to a bounding note of a system. In the rest of the *Refutatio*, Barlaam more than once assumes such a fundamental mapping as a supposition, and he infers unacceptable conclusions from it.

[146] This is argued at *Harm*. III 8, 101, 12–26 Düring. Barlaam sets out here a standard transitivity argument.

[147] This is the canonical formulation of transitivity rules in Greek mathematics: see the archetypal occurrence in *Elem*. I nc 1; Barlaam generalises here the enunciation of *Elem*. VI 21. See ACERBI, The Logical Syntax 180–184, for a discussion of this kind of statement.

[148] The verb ἀναστρέφω "to convert" is standard for denoting the conversion of a ratio (see *Elem*. V def 16 and V 19 por). The technical verb for converting relations or premises is ἀντιστρέφω (see Aristotle, *Cat*. 7, 6b28–7b14, and *APr*. I 2–3, respectively), which Barlaam will use later (line 155). Barlaam is here inverting the order of one of the two lists before mapping them into one another, so he correctly uses the mathematical term.

[149] Opposition is the most active aspect, *nētē hyperbolaiōn* is the highest note of the perfect system.

[150] Barlaam will identify this typical refutation argument—namely, drawing mutually exclusive conclusions (both are false, according to Barlaam!) from the same premise, thereby proving that this premise is false—at lines 244–245, after using it again. In this case, the false premise is that notes are like aspects (*Harm*. III 14, 109, 25–28 Düring). Barlaam spends his third rhetorical question here.

[151] This argument will be also presented below, see lines 239–243. Barlaam is here conceding two assumptions to his opponent, for he argues on the supposition that notes are like aspects (something he has proved untenable at lines 113–127) and by using the numerical sequence based on 360 (something he has proved to be not necessary at lines 56–78), in order to deduce a παράλογον "absurdity". Of course, and as Barlaam has already pointed out, the ratios between the aspects do not depend on the specific numerical sequence used to "measure" them.

<ratio> to a sextile—for 180 is triple 60. And again, *nētē diezeugmenōn* is in a triple ratio to *proslambanomenos* according to the concord of an octave and a fifth, whereas an opposition is in a double <ratio> to a quartile (the author mapped the above notes into these)—for twice 90 makes 180. Likewise, too, *nētē hyperbolaiōn* is in a sesquitertian ratio to *nētē diezeugmenōn* according to the concord of a fourth, and in a double-sesquiditertian ratio to *hypatē mesōn* according to an octave and a fourth, whereas a sextile is in a sesquialter ratio to a quartile and in a double ratio to a trine. Similarly, while *nētē diezeugmenōn* contains a double ratio to *hypatē mesōn*, |150 the author maps such notes into aspects that contain a sesquitertian ratio, for a trine has this ratio to a quartile. And there is more, as he has mapped in the most dissimilar way the two standing notes that contain the disjunctive tone: for he both used them as one, even if they are two and differentiated as to function[152], and maps them again into the same items <as before>: for, since he claims that these are mapped into the standing from which is the starting point of the distancings mentioned[153], and items that are set at a distance convert with one another—for when Mars is opposite Saturn, then Saturn is opposite Mars too, and both Saturn is in sextile with Jupiter and Jupiter with Saturn, similarly for the others too—it is manifest that he also maps these notes into the four configurations[154]. And let so much be said about the fact that he has carried out his mappings out of tune.

|160 One must speak here about the fact that the author has not used correct phrasing.

First, it occurs to the author that "now, the perfect system of music being mapped into these"[155] be mistaken. For the mapping does not concern such a system as a whole—nor does the title of the chapter undertakes to do that—but the standing notes only, and "of music" is added superfluously and at variance with Ptolemy's usage. As for the former, <it is a mistake> insofar as saying "of the perfect system" would have sufficed—for it is clear to what science such a system relates—; as for the latter, <it is a mistake> insofar as Ptolemy chooses "music" and "musical" when dealing with execution only[156], and he nowhere calls his own treatise "music", but "harmonics". Then, one should have said "of the perfect system of harmonics". Next, "to the standings of these very arithmetical distances"[157] does not sound correct either. For a standing is not a standing of distances, but a standing of what is set at a distance, |170 for what is set at a distance, not the distances, stands. On the contrary, a standing of what is standing is a standing. Moreover, the author is not correct in calling the distances "arithmetical": for let them be called "computable", like "computed" and "measured", and not "arithmetical". For since every distance is a distance of what is set at a dis-

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[152] See *Harm*. III 14, 109, 28–32 Düring; the opponent maps the two notes into one and the same position on the zodiac. The notion of δύναμις "function" of a note is explained in *Harm*. II 5, where Ptolemy also deals with the disjunctive tone.

[153] *Harm*. III 14, 109, 29 Düring.

[154] Barlaam is exceedingly subtle here. His opponent has mapped notes into aspects, with one exception: the two notes that define the disjunctive tone, which are made as it were to coalesce (a move Barlaam disposes of in seven words) and are thereby mapped into a single position on the zodiac (the στάσις in its meaning of "standing"). Barlaam's counterargument runs as follows. Suppose that any of the notes that define the disjunctive tone be mapped into one of the endpoints of an aspect. But an aspect is a symmetric relation (it ἀντιστρέφει "converts"; see the note for line 134 above), and it is identified by a line segment or by a zodiacal arc, which go into themselves if their endpoints are interchanged. Therefore, a note (in fact, anything) attached to an endpoint must also be attached to the other. Consequently, any of the notes that define the disjunctive tone is mapped into both endpoints of an aspect. But an aspect is identified by the position of its endpoints. Therefore, any of these notes is mapped into that aspect itself. But the argument applies to any aspect. Therefore, any of the notes that define the disjunctive tone is mapped into any aspect. Barlaam's argument assumes his opponent's thesis as a supposition and deduces a statement that is logically incompatible with it. This is a kind of self-refuting argument falling under the category the sceptical tradition called περιτροπή. On self-refuting arguments in the Greek philosophical tradition see L. Castagnoli, Ancient Self-Refutation. The Logic and History of the Self-Refutation Argument from Democritus to Augustine. Cambridge 2010.

[155] *Harm*. III 14, 109, 23–24 Düring.

[156] This is not entirely true, as a generic meaning of μουσική "music" is required at 20, 2 and (with reference to Archytas' achievements) 30, 10 Düring, and Didymos is called μουσικός "music theorist" at 41, 19 Düring.

[157] *Harm*. III 14, 109, 25 Düring.

tance, it is correct to call a distance "arithmetical" when and only when what is set at a distance are numbers, whereas what is set at a distance here are the magnitudes of the heavenly bodies. Consequently, such distances should not have been called "arithmetical". Further, "to where is the starting point of the distancings mentioned, namely, in the location in which the standing of the Sun is conceived"[158] is so incongruously[159] phrased. For, as a location is something different from the standing of what stands in it, if the author wanted to carry out the mapping with respect to the standing, after saying "to where is the starting point of the distancings mentioned" he should have added "at which the Sun, or another <heavenly body>, is conceived to stand"; if <he wanted to carry out the mapping> with respect to location instead, he should have written "to the location, in which the position of the Sun is conceived, |180 from which is the starting point of the distancings mentioned": yet, while saying "to the standing", he made it referred to by "in the location", which is so to speak incongruous and asyntactic. Similarly, the author mistakenly claimed that the double ratio is proportional to the octave and the quadruple <ratio> to the double octave[160]. For "proportional" is not predicated[161] of ratios, but of the terms that contain the ratios: for the mathematicians nowhere claim that the ratios themselves are proportional to anything, but that the terms that are in a same ratio are[162]. So, let the double ratio be called the "cause" of an octave concord[163], but in no way "proportional" to it.

Further, since the perfect system is called "double octave" in virtue of the extremal notes and "perfect system" in virtue of such-and-such an ordering of the notes between the extremal ones, and it is reduced to the quadruple ratio not in virtue of the intervening notes, but in virtue of the extremal ones, one should not |190 say that the quadruple ratio is proportional to the double octave perfect system[164], but only to the homophone of the double octave: for this system is not reduced to such a ratio insofar as it is perfect, but in virtue of the extremal notes[165]. Consequently, in this case one should have framed the argument about it simply <regarded> as a distance, and not as a system.

So, these are the author's mistakes as to phrasing too.

It is not difficult to see that the chapters do not fit their own titles.

For first, in the first title, Ptolemy announces that he shall substantiate what pertains to his mappings by means of prime numbers, but the author did not use prime numbers. According to the mathematicians, a number can be prime in three ways: in itself, to another, and in order[166]. In itself, it is the <number> that can be measured by a unit only, like 5 or 7; to another, whenever there is no room for any number as a common measure with it, like 8 happens to be to 15, for they are not measured by any and the same number; in order, exactly as when we say that 6 is the first among

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158 *Harm*. III 14, 109, 29–30 Düring.

159 The adverb "incongruously" is ἀμούσως, which is obviously a wordplay.

160 *Harm*. III 15, 110, 10–11 and 12–13 Düring, respectively.

161 The verb form translated by "it is predicated" is κατηγορεῖται, which is perfectly Aristotelian jargon (the κατηγορίαι are the fundamental predicates, and *Cat*. derives its title from its subject-matter).

162 This is the gist of *Elem*. V def 6.

163 This αἴτιον "cause" can only be an Aristotelian formal cause (causes are discussed in *Ph*. II 3).

164 *Harm*. III 15, 110, 11–12 and 19–20 Düring.

165 The opponent commits a logical mistake here. The point is that the feature that makes the extension of the double octave a perfect system—namely, the ordering of the notes between the extremes—is irrelevant to its being mapped into a quadruple ratio. So, the opponent's argument proves too much.

166 See *Elem*. VII def 12 (quoted verbatim) and 13, respectively, for the former two. The third is Barlaam's elaboration on the Euclidean notion of οἱ ἐλάχιστοι ἀριθμοὶ τῶν τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον ἐχόντων "the least numbers of those which have the same ratio as them"; his move is forced by Ptolemy's use of πρῶτος at *Harm*. III 9, 102, 12. Barlaam's third category rests on sound bases, for *Elem*. VII 21–22 prove that two numbers are mutually prime if and only if they are the least of those that have the same ratio as them. Still, if this is true, it is also true that Barlaam's "the mathematicians" is unwarranted, for the *Elements* appears to make a point of not multiplying the meanings attached to πρῶτος "first". The three qualifiers καθ' ἑαυτόν, πρὸς ἕτερον, and τάξει are Barlaam's. Relevant to Barlaam's argument are also the problems *Elem*. VII 33 and 39.

the <numbers> that have a half |200 and a third—since a number less than it does not have such parts—and that 4 is the first among the <numbers> that have a half and a quarter, and similarly for the others. Now, "prime" for numbers being said in three ways, the numbers picked up by the author are not prime in any of these ways, for 360, 180, 120, 90, and 60—these numbers are prime neither in themselves nor to one another, nor are they the first among those that have the same ratios as them. For, since the circle happens to be cut into two, three, four, and 6 equal <parts> by the aspects about which the author is talking, he needed only a number that has a half, a third, a quarter, and a sixth part, and the first <number> among those that have such parts is 12[167], not 360. Now, it is manifest that, were Ptolemy |210 really willing to expound his mappings by means of these numbers, he would have been totally ignorant of arithmetic[168], for he would have ignored what prime in numbers ever is[169]—and that 36 is the first number that encompasses the ratios of the standing notes of the perfect system according to the substrate, namely, to the chords[170], whenever they differ in length only, whereas according to the function of the notes themselves, it is 32. For setting *proslambanomenos* at 36 in chords, *hypatē hypatōn* will be 32 of these, *hypatē mesōn* 24, *mesē* 18, *paramesē* 16, *nētē diezeugmenōn* 12, *nētē hyperbolaiōn* 9; inversely, setting *proslambanomenos* at 8 according to form[171], *hypatē hypatōn* will be 9 of these, *hypatē mesōn* 12, *mesē* 16, *paramesē* 18, *nētē diezeugmenōn* 24, *nētē hyperbolaiōn* 32[172]. Numbers less than these do not encompass such ratios; the author's number 360 does encompass the ratios of the standing notes—of course according to the substrate—|220but not as a prime <number>. Next, even if the author must divide number 360 into the numbers that will encompass the ratios themselves of the standing notes

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167 Compare *Harm*. III 9, 102, 11–13 Düring: Ptolemy picks up number 12 exactly for the same reason, and, as just seen, uses the qualifier πρῶτος in Barlaam's third sense.

168 Of course, this amounts to saying that the opponent is totally ignorant of arithmetic.

169 In Aristotelian jargon, the syntagm τί ἐστι denotes the primary sense of "being" (read the beginning of *Metaph*. Z) and is a synonym of "definition"; the entire Book II of *APo*. is devoted to this. Barlaam inserts πότε "ever" to put emphasis, very much as Aristotle would have done (see BONITZ, Index Aristotelicus, s.v. ποτέ).

170 The difference is between notes as represented on a *kanōn*—which conventionally locates the lowest note (here *proslambanomenos*) at an extreme of the *kanōn* and identifies the others as section points of the *kanōn* itself, so that, a common extreme for all segments being kept fixed, the ratios between the resulting segments are the same as the intervals between the corresponding notes—and notes as represented in a sequence from lowest to highest, which is in fact a cyclic arrangement and constitutes the basis on which Ptolemy's mapping between intervals and aspects rests (see III 8, 101, 6–15 Düring). As there are seven standing notes in the perfect system (namely, the ones listed just below in the text), and as the six intervals between any two adjacent notes are assigned and are asymmetrically distributed (these are 9/8, 4/3, 4/3, 9/8, 4/3, 4/3), two different numerical sequences in least numbers (that is, in Barlaam's third meaning) can be assigned to these seven notes, according to whether we assign the largest ("according to the chords") or the smallest ("according to function") number to *proslambanomenos*. The two sequences are those set out by Barlaam.

171 For δύναμις "function" and εἶδος "form", which Barlaam treats as synonyms, see *Harm*. II 5–6.

172 This appears to be Barlaam's elaboration. The complete sequence of numbers—namely, from 8 to 36, with 21⅓ in addition—is the third column of the συστήματος κοσμικοῦ φθόγγοι ἑστῶτες "standing notes of the cosmic system" in Ptolemy's *Inscriptio Canobi*, which lists, side by side in facing columns, the following items: nine cosmic entities (the seven planets, preceded by the sphere of the fixed stars, and followed by the four elements, paired fire-air and water-earth; Venus and Mercury are paired too); the seven standing notes of the great perfect system, plus the *nētē synēmmenōn*, all of them preceded by †μέση† (μετὰ Vincent) ὑπερβολαίων "after the *hyperbolaiōn*"; and the above-mentioned nine-token numerical sequence, from greater to lesser. This table is followed by short texts listing how many numerical means and how many concords are contained in the numerical sequence (editions in HEIBERG, Claudii Ptolemaei II 154; A. JONES, Ptolemy's *Canobic Inscription* and Heliodorus' Observation reports. *SCIAMVS* 6 [2005] 53–97: 74–76). The table was excerpted (sects. 24–25) and simplified (sects. 1–2) in the so-called *Excerpta Neapolitana* (edition in VON JAN, Musici 411–423), whose earliest witness is Vat. gr. 2338, once one and the same manuscript with the oldest portion of Monac. gr. 361a, the earliest witness of "*Harm*. III 16" as included in III 9 (see the section "A Background to the *Refutatio*"): see ACERBI – PANTERI, Eratosthenes and ACERBI – GIOFFREDA, Harmonica Membra. The table and its witnesses are studied in K. VON JAN, Die Harmonie der Sphären. *Philologus* 52 (1894) 13–37, and SWERDLOW, Ptolemy's *Harmonics* 165–176. See also the scholium with associated diagram (ascribed to Gregoras in other witnesses) in Par. Coislin 173, f. 31v, edited in DÜRING, Die Harmonielehre XCIX, and in ACERBI, I problemi aritmetici 137–138 n. 21 and Testo 6, first transcript.

and assign proportionally a number to each note, he has done nothing of the sort, turning to some other, and unrelated, matters[173].

Thus, the one about what happens to be prime in numbers, such is the first mistake in the first chapter. The second is this[174]: even if Ptolemy selects here numbers as a necessary feature of the mapping argument, and as it is impossible to carry out anything that pertains to the mapping without numbers, nevertheless the author hands down to us such mappings as not needing any numbers except those associated with the configurations. This is clear if one modifies the argument as follows, by eliminating numbers and all the embellishments. For the entire circle being cut into two, three, four, and 6 equal <parts>, we claim that an opposition of the Moon—or of some |230 other planet—to the Sun occurs at half the whole circumference, a trine, at one-third, a quartile, at one-quarter, a sextile, at ⅙. Once the perfect system is mapped into these, *proslambanomenos* will be mapped into the aspect associated with a semicircle, *hypatē mesōn* into the one associated with a third part, *nētē diezeugmenōn* into the one associated with a quarter, *nētē hyperbolaiōn* into the one associated with a sixth.

Now, the argument being thus modified, is the explanation of the similarity being thereby diminished? Not at all. Consequently, if the same arguments in favour of the mapping apply whether numbers are there or not, numbers are introduced to no effect[175]. Further, this is even clearer from the fact that such numbers can be used to corroborate the view that the notes are dissimilar to the aspects. For consider this. Since an opposition is 180 degrees and a sextile 60, whose ratio is |240 triple, it is impossible that the former be like *proslambanomenos* and the latter be like *nētē hyperbolaiōn*, whose ratio is quadruple[176]. And again, since a trine is 120 degrees and a quartile 90, whose ratio is sesquitertian, it is impossible that *hypatē mesōn* be like the former and *nētē diezeugmenōn* be like the latter, whose ratio is double. And in general, by sticking to these numbers, anyone will most easily prove that the aspects do not bear any similarities with the notes—consequently, <these specific numbers> do not corroborate at all the similarity, for it is impossible that opposite conclusions be deduced from the same <premises>[177].

Now indeed, while Ptolemy also announces that he will show that the standing notes are like the first heavenly spheres[178], the author does not map the notes into these nor into the bodies in them, but into the latter's distances. Now, Ptolemy does not call "first spheres" the heavenly bodies themselves, but <the spheres> in which they move: for instance, the lunar sphere is the one in which the Moon |250 moves; this is the <sphere> whose centre is the same as the one of the Universe and whose radius is the maximum elongation[179] of the Moon. Likewise for the Sun too, the solar sphere

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173 The opponent turns to other matters in the second part of *Harm*. III 15, from 110, 17 Düring on.

174 This mistake should not be discussed under the heading "contents that do not fit the title".

175 This argument refines the one at lines 59–78 by showing that any partition of the zodiac other than that induced by the aspects themselves is redundant, if the goal is to map notes into aspects. When Barlaam says "for the entire circle being cut into two, three, four, and 6 equal <parts>, […] occurs at half the whole circumference, a trine, at one-third, a quartile, at one-quarter, a sextile, at ⅙," numbers are really eliminated from the argument, for what is provided in the sentence are ratios between magnitudes, not numbers. As Barlaam anticipated at line 75 (where the focus was on the arbitrariness of the arc attached to a "degree"), the point is that no "degree" needs to be introduced in the argument.

176 This argument was already presented above, see lines 140–151.

177 The opposite conclusions are that the notes are similar to the aspects and that the notes are dissimilar to the aspects. The former conclusion is drawn by the opponent in *Harm*. III 14, the latter by Barlaam here. Both conclusions are deduced from the premise, stated at *Harm*. III 14, 109, 25–28 Düring, that *proslambanomenos* is like opposition, *nētē hyperbolaiōn* is like sextile, *hypatē mesōn* is like trine, and *nētē diezeugmenōn* is like quartile, and from the fact that assigning numerical "degrees" to the aspects entails that they necessarily have ratios to one another.

178 This is announced in the title of *Harm*. III 14.

179 The noun ἀπόστημα "elongation" is a technical term in astronomy, as is confirmed by the over 200 occurrences in the *Almagest*. In the *Harmonica*, Ptolemy employs it exactly where it is needed, namely, in III 11, 105, 27, 106, 6 and 106, 9 Düring. Barlaam takes the heavenly spheres to be closely packed. As the spherical shell in which a planet moves has a size

is said to be the one whose centre is the mentioned one and whose radius is the maximum elongation of it, and similarly for the others. As there are seven such spheres and the standing notes of the perfect system are also equal in number <to them>, he wants to map the latter into the former through and through—for what reason, it will be clear in what follows. The author, on the contrary, does not frame any argument about such spheres in these <chapters>.

So, it is manifest from this that such a chapter does not fit its title. Apart from this, something else in this chapter[180] is also mistaken, namely, determining the distancings of what is set at a distance along arcs[181], whereas one must do that along the straight line joined from either <object> to the other. |260 For two points being given, as infinitely many arcs can be traced through them but one straight line only, we do not claim that the distance of <the points> from one another is set along any of the arcs—for there would be infinitely many <of them>, and of course their distancings would also be so many—but along the straight line only. For this is unique and well-defined because it is the shortest of the lines drawn from one and the same point to one and the same <point>[182]. For instance, let there be two points, AB, and let straight line AB be joined, and let it be bisected at Γ, and from Γ let ΔΓΕ be erected on both sides at right <angles> with AB[183]. Thus, as infinitely many points can be taken in both of ΔΓ ΓΕ, and as each of the circles traced with centre each of the points and radius the one from that point as far as either of points AB[184] also reaches the other <point>, it will result that infinitely many arcs are traced from A to B. For let a random point, Z, be taken on ΔΓ, and let ZA, ZB be joined[185]. And since ΑΓ is equal |270 to ΓΒ, and ΓΖ is common and at right <angles>, therefore ZA is equal to ZB[186]; therefore, the circle traced with centre Z and radius ZA will also pass through point B[187]. Let it be traced, and let it be AHB. Similarly, if we also take some other point on ΔΓΕ, as Θ, and we trace a circle with centre the same <point> and radius ΘA, it will also pass through point B. Then, let it be as AKB. Now, as this comes about in infinitely many ways, if the distancings of what is set at a distance are conceived along arcs, there will be infinitely many distancings from B to A—for there are infinitely many arcs—which is absurd. If, on the contrary, the distancing of B from A is necessarily unique and well-defined, and straight line ΑΓΒ is unique and well-defined—for no straight line less or greater than it will be drawn from A to B—necessarily straight line ΑΓΒ, and not arc AHB or AKB or any other, is the distancing by which we say AB are set at a distance from one another. In this way, then, the bodies in mutual opposition on the zodiac too|280, we claim that the diameter—which is a straight line and not an arc—turns out to distantiate them. A sign[188] of this is that we do not say that they are at a maximum distance on account of the fact that half the whole circumference is the greatest <arc>—for it is also possible to take <an arc> greater than it—but on account of the fact

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because of its motion κατὰ βάθος "in depth" (cf. *Harm*. III 11), Barlaam takes the greatest radius of the shell as defining the sphere itself.

[180] The opponent does this in both chapters *Harm*. III 14 and 15. This mistake should not be discussed under the heading "contents that do not fit the title" either.

[181] Ptolemy's does exactly this in *Harm*. III 9. Barlaam's argument is weak; he himself perceived this, for otherwise he would not have added the final remark about the astronomers measuring distances along arcs too.

[182] This is the first assumption in Archimedes, *Sph*. *Cyl*. I (which Barlaam is likely not to have known), commented on in Eutocius' commentary (which Barlaam is likely to, and where an argument different from Barlaam's is put forward corroborating Archimedes' assumption): see J.L. HEIBERG, Archimedis opera omnia cum commentariis Eutocii. I–III. Lipsiae 1910–15, I 8, 3–4 and III 6, 4–8, 2, respectively.

[183] Barlaam applies *Elem*. I post 1, I 10, and I 11, in this order. His argument is semi-formal but the Greek demonstrative code is correctly adhered to.

[184] *Elem*. I post 3.

[185] *Elem*. I post 1.

[186] Barlaam applies *Elem*. I 4. ΑΓ is equal to ΓΒ because AB has been bisected at Γ.

[187] This is a consequence of the definition of a circle in *Elem*. I def 15.

[188] The term σημεῖον "sign" (here obviously a wordplay) with this meaning is standard Aristotelian terminology: see *APr*. II 27; *Rh*. II 25, 1402b13–20 and 1403a2–5; and read the first sentence of the *Metaphysics*.

that the diameter is the greatest chord in a circle. Similarly too, we claim that the side of an equilateral triangle inscribed in the circle—which subtends a third of the whole circumference—distantiates the <bodies> in trine to one another, and in the same way for the other aspects too. This is also clear from the names themselves[189]: for it is not called "trine" from a third of the circumference, but from the straight line that subtends <such a third>. Similarly, a quartile <is so called> from the side of a square, which is a straight line. Consequently, the author has been incorrect in taking the distancings of such configurations along arcs. One must know, however, that the astronomers also make use of the |290 noun "distancing" when referring to arcs[190]; they do that whenever they investigate the arc on the zodiacal circle going from the position of some heavenly body to the position of another one, except that they do not do that in the proper sense, but by homonymy[191], for they simply want to designate the numerical value[192] of the intervening arc—by means of whatever noun they do that, this does not make any difference to them.

Well, in the second chapter the author does not appear to be in full contact with the title either. For the latter wants to reduce the motions of the first heavenly spheres, as regards their speeds, under arithmetical ratios, whereas in the former there is hardly any discussion of the motions of the spheres or of their ratios; on the contrary, the distances along the zodiac underlie again the discussion itself.

As for the third chapter, that this is not Ptolemy's is clear from its taking Mars to be related to *nētē synēmmenōn*[193]. For, after depriving the so-called *synēmmenon* system from being perfect[194], |300 proving that only the double octave is of such a kind, in what follows <Ptolemy> has not carried out any discussion of the *synēmmenon* system, either in the sections of the canon or in the mappings related to the soul and to heavenly matters[195]; rather, he presupposes the perfect system everywhere. Accordingly, if in the 14th <chapter> <Ptolemy> had to map the first heavenly spheres into the standing notes of the perfect system, it is clear that Mars ought also to have been mapped by him into some of such notes, and not into *nētē synēmmenōn*, which is not a note of the perfect system. That <the chapter> has not been finely tuned to the title is manifest from the facts that Mars has been passed over[196], while being a planet, and that only the standing notes have been selected, whereas the title does not speak of specific planets nor of standing notes, but simply of planets and notes[197].

Yet, what bewilders me most about the person who put this chapter as last in order together with those preceding it, is that, as |310 "let no one think"[198] wants to be a reference to the <chapters> immediately preceding it[199], and as, for this reason, what has been said in the second chapter must be such that what is said in this <chapter> should be made to stand in tune with it, he deemed—

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189 The Greek qualifiers that single out the στάσεις "aspects" coincide with those that single out the geometric figures: τρίγωνος "trine" but also "triangular", τετράγωνος "quartile" but also "square", ἑξάγωνος "sextile" but also "hexagonal".

190 Barlaam's statement is confirmed by dozens of occurrences of διάστασις "distancing" measured along arcs in Ptolemy's *Almagest* and *Geography*. In the latter, distances are measured along great circles on the surface of the Earth.

191 The adverbs κυρίως "in the proper sense" and ὁμωνύμως "by homonymy" can be taken to refer to standard Aristotelian doctrines (see BONITZ, Index Aristotelicus, s.v. κύριος 2 and ὁμώνυμος). The Aristotelian corpus famously begins with the word ὁμώνυμα.

192 The "numerical value" is the πηλικότης, a key notion in Barlaam's *Logistikē* V, and which archetypally occurs in *Elem*. VI def 5. See ACERBI, Composition and Removal of Ratios 161–163.

193 *Harm*. III 16, 111, 4–5 Düring.

194 Ptolemy does this in *Harm*. II 6.

195 After the preliminary chapter *Harm*. III 4, Ptolemy does this in *Harm*. III 5–7 and III 8–13, respectively.

196 Mars is omitted in the initial clause of the chapter, at 110, 25–26 Düring.

197 This part of the argument is rather weak.

198 *Harm*. III 16, 110, 25 Düring.

199 As seen, this opening—as well as the rest of the text that makes III 16—is out of place even if it is inserted in the middle of *Harm*. III 9.

without caring about the possibility that someone might attack him—that items out of tune should be in tune. For there is nothing in the second <chapter> such that what is in the third could possibly refer back to it[200].

So, this is what one might also have to say about the fact that the author did not set out the chapters in a way consequent with the titles. Now, it is not difficult to conclude from what has been said that, in these matters, the author lost altogether contact with Ptolemy's thought. For there being six necessary requirements that the author should meet—namely, to say something different and more particular than before, and congruous to the observations, and fittingly mapped, and clearly expounded by means of sound phrasing, and fitting the titles—he appears to be mistaken on all counts, for he said the same things as before and on an equal level of generality, and he did not use observations, nor did he make his mapping fitting, nor did he use sound formulations, |320 nor did he frame his arguments about what the titles indicate.

Let what pertains to the refutation stop here. It would be time, finally, to set out here what we ourselves think these things should really be, by setting as much as a preliminary constraint, that, as in what precedes Ptolemy mapped the harmonic distances into the heavenly ones, in these <chapters> he wants to map the items themselves that realise the distances, which, in the former domain, are the notes, in the latter, the first heavenly spheres and the bodies moving in them. As there are three items related to these, namely, masses, motions, and powers, in the 14th <chapter> he wants to expound the mapping as regards the masses, in the 15th, as regards the motions, in the 16th, as regards the powers. Now then, let us say …

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[200] It should be clear that this is not an argument against the author of "III 16", but against the opponent, who did not harmonise III 15 with the text of "III 16", and who arranged the restored chapters in their present order. Barlaam states here for the first time that, besides writing III 14–15, the opponent *also* moved "III 16" from its position in the middle of III 9 to the very end of the *Harmonica*.

APPENDIX. A COLLATION OF *HARM*. III 14–16 IN MARC. GR. Z. 332

The present collation records the handful of variant readings in *Harm*. III 14–15 (the text is During's, who omitted a sequence by *saut du même au même*), and the entire chapter 16 as it is witnessed in Marc. gr. Z. 332. See the section "A Background to the *Refutatio*" for a discussion of the variant readings.

109, 9 (οὐρανίων) 29 ποιεῖται] νοεῖται 110, 6 πέντε] ε 7 τεσσάρων] δ 8 πέντε] ε τεσσάρων] δ 12–13 διὰ πασῶν ἐπὶ τῆς μουσικῆς τελείῳ in ras. 15 δύο] β 16 ποιεῖ ἐπίτριτον λόγον, πρὸς δὲ τὸν β πρόλογος γίνομενος ποιεῖ τὸν 19 om. τὸν^2 20 om. τοῦ

Πῶς ἂν αἱ τῶν πλανωμένων οἰκειώσεις παραβάλλοιντο ταῖς τῶν φθόγγων
Μή τις δὲ οἰέσθω τὸν μὲν τοῦ Διὸς φθόγγον ἑκατέρῳ τῶν φώτων διὰ συμφωνίας εἶναι, τὸν δὲ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης μόνῳ τῷ τῆς σελήνης, ἐπειδὴ ὁ τόνος οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν λόγῳ συμφωνίας· οὗτος μὲν γὰρ τῆς σεληνιακῆς γέγονεν αἱρέσεως, ὁ δὲ τοῦ Διὸς καταλέλειπται τῆς ἡλιακῆς. Κατὰ ταῦτα ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν φθοροποιῶν [om. ἑκάτερος φθόγγος ἑκατέρῳ τῶν ἀγαθοποιῶν] τὴν διὰ τεσσάρων ποιεῖ συμφωνίαν, ὁ μὲν τῆς νήτης τῶν ὑπερβολαίων τοῦ Κρόνου πρὸς τὸν τῆς νήτης τῶν διεζευγμένων τοῦ Διός, ὁ δὲ τῆς νήτης τῶν συνημμένων τοῦ Ἄρεος πρὸς τὸν τῆς μέσης τῆς Ἀφροδίτης, ἠκολούθησε τὸ καὶ τὸν μὲν τοῦ Κρόνου τῆς ἡλιακῆς μᾶλλον αἱρέσεως γενέσθαι, τὸν δὲ τοῦ Ἄρεος τῆς σεληνιακῆς. διὸ καὶ τῶν σχηματισμῶν τοὺς μὲν τοῦ Κρόνου πρὸς Δία πάντας ἀγαθοποιοὺς καθίστασθαι συμβέβηκεν, τῶν δὲ Κρόνου πρὸς ἥλιον μόνους τοὺς τριγώνους, ὡς τῶν λοιπῶν συμφωνοτέρους. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοὺς τοῦ Ἄρεος πρός τε τὴν Ἀφροδίτην καὶ τὴν σελήνην μὴ πάντας πάλιν, ἀλλὰ μόνους τοὺς τριγώνους, τὸ δ' ἐναντίον τοὺς μὲν Κρόνου πρὸς σελήνην καὶ Ἀφροδίτην πάντας φαύλους, τοὺς δ' Ἄρεος πρὸς ἥλιον καὶ Δία πάντας ἐπισφαλεῖς.

ICONOGRAPHIC COMPLEMENT

The diagram of Barlaam's *Refutatio* in some manuscripts

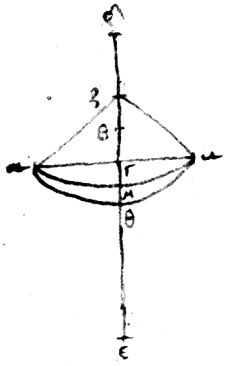


Figure 2a. Marc. gr. Z. 332, f. 83r

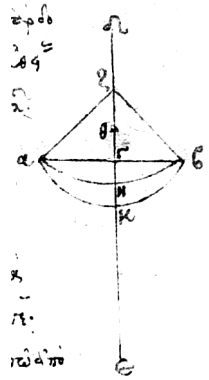


Figure 2b. Neap. III.C.3, f. 105r

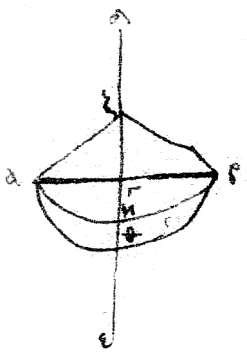


Figure 2c. Par. gr. 2381, f. 34v

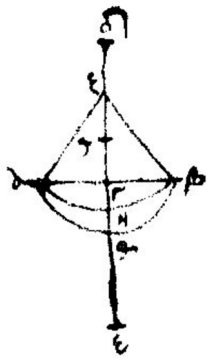


Figure 2d. Vat. gr. 187, f. 79v

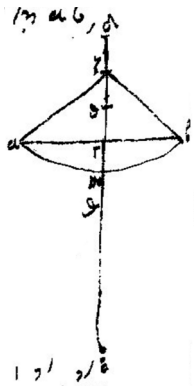


Figure 2e. Vat. gr. 1756, f. 166v

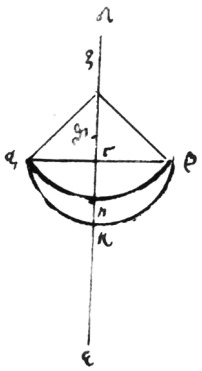


Figure 2f. Vat. Urb. gr. 77, f. 183v

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FIGURES

1 Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, gr. Z. 332 (coll. 643; *Diktyon* 69803), f. 73r, the beginning of Barlaam's *Refutatio*. Su concessione del MiC – Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana. Divieto di riproduzione.

2a Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, gr. Z. 332 (coll. 643; *Diktyon* 69803), f. 83r, the diagram of Barlaam's *Refutatio*. Su concessione del MiC – Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana. Divieto di riproduzione.

2b Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele III, III.C.3 (*Diktyon* 46279), f. 105r, the diagram of Barlaam's *Refutatio*. Su concessione del MiC – Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele III. Divieto di riproduzione.

2c Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, grec 2381 (*Diktyon* 52013), f. 34v, the diagram of Barlaam's *Refutatio*. © Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

2d Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 187 (*Diktyon* 66818), f. 79v, the diagram of Barlaam's *Refutatio*. © Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

2e Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1756 (*Diktyon* 68385), f. 166v, the diagram of Barlaam's *Refutatio*. © Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

2f Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Urb. gr. 77 (*Diktyon* 66544), f. 183v, the diagram of Barlaam's *Refutatio*. © Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

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Identity and Forced Labour in the Imperial Textile Workshops, 4th–10th Centuries*

with 4 figures

ABSTRACT: Imperial silks were highly symbolic in the Byzantine world and were important conveyors of the imperial image. Despite this fact, the factories and workers that produced them have been little studied. This article attempts to remedy this gap in the academic literature by examining the sources of labour in the imperial textile factories from their inception in the fourth century. It proposes that forced labour was a key factor of these factories, and that this created an environment in which the workers enabled the development of a collective identity which gave them agency in the power politics of the state. It further suggests that the mode of production was implied by the material, embedding the imperial textile factories into the social fabric of Byzantine society.

KEYWORDS: Labour; Silk; Imperial Factories; Textile Production; Identity; Slavery

> "Those also who were condemned either to labour under harsh conditions in mines, or to perform menial tasks at public works, let them exchange incessant toils for sweet leisure, and now live an easier life of freedom, undoing the infinite hardships of their labours in gentle relaxation. But if any have been deprived of their civil liberty and suffered public dishonour, then let them, with the gladness appropriate considering they have been parted by a long exile, take up again their former rank and make haste back to their native lands."[1]

In his retelling of Constantine's declaration following the defeat of Licinius in 324, which served to reverse punishments inflicted during the Christian persecutions, Eusebios painted a bleak picture of those who had found themselves thrust into penal servitude for the state. Constantine's sympathy was specifically directed to those forced from the ranks of the nobility[2], whose degradation in performing 'menial tasks' was a fate unacceptable to their stature, rather than those more generally labouring 'under harsh conditions'. Nevertheless, he provided a small window into a particular workforce that often gets overlooked; the labour exploited in the public works.

Studies of material culture often treat the identity and organisation of producers as secondary to the significance of the items themselves[3]. They were, however, linked both economically and socially. Examining the multifaceted labour strategies exploited in relation to specific institutional contexts not only highlights important aspects of production and distribution of material goods, but can also demonstrate how labour underpinned societal ideologies, reflecting a range of internal

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[1] Eusebios II 32, (ed. F. WINKELMANN, Eusebius Werke 1/1: Über das Leben des Kaisers Konstantin. Berlin 1975, 62), translated in A. CAMERON – S.G. HALL, Life of Constantine. Oxford 1999, 107.

[2] Eusebios II 34 (62 WINKELMANN).

[3] A notable exception is S. BOND, Currency and Control: Mint Workers in the Later Roman Empire, in: Work, Labour, and Professions in the Roman World, ed. K. Verboven – C. Laes. Leiden 2017, 227–245.

cultural dynamics[4]. There have been several recent studies of labour within non-agrarian late Roman and Byzantine industries, illustrating an array of labour relations in particular production settings and how labour identities situated workers from both the private and public/imperial sectors within society[5].

At the heart of imperial production were the public works, including the mines, mints, and imperial textile workshops. This article explores how, as functions of the state and imperial services under the emperor, the labourers in the imperial textile workshops inhabited space within what John Haldon calls the 'symbolic universe' of late Roman and Byzantine society[6], concentrating on the fourth to tenth centuries[7]. Within this time span, the operations of the imperial textile workshops shifted and consolidated, providing a structured institutional framework with which to examine labour and power relations in the Mediterranean during the transition from Late Antiquity to the Middle Ages[8]. I will therefore examine the diachronic evidence of the labourers in these workshops, their identity, and how that identity was expressed through an analysis of their legal status and symbolic associations of their products[9].

Textile production was significant in pre-industrial economies, both in terms of scale and cultural impact[10]. From their inception, the imperial textile workshops were important to the inner workings of the empire. Founded in the early fourth century, probably under the tetrarchy as part of

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[4] Recent studies have highlighted the need to consider how the circulation of people, objects, and ideas impact labour organisation, and how labour at specific production sites 'shape larger processes of production and accumulation but are simultaneously influenced by the position of that site in broader (local, regional and international) divisions of labor and along commodity chains'. C.G. DE VITO – J. SCHIEL – M. VAN ROSSUM, From Bondage to Precariousness? New Perspectives on Labor and Social History. *Journal of Social History* 54 (2020) 649–650.

[5] For example, H. FRIEDMAN, Forced Labour, Mines, and Space: Exploring the Control of Mining Communities, in: TRAC 2008: Proceedings of the Eighteenth Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference, Amsterdam 2008, ed. M. Driessen *et al*. Oxford 2009, 1–11; BOND, Currency and Control; S.G. BERNARD, Workers in the Roman Imperial Building Industry, in: Work, Labour, and Professions in the Roman World, ed. K. Verboven – C. Laes. Leiden 2017, 62–86; V. AIELLO, La condizione degli operai nelle manifatture imperiali: il caso dei fabricenses, in: Forme di dipendenza nella società di transizione, ed. A. Pinzone – E. Caliri – R. Arcuri. Messina 2012, 273–285; J.M. DILLS, Logistical considerations for the arms production industry in the Middle Byzantine Empire. *BMGS* 44 (2020) 220–243; J. FABIANO, Builders and Integrated Associations in Fourth-Century CE Rome: A New Interpretation of AE 1941, 68. *Journal of Late Antiquity* 12 (2019) 65–87; F. VANNI, Individual or collective? Stucco-workers in Middle and Late Byzantine construction sites, written sources and material evidence, in: Approaching Social Hierarchies in Byzantium: Dialogues Between Rich and Poor, ed. A.C. Kelley – F. Vanni. London forthcoming. C. FREU, Les salaries de l'égypte romano-byzantine. Essai d'histoire économique. Paris 2022, further examines free wage labour in a variety of settings through the Egyptian papyri.

[6] Defined as 'a product of social practice within a specific spatial and cultural environment, through which it is continuously reproduced.' J. HALDON, Res publica Byzantina? State formation and issues of identity in medieval east Rome. *BMGS* 40 (2016) 10–11.

[7] The imperial textile factories are rarely found in sources after this point, and their fate after the sack of Constantinople is unclear. In his oration on Nicaea, delivered in 1290, Theodore Metochites seems to imply that while many of the functions of the state returned to Constantinople after 1261, Nicaea was still providing silk and fine textiles for the court. Metochites 18 (ed. C. FOSS, Nicaea: A Byzantine Capital and Its Praises, with the speeches of Theodore Laskaris *In Praise of the Great City of Nicaea* and Theodore Metochites *Nicene Oration*. Brookline 1996, 190–193). There is some question as to whether this was permanent or not. See K.-P. MATSCHKE, Tuchproduktion und Tuchproduzenten in Thessalonike und in anderen Städten und Regionen des späten Byzanz. *Byzantiaka* 9 (1989) 80–81; A. MUTHESIUS, Studies in Silk in Byzantium. London 2004, 192–194.

[8] See A. KALDELLIS, The Byzantine Republic: People and Power in New Rome. Cambridge, MA 2015; A. KALDELLIS, The Social Scope of Roman Identity in Byzantium: An Evidence-Based Approach. *Symm* 27 (2017) 173–210 for medieval New Rome.

[9] For the connections between craft and power, and the similarities to between the control of craft and the control of long-distance trade in reinforcing power dynamics, see M.W. HELMS, Craft and the Kingly Ideal. Austin 1993.

[10] For example, J.-M. CARRIÉ, Vitalité de l'industrie textile à la fin de l'Antiquité: considérations économiques et technologiques, *Antiquité Tardive* 12 (2005) 13–44; and the contributions in Textile Trade and Distribution in Antiquity, Textilhandel und -distribution in der Antike, ed. K. Droß-Krüpe. Wiesbaden 2014; Textiles, Trade and Theories, From the Ancient Near East to the Mediterranean, ed. K. Droß-Krüpe – M.-L. Nosch. Münster 2016.

Diocletian's (r. 284–305) economic reforms, they were separated into two jurisdictions. Those under the control of the *comes sacrarum largitionum* (the imperial largesses) were first established to address deficits in the private textile industry's – and therefore administration's – ability to provide the necessary supplies for the expanding army. The workshops under the *comes rerum privatarum*, on the other hand, produced textiles for the emperor and his court[11].

At least initially, different workshops of the *comes sacrarum largitionum* were established to work with different fibres; the *linyfia* produced linen and the *gynaecea* (derived from the ancient Greek γυναικωνῖτις [*gynaikōnitis*], the spaces reserved for women and 'women's tasks') produced wool[12]. By the sixth century, however, administrative changes and a greater reliance on cash payments had altered how the state provided for the army[13], and both the number and function of the state-owned workshops changed as a consequence. Production for the army shifted back to private workshops, and those state-run factories that remained were devoted to the manufacture of textiles for the emperor and his court, especially luxury silks, a change that gave a new significance to the workshops and their labourers[14].

As will be seen, one consistent feature found in references to the workers within the imperial textile workshops was their low status. Sarah Bond has proposed that one of the ways late Roman emperors maintained the reputation of coinage was 'through the publicized control of the status of mint workers themselves,' which fortified a communal identity for these workers[15]. She further suggested that despite their enforced low status, the mint workers held social prestige through their association with imperial production. While there is less evidence for the imperial textile workshops, making it difficult to conclusively assign social roles, I argue that the regulation of labour within these workshops similarly reinforced a communal identity, enabling the labourers to exert collective agency[16]. These were not communities of choice; one of the defining characteristics of the imperial workshops was their reliance on various forms of coerced labour. The community was therefore artificially constructed by the state. However, it is through such artificial construction that we can detect this workforce in the sources, treated as a collective and as a collective able to act, however momentarily, to interrupt and threaten state hegemony.

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[11] J.P. WILD, The Gynaeceum at Venta and its Context. *Latomus* 26 (1967) 651; J.P. WILD, The gynaecea, in: Aspects of the Notitia Dignitatum, ed. R. Goodburn – P. Bartholomew. Oxford 1976, 52–54. By the 320s, the *vestis militaris* – originally an in-kind tax for the military – had become an assessed cash tax, but the increasing demands of the military seem to have outstripped state procurement. A codex from the Hermopolite nome in Egypt, P.Col. 247, dated to either 324/5 or 325/6, is the most complete accounting of the *vestis miltaris* yet found. Vestis Militaris Codex (ed. J. SHERIDAN, Columbia Papyri IX: The Vestis Militaris Codex. Atlanta 1998).

[12] WILD, The Gynaeceum at Venta 649. Both Lactantius and Eusebios document them as places of penal servitude for men and women: Lactantius 21 (ed. J.L. CREED, De Mortibus Persecutorum. Oxford 1984, 32). Eusebios II 34 (62–63 WINKELMANN). Legislation relating to the *gynaecearii*, the term for the workers in the wool workshops, however, was normatively male.

[13] Soldiers were now responsible for their own clothing. J. HALDON, The Army and the Economy: The Allocation and Redistribution of Surplus Wealth in the Byzantine State. *Mediterranean Historical Review* 7 (1992) 141.

[14] A. MUTHESIUS, Imperial Identity: Byzantine Silks, Art, Autocracy, Theocracy, and the Image of Basileia, in: The Routledge Handbook on Identity in Byzantium, ed. M.E. Stewart – D.A. Parnell – C. Whately. London 2022, 84.

[15] BOND, Currency and Control 230.

[16] Here I also draw on Dimitris Krallis' use of 'community' in rural Greece as an avenue for political agency, as well as Nicholas Matheou's critical approach to hegemony and subaltern power dynamics. See D. KRALLIS, Popular Political Agency in Byzantium's Villages and Towns. *Symm* 28 (2018) 11–48; N.S.M. MATHEOU, Hegemony, Counterpower, and Global History: Medieval New Rome and Caucasia in a Critical Perspective, in: Global Byzantium, ed. L. Brubaker – R. Darley – D. Reynolds. London 2022, 208–236. The issue of identity in the private silk industry was dealt with in S. VRYONIS, Byzantine Δημοκρατία and the Guilds in the Eleventh Century. *DOP* 17 (1963) 287–314.

I further suggest that their role as textile producers was crucial to their agency. Textiles, particularly silk, were both fiscally and symbolically important to the imperial power structure[17], and I propose that the manufacturers became embedded in these structures by considering the economics and symbolism of imperial silk production. In particular, the implications of the continued use of forced labour over centuries will be analysed in relation to the symbolic social hierarchy and function of silk in imperial ideology, as the role of the emperor was transformed[18]. This article begins by examining unfree labour as workforce in the Late Roman imperial textile workshops in both narrative and legal texts. It then turns to the evidence concerning labour within the later Byzantine workshops, and introduces a secondary, but equally significant consideration: the role of gender rhetoric in the presentation of labour in the sources. This progression is framed within the context of the rising importance of imperial silk production and concludes by reflecting on the role of silk manufacturers in Byzantine power politics.

DEFINING FORCED LABOUR

The most notable form of unfree labour in the Roman world was the institution of slavery. Slavery as a legal category designated an individual as property, 'objects rather than subjects of law'[19], lacking self-determination or agency – in law if not in practice – within a legislated relationship of dependency[20]. Ancient conceptions of legal, social, and economic status were not correlated, meaning there could be high levels of disparity within social groups, including slaves[21]. Consequently, a slave's economic status often depended on his or her occupational role, as well as their owner's situation[22]. Social status could be even more complex. Roman law enshrined different legal positions for free and enslaved persons, but this did not carry over into everyday social interaction. While slaves were expected to be subservient to their owners, this expectation did not extend to those outside that legal relationship; slaves often worked alongside free persons without being placed in a subordinate position[23]. There were therefore few restrictions on the kinds of work slaves could undertake, and it was not uncommon to find slaves in important economic and administrative occupations, including in imperial administration, businesses management, and craft production[24].

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[17] This will be discussed in more depth later, but for an initial bibliography see MUTHESIUS, Imperial Identity; J. GALLIKER, Terminology Associated with Silk in the Middle Byzantine Period (AD 843–1204), in: Textile Terminologies from the Orient to the Mediterranean and Europe, 1000 BC to 1000 AD, ed. S. Gaspa – C. Michel – M.-L. Nosch. Lincoln 2017, 346–373.

[18] The figure of the emperor transformed from head of state to embodying the state itself. J. SHEPARD, Courts in East and West, in: The Medieval World, ed. P. Linehan – J.L. Nelson – M. Costambeys. London 2018, 11–32. On the office of the emperor versus the person, see KALDELLIS, The Roman Republic 1–3. I also use Haldon's definition of ideology as both a set of beliefs and social practices within certain socio-economic and cultural contexts used to construct a specific worldview. HALDON, Res publica Byzantina? 9–11.

[19] J.-J. AUBERT, The legal capacity of public slaves in the Roman empire. *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 64 (2021) 21.

[20] Although this could be true of multiple forms of unfreedom. F. HOFMANN, Freiheit und Unfreiheit in der Sklaverei – Eine philosophische Analyse, in: Sklaverei und Identitäten. Von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart, ed. A. Binsfeld – M. Ghettta. Hildesheim 2021, 203; A. BINSFELD, "All human beings are either free or slave"? Servi publici in Late Antiquity. *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 64 (2021) 32. On defining unfreedom, see A. RIO, Slavery After Rome, 500–1100. Oxford 2017, 10–12.

[21] E. RAGIA, Social Group Profiles in Byzantium: Some Considerations on Byzantine Perceptions about Social Class Distinctions. *Symm* 26 (2016) 312–314.

[22] Y. ROTMAN, Comparing Slavery: History and Anthropology, in: Comparative Studies in the Humanities, ed. G.G. Stroumsa. Jerusalem 2018, 93–94.

[23] ROTMAN, Comparing Slavery 93–94.

[24] K. HARPER – W. SCHEIDEL, Roman Slavery and the Idea of "Slave Society," in: What is a Slave Society? The Practice of Slavery in Global Perspective, ed. N. Lenski – C.M. Cameron. Cambridge 2018, 101; K. HARPER, Slavery in the Late Roman World, AD 275–425. Cambridge 2011, 120–126.

There were also different kinds of slaves. The *servi publici*, maintained by the state and local municipalities, served a variety of functions from attending to officials to maintaining the aqueducts; their ranks also included skilled artisans[25]. In legal texts, they were frequently distinguished from, amongst others, the slaves working on the imperial estates (*servi fiscales*), the slaves of the imperial household (*servi Caesaris*), and of course, the slaves owned by private individuals. Each of these distinctions came with different privileges and places within the social hierarchy[26]. Slavery also did not necessarily indicate complete economic reliance. Some slaves were probably paid for their work, and public slaves had the right to will away half of their *peculium* (assets accumulated) upon their deaths[27]. Public slavery seems to have declined in Rome and western provinces in the third and fourth centuries predicating widespread changes to the institution[28]. The situation in the east, however, is unclear[29].

While the use of slave labour was a 'defining characteristic of elite status', this was not because of the wealth it bestowed, which in practice was probably highly variable; the value of slave labour was principally social[30]. It reinforced the hierarchy that society was built on, a feature inherited by medieval society. While slavery continued into the Byzantine period, its scale and impact changed – particularly in agricultural production – and there is debate regarding when and how this came to be[31]. Regardless, there was a divergence between the east and west by the sixth century, the result of modifications to land tenure and the expansion of Christianity, although a lack of data makes it difficult to quantify the impact these had on the institution of slavery. Slaves in the Byzantine east are primarily found in sources as domestic servants, in the imperial palaces, and, as will be seen, the imperial workshops where they appear alongside other forms of forced labour[32].

Both late Roman and Byzantine sources had specific language that designated an individual's status, but even categories of free-persons could be subjected to economic and physical restrictions that could result in forced labour[33]. This is reflected in the terminology; for example, while the

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[25] N. Lenski, Servi Publici in Late Antiquity, in: Die Stadt in der Spätantike – Niedergang oder Wandel?, ed. J.-U. Krause – C. Witschel. Stuttgart 2006, 335–357; Aiello, La condizione 282.

[26] A. Weiss, Sklave der Stadt. Untersuchungen zur öffentlichen Sklaverei in den Städten des römischen Reiches. Stuttgart 2004, 163–179; A. Weiss, Check your privilege: reconsidering the social position of public slaves in cities of the Roman Empire. *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 64 (2021) 8–20. Cf. F. Luciano, Public Slaves in Rome: "Privileged" or Not?. *The Classical Quarterly* 70 (2020) 368–384. Luciano argues for use of the phrase 'distinctive' rather than 'privileged'.

[27] E. Koops, The Practice of Manumission through Negotiated Conditions in Imperial Rome, in: Roman Law and Economics: Exchange, Ownership, and Disputes, ed. G. Dari-Mattiacci – D.P. Kehoe. Oxford 2020, 58; R. Gamauf, Slaves doing business: the role of Roman law in the economy of a Roman household. *European Review of History* 16 (2009) 331–346; Weiss, Check your privilege 9–10.

[28] Binsfeld, All Human Beings 30; Weiss, Check your privilege 19–20; Weiss, Sklave der Stadt 189–190.

[29] Sources from the eastern empire impart less information on slavery. Weiss, Check your privilege 9.

[30] Harper – Scheidel, Roman Slavery 99–101. On the negotiation of law and a slave's role in society, see Aubert, Legal Capacity.

[31] This has centred on the timing and nature of the decline in Late Roman slavery, and what came after. See, for example, Harper, Slavery 38–60; C. Wickham, Framing the Early Middle Ages: Europe and the Mediterranean 400–800. Oxford 2005, 259–265, 276–283; J. Banaji, Agrarian Change in Late Antiquity: Gold, Labour, and Aristocratic Dominance. Oxford 2007; Rio, Slavery After Rome. Rotman, however, rejects the concept of decline. Y. Rotman, Slaveries of the First Millennium. Leeds 2021.

[32] G. Prinzing, On Slaves and Slavery, in: The Byzantine World, ed. P. Stephenson. London 2010, 93; N. Lenski, Slavery in the Byzantine Empire, in: The Cambridge World History of Slavery: Volume II, AD 500–AD 1420, ed. C. Perry *et al.* Cambridge 2021, 453–481. For the historiography of Byzantine slavery, see Y. Rotman, Byzantine Slavery in the Mediterranean World. Cambridge 2009, chap. 1.

[33] Rio defines the difference between 'free' and 'unfree' as juridical, using 'unfreedom' to encompass several different statuses; Rotman argues this is too vague, particularly in the Byzantine east which maintained legal definitions of slavery, and instead uses the term 'slaveries' to encompass the *de facto* (dependant because of circumstance) and *de jure* (dependent because of legal status) modes of enslavement that pervaded the post-Roman Mediterranean. Rio, Slavery After Rome 8; Rotman, Slaveries 35–36, 63–64.

Greek legal sources used δοῦλος/δούλη [*doulos*/*doulē*] and οἰκέτης/οἰκέτις [*oiketēs*/*oiketis*] to refer to slaves, elsewhere these terms were also used in reference to non-slaves in servile positions[34]. Such ambiguous terminology complicates the understanding of workers in the imperial textile workshops. The legal status of workers is not always made clear, and if these differences resulted in different treatment within the workshops (such as dictating manufacturing roles), it is not addressed in the sources. Likewise, there is silence on the use of wage-labour in the imperial workshops. Nonetheless, consideration of the skills needed for different production steps and comparison to the private silk industry may allow for a certain amount of speculation. With such uncertainty in mind, this article will use the term 'slave' when the sources do, and 'forced' when referring to the diversity of coerced labour conditions within the imperial textile workshops.

LATE ANTIQUE SOURCES ON LABOUR IN THE IMPERIAL TEXTILE WORKSHOP

As institutions, the imperial textile workshops are not well understood. They are referred to infrequently in texts, and none have been conclusively identified in the archaeological record[35]. The late fourth- or early fifth-century list of civic and military officials, the *Notitia Dignitatum*, records fifteen *gynaecea*, two *linyfia*, nine *bafia* (imperial dyeshops), and three *barbaricarii* (gold thread and embroidery workshops) under the *comes sacrarum largitionum,* and two *gynaecea* under the *comes rerum privatarum* in the west; such workshops were also referred to in the east, but without specifying how many or where[36]. In both the west and the east, the workshops were headed by the *procuratores*, probably an administrator with no practical knowledge of textile production[37]. While the locations of the workshops of the *comes sacrarum largitionum* seem to have been dictated by proximity to the armies in the provinces, administrative centres, and raw materials, the workshops producing for the emperor were located near imperial residences[38], and there was probably at least one early *gynaeceum* of the *comes rerum privatarum* in Constantinople.

Late Antique writers in general did not make a point of discussing the conditions of labourers in the imperial works, but there was one group they showed great concern for: Christian penal conscripts. Eusebios praised Constantine for allowing the return of Christians who had been exiled during the Christian persecutions, paying restitution to those whose property had been seized, and freeing those who had been forced into imperial labour. As quoted above, this included those who had been made slaves, particularly those degraded by working in the state-owned textile workshops, a sentiment echoed by Sozomen[39]. Lactantius likewise wrote of large numbers of Christian noblewomen compelled to labour in the *gynaecea*[40]. But persecuted Christians were not the only type of penal convicts found in the imperial workshops.

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[34] ROTMAN, Slaveries 67–68. For terminology, see ROTMAN, Byzantine Slavery 82–83; LENSKI, Servi Publici 357–359. Also D. PENNA, The Role of Slaves in the Byzantine Economy, 10th–11th Centuries: Legal Aspects, in: Slavery in the Black Sea Region, c.900–1900: Forms of Unfreedom at the Intersection between Christianity and Islam, ed. F. Roşu. Leiden 2021, 70–71.

[35] It has been suggested that a structure in the circular harbour of Carthage may have been one. H.R. HURST, Excavations at Carthage: The British Mission, Vol. II.1. The Circular Harbour, North Side: the site and finds other than pottery. Oxford 1994, 69–76. However, Leone notes that there was no evidence for textile processing or production. A. LEONE, Changing Townscapes in North Africa from Late Antiquity to the Arab Conquest. Bari 2007, 80 n. 131.

[36] Notitia Dignitatum in partibus Occidentis XI and XII, partibus Orientis XIII (ed. O. SEECK. Berlin 1826, 150–152, 155, 36). For a study of the compilation of the western and eastern lists and their reliability, see M. KULIKOWSKI, The Notitia Dignitatum as a Historical Source. *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 49 (2000) 359–377.

[37] WILD, The Gynaeceum at Venta 652.

[38] WILD, The Gynaecea 53–54.

[39] Eusebios II 20 (57 WINKELMANN); Sozomen I 8.3 (ed. J. BIDEZ, Histoire Ecclésiastique, Livres I–II [*SC* 306]. Paris 1983, 140).

[40] Lactantius 21 (32 CREED).

In 336, in a constitution limiting the ability of those in the senatorial class to confer privileged position on illegitimate children, Constantine ordered that the son of a Licinianus be reduced to the slave rank of his birth and sent to the imperial textile workshop in Carthage, presumably for trying to claim elevated status he was not entitled to[41]. John Chrysostom recorded another instance around 371 or 372 in which the wife of an official known as Theodore of Sicily, who had been executed for plotting against the emperor, was stripped of her status and forced to become a fiscal wool worker, a ταμιακός ἔριος [*tamiakos erios*][42]. Forced labour in imperial workshops was also used as punishment for slaves, and lower-ranking people banished to the imperial workshops were probably reduced to slavery,[43] an illustration of the diverse experience within the workforce.

The relative ambiguity of references to the manufacture of textiles and their producers has meant that the line between the private and public workshops has often been blurred in academic literature. Few distinctions are made between free and unfree craftspeople, or those in the private and public sectors. However, conflating these different types of workers erases the significance of what it meant to be a labourer in the imperial workshops[44]. This is most clear in discussions of the guild associations, the *collegia* or *corpora*, in the late Roman legal sources and the increasingly controlling measures imposed on certain types of workers[45]. Little information on how occupational guilds functioned is known, especially in relation to those producing for the state, but official documents of private guilds – such as member lists and charters – do survive, giving some insight into their internal workings[46]. As in later periods, the guilds enforced occupational regulations on their members while also protecting their business interests, and by the fourth century were being treated as units for tax collection by authorities[47].

They also appear to have served as a foundation for religious and social interactions, obscuring the lines between members' economic and personal lives[48]. Where the state came into contact with these guilds can be partially reconstructed by a relatively small number of laws. Following the im-

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[41] Codex Theodosianus IV 6.3 (ed. T. Mommsen – P.M. Meyer, Theodosiani Libri XVI Cum Constitutionibus Sirmondianis et Leges Novellae ad Theodosianum Pertinentes II. Berlin 1905, 176). It has been argued that he was an illegitimate son of Licinius, but this is more likely a reference to another official. T.A.J. McGinn, The Social Policy of Emperor Constantine in Codex Theodosianus 4.6.3. *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis* 67 (1999) 62–63.

[42] Chrysostom Logos Eis Neōteran Chēreusasan 4 (ed. B. Grillet – G.H. Ettlinger, À une jeune veuve. Sur le mariage unique [*SC* 138]. Paris 1968, 134).

[43] J. Hillner, Prison, Punishment and Penance in Late Antiquity. Cambridge 2015, 200–201; M. Navarra, *Ad gynaecei ministerium deputari*. Il lavoro forzato nelle manifatture tessili imperiali. *Historia et Ius* 17 (2020) 19. On different forms of carceral punishment in Late Antiquity and societal responses, with a focus on imperial mines, see M.D. Larsen, Carceral Practices and Geographies in Roman North Africa. *Studies in Late Antiquity* 3 (2019) 547–580.

[44] See C. Freu, *Professiones* et *artes*, metiers publics, metiers prives, in: Atti dell'Accademia Romanistica Constantiniana XXIII, ed. C. Lorenzi – M. Navarra. Naples 2019, 81–105 for the importance of specific labourers in public contexts.

[45] On the function and diverse roles of guilds in late Roman society, see K. Verboven, Guilds and Organisation of Urban Populations During the Principate, in: Work, Labour, and Professions in the Roman World, ed. K. Verboven – C. Laes. Leiden 2016, 173–202; M. Gibbs, Trade Associations in Roman Egypt: Their raison d'être. *Ancient Society* 41 (2011) 291–315; J.S. Kloppenborg, Collegia and *Thiasoi*: Issues in Function, Taxonomy and Membership, in: Voluntary Associations in the Graeco-Roman World, ed. J.S. Kloppenborg – S.G. Wilson. London 1996, 16–30. In Byzantium, see G.C. Maniatis, The guild system in Byzantium and medieval western Europe: a comparative analysis of organizational structures, regulatory mechanisms, and behavioral patterns. *Byz* 76 (2006) 463–570. For terminology, see P.F. Venticinque, Honor Among Thieves: Craftsmen, Merchants, and Associations in Roman and Late Roman Egypt. Ann Arbor 2016, 8–10.

[46] See the documents contained in J.S. Kloppenborg – R.S. Ascough, Greco-Roman Associations: Text, Translations, and Commentary, Volume I Attica, Central Greece, Macedonia, Thrace. Berlin 2011; P.A. Harland, Greco-Roman Associations: Text, Translations, and Commentary, Volume II North Coast of the Black Sea, Asia Minor. Berlin 2014; J.S. Kloppenborg, Greco-Roman Associations: Text, Translations, and Commentary, Volume III Ptolemaic and Early Roman Egypt. Berlin 2020.

[47] J. Liu, Collegia Centonariorum: The Guilds of Textile Dealers in the Roman West. Leiden 2009, 179.

[48] See Verboven, Guilds and Organisation; Venticinque, Honour Among Thieves 10; P.F. Venticinque, Family Affairs: Guild Regulations and Family Relationships in Roman Egypt. *GRBS* 50 (2010) 274–279.

plementation of Diocletian's reforms in the fourth century, control over certain productive industries became more centralised[49]; consequently enactments governing associations, compiled in the fifth-century *Codex Theodosianus* and reiterated in the sixth-century *Codex Justinianus*, can be found restricting the social and/or economic mobility of select segments of the workforce, including some textile workers.

The *Codex Theodosianus*, published in 438, was intended to compile all pieces of 'general law' (*generalitas*) enacted since the reign of Constantine, to 'constitute the sole source of imperial law'[50]. All general laws were to be collected by commissioners, categorised, arranged chronologically, and edited before being published alongside two further codes from the reign of Diocletian. The second phase of the project intended for the three codes to be compiled and published with additional commentary, but this would not be achieved until the reing of Justinian (r. 527–565)[51]. General laws had to meet certain criteria. They often took the form of edicts or contained a claim of 'edictal' power, and included speeches made to the senate, laws published throughout the provinces, and laws that were judged to be relevant to similar cases[52]. The decision of what to include ultimately fell to the commissioners.

For guild associations, pieces of legislation addressed to specific guilds have often been interpreted as being relevant to all guilds, or at least similar associations beyond those addressed[53]. As a consequence, some laws imposing hereditary obligations and constraints on the status and movement of imperial workers have been understood as applying to the entire textile industry in modern scholarship, implying that restrictions on textile workers, regardless of status or setting, were common. Such readings, however, overlook the purpose of different forms of labour in different settings.

Much of the legislation placing controls on workers are addressed to two types of associations: those involved in public services, especially transportation and food production, and those in the imperial works, including the mines, mints, and textile workshops. For example, codes that designated the positions and obligations of a profession as hereditary were addressed to the textile workers in the imperial factories, bakers, shippers[54], and *coloni*[55]. Within the laws referring to textile

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[49] P.F. BANG, Trade and Empire: In Search of Organizing Concepts for the Roman Economy. *Past & Present* 195 (2007) 50.

[50] T. HONORÉ, Law in the Crisis of Empire 379–455 AD: The Theodosian Dynasty and its Quaestors. Oxford 1998, 124. For a bibliography of *generalitas*, see K. HARPER, The SC Claudianum in the Codex Theodosianus: Social History and Legal Texts. *Classical Quarterly* 60 (2010) 612, n. 11.

[51] HONORÉ, Law in the Crisis 124–5.

[52] HARPER, The SC Claudianum 614; HONORÉ, Law in the Crisis 128–9. There is debate as to whether this also included obsolete laws, see HONORÉ 142–50; B. SIRKS, Did the published Theodosian Code include obsolete constitutions? *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis* 89 (2021) 70–92.

[53] VENTICINQUE, Honour Among Thieves, 200–1. For example, see L.C. RUGGINI, Le associazioni professionali nel mondo romano-bizantino. Spoleto 1971; J.-M. CARRIÉ, Les associations professionnelles à l'époque tardive: entre munus et convivialité, in: Humana sapit. Études d'Antiquité tardive offertes à Lellia Cracco Ruggini, ed. J.-M. Carrié – L. Testa (Turnhout 2002) 309–332; G. DAGRON, The Urban Economy, Seventh-Twelfth Centuries, in: The Economic History of Byzantium, From the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century, ed. A.E. Laiou. Washington, D.C. 2002, 405. Early regulations on *collegia* during the Principate do not focus on occupational roles. W. COTTER, The Collegia and Roman Law: State Restrictions on Voluntary Associations, 64 BCE–200 CE, in: Voluntary Associations in the Graeco-Roman World, ed. J.S. Kloppenborg – S.G. Wilson. London 1996, 74–89.

[54] Codex Theodosianus X 20.16, 13.5.1, XIII 5.3, XIV 3.3, and XIV 3.5 (564, 747–748, 773–774 MOMMSEN – MAYER). Shippers, though, were also exempt from other forms of compulsory service associated with inheritance. Codex Theodosianus XIII 5.2, XIII 5.5, and XIII 5.7 (747–748 MOMMSEN – MAYER). See L. DE SALVO, Economia privata e pubblici servizi nell'Impero romano: i corpora naviculariorum. Messina 1992; W. BROEKAERT, Navicularii et Negotiantes: A Prosopographical Study of Roman Merchants and Shippers. St. Katharinen 2013.

[55] Regulations relating to the *colonate* have been thoroughly analysed in A.J.B. SIRKS, Did the Late Roman Government Try to Tie People to Their Profession or Status?. *TYCHE* 8 (1993) 159–176; A.J.B. SIRKS, The Colonate in Justinian's Reign. *JRSt* 98 (2008) 120–143. The distinction between *coloni* and slaves became increasingly blurred in Late Antiquity. P. SAR-

workers, their status was often made explicit; in several (although not all) the workers were referred to as slaves (*mancipia*) and the *gynaeceum* as a slave-household (*familia*)[56]. A further law related specifically to those employed in public works under imperial control, enacted in 426 by Theodosius and Valentinian, outlined that a member of the imperial associations could only be released from their obligations and achieve their freedom (*liberari*) by finding an acceptable and pre-approved replacement[57], implying if not legal slavery, something close. These labourers' social and economic positions were thus shaped by professions enforced by the state, a condition difficult to free oneself from regardless of legal status.

Further laws outlining marriage restrictions on (male) guild members and sanctioning free-women who married them further suggests a substantial portion of the imperial workforce held at least a position of 'slave-like dependence'[58]. These codes – condemning women, their children, and those who married their children to join the guild members 'condition' – were again addressed to those in imperial weaving workshops, mines, and mints, the bread makers, and mollusc fishers (*conchylileguli* or *murileguli*) who supplied the court with imperial purple (*purpura*)[59]. Similar, yet sometimes contradictory, legislation governed marriage between free-women and slaves, although unions with *servi publici* were often explicitly exempted[60].

If these codes were intended to apply to all guilds, it would have meant that by the fourth century, the state was intervening in production on a massive scale throughout the empire, requiring an extensive bureaucratic infrastructure devoted solely to manufacturing oversight and enforcement. This was not the case[61]. Rather, the surviving evidence demonstrates that many private guild associations were, in fact, highly autonomous, including those for textile production[62]. Membership controls provide an example. Both the *Codex Theodosianus* and *Codex Justinianus* included regulations implying that guild membership in both the imperial and private guilds was compulsory and that members who tried to leave their associations could be forced to return[63]. Some were specifically addressed to those in the imperial works, but others appear to generically refer to guilds[64]. Philip Venticinque proposed that the language used, along with the absence of punitive measures, indicated that the laws were intended to mitigate attempts by members to shirk collective responsibilities, particularly tax obligations, rather than control guild membership[65]. The focus in these codes on birth status and place, the *origo*, could therefore illustrate a concern with maintaining

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RIS, Aristocrats, Peasants, and the State in the Later Roman Empire, in: Der wiederkehrende Leviathan: Staatlichkeit und Staatswerdung in Spätantike und Früher Neuzeit, ed. P. Eich – S. Schmidt-Hofner – C. Wieland. Heidelberg 2011, 379–80.

[56] Codex Theodosianus X 20.2, X 20.7, and X 20.9 (561, 562, 563 MOMMSEN – MAYER). WILD, The Gynaeceum at Venta 656.

[57] Codex Theodosianus X. 0.16 (564 MOMMSEN – MAYER).

[58] BINSFELD, All Human Beings 36–37. Public slaves in imperial workshops are referred to in Codex Justinianus VI 1.8 (ed. F.H. BLUME – B.W. FRIER, The Codex of Justinian: A New Annotated Translation. Cambridge 2016, 1410).

[59] Codex Theodosianus X 19.15, X 20.1, X 20.3, X.20.5, X 20.10, and X 20.17 (560, 561–563, 565 MOMMSEN – MAYER). These also appear in the Codex Justinianus XI 7.7, XI 8.3, XI 8.7, XI 8.12, and XI 8.15 (2662, 2664–2666, 2668, 2670 BLUME – FRIER). Pharr translates *condicio* as 'ignoble status'. C. PHARR, The Theodosian Code and Novels and the Sirmondian Constitutions. Princeton 1952, passim.

[60] Codex Theodosianus IV 12.1–7 and IX 9.1 (189, 451–452 MOMMSEN – MAYER). See HARPER, The SC Claudianum; BINSFELD, All Human Beings 33–36.

[61] Maniatis makes a similar argument for later Byzantine guilds. G.C. MANIATIS, The Economic Institutions of the Byzantine State, *Byz* 86 (2016) 205–259, at 244 n. 133.

[62] Sirks attributes generations of single families in the same profession to social pressures rather than state control. SIRKS, The Late Roman Government 160–162.

[63] Codex Theodosianus XIV 7.1 (784–785 MOMMSEN – MAYER). VENTICINQUE, Honour Among Thieves 203–204.

[64] Codex Theodosianus X 19.7, X 19.15, X 20.11, X 20.14 (558, 560–561, 563, 564 MOMMSEN – MAYER). These regulations also appear in the Codex Justinianus XI 7.7, XI 8.8, XI 8.11 (2662, 2666, 2668 BLUME – FRIER). In contrast, Codex Theodosianus XIV 7.1 and XIV.7.2 (784–785 MOMMSEN – MAYER) ordered guild members to be dragged back (*retrahere*).

[65] VENTICINQUE, Honour Among Thieves 207–210.

local tax revenue, but one which was rarely enforced. Where there was concern regarding the maintenance of membership was within the private associations themselves.

This is illustrated in an Egyptian papyrus, P.Ryl. IV 654 (c. 302–309). A petition from an Oxyrhynchite weaver named Apollinarios, it detailed a conflict over his apprentice, Paul, who had been taken by a group of builders to work in their association. Venticinque argues that the petition shows that the guild (rather than the state) was concerned with maintaining its own membership ranks by forcing people to remain[66], but the fact that Paul was an apprentice indicates that there were additional financial stakes at issue. Although this is not stated in the suit, surviving apprentice contracts show that master craftspeople made significant investments in apprentices, including time, wages, clothing, and food in exchange for increasingly specialised labour[67]; Apollinarios consequently would lose that investment if Paul was allowed to join the builders. He also referred to Paul's contributions to the ἀναβολικόν [*anabolikon*], a tax on producers of linen[68]. As this tax was assessed on the land used for flax cultivation rather than the number of linen workers, Paul's contribution would have lessened the tax burden on other members. This dispute therefore suggests that protecting the financial investments of members was as important as maintaining numbers to fulfil obligations. The codes may have been intended as a means for association members to protect their own financial interests, rather than as a tool of the state to ensure adequate capacities across the private sector.

In contrast, there were very real consequences for workers in the imperial services who attempted to leave, and for those who helped them. An edict in 372 levied a fine of three pounds of gold on any imperial weaver who fled their guild[69]. Fines were also imposed on those attempting to recruit fugitive workers[70]. For textile workers, this was initially also set at three pounds of gold, an amount that was increased to five pounds in 358; these fines were reiterated a number of times[71]. A further edict of 339 ordered a group of female textile labourers who had left their factories to become part of the Jewish community be restored to the *gynaeceum*[72]. The implication is there were ongoing tensions between the private and public sectors, but not all constitutions related to artisans imposed restrictions. Many not directly involved with state production actually gained privileges[73]. Legislation was clearly differentiating between the workers involved with state production and private producers. General laws that applied to one were therefore not intended to apply to the other.

Through the imposition of legally regulated status and state control over significant facets of the lives of imperial textile workers, along with their physical concentration at specific production sites, we begin to see the communal identities enabling them to exert both individual and collective agency. For example, the number of regulations dictating the status of women who married imperi-

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66 VENTICINQUE, Honour Among Thieves 210.

67 For more on apprentice contracts, see K.R. BRADLEY, Child Labour in the Roman World. *Historical Reflections* 12 (1985) 319–322; M. BERGAMASCO, 'La didaskalikē di PCol. inv. 164', *ZPE* 158 (2006) 207–212; V. VUOLANTO, Children and Work. Strategies and Socialisation in the Roman and Late Antique Egypt, in: Agents and Objects: Children in Pre-Modern Europe, ed. K. Mustakallio – J. Hanska. Rome 2015, 99–102.

68 J.A. SHERIDAN, The Anabolikon. *ZPE* 124 (1999) 211–217; I.S. MARÍN, The *Anabolikon* Tax and the Study of the Linen Industry in Roman Egypt, in: Ancient Taxation: The Mechanics of Extraction in Comparative Perspective, ed. J. Valk – I.S. Marín. New York 2021, 352–359.

69 Codex Theodosianus X 20.6 (562 MOMMSEN – MAYER).

70 For example, Codex Theodosianus X.19.6 (558 MOMMSEN – MAYER) required any ship captains caught transporting miners to Sardinia to pay five solidi per fugitive.

71 Codex Theodosianus X 20.2, X 20.7, X 20.8, X 20.9 (561–563 MOMMSEN – MAYER). See also Codex Justinianus XI 8.5 and XI 8.6 (2664 BLUME – FRIER).

72 Codex Theodosianus XVI 8.6 (888 MOMMSEN – MAYER). The status of the workers is not addressed, but they may have been slaves who attempted to marry out of the workshops. M. NAVARRA, Tessere per condanna: donne ai lavori forzati, *Diritto e Processo* (2018) 56–57.

73 For example, Codex Theodosianus XIII 4.1, XIII 4.2, XIII 4.3, XIII 4.4 (745–747 MOMMSEN – MAYER); Codex Justinianus X 66.1. X 66.2, XII 20.4 (2626, 2628, 2879 BLUME – FRIER).

al labourers, and the number of times they were restated, indicates that loss of status was not a deterrent to free-women; such unions must have continued to take place. Further indication of the ability of imperial workers to overcome the stigma of their status comes from an inscription from Heraclea-Perinthus in Thrace. It records that Aurelios Lustas 'from the *gynaeceum*' constructed a rock-cut tomb for his wife, children, and himself, and states that anyone who wished to inter another body in the tomb had to pay a fee to the *gynaeceum*[74]. What this meant in real terms, however, is unclear.

Private guild associations often included funeral provision for their members through the collection of fees[75]. Could the *gynaeceum* have similarly contributed to the tomb? Or was Aurelius Lustas establishing a donation for fellow *gynaecarii*? The spending of wealth, especially on public buildings, was a well-established way to advance along the prestige hierarchy of Roman society, and as demonstrated by Alexander Weiss, could be extended to slaves[76]. This was not a public building, although it may have aided the *gynaeceum*, but its construction and invocation of the *gynaeceum* as part of Aurelius' identity points to a communal conception of the imperial workshop, with its own internal hierarchy that extended beyond its occupational definition.

This communal identity also gave the imperial textile workers a means to challenge state hegemony, and ultimately, the emperor. The power of the late Roman state was based on the army, and the role of the imperial textile factories in keeping the army equipped gave them a particular importance in reinforcing the power of the emperor. The emperor, in turn, exerted his power to provision the military through the *comes sacrarum largitionum*, bolstering the army's dependency on him (a balance to his own reliance on the army). Such imperial connections may (or may not) have been reflected in the social position of the imperial textile workers, as Bond has argued it was for mint workers; in this case, the evidence is too scant. But their additional role in the production of the costume of imperial power, and in particular imperial purple, made them significant to the emperor himself[77]. The ground was laid for the economics of state production to become embedded in the power politics of the empire.

This may shed light on repeated expressions of anxiety by elites regarding possible insurrection amongst the imperial textile workers. Ammianus Marcellinus recorded that during the reign of Constantius Gallus (r. 351–354) in the eastern provinces, a royal (purple) robe had been made in secret in the *gynaeceum* in Tyre; although it was unclear who had ordered the robe, it emerged that the tribunes of the armouries had promised weapons in case a rebellion against Gallus broke out, and the governor of the province, Apollinaris, was siezed[78]. During the investigation, workers from the imperial dye workshops were arrested and tortured, and a letter from a man named Maras was discovered urging the foreman of the *gynaeceum* in Tyre to work faster[79].

Likewise, Sozomen recounted that when the inhabitants of Kyzikos entreated the emperor Julian (r. 361–363) to restore their pagan temples, he refused the foreign Christians, ξένοις Χριστιανοῖς [*xenois Christianois*], apparently travelling with him entry to the city as there were many Christians in the public wool workshops and mints, in case they were incited to rebel[80]. Gregory of Nazaniazos' (329–390) funerary oration to Basil of Caesarea (330–379) described men from the arms factories and imperial weaving workshops taking part in sectarian conflicts, prone to violence due to the

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74 A.G. WOODHEAD, Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum XVI 417. Amsterdam 1959; WILD, The Gynaeceum at Venta 664.

75 VENTICINQUE, Family Affairs 274.

76 WEISS, Check your privilege 13–19.

77 For the use if purple in the creation of imperial identity, see G. STEIGERWALD, Das kaiserliche Purpurprivileg in spätrömischer und frühbyzantinischer Zeit. *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 33 (1990) 209–239.

78 Marcellinus XIV 7, 18–20 (ed. W. SEYFARTH, Ammiani Marcellini Rerum Gestarum, libri qui supersunt. Leipzig 1978, 21).

79 Marcellinus XIV 9, 7 (26 SEYFARTH).

80 Sozomen V 15, 4–6 (ed. J. BIDEZ – G.C. HANSEN, Histoire Ecclésiastique, Livres V–VI [*SC* 495]. Paris 2005, 160–162).

παρρησία [*parrēsia*], or freedom of action, that came with their position[81]. Restrictions, therefore, went beyond maintaining the workforce and enforcing hierarchies; there was also always the possibility workers from the imperial textile workshops could be enticed to join in a rebellion to aid an usurper and give him the trappings of legitimacy. Such associations between producers and legitimacy can be seen most explicitly in relation to the workshops producing silk, which strengthened as that became their primary focus.

SILK PRODUCTION IN IMPERIAL TEXTILE FACTORIES

The function of the imperial textile factories themselves gradually changed through the centuries. As provisioning of the army decentralised, the number of factories decreased and their significance was embodied by the manufacture of imperial silk in the East[82]. Silk was certainly not the most ubiquitous (or most economically significant) fabric, but its cultural importance was paramount after its introduction in Antiquity. The development of the Mediterranean silk industry even became subject to its own mythology[83]. Prokopios reported that during the reign of Justinian, two monks arriving from the far east claimed they had learned the secrets of silk manufacture and the worms that produced the fibre. On Justinian's promise of great rewards, the monks returned to the country of Serinda (China) and brought back silkworm eggs, thereby ensuring Constantinople would no longer be reliant on rival Sasanian Persia for access to fine silks[84].

Later in the sixth century the historian Theophanes of Byzantium recorded a similar story, summarised in the ninth-century by the patriarch Photios; a Persian who had spent time in China visited Constantinople with silkworm eggs hidden in the hollow of his cane which he presented to Justinian, explaining the intricate process of sericulture[85]. Neither of these accounts is credible. Sericulture was already being practiced in Syria by the sixth century, as indicated by Chinese sources[86], and the cultivation of silkworms was probably spreading gradually throughout the Byzantine empire by the time Justinian came to power[87]. Yet, the construction of a specific origin story underscores the important place silk held in Byzantine society.

Even before the introduction of sericulture, the state sought to control both the production and trade of silk to maintain the imperial prerogative and enforce social hierarchies.[88] Details of the

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[81] Gregory of Nazianzos XLIII 57 (ed. J. BERNARDI, Discours 42–43 *SC* 384. Paris 1992, 246).

[82] There is little evidence that there was centralised textile production in the post-Roman West. This is also true for other materials, such as coinage. BOND, Currency and Control 244.

[83] On the use of myth to explain the transfer of important technologies and knowledge, see L. HILAIRE-PEREZ – C. VERNA, Dissemination of Technical Knowledge in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Era: New Approaches and Methodological Issues. *Technology and Culture* 47 (2006) 538.

[84] Prokopios, De Bellis XVIII 7 (ed. J. HAURY, Procopii Caesariensis Opera Omnia. Leipzig 1962–1963, II, 515–517).

[85] Photios 64 (ed. R. HENRY, Photius Bibliotheque I. Paris 1959, I, 77–78; with extensive commentary in ed. N. BIANCHI – C. SCHIANO, Fozio: Biblioteca. Pisa 2019, 989–991). A new edition by Nigel Wilson is in press.

[86] A. MUTHESIUS, From Seed to Samite: Aspects of Byzantine Silk Production. *Textile History* 20 (1989) 137; A. MUTHESIUS, Studies in Byzantine and Islamic Silk Weaving. London 1995, 318–320.

[87] On the diachronic, multi-layered process of the spread of sericulture, see G. WU, Mapping Byzantine Sericulture in the Global Transfer of Technology. *Journal of Global History* preprint (2023) 1–17. The exact location of Byzantine sericulture is unknown. See N. OIKONOMIDÈS, Silk Trade and Production in Byzantium from the Sixth to the Ninth Century: The Seals of *Kommerkiarioi*. *DOP* 40 (1986) 33–53; A. MUTHESIUS, Essential Processes, Looms, and Technical Aspects of the Production of Silk Textiles, in: The Economic History of Byzantium from the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century, ed. A.E. Laiou. Washington, DC 2002, 151–152; D. JACOBY, Silk Economics and Cross-Cultural Artistic Interaction: Byzantium, the Muslim World, and the Christian West. *DOP* 58 (2004) 198–199; J.E. COOPER, The Possibility of Sericulture in Byzantine Cappadocia, in: Discipuli dona ferentes: Glimpses of Byzantium in honour of Marlia Mundell Mango, ed. T. Papacostas – M. Parani. Turnhout 2017, 119–147.

[88] A. MUTHESIUS, Textiles and Dress in Byzantium, in: Material Culture and Well-Being in Byzantium (400–1453), ed. M. Grünbart *et al*. Vienna 2007, 159; D. JACOBY, Silk Production, in: The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies, ed. E. Jeffreys – J. Haldon – R. Cormack. Oxford 2008, 422. Zuckerman examined the cause and effect of Justinian's silk polici-

organisation of imperial silk manufacture come from sporadic references to officials in texts and seals[89], and while the crises of the seventh and eighth centuries led to a restructuring of the administrative state – centralising authority under the emperor[90] – parallels remained to late Roman production. The imperial silk workshops came under the authority of the εἰδικός [*eidikos*], corresponding to the late Roman *comites sacrarum largitionum*, while the responsibilities of the *procuratores* fell to the ἄρχοντες τῶν ἐργοδοσίων [*archontes tōn ergodisiōn*][91]. The laws that sought to restrict access to silk, however, were probably ineffective, as suggested by the repeated edicts of successive administrations.

It is generally assumed that after the loss of territory during the seventh century the majority of imperial silk workshops were in Constantinople near the palace[92]. The only known reference to a location for one of these workshops appears on the elephant silk from Aachen Cathedral which includes an inscription stating it was produced during the period when 'Peter was the *archon* of Zeuxippos' (**fig. 1**), suggesting the Baths of Zeuxippos next to the Hippodrome had been converted into a silk factory sometime in the eighth century[93]. Silk production in private workshops also increased throughout the empire, particularly in the provinces[94], and by the ninth century the imperial prerogative for certain silks was maintained through control of production processes rather than control of the raw materials[95]. Elaborate silks continued to be used to reflect the pre-eminence of the imperial court and construct the imperial image.

Silk had numerous qualities that made it highly desirable; its fineness, colour saturation, and lustre all contributed to making it a sought-after luxury good. It also played a crucial role in the performance of political ideology. The 'ideal of monarchy' – shaped by Greek philosophy, Roman legal tradition, and Christianity – was pervasive throughout Byzantine society, embedded in the collective imagination through the circulation and reproduction of both images and rituals[96]. The

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es, relying on the veracity of Prokopios' account. C. ZUCKERMAN, Silk "Made in Byzantium": A Study of Economic Policies of Emperor Justinian. *TM* 17 (2013) 323–350. My thanks to Anthony Kaldellis for the reference. Similar controls were implemented in Persia and China. M.P. CANEPA, Textiles and Elite Tastes between the Mediterranean, Iran and Asia at the End of Antiquity, in: Global Textile Encounters, ed. M.-L. Nosch – Z. Feng – L. Varadarajan. Oxford 2014, 2–3; X. LIU, Silk, Robes, and Relations Between Early Chinese Dynasties and Nomads Beyond the Great Wall, in: Robes of Honor: The Medieval World of Investiture, ed. S. Gordon. New York 2001, 24–25.

89 GALLIKER, Terminology Associated with Silk 354–356. References to officials directly overseeing the imperial workshops are found from the second half of the seventh century (notably after the loss of the Levant and Egypt). E.J. COOPER – M.J. DECKER, Life and Society in Byzantine Cappadocia. London 2012, 241; N. OIKONOMIDÈS, A Collection of Dated Byzantine Lead Seals. Washington, D.C. 1985, 50–52. However, the roles of officials involved with silk remain subject of debate. See L. BRUBAKER – J. HALDON, Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era c. 680–850: A History. Cambridge 2011, 682–705.

90 BRUBAKER – HALDON, Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era 792.

91 R.S. LOPEZ, Silk Industry in the Byzantine Empire. *Speculum* 20 (1945) 7.

92 COOPER – DECKER, Life and Society 241; W. BRANDES, Finanzverwaltung in Krisenzeiten: Untersuchungen zur byzantinischen Administration im 6.–9. Jahrhundert. Frankfurt 2002, 405; T.K. THOMAS, "Ornaments of excellence" from "the miserable gains of commerce": Luxury Art and Byzantine Culture, in: Byzantium and Islam: Age of Transition 7th–9th Century, ed. H.C. Evans – B. Ratliff. New York 2012, 129.

93 A. MUTHESIUS, Byzantine Silk Weaving: AD 400 to AD 1200. Vienna 1997, 4.2, cat. no. M58.

94 JACOBY, Silk Production 22–23; JACOBY, Silk Economics and Cross-Cultural Artistic Interaction: Byzantium, the Muslim World, and the Christian West. *DOP* 58 (2004) 198–199. For bibliographies and a new evaluation of provincial silk production, see G. WU, The myth of phocaicus: new evidence on the silk industry in Byzantine Central Greece, *Mediterranean Historical Review* 36.1 (2021) 43–61; G. WU, The silk industry around Naupaktos and its implications, *BZ* 115.1 (2022) 351–366.

95 This too was subject to variation. While the *Basilika* prohibited the non-imperial use of purple, Leo VI was more lenient in allowing its limited use. Basilika XIX 1.82 (ed. H.J. SCHELTEMA – N. VAN DER WAL, Basilicorum Libri LX, Series A Volumen III Textus Librorum XVII–XXV. Groningen 1960, 2508–2509); Novellas Leonis 80 (ed. S. TRŌIANOS, Hoi Neares Leontos st′ tou Sophou. Athens 2007, 238–240); J. GALLIKER, 'Middle Byzantine Silk in Context: Integrating the Textual and Material Evidence', Ph.D., University of Birmingham 2014, 72.

96 P. MAGDALINO, Basileia: The Idea of Monarchy in Byzantium, 600–1200, in: The Cambridge Intellectual History of Byzantium, ed. A. Kaldellis – N. Siniossoglou. Cambridge 2017, 575–576.

process of legitimisation relied on ceremonial that reinforced the relationship between the emperor and his subjects, of which the imperial image was an integral part[97]. Processions, investiture, and gift-giving, all of which involved silk, were characterised by the 'repetitive enactment of the Byzantine social order'[98], intended to elicit intellectual and emotional responses reflecting the authoritative position of the emperor[99].

Certain motifs – often borrowing the visual language of power from Greece, Rome and the Sasanian east – were used in these rituals to express both the secular and spiritual power of the emperor[100]. The eagle, for example, was mentioned several times in the *Book of Ceremonies*, recalling the Roman imperial emblem on legionary standards, and was a frequently used symbol of authority[101]. Hunting scenes like that of the so-called Mozac Hunter Silk (**fig. 2**), depicting an imperial figure in jewelled costume on horseback spearing a lion, represented the power of the emperor over his enemies[102]. Imperial portraits could also symbolise imperial triumph, like a fragment in the Victoria and Albert Museum showing the haloed emperor driving a *quadriga* (**fig. 3**), signalling the supremacy of the emperor over others[103]. According to Theophanes, the investiture garments worn in 522 by Tzathios, the king of the Lazi, after he rebelled against the Persians were embroidered with images of Justin I (r. 518–527), visualising Tzathios' subservience to the emperor[104]. Silk was therefore significant in imperial image-making inside and outside of the Byzantine court.

Silk could also invoke the divine. Just as they were important in imperial costume, silks were significant in ecclesiastic vestments and church decoration[105], often used to symbolise the liminal spaces between the physical and spiritual worlds[106]. Michael Psellos described the role of fine silks in revealing the icon in his *Discourse on the Miracle that Occurred in the Blachernae Church*; the

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[97] Muthesius refers to the relationship between the emperor and God, but in discussions of image-making, Kaldellis' argument for the relationship between the emperor and *politeia* is also compelling. A. MUTHESIUS, Studies in Byzantine, Islamic and Near Eastern Silk Weaving. London 2008, 15. On the 'imperial idea' see KALDELLIS, Byzantine Republic 173–198. For the religious ideology of the court, see H. MAGUIRE, The Heavenly Court, in: Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204, ed. H. Maguire (Washington D.C. 1997) 247–258.

[98] P. PRASAD, Splendour, Vigour, and Legitimacy: The prefaces of the Book of Ceremonies (De cerimoniis) and Byzantine imperial theory, in: The Emperor in the Byzantine World, ed. S. Tougher. Abingdon 2019, 235–247; A. CAMERON, The construction of court ritual: the Byzantine Book of Ceremonies, in: Rituals of Royalty: Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies, ed. D. Cannadine – S. Price. Cambridge 1987, 106–136; M. MCCORMICK, Eternal Victory: Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium and the Early Medieval West. Cambridge, MA 1990, chapt. 4–5. There is an extensive bibliography relating to the use of silk in diplomacy, gift exchange, court ceremony, and as a currency substitute, notably the many publications by Anna Muthesius and David Jacoby cited here. See also GALLIKER, Middle Byzantine Silk in Context 44–62. On the wonder of the technical aspects pattern repetition in silks could inspire, see W.T. WOODFIN, Repetition and Replication: Sacred and Secular Patterned Textiles, in: Experiencing Byzantium, ed. C. Nesbitt – M. Jackson. Farnham 2013, 35–55. For the use of silk in processions, see L. BRUBAKER – C. WICKHAM, Processions, Power, and Community Identity: East and West, in: Empires and Communities in the Post-Roman and Islamic World, c. 400–1000 CE, ed. R. Kramer – W. Pohl. Oxford 2021, 149–153.

[99] MUTHESIUS, Imperial Identity 85–86

[100] A. MUTHESIUS, Silk, Culture and Being in Byzantium: How Far did Precious Cloth Enrich "Memory" and Shape "Culture" Across the Empire (4th–15th Centuries)?. *DChAE* 36 (2015) 352. Secular imagery that promoted imperial ideology became especially important during the period of iconoclasm. BRUBAKER – HALDON, Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era 337–340.

[101] H.C. EVANS – W.D. WIXOM, The Glory of Byzantium: Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era A.D. 843–1261. New York 1997, cat. no. 149, 224–226; A. MUTHESIUS, Studies in Byzantine Silk. London 2004, 228.

[102] S. WHITFIELD, Silk, Slaves, and Stupas: Material Culture of the Silk Road. Oakland 2018, 207–210; MUTHESIUS, Byzantine Silk Weaving 68–9. For dating, see BRUBAKER – HALDON, Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era 225–226.

[103] A. WALKER, The Emperor and the World: Exotic Elements and the Imaging of Middle Byzantine Imperial Power, Ninth to Thirteenth Centuries C.E. Cambridge 2012, 25–26; W.T. WOODFIN, Presents Given and Presence Subverted: The Cunegunda Choromantel in Bamber and the Ideology of Byzantine Textiles. *Gesta* 47 (2008/1) 33–50.

[104] Theophanes AM 6015 (ed. C. DE BOOR, Theophanis Chronographia. Leipzig 1883, 168).

[105] A. MUTHESIUS, The Cult of Imperial and Ecclesiastical Silks in Byzantium. *Textile History* 32 (2001) 36–47.

[106] M.M. FULGHUM, Under Wraps: Byzantine Textiles as Major and Minor Arts, Studies in the Decorative Arts 9.1 (2001) 27–31.



Figure 1: Inscription on the imperial elephant silk from the reliquary of Charlemagne, 10th century (© Domschatzkammer, Aachen)



Figure 3: Byzantine silk with the emperor on a *quadriga*, 700–900 (© Victoria and Albert Museum, London)



Figure 2: Hunter silk from the Abbey at Mozac, 9th century (© Lyon, Musée des Tissus – Pierre Verrier)



Figure 4: Michael VIII Palaiologos and Saint Lawrence embroidered on silk, 13th century (© Museo di Sant'Agostino, Genoa)

icon (and its divine presence) was exposed as the covering was suddenly lifted, 'as if some breath of air gently moved it'[107]. Theophanes reported that plague in 745/6 was foreshadowed by the appearance of the cross on men's garments and the holy vestments, causing much distress amongst the population of Constantinople[108]. Although a later example, Manuel Holobolos' encomium to Michael VIII Palaiologos, probably written in 1265, included a speech made by Genoese diplomats at the conclusion of the Treaty of Nymphaion in 1261, in which they requested an image of the emperor as a form of protection for their city, further proof of the symbolic power of the imperial image:

> Soothe the piercing love of this [city], through your image rendered on a cloth: for the form of the beloved is a great remedy for lovers. It will be a strong defense against our enemies, an averter against every plot, a powerful parapet for the city [Genoa] which is yours and ours, a strong tower and an adamantine wall to face the enemy[109].

In return they received the requested image of the emperor embroidered on two silk *pallioi* (**fig. 4**)[110]. Finally, in his *ekphrasis* to the Hagia Sophia Paul the Silentiary described how the silk alter clothes provided the imperial couple a means of physical connection with Mary and Christ, depicting them joining hands[111]. Silks, therefore, enabled and reflected several different types of power dynamics.

They also appear frequently in accounts of gifts accompanying diplomatic missions between courts, through which rulers competed to show their magnificence[112]. They were frequently exchanged to seal alliances and marriages, ransom prisoners, and instil goodwill with both local officials and foreign courts; Byzantine silks found in treasuries throughout Europe further attest to their circulation[113]. Silk was also seen as a distinct component of eastern cultural hegemony. When Liutprand of Cremona visited Nikephoros II Phokas (r. 963–969) on an embassy to propose marriage between Anna Porphyrogenita and the future Holy Roman Emperor Otto II (r. 973–983), he reported that during a dispute over title of Roman emperor, Otto was mocked for his native Frankish dress (skins rather than the silks) and Liutprand was told that it was right the Byzantines should surpass others in dress as they did in wealth and wisdom; as a further insult, five purple silk robes

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[107] Psellos X (ed. E.A. FISHER, Michaelis Pselli Orationes Hagiographicae. Stuttgart 1995, 205); translated in E.A. FISHER, Discourse on the Miracle that Occurred in the Blachernai Church, in: Michael Psellos on Literature and Art: A Byzantine Perspective on Aesthetics, ed. C. Barber – S. Papaioannou. Notre Dame 2017, 312.

[108] Theophanes AM 6238 (423 DE BOOR).

[109] Manuel Holobolos I (ed. M. TREU, Manuelis Holoboli: Orationes I. Potsdam 1906, 46); translated in C.J. HILSDALE, The Imperial Image at the End of Exile: The Byzantine Embroidered Silk in Genoa and the Treaty of Nymphaion (1261). *DOP* 64 (2010) 164. Also C.J. HILSDALE, Byzantine Art and Diplomacy in an Age of Decline. Cambridge 2014, 3–4, 31–34, 44–50. On the dating of the text, see R. MACRIDES, The New Constantine and the New Constantinople – 1261?, *BMGS* 6 (1980) 16–20.

[110] For the apotropaic quality of textiles, see H. MAGUIRE, Garments Pleasing to God: The Significance of Domestic Textile Design in the Early Byzantine Period. *DOP* 44 (1990) 215–224.

[111] Paul the Silentiary 2.802–804 (ed. C. DE STEFANIO, Paulus Silentiarius: Descriptio Sanctae Sophiae, Descriptio Ambonis. Berlin 2011, 54); R. MACRIDES – P. MAGDALINO, The architecture of ekphrasis: construction and context of Paul the Silentiary's poem on Hagia Sophia. *BMGS* 12 (1988) 71.

[112] A. CUTLER, Gifts and Gift Exchange as Aspects of the Byzantine, Arab, and Related Economies. *DOP* 55 (2001) 247; A. CUTLER, Significant Gifts: Patterns of Exchange in Late Antique, Byzantine, and Early Islamic Diplomacy. *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 38 (2008) 79–101; A. CUTLER, The Enduring Present: Gifts in Medieval Islam and Byzantium, in: Gifts of the Sultan: The Arts of Giving at the Islamic Courts, ed. L. Komaroff. New Haven 2011, 80; WOODFIN, Presents Given and Presence Subverted.

[113] L. BRUBAKER, The Elephant and the Ark: Cultural and Material Interchange across the Mediterranean in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries. *DOP* 58 (2004) 175–195; JACOBY, Silk Production 423–424.

Liutprand had purchased were confiscated as he left[114]. Silk was therefore part of the expression of both imperial and cultural identity[115]. The taxes levied from its sale additionally contributed to the state coffers[116], making silk both a visual and economic symbol of the emperor's power. The exclusivity of the types of fabrics produced in the imperial workshops, fabrics whose unsanctioned manufacture, sale, and – as Liutprand discovered – export were prohibited, reinforced the mystique of the emperor as the autocratic ruler whose image could not be imitated by his subjects[117].

While information on silk weaving itself is fragmentary, the skill needed to consistently spin fine threads, prepare, and operate the looms, and create complex patterns required considerable training. Yet despite the skill needed to weave intricate motifs and the significant cultural importance placed on imperial silks, it was the materials – not the labour – that made silk so costly[118]. There are few sources that give us information on the wages for silk workers in later centuries, but Diocletian's *Edict of Maximum Prices* gives an indication of the economics of silk production in the fourth century[119]. Issued in 301, it contained pay information for weavers based on the types of fabrics they produced, as well as the maximum prices that could be charged for their products. A weaver of pure silk could earn a maximum wage of twenty-five *denarii* per day, the same as a weaver of part-silk. A weaver of patterned silk could expect up to forty *denarii*, the same amount a weaver of high-quality linen could be paid. A female weaver, however, earned only twelve *denarii* per day, sixteen if she specialised in certain fabrics. As a point of comparison, a shepherd earned twenty *denarii* per day, while a figure painter could earn up to 150 *denarii*[120]. The average silk weaver, therefore, was earning little more than an unskilled shepherd, and even the skilled patterned weavers were unable to earn anything close to the wage of a figure painter[121].

Nor would they be able to afford the products of their labour; a pure silk *dalmaticomafortium* (a hooded garment with sleeves) cost up to 135,000 *denarii*[122]. It is possible there was another class of skilled silk weaver not addressed in the price list; the occupations collected in the *Edict* were incomplete and idiosyncratic at best. But the tight control on silk weavers would be consistent with an administration seeking to maintain imperial privilege of production of certain types of fabric, something replicated in the later centuries. The social role of weavers in Byzantine silk production will be returned to.

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114 Liutprand of Cremona, Legatio 53–54 (ed. P. CHIESA, Antapodosis, Homelia Paschalis, Historia Ottonis, Relatio de Legatione Constantinopolitana. Turnhout 1998, 210–211). The incident arose when Pope John XIII sent Nikephoros a letter calling him emperor of the Greeks rather than Romans.

115 MUTHESIUS, Imperial Identity.

116 MUTHESIUS, Silk, Culture and Being in Byzantium 353.

117 MUTHESIUS, Imperial Identity 86.

118 THOMAS, Ornaments of excellence 128. Dyes, in particular, could contribute up to half the cost or a silk. MUTHESIUS, Essential Processes 165–166. The looms required to weave intricate patterns were also expensive and required space to set up and operate. See MUTHESIUS, Byzantine Silk Weaving 19–24; J.P. WILD, The Roman Horizontal Loom. *AJA* 91 (1987) 459–471. For Byzantine weaving more generally, see G. WU, How did Byzantines Weave? A Synthesis of Textual, Pictoral, Ethnographic, and Archaeological Evidence. *GRBS* 61 (2021) 368–395.

119 Even if the figures were inaccurate, Groen-Vallinga and Tacoma argue there was both an internal consistency and proportional correspondence between the *Edict* and economic reality. M.J. GROEN-VALLINGA – L.E. TACOMA, The Value of Labour: Diocletian's Prices Edict, in: Work, Labour and Professions in the Roman World, ed. K. Verboven – C. Laes. Leiden 2017, 105–106.

120 Edictum de Pretiis Rerum Venalium 7.9 (*pictor imaginarius*), 7.18 (*pastor*), 20.9–11 (*sericarius*), 20.12–13 (*gerdia*), 21.5 (*linteonus*) (ed. S. LAUFFER, Diokletians Preisedikt. Berlin 1971, 118–119, 160–164).

121 In their synthesis of wages and prices in the Byzantine period, Cécile Morrisson and Jean-Claude Cheynet found no information on weavers or silk workers, but concluded that skilled artisans could expect a wide range of wages depending on occupation. C. MORRISSON – J.-C. CHEYNET, Prices and Wages in the Byzantine World, in: The Economic History of Byzantium: From the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century, ed. A.E. Laiou. Washington D.C. 2002, 872, 864–867 (table 18).

122 Edictum de Pretiis Rerum Venalium 19.16 (152 LAUFFER).

SOURCES OF THE LATER IMPERIAL TEXTILE FACTORIES

Diocletian's *Edict* was published before the first references to the imperial textile factories appear in surviving sources, and it makes no distinction between free and unfree labour, although both were probably drawing some sort of wage[123]. The use of slave labour in particular allowed for the maintenance of a sustained skilled workforce through periods of uncertain demand[124]. This is perhaps the economic logic underpinning the early imperial textile factories, where the use of forced labour rather than long-term contracts would have given the state greater flexibility in meeting the needs of the army[125], hence the multiple pieces of legislation placing restrictions on the workforce. This also seems true in the post-sixth-century imperial workshops[126], suggested by the retention of certain codes related to the labourers in later legal texts. Only the ninth-century *Basilika*, a redaction of Justinian's *Corpus Iuris Civilis* compiled under Leo VI (r. 886–912) in sixty books[127], refers to the imperial textile workshops. In book fifty-four, in a section also dealing with the imperial murex fishers, mint, and transport workers, the title refers to the γυναικειαρίων [*gynaikeiariōn*] and an official known as the προκουρατόρων τῶν γυναικῶν[128], an archaic reference to the Roman *procuratores gynaecii* found in the *Notitia Dignitatum*.

Alexander Kazhdan believed the word γυναικεῖον [*gynaikeion*] had lost its association with the imperial textile workshops by the ninth century, and had reverted to meaning the space related to women[129]. Relying on R.S. Lopez's assertion that the workers in the Roman *gyanecea* were men[130], he dismissed a reference in one of the sections to a 'woman assigned to the *gynaikeion*', and noting that there was no similar statute in the earlier legal codes, suggesting that the use of '*prokouratores*' was meaningless[131]. However, as in the Roman textile industry as a whole women were working in the *gynaecea*[132], and during the *Basilika's* codification process sections of the Justinianic corpus that were considered contradictory or no longer relevant were supposed to be removed from the final text[133]. As Eleutheria Papagianni noted, while the ninth-century codes may not have been 'a

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123 GROEN-VALLINGA – TACOMA, Value of Labour 112–113.

124 A. ZUIDERHOEK, Sorting Out Labour in the Roman Provinces: Some Reflections on Labour and Institutions in Asia Minor, in: Work, Labour, and Professions in the Roman World, ed. K. Verboven – C. Laes. Leiden 2017, 20–35; C. HAWKINS, Contracts, Coercion, and the Boundaries of the Roman Artisanal Firm, in: Work, Labour, and Professions in the Roman World, ed. K. Verboven – C. Laes. Leiden 2017, 36–61.

125 Hawkins enumerates the benefits in relation to private artisanal production, but I think it can also be applied to the imperial works. See HAWKINS, Contracts, Coercion, and the Boundaries 57–61.

126 The use of forced labour was common in post-Roman textile production. In Carolingian aristocratic *gynaecea* slave women worked under the supervision of the women of the house. V.L. GARVER, Women and Aristocratic Culture in the Carolingian World. Ithaca 2009, 227–228; E. ANDERSSON STRAND – S.-G. HELLER, Production and Distribution, in: A Cultural History of Dress and Fashion in the Medieval Age. ed. S.-G. Heller. London 2016, 35–37. In the Islamic *tirāz* factories, forced labourers worked alongside those who earned a wage. M. SHATZMILLER, Labour in the Medieval Islamic World. Leiden 1994, 244–246. Employment in these factories was not necessarily voluntary for free artisans either. A letter from the Cairo Geniza (T-S 8.106, AD 1040), written by a Cairene weaver living in Damascus who had been conscripted into the imperial textile workshop, described how his petitions to the caliph to be released went unanswered. S.D. GOITEIN, Petitions to Fatimid Caliphs from the Cairo Geniza. *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 45 (1954) 32–33.

127 Chitwood distinguishes between the sixty books promulgated under Leo and the later *Basilika*, which included 'extensive scholia that played a vital role in the text's interpretation.' Z. CHITWOOD, Byzantine Legal Culture and the Roman Legal Tradition, 867–1056. Cambridge 2017, 32–35, 177–178.

128 Basilika, LIV 16 (ed. SCHELTEMA –VAN DER WAL 2508–2509).

129 A.P. KAZHDAN, Gynaikeion, in: *ODB* 1, 888–889.

130 LOPEZ, Silk Industry 6 n. 3. Lopez, however, takes the *Basilika* to mean it was women who worked in the ninth-century imperial textile workshops.

131 Basilika, LIV 16.9 (2508 SCHELTEMA – VAN DER WAL).

132 A.C. KELLEY, Searching for Professional Women in the Mid to Late Roman Textile Industry. *Past & Present* 258 (2023) 3–43.

133 CHITWOOD, Byzantine Legal Culture 33–34.

faithful reflection' of contemporary concerns, the inclusion of laws addressing imperial works indicate that they 'were not completely alien to the social and economic conditions of the time'[134].

The other occupations discussed in the same section were also functions of the state, and the inclusion of murex fishers provided a link to the court's textile production. In the earlier corpus, these occupations were also grouped together. A further statute within this section makes the status of at least some of these workers clear. Referring to a slave or captive (ἀνδράποδον [*andraprodon*]), it set a fine for anyone who concealed a fugitive from the imperial textile factories, just as the previous codes did[135]. The reference to the *prokouratores* is intriguing. In Rome the title was used for the official overseeing the fiscal administration of a province, imperial estates, imperial properties (including sites of production), and the acquisition of certain raw materials[136]; it does not appear to have been used after the sixth century in the east. It is possible that the use of the term was a later addition by a copyist, in reference to earlier texts like the *Notitia Dignitatum*. Book fifty-four of the *Basilika* was one of sixteen 'lost' books, known only through indices and testamonia, and the inclusion of the *prokouratorōn tōn gynaikōn* is not consistent across all indices[137].

The *Basilika* is the only post-sixth century legal document to refer to the imperial textile factories[138], although occasional mentions of these and other imperial workshops in additional sources suggest the section dealing with the imperial *gynaikeion* was still relevant. Theophanes recorded that an imperial embroidery factory in Constantinople burned down in 792[139]. A ninth- or tenth-century retelling of the foundation of the Hodegon Monastery, also in Constantinople, reported that at the time, the Palace of Marina was being used for imperial textile production[140]. Further sources also attest to the use of forced labour in the imperial workshops (βασιλικὰ ἐργοδόσια [*basilika ergodosia*]), and the special character of the textiles produced in them.

Justinian put an end to the practice of penal servitude by prohibiting free-persons from being made slaves as punishment[141], but forced labour continued. Theophanes noted that during the coronation of Constantine VI (r.780–797) as co-emperor to his father Leo IV (r. 775–780) in 775/6, all the people gave an oath of fidelity including, in descending order of importance, members of the themes, the Senate, the army, the rest of the citizens, and finally the labourers from the workshops (ἐργαστηρικῶν [*ergastērikōn*])[142]. P.A. Yannopoulos argued that the differentiation from the rest of the citizenry indicated a level of unfreedom[143]. In an apparent later reversal of Justinian's prohibition, or perhaps a sign of the gradual loosening of adherence, Theodore of Stoudios (759–826) wrote sometime between 817–818 to a monk named Arkadios who had been sentenced to weave in

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134 E. Papagianni, Byzantine Legislation on Economic Activity Relative to Social Class, in: The Economic History of Byzantium: From the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century, ed. A.E. Laiou. Washington D.C. 2002, 1085.

135 Basilika, LIV 16.6 (2509 Scheltema – Van der Wal).

136 P.A. Brunt, Roman Imperial Themes. Oxford 1990, 8. For later examples, M.F. Hendy, Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy c. 300–1450. Cambridge 2008, 316, 383; A.E. Laiou – C. Morrisson, The Byzantine Economy. Cambridge 2007, 29.

137 B.H. Stolte, New Praefatio, in: Basilica Online (https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/browse/basilica-online) accessed 20/06/2022. However, the inclusion of anachronistic titles is found in other texts as well. A. Moffatt – M. Tall, The Book of Ceremonies: with Greek edition of the Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae. Canberra 2012, xxxii.

138 For references to slavery in imperial legislation, although not necessarily in an imperial context, see Rotman, Byzantine Slavery, appendix B. For the application of these codes in later contexts, see H. Köpstein, Sklaven in der "Peira". *FM* IX (1994).

139 Theophanes AM 6285 (de Boor 469).

140 Hodegoi (ed. C. Angelidi, Un texte patrographique et édifiant: le «Discours Narratif» sur les Hodègoi. *REB* 52 (1994) 145).

141 Novellae Constitutiones XXII.8 (ed. R. Schoell – W. Kroll, Corpus Iuris Cvilis vol III, Novellae. Berlin 1895, 151–152). Notably, this was not framed as an issue of status, but as a means of preserving marriages.

142 Theophanes AM 6268 (de Boor 449).

143 P.A. Yannopoulos, La société profane dans l'empire byzantin des VIIe, VIIIe et IXe siècles. Louvain 1975, 231.

the workshops as an imperial slave for continuing to venerate icons after Leo V (r. 813–820) reinstituted iconoclast policies[144].

Other accounts suggest that private slaves could be acquired by the state and/or emperor. When laying out the governance for soap-makers, the Book of the Eparch, written under Leo VI in 911/912 as a list of regulations for private industry, stated that private slaves could become public slaves if they were found breaching regulations[145]. In an apocryphal story contained within the *Vita Basilii*, the wealthy widow Danielis, perhaps an owner of a weaving workshop, is said to have given the emperor Basil many gifts including five hundred slaves, amongst whom were one hundred female σκιάστριαι [*skiastriai*][146]. They were listed alongside several different textile types, also gifts, suggesting they may have been connected to cloth production, possibly as weavers or embroiderers[147]. There is no historical evidence for Danielis, but her story illustrates the rising reputation of other parts of the empire for textile production (in this case the Peloponnese)[148], and suggests there may have been a prestige to 'foreign' slaves in the emperor's workshops[149]. Military conquest also continued to be a source foreign labour for the imperial workshops. Al-Muqaddasi's tenth-century description of Constantinople (from an unknown source) included reference to captured Muslim slaves working in the imperial workshops, probably some in textile production[150].

While these texts suggest that forced labour continued to be used after the sixth century, there are also indications it made up a significant proportion of the 'imperial' workforce. Certainly, slaves were numerous enough to warrant the notice of the emperor when, perhaps as a legacy of the Roman practice of *peculium*, Leo VI directed that the imperial slaves (*oiketēs*) be given the right to dispose of their own property during their lifetime and at death[151], although he made no reference to textile workers specifically. The tenth-century historian Leo the Deacon wrote that early in the reign of John I Tzimiskes (r. 969–976), a conspirator in Leo Phokas' rebellion approached the manager of the imperial weaving workshop (βασιλικὰ ἱστουργία [*basilika histourgia*]), and requested he gather the guild of weavers to join their cause[152]. This would not have been the first time a guild of imperial workers had staged a rebellion against the emperor; the *bellum monetariorum* of 271 in which the mint workers rebelled against the emperor Aurelian (r. 270–275) may have been the impetus for tightening of controls over mints and associations of mint workers[153]. And as discussed, texts reveal a genuine concern that the labourers of the imperial textile workshops would rebel in the late Roman period. The tenth-century conspirators were ultimately betrayed, but the fact that the workers from the weaving workshop were sought out indicate a significant oppressed

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144 Theodore of Stoudios 390 (ed. G. FATOUROS, Theodori Studitae Epistulae [*CFHB* 31.2]. Berlin 1992, 541–542).

145 To Eparchikon Biblion 7.9 (ed. J. KODER, Das Eparchenbuch Leons des Weisen [*CFHB* 33]. Wien 1991, 118).

146 Vita Basilii 74 (ed. I. ŠEVČENKO, Chronographiae quae Theophanis continuati nomine ferturn liber quo Vita Basilii Imperatoris amplectitur [*CFHB* 42]. Berlin 2011, 254–256).

147 D. JACOBY, Silk in Western Byzantium before the Fourth Crusade. *BZ* 84/85 (1991) 458–459. Jacoby's translation of the word σκιάστριαι has not been universally accepted. In his translation of the text, Ševčenko left the term untranslated: ŠEVČENKO, Chronographiae quae Theophanis continuati 257.

148 I. ANAGNOSTAKIS – A. KALDELLIS, The Textual Sources for the Peloponnese, A.D. 582–959: Their Creative Engagement with Ancient Literature. *GRBS* 54 (2014) 115–123; K. KOURELIS, Wool and Rubble Walls. *DOP* 73 (2019) 179–182.

149 The prestige of foreign textile workers may have been a contributory factor to Roger II of Sicily's raid on Thebes and Corinth in 1147 during which many male and female weavers were forcibly relocated to Palermo (probably to royal workshops), although, as Wickham points out, the initial reference to this event in Choniates makes clear the women were taken to be raped. Wickham also notes that despite commonly being referred to as silk weavers in scholarly literature, these were probably mostly linen weavers. C. WICKHAM, The Donkey and the Boat. Oxford 2023, 325–326. My thanks to Chris Wickham for sharing the relevant passages with me before print.

150 Al-Muqaddasi (ed. M.J. DE GOEJE, Descriptio Imperii Moslemici [*BGA* 3]. Leiden 1967, 147–148); JACOBY, Silk Economics 226.

151 Novelllas Leonis 38 (148 TRŌIANOS).

152 Leo the Deacon IX.4 (ed. C.B. HASE, Leonis diaconi Caloensis Historiae libri decem [*CSHB* 11]. Bonn 1828, 146–148).

153 BOND, Currency and Control 236–237.

workforce that might have been eager to aid the rebellion. These references also suggest a similar communal identity of these workers identified in the late Roman workshops.

An ancillary consideration to the above passages is the relationship between the gendered rhetoric applied to the textile workshops and the status of the workers within them; accusations of femininity and sexual impropriety were sometimes used to degrade and denote a servile condition[154]. Inversing gender rolls was a common device used to demean or 'other' in the ancient world, reflected (as seen earlier) by both Eusebios and Sozomen when they emphasised the humiliation Christian men endured in being turned into imperial slaves forced to perform textile (women's) work[155]. Labour in the imperial textile factories was not limited to a single sex, although the factories were often portrayed as places for women. There is ample evidence that both men and women were active throughout the commercial textile industry during the Roman and Byzantine periods, despite the contradictory associations of domestic production with women and commercial production with men[156]. Sources on the imperial workshops are inconsistent in this regard. Lactantius' description of the Christian persecutions noted that it was women, and specifically the *materfamilias*, who were sent to work in the imperial textile factories[157]. In Eusebios' passages it was men who had been sent there, additionally humiliated by being forced to perform γυναικείοις δ' ἔργοις, 'women's work'; Sozomen, describing the same event in the fifth century, wrote that Constantine restored them from this dishonour[158].

The implication that male textile workers were humiliated and emasculated by performing effeminate tasks can also be seen in the treatise *Epitoma rei militaris* by Vegetius, written between the late fourth and early fifth centuries. In advocating for a return to a more traditional system of military staffing and warfare based on armies of Roman soldiers (rather than mercenaries-for-hire), Vegetius listed several professions that he considered undesirable to recruit from, including fishers, fowlers, confectioners or pastry cooks, linen weavers, and those involved in the *gynaecea* (*omnesque qui aliquid tractasse videbuntur ad gynaecea*)[159]. The grouping of these particular professions has also been taken to mean that these were occupations most often performed by women. The use of *gynaecea* in this passage is usually translated as a reference to things having to do with women based on the connection to the locus commonly associated with women's tasks, but it could also refer specifically to men engaged in textile work within the state factories. Either way, Vegetius was dismissing men working in occupations associated with women as lacking the masculine virtue required of soldiers, and that included textile workers[160]; if the reference is specifically aimed at men in the state-owned factories, the interplay between their 'feminine' occupation and servile status may have also been a factor.

Later allusions to textile workshops sometimes included passages on the sexual morality, or lack thereof, exhibited by the workers in them, specifically the women. These references are more common in the post-Roman west where textile workshops were described as something akin to brothels. For example, in the Carolingian *Capitulare Olonnense* of 822–823, it is warned that adulterous women should be kept out of the *gynaecea* as allowing them to enter would present them

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154 NAVARRA, Ad gynaecei ministerium deputari 8–9.

155 Discussed in L. BRUBAKER, Sex, lies and textuality: the Secret History of Prokopios and the rhetoric of gender in sixth-century Byzantium, in: Gender in the Early Medieval World: East and West, 300–900, ed. L. Brubaker – J.M.H. Smith. Cambridge 2004, 83–101.

156 See KELLEY, Searching for Professional Women.

157 Lactantius 21 (32 CREED).

158 Eusebios II 20 (57 WINKELMANN); Sozomen I 8 (140 BIDEZ).

159 Vegetius I 7.1 (ed. M.D. REEVES, Epitoma rei militaris. Oxford 2004, 11).

160 M.B. CHARLES, Unseemly Professions and Recruitment in Late Antiquity: Piscatores and Vegetius Epitoma 1.7.1–2. *The American Journal of Philology* 131 (2010) 104–105.

with the opportunity to have sex with more men[161]. But similar concerns appear in *the Basilika* as well, equally imbued with insinuations of sexual impropriety. The passage that referred to the women in the *gynaikeion*, levying a penalty against anyone who hid a worker from the imperial textile factories, also imposed a fine on anyone who 'corrupted' the women working in the state workshops[162], implying the women could be vulnerable to sexual coercion. The inclusion of this code, not found in previous laws relating to the imperial workshops, implies that illicit sexual activity was a newer concern; reflecting Roman acceptance that slaves could be subject to legal sexual exploitation[163], it may be read as a comment on the vulnerability of those working in the imperial workshops due to their status.

The status of slaves as property meant slave women lacked sexual honour and were exempted from laws related to adultery; intercourse between a man and his female slave fell into the category of acceptable extramarital sex (πορνεία [*porneia*])[164]. The advent of Christianity did little to change the status quo; early Christian writers either did not include slave women in their invectives against objectionable sex, or in accepting such arrangements, portrayed slave women not as the victims of sexual coercion but as the embodiment of immorality[165]. The story of the slave woman Theodora, included in the vita of Basil the Younger, is an illustrative example; the disagreement amongst the angels and demons over whether her sexual encounters as a slave were considered *porneia* were based on whether her marriage was considered true, having not been performed by a priest[166]. The fault lay not with the men who took advantage of her position, but with Theodora for transgressing against both her master and her husband[167]. As female slaves, by virtue of their status, were unable to claim sexual virtue (*pudor*)[168], activities that were associated with their occupations became tied to perceptions of supposed sexual impropriety and women in these roles were often associated with prostitutes[169]. The workers in the imperial factories were not in public-facing occupations, but allusions to sexual dishonour may additionally reflect the intersection of the rhetoric of gender and status.

That textile production has historically been associated with the performance of femininity is well established[170], but these associations do not seem to have actually been projected onto men in private production. There is ample evidence that private textile manufacture could be lucrative, resulting in extensive business networks and even political connections[171]. Rather, the use of gen-

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161 Capitulare Olonnense 5 (ed. A. BORETIUS, Capitularia Regum Francorum [*MGH Capitularia* 2.1]. Hannover 1883, 317); GARVER, Women and Aristocratic Culture 261.

162 Basilika LIV 16.9 (2509 SCHELTEMA – VAN DER WAL); 'corrupted' was used in LOPEZ, Silk Industry 6, n.3.

163 J.A. GLANCY, The Sexual Use of Slaves: A Response to Kyle Harper on Jewish and Christian Porneia. *Journal of Biblical Literature* 134 (2015) 216–217.

164 This is contrasted to taboo extramarital sex with a respectable (free) married woman (μοιχεία [*moicheia*]). T.A.J. MCGINN, The Legal Definition of Prostitute in Late Antiquity. *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 42 (1997) 90; K. HARPER, Porneia: The Making of a Christian Sexual Norm. *Journal of Biblical Literature* 131 (2011) 364, 379.

165 C. OSIEK, Female Slaves, Porneia, and the Limits of Obedience, in: Early Christian Families in Context: An Interdisciplinary Dialogue, ed. D.L. Balch – C. Osiek. Cambridge 2003, 255–274; GLANCY, Early Christianity 150–151.

166 Vita Sancti Basilii Iunioris II 33 (ed. D.F. SULLIVAN – A.-M. TALBOT – S. MCGARTH, The Life of Saint Basil the Younger. Washington, D.C. 2014, 238).

167 Sacramental recognition of slave marriage did not become law in Byzantium until 1095 under Alexios I Komnenos (r. 1081–1118). However, the development of marriage as a Christian institution did result in legislation against the splitting of families, and led to a legal focus in which slaves were recognised as humans rather than property, something also seen in Islamic law. ROTMAN, Comparing Slavery 95.

168 GLANCY, Early Christianity 149.

169 MCGINN, The Legal Definition 107–108.

170 For a bibliography, see KELLEY, Searching for Professional Women.

171 This is documented in several papyri archives from Egypt, such as those of Julios Apollinaris and Leonides, son of Theon. A. LUIJENDIJK, A New Testament Papyrus and Its Documentary Context: An Early Christian Writing Exercise from the Archive of Leonides (*P.Oxy*. II 209/p10). *Journal of Biblical Literature* 129 (2010) 583–587; E.M. HUSSELMAN, Two Ar-

dered rhetoric specifically to refer to workers in the state-owned textile factories suggests that there was something about the condition of these workers that singled them out. Combined with the legal codes that circumscribed the movements and societal participation of people working specifically in the contexts of the imperial guilds, the use of derogatory language typically reserved for women and others perceived as lacking honour (slaves) for imperial textile workers further suggests the presence of forced labour and the artificial construction of a community. The few references in legal and narrative texts, as well as the language of 'othering,' imply a societal recognition of the imperial textile workers as a distinct group with a communal identity.

CONCLUSION: THE SOCIAL ROLE OF IMPERIAL TEXTILE WORKSHOPS

It is impossible to say what proportion of the workforce within the imperial textile factories would have been classed as forced labour, or how this may have changed over time. As in the private silk workshops, wage labourers (μίσθιοι [*misthioi*]), may have also been present working alongside the forced labourers, and seem to have been in a state of unfreedom themselves. In regulating the later private silk industry, the *Book of the Eparch* only mentioned the *misthioi*, who worked to fixed-term contracts, in relation to two professions, the silk merchants (μεταξάριοι [*metaxopratoi*]), and the silk manufacturers (σηρικάριοι [*sērikarioi*])[172]. One rule addressed to the *serikairoi*, prohibited the sale of either a *misthōtos* or *oiketēs* to foreigners, the penalty for which was the loss of a hand[173], implying economic dependency of these groups. The concern with maintaining workers in the private sector, as in the imperial factories, may have been part of a larger attempt to restrict the knowledge required to produce the elaborate silks from leaving the workshops, and ultimately, the empire's borders. The *Book of the Eparch* further stated that private slaves were not allowed to perform certain steps in the production; Youval Rotman has speculated that this was intended to keep slaves from gaining certain production secrets that could be passed on to others[174]. This may have also been a measure to discourage attempts to lure imperial slaves away from the workshops.

As discussed, imperial silks were important conveyors of political messaging and imperial image-making. Yet, how the producers of these objects fit into the conception of the material, and the wider social system, or how the importance of the material was reflected in their identity, cannot be conclusively defined. In the same poem on the Hagia Sophia in which Paul the Silentiary described Justinian and Theodora joining hands with Christ and the *theotokos* in an image on an altar cloth, he praised the awesome majesty of Christ's countenance on another. But he also made clear that it is no human hand responsible for the creation of the revered image; instead, his praise went to the silkworm (the βάρβαρος μύρμηξ [*barbaros myrmēx*], literally the barbarian ant)[175]. This illustrates an intriguing aspect of the study of labour in imperial silk production. Despite the many descriptions of, and accolades to, the silks used in court and ecclesiastical rituals, the artisans – and their skills – were never discussed in relation to the material.

This is not the case for all media. Painters were frequently acclaimed for their skills in producing venerable images and were often compared to writers for their ability to communicate knowledge and memory, a clear acknowledgement of their skill and agency in both cultural and

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chives from Karanis. *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 1 (1963) 3–5. Also see J.F. DRINKWATER, The Gallo-Roman woollen industry and the great debate: the Igel column revisited, in: Economies Beyond Agriculture in the Classical World, ed. D.J. Mattingly – J. Salmon. London 2001, 309–320.

172 To Eparchikon Biblion VI 2–3, VIII.7, VIII.10 (96, 104, 106 KODER). This does not preclude the possibility that they also participated in other trades. ROTMAN, Byzantine Slavery 97–98.

173 To Eparchikon Biblion VIII 7 (104 KODER).

174 To Eparchikon Biblion VII 5 (102 KODER); Rotman, Byzantine Slavery 97–98.

175 Paul the Silentiary 2.764–768 (52 DE STEFANIO).

social production[176]. Mosaicists were also credited for the images they created. Returning to Paul the Silentiary, he noted the skill of the mosaicist 'weaving' (ὑφαίνων [*yphainōn*]), the marble tesserae into images and compared it to painting[177]. Photios also portrayed mosaicists as painters, writing that the mosaic ceiling of the Nea Ekklesia, built by Basil I (r. 867–886) at the Great Palace, had been painted with tesserae and that the mosaicist, referred to as a painter (γραφεύς [*grapheus*]), had created an accurate depiction of Christ[178]. Yet, while weaving imagery was often used as a metaphor for narrative construction in other media, as seen in Paul's writing, weavers and embroiderers were rarely, if ever, mentioned in relation to their products.

While this could be representative of a hierarchy of Byzantine image-making, where those on silk were simply not considered as important as those that had been painted, this does not seem to be the case. Silks were crucial to the imperial image and had divine connotations. Another possibility is that the silence of the sources on the imperial textile workers was a consequence of the production process itself, and that the association of the imperial factory with the manufacture of imperial silks erased any concept of the individual. Could this be a reflection of the fact that at least some of the workers within the imperial factories were slaves? The rise of Christianity in the late Roman period had begun a process that resulted in many changes in social responses to slavery. Whereas slave ownership was once considered a mark of social standing, by at least the sixth century the institution of slavery was beginning to be viewed as a moral and spiritual failing, a contravention of both natural and divine law, even if a necessary one[179]. This raises the possibility that a reluctance to emphasise the role of the emperor in perpetuating slavery may account for the frequent absence of the workers in the imperial textile factories in sources, particularly imperial ones. Or it could have merely been that these workers, whether slaves, convicts, prisoners, or otherwise forced labourers, or even those working for a wage, were assigned a collective marginalised identity that precluded them from being acknowledged in relation to a material as symbolically significant as silk.

The presence of both weavers and embroiderers, however, along with all others responsible for imperial silk manufacture, was of course implied by the objects themselves; these workers inhabited the space that Nicholas Matheou termed 'historical dark matter,' invisible in the sources but part of the structure that supported the 'visible phenomena of hegemonic systems'[180]. Just as the reforms after the crises of the third century resulted in 'a new imperial aristocracy of service'[181], where even members of the nobility were constrained by their positions as 'state servants'[182], the consolidation of the emperor's control over all aspects of the manufacture of imperial silks became part of the symbolic performance of power, alongside the rituals of its distribution. The mode of production

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176 L. Brubaker, Image, meta-text and text in Byzantium, in: Herméneutique du texte d'histoire:orientation, interprétation et questions nouvelles, ed. S. Sato. Tokyo 2009, 93–94. See also L. Brubaker, Vision and Meaning in Ninth-Century Byzantium: Image as Exegesis in the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus. Cambridge 1999; I. Drpić, Painter as scribe: artistic identity and the arts of graphē in late Byzantium, *Word & Image* 29 (2013) 334–353; H. Maguire, Rhetoric and Artisty in Early Byzantium, in: Handbuch Rhetorik der Bildenden Künste, ed. W. Brassat. Berlin 2017, 185–206.

177 Paul the Silentiary 2.648–652, 2.607–611 (44–45, 42 de Stefanio).

178 Photios X 6 (ed. B. Laourdas, Photios: Homiliai. Thessaloniki 1959, 102).

179 Lenski, Slavery in the Byzantine Empire 459–465, 477–478.

180 Matheou, Hegemony, Counterpower, and Global History 215.

181 P. Sarris, Economy and Society in the Ages of the Sons of Constantine, in: The Sons of Constantine and Julian. ed. N. Baker-Brian – S. Tougher. London 2020, 334.

182 Ragia, Social Group Profiles 356–363, 370. For the court as a social group, see A.P. Kazhdan – M. Mccormick, The Social World of the Byzantine Court, in: Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204. ed. H. Maguire. Washington D.C. 1997, 167–197; P. Magdalino, Court Society and Aristocracy, in: The Social History of Byzantium, ed. J. Haldon. Chichester 2009, 212–232. On the transition from Late Roman to Byzantine elite systems and the concentration of power in Constantinople, see J. Haldon, Social Elites, Wealth, and Power, in: The Social History of Byzantium, ed. J. Haldon. Chichester 2009, 174–181.

both reflected and reinforced the social hierarchy. At the same time, the communal identity this fostered amongst the labourers in the imperial textile factories and their roles as producers of symbolic silks created an environment in which they both supported, but also had the power to disrupt, the hegemony of the court. This may be one reason why Leo Phokas attempted to enlist the imperial textile workers in his rebellion: their association with the usurper could have aided in the creation of legitimacy – as earlier emperors and officials seem to have feared –, a power they were apparently unwilling to wield in this case.

This is, of course, speculative. However, in critically examining the labour within a single productive setting—the imperial textile factories–, there are some general conclusions that can be made reagrding labour relations and the wider social dynamics that became embedded in the physical manifestations of power. The role of imperial textile labourers in the manufacture of such important objects, under the control of the emperor, made these workers an integral part of the production and reproduction of the symbols of imperial authority, and brought them into the political sphere. While the imperial government was performed through court ceremonial, an expression of imperial ideology of which silk was such an important part, the act of production was also embedded in its re-enactment, reflecting wider social relationships. The use of forced labour created an environment in which workers, who by virtue of their status were deprived of active agency in the Byzantine social hierarchy, became a community with a collective identity that enabled action, both in their personal lives (for example, in marriage or the dispensation of property) and within the hegemonic system of the state. While the textile labourers were dependant on the state, and the emperor, the projection of imperial legitimacy also depended on them, entrenching the imperial textile workers in the internal power dynamics of the empire.

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FIGURES

Figure 1: Inscription on the imperial elephant silk from the reliquary of Charlemagne, 10th century (© Domschatzkammer, Aachen)
Figure 2: Hunter silk from the Abbey at Mozac, 9th century (© Lyon, Musée des Tissus – Pierre Verrier)
Figure 3: Byzantine silk with the emperor on a *quadriga*, 700–900 (© Victoria and Albert Museum, London)
Figure 4: Michael VIII Palaiologos and Saint Lawrence embroidered on silk, 13th century (© Museo di Sant'Agostino, Genoa)

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Off the Page and Beyond Middle-Byzantine Constantinople: An Epigram by Theodore Prodromos on a Fresco of the Deposition in Latin-Ruled Naxos (Early Fourteenth Century)[*]

with 11 figures

ABSTRACT: In this article I examine an epigram by Theodore Prodromos, which was recently found inscribed on an early fourteenth-century fresco of the Deposition in the private church of Agios Georgios at Kato Potamia, Naxos. The epigram is composed in iambic dodecasyllables and has been identified with the first poem in his well-known collection of epigrams on the Old and New Testaments, the Tetrasticha, where it is entitled Eis tēn apokathēlōsin (On the Deposition) (Tetr. 262a). I discuss the intimate relationship between the imagery of the epigram and Byzantine scenes of the Deposition, something that most probably shows that Prodromos was familiar with the contemporary iconography of the scene. The analysis of its reproduction on the fourteenth-century fresco at Potamia—a composition largely based on the middle-Byzantine iconographic tradition for this scene—shows that Tetr. 262a was in this case most probably treated as a purely prose inscription, closely associated with its protagonist Nicodemus and his actions in the event. Its focus on a secondary character, who is depicted performing a practical task in the scenes of Deposition, probably explains its unparalleled appearance in this small church on Naxos. Finally, I discuss the possible routes that could have brought the Tetr. 262a to the island and I conclude that this epigram is likely to have reached Naxos together with the specific variant of the scene from a model book, which was largely based on middle Byzantine imagery and texts.

KEYWORDS: Theodore Prodromos; Epigram; Tetrasticha; Monumental Painting; Deposition; Nicodemus; Secondary Characters; Transmission of Epigrams; Naxos

The epigrams that have been preserved in Byzantine painted programmes are today known to us thanks to the extraordinary corpus compiled by Andreas Rhoby[1]. Of the numerous metrical inscriptions collected to date, however, only a small number can be attributed to known Byzantine authors[2]. And the majority of them, especially those that accompany narrative scenes, were used in

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[1] On epigrams on monumental painting see A. RHOBY, Byzantinische Epigramme auf Fresken und Mosaiken (*VB* 15). Wien 2009; IDEM, Byzantinische Epigramme auf Ikonen und Objekten der Kleinkunst. Nebst Addenda zu Band I "Byzantinische Epigramme auf Fresken und Mosaiken" (*VB* 23). Wien 2010, 36, 391–413; IDEM, Byzantinische Epigramme auf Stein nebst Addenda zu den Bänden 1 und 2 (*VB* 35). Wien 2014, 103, Teil II, 773–811; IDEM, Ausgewählte Byzantinische Epigramme in illuminierten Handschriften (*VB* 42). Wien 2018, 529–531.

[2] On epigrams that have been preserved on monumental painting and where the corresponding author has been identified see primarily RHOBY, Byzantinische Epigramme auf Fresken und Mosaiken 53–55. For a discussion of these epigrams in the context of the corresponding painted decoration see V. KEPETZI, Autour d'une inscription métrique et de la représentation des apôtres Pierre et Paul dans une église en Élide, in: Ritual and Art. Byzantine Essays for Christopher Walter, ed. P. Armstrong. London 2006, 160–181; M. PATEDAKIS, Agnōsto epigramma ston naisko tīs Koimīsīs ston Agio Iōannī Mylopotamou, in: Paideia kai politismos stīn Krītī, Vyzantio – Venetokratia. Afierōma ston Theocharī Detorakī, ed. I. Vassis –

churches that date to a much later period than the poems themselves, and in regions well beyond the latter's place of origin, i.e. Constantinople[3]. In this article, I focus on an epigram by the famous twelfth-century author Theodore Prodromos found inscribed on an early fourteenth-century wall painting in a privately-founded church on the island of Naxos. This inscription was unknown to the wider academic community until recently[4]. Its identification offers a new example of Prodromos's tetrasticha found *in situ*, thus strengthening the hypothesis that these epigrams were (re)used as inscriptions at least from the thirteenth/fourteenth century onwards. Moreover, this epigram enables us to reflect on some significant issues arising from the introduction of these metrical texts to the painted decoration of churches, namely, the way they were perceived by painters, patrons, and other viewers, and how this specific type of text travelled through time and space.

THE CHURCH OF AGIOS GEORGIOS AT KATO POTAMIA

Agios Georgios, a medium-sized, barrel-vaulted, single-nave church, is located on the top of a low hill, outside the present-day village of Kato Potamia (**Fig. 1**)[5]. Of the original decoration, the frescoes of the barrel vault in the sanctuary and those on the north side of the barrel vault and the north wall of the nave are the best preserved. Scenes from the Infancy, Ministry and Passion of Christ adorned the nave vault. The Presentation in the Temple (**Fig. 2**), the Baptism of Christ, and the Entry into Jerusalem were depicted on the south side. Today only fragments of these scenes are visible. A large Crucifixion, now in a poor state of preservation, occupies the tympanum of the west wall. The narrative continues with the Descent from the Cross, the Women at the Tomb, and the Incredulity of Thomas on the north side of the vault (**Fig. 3, 4, 5**)**.** The scenes of the Lamentation and the Descent into Hell appear out of sequence on the vault of the bema[6]. Several standing saints decorated the lower zone of the church. Today only St. Mamas on the west wall, and St. Nicholas on the north can be identified.

The iconography of the scenes is plain both in terms of the figures and the narrative details, and it generally corresponds to that of middle Byzantine schemes[7]. The insertion of specific motifs shows that the painter or painters were also to some extent familiar with the contemporary icono-

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[3] Rhoby, Byzantinische Epigramme auf Fresken und Mosaiken 52, 53–55.

[4] T. Konstantellou, Ena "ergastīrio" zōgraphikīs stīn ypaithro tīs Naxou (telī 13ou-arches 14ou aiōna): koinōnikos chōros kai eikastikī dīmiourgia. Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Athens 2019, 283–287.

[5] The dimensions of the church are: 6.42x3.77m. The architecture and the wall paintings are unpublished. For some brief references see N. Zias, Byzantina, mesaiōnika kai neōtera mnīmeia nīsōn tou Aigaiou. *AD* 28 (1973) 554; G.S. Mastoropoulos, Naxos. To allo kallos. Athens 2006, 112. For a recent analysis of the frescoes see Konstantellou, Ena "ergastīrio" zōgraphikīs 278–293.

[6] The rendering and the colours of these frescoes are a little different from the paintings in the nave and must be attributed to a second painter or to a somewhat later date.

[7] Konstantellou, Ena "ergastīrio" zōgraphikīs 278–293.

graphy of Palaiologan art and that of the Levant[8]. The depicted saints were popular in other churches of the island during the late Medieval period. The inscriptions found in the painted decoration are also of the standard kind, i.e. captions identifying the scenes, the holy figures, and the buildings, as well as narrative passages written on the scenes[9]. Of these, only the inscription that accompanies the composition of the Deposition, which will be examined below, is metrical.





(left) Figure 1: Church of Agios Georgios at Kato Potamia, Naxos, view from southwest (Photo: author)

(right) Figure 2: The Presentation in the Temple, early 14th century, Agios Georgios at Kato Potamia, Naxos (Photo: author)



Figure 3: The Deposition, early 14th century, Agios Georgios at Kato Potamia, Naxos (Photo: author)

[8] Konstantellou, Ena "ergastīrio" zōgraphikīs 278–293.The scenes of the Deposition and the Women at the Tomb analyzed in this paper are representative of this approach to the iconography of the scenes.

[9] Konstantellou, Ena "ergastīrio" zōgraphikīs 278–280. See also below, pp. 101–102.



Figure 4: The Women at the Tomb, early 14th century, Agios Georgios at Kato Potamia, Naxos (Photo: author)



Figure 5: The Incredulity of Thomas, early 14th century, Agios Georgios at Kato Potamia, Naxos (Photo: author)

From the dedicatory inscription over the entrance to the church, which probably mentioned the names of the donors and the date of the erection and/or painted decoration of the church, only the following letters are preserved: +ΔEC MΘT [….] MO.TΩN..|..ΨΩN […] (+DES MTHT [...] MO.TŌN..|..PSŌN [...]). A small section from a second, supplicatory inscription is also preserved next to an unidentified female saint on the eastern arch of the north wall. The inscription reads: ΔEHCIC TOY ΔOYΛOY TOY […] (DEĒSIS TOU DOULOU TOU [...]).

These losses prevent us from reconstructing the context in which this fresco decoration was created with any certainty. A recent analysis of the painted decoration has dated the frescoes to the first decades of the fourteenth century, and attributed them to a local painting workshop, which was active in the countryside of the island during the last quarter of the thirteenth century and the first quarter of the fourteenth century[10]. The small size of the church indicates that it was probably built as a family chapel. Despite its modest external appearance and the simple plan, the prominent location and the relatively good quality of the frescoes suggest the patrons were individuals of some social status[11].

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[10] KONSTANTELLOU, Ena "ergastīrio" zōgraphikīs 292–293.

[11] It is worth noting that some of the patrons of the churches who chose to employ the painters of this workshop were probably among the local archons of the island. On the patron of Agios Konstantinos in Vourvouria (1310) who is given the honorific epithet *kyr* in the dedicatory inscription, see A. KOSTARELLI, Ī mnīmeiakī zōgraphikī to 14o aiōna stī Naxo: ta akrivōs chronologīmena mnīmeia. Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Ioannina 2013, 61–64 and KONSTANTELLOU, Ena "ergastīrio" zōgraphikīs 272–273.

THE SCENE OF THE DEPOSITION AND THE TETR. 262A OF THEODORE PRODROMOS

The scene, inscribed in the upper left corner Η ΑΠΟΚΑΘΗΛΩCIC (The Deposition), is well preserved (**Fig. 3**)[12]. The event depicted is unfolding in front of the city wall and two buildings in Jerusalem. At the centre of the composition, Christ is portrayed with his eyes closed, his head falling onto his shoulder, and with his left hand still nailed to the cross. He is wearing a white loincloth. A short inscription is written on the horizontal beam at the top of the cross. It reads: I(HCOY)C X(PICTO)C O BACI(ΛΕΥC) TH(C) ΔΟΞ(HC) (Jesus Christ, the King of Glory)[13]. The burial shroud decorated with small red fleurs-de-lys is depicted behind Christ's body.

On the left-hand side[14] of the composition, Joseph of Arimathea, standing with one foot on a narrow ledge below the suppedaneum of the cross and the other suspended in the air, grasps the body of the dead Christ. He is clad in a brown chiton and a red himation. Behind him the Virgin raises her veiled hands and presses her son's hand against her cheek. She is wearing the traditional blue robe and reddish brown maphorion. John stands next to her and inclines his head towards his veiled raised hand[15]. He is dressed in a blue chiton and a reddish brown himation. These two figures are accompanied by their names. The figure of the Virgin is labelled M(HTH)P Θ(EO)Y (Mother of God) and St. John IΩ(ANNHC).

On the right, Nicodemus is represented standing on a ladder and extracting the nail from Jesus' hand with pliers. He is depicted as a rather ugly figure and is wearing a brown garment with short sleeves, as seen on the left shoulder, over a short red tunic. His depiction matches the way in which the man who frees the hands and feet of Christ is generally depicted in the scenes of the Deposition, i.e. wearing a short tunic, the usual attire of a workman, with bare arms and legs, and sometimes as a tiny, rather ugly figure[16]. However, this representation does not agree with the identity

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[12] Matthew 27:57–59; Mark 15: 43–46; Luke 23:50–53 and John 19:38–40. The Descent from the Cross appears in Byzantine art soon after Iconoclasm. The earliest image occurs in the manuscript of the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus (Paris gr. 510, 867–886) (L. BRUBAKER, Vision and Meaning in Ninth-Century Byzantium: Image as Exegesis in the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus. Cambridge 1999, 296–297). For the literary texts that formed the iconography of the scene and discussion on the variants and their meanings see G. MILLET, Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'Évangile aux XIVe, XVe et XVIe siècles, d'après les monuments de Mistra, de la Macédoine et du Mont-Athos. Paris 1916, 467–488; M. BOSKOVITS – G. JÁSZAI, Kreuzabnahme. *LCI* 2 (1970) 590–595; G. SCHILLER, The Deposition, in: EADEM, Iconography of Christian Art, transl. J. Seligman. London 1971–1972**,** 2, 164–168; K. WEITZMANN, Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Mediaeval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection: Ivories and steatites. Washington D.C. 1972, 66–68; E. PARKER, The Descent from the Cross: its Relation to the Extra-Liturgical Depositio Drama. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, New York University 1975; L. HADERMANN-MISGUICH, Kurbinovo. Les fresques de Saint Georges et la peinture du XIIe siècle. Brussels 1975, 152; L. REAU, La Descente de Croix, in: Iconographie de l'art chrétien, II/2 (1977) 513–518; H. MAGUIRE, The Depiction of Sorrow in Middle Byzantine Art. *DOP* 31 (1977) 162–163 and passim; Y. NAGATSUKA, Descente de la Croix, son développement iconographique des origines jusqu'à la fin du XlVe siècle. Tokyo 1979; D. MOURIKI, The Mosaics of Nea Moni on Chios, transl. R. Burgi. Athens 1985, 132–133; M. EMMANOUIL, Oi toichographies tou Agiou Dimitriou sto Makrychōri kai tīs Koimīseōs tīs Theotokou ston Oxylitho tīs Euboias (*Etaireia Euboïkōn Spoudōn, Parartīma tou KΪ΄ tomou*). Athens 1991, 69–71, 119–120; V. FOSKOLOU, Ī Omorfī ekklīsia stīn Aigina. Eikonografikī kai technotropikī analysī tōn toichographiōn. Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Athens 2000, 192–199; I. SINKEVIĆ, The Church of St. Panteleimon at Nerezi: Architecture, Programme, Patronage. Wiesbaden 2000, 53–54.

[13] The inscription comes from Psalm 23(24):7–10. It is mostly inscribed on the cross in the Man of Sorrows and the Crucifixion, especially during the Late Byzantine Period. More rarely it appears in the scene of the Deposition. On this see HADERMANN-MISGUICH, Kurbinovo 152; EMMANOUIL, Euboia 120, with examples and earlier bibliography.

[14] Left and right are used here from the viewer's perspective.

[15] Following the iconography of the scene of the Crucifixion, John is usually placed at the right side of the composition and not behind the Virgin. This pairing appears rather rarely in the middle Byzantine examples of the scene (NAGATSUKA, Descente de la Croix 19, 20, 41, XVI [V B 401]). The introduction of the ladder in the iconography of the scene in the second half of the eleventh century and the lack of available scape likely explain this arrangement.

[16] There are some exceptions to this rule. For example, in some tenth- and eleventh-century images of the Deposition Nicodemus wears a long tunic, such as the one worn by Joseph of Arimathea (WEITZMANN, Catalogue 67; MOURIKI, Nea Moni 133).

ascribed to Nicodemus by the evangelist John—the only evangelist to mention Nicodemus in his description of this event—i.e. a wealthy Pharisee and a member of the Jewish ruling council (John, 3:1). Moreover, John simply says that Nicodemus was present and brought an enormous quantity of myrrh and aloe to anoint the body of Christ (John 19:39) and, most importantly, he does not associate him with the process of removing the nails from the body of Christ.

This, and the fact that this lowly figure is not identified by name, inevitably leads to some reservations about identifying the man who removes the nails with Nicodemus in all cases[17]. In the church of Agios Georgios, however, this figure can safely be identified with Nicodemus thanks to the epigram that is at the heart of this paper. In fact, Potamia is not an exception, since the name Nicodemus accompanies the nail-removing figure in other Deposition scenes that date to approximately the same period[18]. In the church of Omorphe Ekklesia (1289) on the island of Aegina (also under Latin rule in this period), the initial letter N of Nicodemus is inscribed above the head of the nimbed "workman" who removes the nails from the feet of Christ (**Fig. 6**)[19]. In the church of Agios Nikolaos at Elenes in Venetian Crete (c.1300) all the figures are accompanied by their names, including Nicodemus (O NIKOΔIMOC), who is once again dressed as a workman and, in this case, has a halo (**Fig. 7**)[20]. Despite the number of examples presented here being somewhat restricted, I believe that at least some of the workshop painters, the church's patrons and congregants would have recognized Nicodemus in this intriguing figure[21].

Returning to the scene at Potamia, most of its elements derive from the iconographic tradition of the middle Byzantine period. In depicting the body of Christ, the painter at Potamia follows an iconographic variant, known from as early as the ninth century, in which Christ has one hand freed from the cross, while the other is still nailed to it[22]. Although this pose continues to appear in late Byzantine examples of the scene[23], the more common variant shows the upper part of Christ's dead body forming a diagonal, having been removed from the cross, and being embraced by the Virgin, whose gestures, facial expression and posture now emphatically depict her suffering at the death of

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[17] The workman could be identified with one of the Jews who extracted the nails from the hands of Christ and lay his body upon the earth according to the apocryphal Gospel of Peter (J. MONTAGUE RHODES, The Apocryphal New Testament. Oxford 1983, 91). In his monograph Yasushi Nagatsuka accepts without reservation the identification of the nail-removing figure with Nicodemus and sees behind this "humble" way of depicting him an attempt to emphasize the leading role of Joseph in the scene (NAGATSUKA, Descente de la Croix 5, 14–16). According to Doula Mouriki, the fact that Nicodemus is engaged in manual labour explains his depiction by the painters as a workman (MOURIKI, Nea Moni 133).

[18] I must admit that my survey has not been extensive and there may be other cases. In the examples I was able to locate, this insistence on naming was extended to other supplementary figures in other narrative scenes as well. This approach, which appears in some painted decorations of the middle Byzantine period and becomes more systematic in the late Byzantine period, requires a future separate study.

[19] FOSKOLOU, Ī Omorfī ekklīsia stīn Aigina 192–199.

[20] On the frescoes of the church see I. SPATHARAKIS – T. VAN ESSENBERG, Byzantine Wall Paintings of Crete, III, Amari Province. Leiden 2012, 48–59.

[21] It is rather difficult to establish when the tradition of Nicodemus removing the nails from the hands and feet of Christ crystallized and to understand how widespread this narrative was. Apart from the scenes mentioned in the text and the text of the epigram which will be examined in this article, this association of Nicodemus with the removal of the nails is to be found in two homilies of the middle Byzantine period. On these see below, pp. 97–98. We can probably assume that the references made in the vespers and the compline of Holy Friday, namely that Joseph together with Nicodemus took down the body of Christ from the cross, played a role in the second figure in the scenes becoming identified with Nicodemus (The Lenten Triodion 615, 618 [Transl. MOTHER MARY – ARCHIMANDRITE K. WARE, The Lenten Triodion. South Canaan PA 2002]). Moreover, we should add that in the eighteenth century Dionysios of Fourna identifies this figure with Nicodemus (Dionysius of Fourna, Hermeneia 109 [ed. A. PAPADOPOULOU-KERAMEUS, Dionysiou tou ek Phournā hermineia tīs zōgraphikīs technīs. St. Petersburg 1909]).

[22] WEITZMANN, Catalogue 66–68; BRUBAKER, Vision and Meaning 296–297. See also HADERMANN-MISGUICH, Kurbinovo 154–155; Mouriki, Nea Moni 132–133.

[23] NAGATSUKA, Descente de la Croix; FOSKOLOU, Ī Omorfī ekklīsia stīn Aigina 192–199.

her son[24]. In this type, Joseph is frequently depicted putting his arms around Christ from behind, while Nicodemus is shown standing on the ground and removing the nails from his feet.



Figure 6: The Deposition, 1289, Omorphe Ekklesia, Aigina (Photo: author)



Figure 7: The Deposition, c. 1300, Agios Nikolaos at Elenes, Crete (Photo: Ioannis Spatharakis)

The upright poses and reserved gestures of grief of the Virgin and St. John at Potamia, as well as Joseph's awkward position, all conform with the middle Byzantine depictions of the scene. Other figures and motifs that are usually included in Deposition scenes contemporary with Potamia, such as the lamenting women, the weeping angels, and the cosmic symbols of the sun and the moon, are absent in this case[25]. It seems that the emphasis at Potamia is on the main action, the removal of the dead body of Christ, and not so much on the grief resulting from the Passion, a theme that had been increasingly highlighted through the highly emotive participation of the Virgin and other figures from the mid-twelfth century onwards[26]. Here the expression of sorrow is restrained. What links the scene from Potamia with later representations of the same scene is the depiction of the city wall of Jerusalem[27] and its buildings, features that appear more systematically from the thirteenth century on[28]. What is rather rare is the inclusion of the burial shroud behind the body of Christ, and more specifically the way in which it is depicted[29] and decorated with the red

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[24] A variant also known from the middle Byzantine period. On this see MILLET, Recherches 474; NAGATSUKA, Descente de la Croix 58–62 and passim; MOURIKI, Nea Moni 132; FOSKOLOU, Ī Omorfī ekklīsia stīn Aigina 98, with bibliography and examples.

[25] On their introduction into the scene see above all, HADERMANN-MISGUICH, Kurbinovo 154–155; EMMANOUIL, Euboia 70, 119–120; FOSKOLOU, Ī Omorfī ekklīsia stīn Aigina 196.

[26] HADERMANN-MISGUICH, Kurbinovo 154–155; MOURIKI, Nea Moni 132; FOSKOLOU, Ī Omorfī ekklīsia stīn Aigina 197–198.

[27] The city wall of Jerusalem is actually illustrated in the background of the scene from the end of the twelfth century, as can be seen in the Descent from the Cross in the church of St. George at Kurbinovo (1191). On this see HADERMANN-MISGUICH, Kurbinovo 152.

[28] K. DIAMANTI, Oi toichographies tou Agiou Dimitriou (1286) stis Krokees tīs Lakōnias kai to ergastīrio tou anōnymou zōgrafou. Symbolī stī meletī tīs prōimīs palaiologeias zōgraphikīs stī Lakōnia. Tripoli 2012, 94, 96–97, with examples from the thirteenth century; I. SPATHARAKIS, Byzantine Wall Paintings of Crete, 1, Rethymnon Province. London 1999, 130, 189–190, 245, 299–300; IDEM – VAN ESSENBERG, Crete 250.

[29] Such cloths appear only occasionally in Byzantine scenes of the Deposition. For instance, in the mid-tenth- century ivory panel from Dresden a crumpled cloth is lying on the ground, and more specifically below the cross and the feet of Joseph of Arimathea (A. GOLDSCHMIDT – K. WEITZMANN, Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen des X.–XIII. Jahrhunderts. Berlin 1934, 47, Nr. 40). A close match to the scene at Potamia is found in the twelfth-century Deposition from the Enkleistra of St. Neophytus in Cyprus (ca. 1200), in which the linen cloth is held by Joseph of Arimathea who is trying to lay the dead body of Christ down (C. MANGO – E.G. HAWKINS, The Hermitage of St. Neophytos and Its Wall Paintings. *DOP* 20

fleurs-de-lys[30]. This is the only example of the scene preserved in the monumental decoration of Naxos[31].

The metrical inscription is written in the top right-hand corner of the scene, occupying the space between the vertical and the right arm of the cross (**Fig. 3, 8**), and continuing below, covering part of the upper zone of the structure depicted in the background on that side. It ends above the head of Nicodemus. The inscription is made up of nine lines. It is presented here as it appears in the scene[32].

l.1 ΤΟΛμΗΡΕ ΝΙΚΌΔιμΕ• ΡΥΨΟΝ
l.2 ΤΗΝ σΦΥΡΑΝ• μ῾Η σΥΝτΡΙΒ῾Η
l.3 ΤΪ δεσπΟτϊΚ(ὸν) ὈCΤε(ον) Ἡ λαΒίσ ἀρ
l.4 κει Και τ(ῶν) ΕΙΛΩΝ ΕΛΚΈ
l.5 τω
l.6 Ευ των χειρ(ῶν)
l.7 [μ]ετελΘΕ ΛΟΙΙΤΟΝ
l.8 [τ]ουσ πό
l.9 δασ

As mentioned above, the inscription can be identified with the epigram entitled Eis tēn apokathēlōsin by the well-known twelfth-century poet Theodore Prodromos[33]. This epigram belongs to a collection of iambic and hexametric four-line poems that Prodromos composed based on selected passages from the Old and New Testaments, known as the Tetrasticha. [34] This epigram is based on a passage in the Gospel of John, the only gospel to mention Nicodemus, and more specifically on the verses that narrate his participation in the Deposition (John 19:38–40)[35]. This is the first Tetras-

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[1966] 151). According to Elizabeth Parker the presence of such cloths highlights the liturgical significance of the scene (PARKER, Deposition 78–82). The unnatural way in which the cloth is represented at Potamia, i.e. behind Joseph of Arimathea and almost suspended by the hands of Christ, recalls the cloths of honour that are depicted behind the enthroned Virgin and Child in the West from the late twelfth onwards. On the latter see K.T. BROWN, Mary of Mercy in Medieval and Renaissance Italian Art. Devotional Image and Civic Emblem, London and New York 2017, 102–103, with bibliography. Moreover, its luminous white colour brings to mind the phrase from the Doxastikon from the Aposticha which is sung on Holy Friday and on the Feast of the Myrrh Bearers "Joseph with Nicodemus took Thee down from the Tree, who deckest Thyself with light as with a garment" (The Lenten Triodion 615 (MOTHER MARY – ARCHIMANDRITE K. WARE).

[30] On the presence of the fleur-de-lys motif in Byzantine art and its connotations from as early as the twelfth century onwards see HADERMANN-MISGUICH, Kurbinovo 316–318; EADEM, Tissus de pouvoir et de prestige sous les Macédoniens et les Comnènes. À propos des coussins-de-pieds et leurs représentations. *DChAE* (1993–1994) 127–128; R. OUSTERHOUT, The Byzantine Heart. *Zograf* 17 (1989) 38–39. On its use on coins, and architecture see IDEM, Byzantium between East and West and the Origins of Heraldry, in: Byzantine Art: Recent Studies, ed. C. Hourihane. Princeton, N.J. 2009, 164–165, with earlier bibliography. The same motif appears sporadically in the fourteenth-century painted programmes of Naxos (KOSTARELLI, Ī mnīmeiakī zōgraphikī to 14o aiōna stī Naxo 111, with examples).

[31] This is probably due to the significant losses from painted surfaces in a large number of decorative programmes on the island.

[32] The diplomatic transcription reproduces the writing marks, the punctuation, and the mixture of majuscule and minuscule letters of the inscribed text. On these features see below pp. 99–100. Translation below, on p. 97.

[33] On the poetic work of Theodore Prodromos see primarily W. HÖRANDNER, Theodoros Prodromos, historische Gedichte (*WBS* 11). Vienna 1974; N. ZAGKLAS, Theodoros Prodromos: Miscellaneous Poems. An Edition and Literary Study (*Oxford Studies in Byzantium*). Oxford 2023.

[34] On the Tetrasticha and their popularity see Theodoros Prodromos, Tetrasticha (ed. G. PAPAGIANNIS, Theodoros Prodromos, Jambische und hexametrische Tetrasticha auf die Haupterzählungen des Alten und Neuen Testaments, 1–2 [*Meletemata* 7]. Wiesbaden 1997); L. TASEVA, Tetrasticha des Theodoros Prodromos in einer unbekannten serbischen Übersetzung des 14. Jahrhunderts. *BSl* 69 (2021) 59–79.

[35] Theodoros Prodromos, Tetrasticha 2, 275 (262a) (PAPAGIANNIS); I. VASSIS, Initia Carminum Byzantinorum. Berlin – New York 2005, 769.

tichon (262a) composed in iambic dodecasyllables[36]. The text, as published by Papagiannis, is as follows:

Εἰς τὴν ἀποκαθήλωσιν	On the Deposition
Τολμηρὲ Νικόδημε, ῥῖψον τὴν σφύραν,	Brave Nicodemus, drop the hammer,
μὴ συντριβῇ τι δεσποτικὸν ὀστέον·	Lest it break a bone of the Lord.
ἡ λαβὶς ἀρκεῖ καὶ τὸν ἧλον ἑλκέτω·	The pliers suffice, let them extract the nail;
εὖ τῶν χερῶν· μέτελθε λοιπὸν τοὺς πόδας.	Well done with the hands; now continue with the feet.

In Tetr. 262a the narrator probably calls Nicodemus brave because he followed the example of Joseph of Arimathea and dared like Joseph[37] to contribute to Christ's burial despite the hostility of the Romans and his fellow Jews[38]. He encourages him (or indeed commands him, since he uses the verb in the imperative) to throw away the hammer so as not to break any of Christ's bones, [39] and to use only the pliers to extract the nails. Since Nicodemus has now released the Lord's hands from the cross, the narrator incites him to go on to free the feet. The second verse also give a specific meaning to these actions, that is, the need to protect the body of Christ, while this "command" could also reflect Prodromos's emotional response to the violence perpetrated against the body of the Lord.

Even though the involvement of Nicodemus in the act of removing the body of Christ from the Cross is absent from St. John's account of that episode—as mentioned above—Prodromos chose to elaborate this specific theme in the first tetrastichon he composed for the Gospel passage that mentions Nicodemus's presence at the event. We could argue that, in doing so, Prodromos must already have been familiar with this narrative and/or had come across texts which included this specific episode. For instance, in the homily on the Lamentation of the Virgin written either by the tenth-century author Symeon Metaphrastes or the famous twelfth-century teacher of the Patriarchal School in Constantinople Nikephoros Basilakes there is a clear reference to Nicodemus pulling the nails from the hands and feet of Christ[40]. In the sermon on the Crucifixion by Michael Psellos, it is

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[36] The hexametric epigram reads as follows: Δάκτυλά τοι, Νικόδημε, προήλυθε δάκτυλα Θωμᾶ· Θωμᾶς γὰρ μετόπισθε καὶ εἰς τύπον ἔβλεπεν ἥλων, αὐτὰρ σὺ πρότερός τε καὶ αὐτοὺς ἕδρακες ἥλους, ἐν δ' ἱερὴν ἐδίφησας ὑγρὴν ἔτι πλευρὰν ἄνακτος. ("Your fingers Nicodemus anteceded the fingers of Thomas; for Thomas came afterwards and looked at the nail marks, while you were there before him, pulled out the nails themselves, and touched the still dripping holy side of the King"). Theodoros Prodromos, Tetrasticha 2, 276 (262b) (PAPAGIANNIS).

[37] The quality of boldness is attributed to Joseph of Arimathea. See for instance, Mark 15: 43: "Joseph of Arimathea, a respected member of the council who was himself waiting expectantly for the kingdom of God, went boldly to Pilate and asked for the body of Jesus".

[38] I thank Christos Karakolis for his help in clarifying the meaning of the word tolmēros (τολμηρός). On the perception of the narrative character of Nicodemus see C. KARAKOLIS, The Unfinished Story of Nicodemus: A Reader-Centered Approach in Expressions of the Johannine Kerygma in John 2:23–5:18; Historische, literarische und theologische Vorlesungen vom Colloquium Ioanneum 2017 in Jerusalem, ed. R. Alan Culpepper and Jörg Frey (*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament* 423). Tübingen 2019, 13–27, with earlier bibliography.

[39] A phrase closely connected to the references (in Exodus 12: 46; Numbers 9:12) to the prohibition on breaking any bones of the lamb in the Passover sacrifice, which is echoed in Psalms 33: 21. The fulfillment of prophecy is alluded to earlier in the Gospel of John (John 19:36). Respect for the body of Christ might also explain why Nicodemus is rarely depicted holding a hammer in scenes of the Deposition.

[40] "ὅτι μόνος Νικόδημος τοὺς ἥλους τῶν χειρῶν καὶ τῶν ποδῶν σου διίστησι καί, ὅλον ἐκ τοῦ ξύλου σε καθελών, ἐμαῖς ἀγκάλαις ἐπωδύνως ἐντίθησιν, αἷς σε καὶ πρώην ὄντα βρέφος χαρμοσύνως ἐβάστασα·" ("Nicodemus alone removed the nails from your hands and feet and, after lowering you unbroken from the wooden cross, sorrowfully placed you in my embrace, which once joyfully held you as an infant") *PG* 114, 216; Nikephoros Basilakes, Progimnasmi e monodie 177, 335 (ed. A. PIGNANI, Niceforo Basilace. Progimnasmi e monodie [*Byzantina et neo-hellenica neapolitana* 10]. Naples 1983; Nikephoros Basilakes, Progymnasmata 219 (ed. and transl. N. BENEKER – G.A. GIBSON, The Rhetorical Exercises of

Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathea who take down the Lord's body from the Cross and gently pull the nails out from his hands and feet[41].

On the other hand, students of Byzantine iconography will easily recognize the ekphrastic elements of the epigram and more specifically the intimate relationship between the imagery of the poem and Byzantine images of the Deposition. In these images, Nicodemus is often identified with the figure depicted either standing on a ladder and removing a nail from Christ's hand or kneeling and removing the nail from a foot, as mentioned above. Moreover, it is in art that Nicodemus is occasionally shown holding a hammer, like the one mentioned in the epigram, though this is a rare occurrence[42]. The most well-known example is probably the central panel of an ivory triptych from the Dumbarton Oaks Collection (Constantinople, second half of the tenth century) (**Fig. 9**). [43]

With these examples in mind, it is not unreasonable to also assume that Prodromos was familiar with the contemporary iconography of the scene and that, in composing Tetr 262a, he combined the two ways of depicting Nicodemus. Besides, in the words of Marc Lauxtermann, "the epigrams form a literary response to the visual forms of imagination with which Prodromos and his audience were familiar". [44] Since the narrator of Tetr. 262a commands Nicodemus to move from the hands to the feet, the epigram would be a perfect match for the variant in which Nicodemus is still standing on the ladder, trying to remove the nail from Christ's hand using a hammer. In this iconographic setting, the epigram would operate as indicator of his identity, a short piece of ekphrasis (as it describes the position of Nicodemus and narrates what comes next in the story) and an exegesis (as it alludes to the theological significance of the use of the instruments, and of the sequence of his movements). The series of imperatives ῥῖψον τὴν σφύραν ("drop the hammer"), τὸν ἧλον ἑλκέτω ("let [the pliers] extract the nails"), and μέτελθε ("continue") might infuse the static representation of the figures with a sense of movement and help to dramatize the event. The use of the epigram, almost two hundred years after its composition, in the representation of the Deposition at Potamia is an indication of this connection. Here, as noted above, Nicodemus is depicted trying to extract the nail from Jesus's left hand, which is still attached to the cross. This visual and performative dimension is apparent in other epigrams as well and probably reveals the initial function of this collection[45]. But this intriguing subject is beyond the scope of the present study.

Nikephoros Basilakes. Progymnasmata from Twelfth-Century Byzantium [*Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library* 43]. Cambridge, MA – London 2016).

41 "ἡρέμα γοῦν τοὺς ἥλους ὑπεξαγαγόντες τῶν τε χειρῶν ὁμοῦ καὶ ποδῶν, εἶτα δὴ καὶ διαγκαλισάμενοι εὐφυῶς καὶ γενναίως μετεωρίσαντες καθαροῖς τε ἀμφίοις τὸ ἄχραντον ἐκεῖνο σῶμα σεπτῶς ἄγαν ἐλίξαντές τε καὶ περιστείλαντες, ἐν μνημείῳ κατέθεσαν". ("so they pulled out gently the nails from His hands and feet and then they embraced that undefiled body skilfully, held it bravely up in the air, swathed and wrapped it with clean garments with utmost reverence, and placed it in a tomb"). Michael Psellos, Orationes Hagiographicae 178 (ed. E.A. FISHER, Michaelis Pselli Orationes Hagiographicae. Leipzig 1994).

42 The hammer is rarely seen in Byzantine images of the Deposition (WEITZMANN, Catalogue 67). For examples from both the Byzantine and the Western artistic tradition, see NAGATSUKA, Descente de Croix 5 n. 3 and passim.

43 On this see, WEITZMANN, Catalogue 66–69 and more specifically 67. In this case, as in some tenth- and eleventh-century images of the Deposition, Nicodemus (?) wears a long tunic, such as the one worn by Joseph of Arimathea (WEITZMANN, Catalogue 67; MOURIKI, Nea Moni 133).

44 M. LAUXTERMANN, Book review of Gr. Papagiannis, Theodoros Prodromos. Jambische und hexametrische Tetrasticha auf die Haupterzählungen des Alten und des Neuen Testaments, Wiesbaden 1997. *JÖB* 49 (1999) 368; IDEM, Byzantine Poetry from Pisides to Geometres. Texts and Contexts, Vienna 2003, I, 78–79. See also, W. HÖRANDNER, Forme et fonction. Remarques sur la poésie dans la société byzantine (*Séminaires byzantins* 4). Paris 2017, 74–75.

45 The iconic character of the collection and its initial purpose has recently been analyzed by Manolis Patedakis in his lecture, entitled "Some Aspects of Theodore Prodromos' Poetry in the Tetrasticha on Chapters from the Old and New Testament", in the *Speaking From the Margins* lecture series, organized by the Database of Byzantine Book Epigrams (Ghent University), delivered on 17th May 2022. For discussion of the initial purpose of this collection see HÖRANDNER, Forme et function 64–65, 71. PATEDAKIS, Mia epigrafī me īgemonikī diastasī 344–352.





(left) Figure 8: Tetr. 262a by Theodore Prodromos in the scene of the Deposition, early 14th century, Agios Georgios at Kato Potamia, Naxos (Photo: author)

(right) Figure 9: The Deposition, second half of the 10th century, Constantinople (Photo: Courtesy Dumbarton Oaks, Byzantine Collection, Washington, D.C)

TETR. 262A AS AN INSCRIPTION IN THE CHURCH AT POTAMIA

Let me now make some observations on the way in which the epigram has been reproduced at Potamia (**Fig. 3, 8**) As is the case for most of the metrical inscriptions, the title has been omitted. The verses are written out continuously, without spaces between the words[46]. The beginning of a line does not correspond to the beginning of a verse. Only two small dots, used to mark the beginning or the end of verses as a guide to the reader, appear here[47]. The first one after the word Nikodēme (Νικόδημε) denotes the caesura, while the other after the word sphyran (σφύραν) marks the end of the verse. The text is written using both capitals and lower-case letters, as is usual in this period[48]. The letters are small and narrow and the painter positions some letters above others[49]. There are only two discrepancies between the modern edition of the text and the inscription[50]. The word

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[46] The continuous writing appears in both metrical and prose inscriptions.

[47] On the use of these *sigla* see indicatively, Patedakis, Agnōsto epigramma 61; I. Dripć – A. Rhoby, Byzantine Verses as Inscriptions: the Interaction of Text, Object, and Beholder, in: A Companion to Byzantine Poetry, ed. W. Hörandner – A. Rhoby – N. Zagklas. Leiden-Boston 2019, 445; A. Rhoby, Interpunktionszeichen in byzantinischen Versinschriften, in: Griechisch-byzantinische Handschriftenforschung Traditionen, Entwicklungen, neue Wege, ed. Ch. Brockmann – D. Deckers – D. Harlfinger – S. Valente. Berlin – Boston 2020, 293–302.

[48] On the more systematic use of minuscule script in Byzantine painted inscriptions from the thirteenth century onwards see Fl. Karagianni, Paratīrīseis stī chrīsī tīs mikrogrammatīs grafīs stis vyzantines epigraphes (10os–14os ai.), in: Praktika tou ST' Diethnous Symposiou Ellīnikīs Palaiographias, Drama, 21–27 Septemvriou 2003, ed. V. Atsalos – N. Tsironi, I. Athens 2008, 686; and A. Rhoby, Inscriptions and Manuscripts in Byzantium: A Fruitful Symbiosis?, in: Scrittura epigrafica e scrittura libraria: fra Oriente e Occidente, ed. M. Maniaci – P. Orsini. Cassino 2015, 30–35.

[49] This deposition also follows an epigraphic tradition known in mural painting from as early as the twelfth century onwards. On this see Karagianni, Paratīrīseis 685.

[50] i.e. rypson (ρύψον) instead of ripson (ῥῖψον) and eilōn (είλων) instead of ēlon (ἦλον).

xeirōn (χειρῶν) is used in the inscription rather than the Ionic cherōn (χερῶν), which Prodromos used for the sake of the metre[51].

As mentioned above, the content of the epigram is well suited to the iconography of the scene. The hammer is the only element that is missing. Nicodemus is shown prising out the nail using pliers. But which of the functions of this epigram mentioned above could the patron, the painter, and the small congregation of this church have understood? Did they recognize the poetic nature of this inscription? And how did they ultimately receive Prodromos' epigram in this church?

Before attempting to answer these questions, I shall first make some observations on the visual rendering of the epigram at Potamia. An examination of the inscription shows that giving the epigram an autonomous space in the most suitable available area, i.e. between the vertical and the right arm of the cross, and an elegant appearance, was not among the painter's priorities; [52] nor did he employ refined script or a visual strategy in order to differentiate it from the other types of inscriptions in the church. Instead, the painter started inscribing the text at some distance from the upper border of the scene and continued writing the words without spaces and using somewhat awkward lettering, as mentioned above, for the first four lines. Afterwards he breaks the word helketō (ἑλκέτω) in the fourth line and writes the last syllable (– tō [τω]) in the small space between the cross arm and the building depicted on that side of the scene (l. 5), even though he had enough space to finish the verse on the fourth line. He places the next phrase eu tōn xeir(ōn) (ευ των χειρ(ῶν)) next to Christ's nailed hand (l. 6), writes the following line immediately below it and completes the inscription by breaking the last words of the epigram, [t]ous po/ das ([τ]ουσ πό/ δασ) (l. 8, 9), in order to fit it into the restricted space between Nicodemus' raised hands above his head[53].

Behind this arrangement we can probably see an attempt to fit the whole text into the side of the scene in which Nicodemus is depicted, to link specific words (or those the artist recognized) with the iconography of the action and to complete the inscription just above the head of the protagonist, Nicodemus. In order to achieve this, however, the painter was compelled to divide the epigram into several lines, to break up words, and write not only on the blue background of the composition but also on unusual surfaces such as buildings (l. 5 and l. 6) and between the raised hands of one of the figures (l. 8 and 9). This development of the text, combined with the thin form of the letters and tightly packed script, eventually led to a "cramped" layout and a somewhat awkward visual result[54]. In view of these observations, it can be argued that, while our painter seems to understand the con-

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[51] The variant cheirōn (χειρῶν) appears in the sylloge of Laura B43 (twelfth –thirteenth c.) as well. On this see LAUXTERMANN, Book review of Gr. Papagiannis 369.

[52] On the importance given to the visual dimension of verse inscriptions see G. AGOSTI, La mise en page come elemento significante nell'epigrafia greca tardoantica, in: Scrittura epigrafica e scrittura libraria: tra Oriente e Occidente, ed. M. Maniaci – P. Orsini. Cassino 2015, 45–86; I. DRPIĆ, Chrysepes Stichourgia: The Byzantine Epigram as Aesthetic Object, in: Sign and Design. Script as Image in Cross-Cultural Perspective (300–1600 CE), ed. B.M. Bemos-Rezak – J.A. Hamburger. Washington D.C., 2016, 51–69; IDEM, Epigram, Art, and Devotion in Later Byzantium. Cambridge 2016; A. RHOBY, Text as Art? Byzantine Inscriptions and Their Display, in: Writing Matters. Presenting and Perceiving Monumental Inscriptions in Antiquity and the Middle Ages, ed. I. Berti – K. Bolle – F. Opdenhoff – F. Stroth (*Materielle Textkulturen* 14). Berlin – Boston 2017, 265–283; RHOBY – DRPIĆ, Byzantine Verses as Inscriptions 443–458; and I. DRPIĆ, Inscriptions, in: The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Literature, ed. S. Papaioannou. Oxford 2021, 383–389. However, both Rhoby and Drpić maintain that an elegant visual appearance is not a constant feature of the inscribed epigrams, since a significant number are written using careless lettering.

[53] On this intentional relationship between the inscribed words and the iconography in specific Byzantine artworks see B. HOSTETLER, The Iconography of Text: The Placement of an Inscription on a Middle Byzantine. *Reliquary Eastern Christian Art* 8 (2011) 49–55; IDEM, The Visual Structure of Epigrams and the Experience of Byzantine Space: A Case Study on Reliquary Enkolpia of St. Demetrios, in: Spatialities of Byzantine Culture from the Human Body to the Universe, ed. M. Veikou – I. Nilsson. Leiden 2022, 631–655.

[54] We should probably always bear in mind the impact that difficult working conditions, e.g., painting from ladders or scaffolding, might have had on the rendering of inscriptions.

tent (or some words) of the inscription, he probably did not recognize its poetic nature, nor its Prodromic authorship. Instead, he seems to have approached it as an anonymous prose text, which—since it refers to one of the figures in the scene—needed to be completed just above or close to that figure. And this epigraphic approach has nothing new or special about it; in fact, it recalls the arrangement of other categories of inscriptions, such as the simple labels that name gospel figures or the biblical quotations that represent their spoken words[55].





(left) Figure 10: Inscription (Mark 16:6) in the scene of the Women at the Tomb, Naxos, early 14th century, Agios Georgios at Kato Potamia, Naxos (Photo: author)

(right) Figure 11: The words of the prophetess Anna inscribed on her scroll, early 14th century, Agios Georgios at Kato Potamia, Naxos (Photo: author)

The scene of the Deposition is the only one in the church that is accompanied by a metrical inscription. The other well-preserved scenes have more commonplace inscriptions, namely captions and biblical texts, and names for the depictions of the holy figures and structures. The inscriptions in the scene of the Holy Women at the Tomb are worth commenting on, since their arrangement reveals the same logic as we have just seen in the Deposition (**Fig. 4, 10**). The angel's words from Mark 16:6, an ordinary prose text, are written almost exactly in the centre of the upper zone of the scene[56]. The lettering is of the same form as before but larger in size. The text begins next to the angel's raised wing, is written continuously, and is divided into three lines, though it could have been completed in one or two. Thanks to this arrangement, the inscription is completed directly above the angel who utters the corresponding words. The label ΑΓΓΕ(ΛΟC) Κ(ΥΡΙΟ)Υ (The Angel of the Lord) is written below and next to the angel and the word Ο ΤΑΦΟC (The grave) next to

[55] On this last category see N.P. Ševčenko, Written Voices: The Spoken Word in Middle Byzantine Monumental Painting, in: Resounding Images: Medieval Intersections of Art, Music, and Sound, ed. S. Boynton – D.J. Reilly. Leiden 2015, 153–165.

[56] ΙΔΕ Ο ΤΟΠΟC ΟΠΟΥ ΕΘΗΚΑΝ ΑΥΤΟΝ / ΗΓΕΡΘΗ ΟΥΚ ΕCΤΙ / ΩΔΕ ("See the place where they laid him/ He has risen! He is not/ here.") (Mark 16:6). The sequence of the phrases has been altered here. The phrase appears in the scene as early as the eleventh century (A. Tsakalos, Le Monastère rupestre de Karanlik Kilise. Monachisme, art et patronage en Cappadoce Byzantine. Thèse de doctorat de IIIe cycle, Paris 1 2006, 319; R. Ousterhout, Women at tombs: narrative, theatricality, and the contemplative mode, in: Wonderful Things. Byzantium Through its Art, ed. L. James – A. Eastmond. London 2013, 242, fig.16.7).

the empty building[57]. The label M(HTH)P Θ(EO)Y (Mother of God), inscribed in the nimbus of the Myrrh-bearer next to the angel, indicates the presence of the Virgin Mary at the scene[58].

Moreover, it is interesting to note that in this same church an elegant visual appearance is given to a commonplace inscription, i.e. the words of the prophetess Anna inscribed on her scroll in the Presentation in the Temple (**Fig. 2, 11**)[59]. A familiar method from manuscript-painting is employed here. A decorated initial in red is followed by the rest of the text, painted in well-defined letters in black. It seems that in this case, visual attention was paid not to a specific category of inscriptions (e.g. epigrams), but to texts written on a specific medium (scrolls).

The communicative function of the inscriptions and the congregation's response to them is difficult to assess since we lack the appropriate evidence. It is probably safe to argue that the rendering of the inscriptions, and more specifically that of the epigram, combined with the location of the scenes on the barrel vault and the dim light inside the church, would have surely adversely affected their legibility, even for those who were able to read. We can assume that the priest of the church was familiar with these texts and recited them aloud on special occasions and when the liturgy was celebrated in that church[60]. We might even suppose that the presence of a lengthy inscription would have attracted the attention and guided the gaze of the viewers to the related figures, such as Nicodemus, stimulating reflection upon their character, piety and role in the life and Passion of Christ.

Even though the sample is small, based on the above discussion, I would argue that we are not dealing here with a sophisticated programme featuring extensive use of inscriptions and paying careful attention to their visual appearance. Nor can it be suggested with any confidence that we are dealing with a thoughtful and deliberate selection of texts and images that work in tandem in order to reflect the patron's religious concerns, intellectual background or literary preferences. Even though a part of the original decoration has been lost, from what survives it appears that one narrative composition was accompanied by a twelfth-century epigram, two scenes were accompanied by prose texts of some length and well-known to artists already from the eleventh century, while the rest of the frescoes have only one- or two-word captions. Words and texts of different categories coexisted. However, the appearance of a twelfth-century poem of Constantinopolitan origin in a "provincial" fourteenth-century painted programme must, of course, be explained. And this brings us to the final issue I would like to tackle.

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[57] The representation of the two Maries follows the narration of Matthew (28:1–7) and not of Mark (16:5), which refers to the three Maries that are usually depicted in the scene from the thirteenth century onwards (D. Mouriki, Oi toichographies tou Sōtīra konta sto Alepochōri tīs Megaridos. Athens 1978, 26). The watchmen are missing in this case. However, the tomb is represented as a building and the representation of the censer held by the Virgin corresponds to the Late Byzantine examples of the scene (Mouriki, Oi toichographies tou Sōtīra 27, with examples and bibliography). It is also interesting to note that the glass vessel held by the first myrrhophore on the left with the light on dark, spiral decoration on the body corresponds to a contemporary category of vessels (thirteenth–fourteenth c.) that come from the Arab world. I owe this information to Dr Tassos Antonaras.

[58] On the presence of the Virgin Mary in the episodes of the Women at the Tomb and the Chairette from as far back as the Early Byzantine period see N. Zarras, La tradition de la présence de la Vierge dans les scènes du « Lithos » et du « Chairete » et son influence sur l'iconographie tardobyzantine. *Zograf* 28 (2000/1) 113–120; Idem, O eikonografikos kyklos tōn Eōthinōn Euangeliōn stīn Palaiologeia mnīmeiakī zōgraphikī tōn Valkaniōn. Thessaloniki 2011, 121–123, 129–132. Her regular appearances in the aforementioned scenes during the late Byzantine era has been connected with the growing cult of the Virgin in the same period.

[59] TOYTO TO | BPEΦOC | OYPAN(ON) K(AI) Γ|HN ECTE|PEѠCEN ("This child has made firm the sky and the earth"). This phrase is inscribed on the unrolled scroll of the prophetess Anna from the eleventh century onwards (Mouriki, Nea Moni 121).

[60] On the oral presentation of the epigrams see Rhoby, Text as Art? 265–283, with earlier bibliography. On the infrequent use of the small rural chapels, a conclusion based on the content of a Naxian dedicatory inscription see S. Gerstel – A.M. Talbot, The culture of lay piety in Byzantium 1064–1453, in: The Cambridge History of Christianity, ed. M. Angold. London 2006, V, 80–81.

THE TRANSMISSION SCENARIOS

The fact that a twelfth-century epigram was used in an early fourteenth-century fresco on Naxos invites us to think about the possible routes that could have brought the Tetr. 262a to the island[61]. It is now known that, besides the large collection of Tetrasticha, a series of independent, shorter collections of epigrams, detached from the main corpus soon after the emergence of the initial collection, has survived[62]. Both contained epigrams that could either be read as literary texts or used as verse inscriptions[63]. This second function was also reflected in their titles[64]. The Tetrasticha were also incorporated into cycles of epigrams, which contained verses by other poets too[65].

Tetr. 262a Eis tēn apokathēlōsin appears in three abridged versions of the Tetrasticha[66] and in the Lavra B43 collection, which dates to the twelfth or thirteenth century[67]. Obviously, the anthologists of these collections recognized the inscriptional potential of this particular epigram, or had seen it used as a verse inscription. However, despite this evidence of its "popularity", the epigram does not appear as an inscription in any of the Byzantine scenes of the Deposition that have been published up to now. Moreover, and in contrast to Tetr. 187a (Eis tēn Christou gennēsin – On the Birth of Nativity of Christ) and Tetr. 230a (Eis ton entaphiasmon – On the Entombment), this epigram was not included in the anonymous post-Byzantine book the Art of Painting nor in the famous Painter's Manual of Dionysios of Fourna (1729–1733)[68]. Instead of using Tetr. 262a for the Deposition the Art of Painting proposes the last two verses of Tetr. 230a, which is dedicated to the Entombment, the episode that usually follows the Deposition[69]. I would argue that an epigram dedicated to Nicodemus, that is to a secondary figure performing a practical task in one of their scenes, would not have excited the attention of post-Byzantine painters, nor would such a reference have

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[61] On the artist's sources and the ways the epigrams circulated, see C. Bouras, Allīgorikī parastasī tou Viou-Kairou se mia metabyzantinī toichographia stī Chio. *AD* 21 (1966) 32; Kepetzi, Autour d'une inscription métrique 168; Patedakis, Mia epigrafī me īgemonikī diastasī 341, n. 21; Rhoby, Christophoros Mitylenaios 147–155 and especially 148, 149.

[62] On these see Theodoros Prodromos, Tetrasticha 2, 193 (Papagiannis); Lauxtermann, Byzantine Poetry 78–81.

[63] Lauxtermann, Byzantine Poetry 81.

[64] Theodoros Prodromos, Tetrasticha 2, 193 (Papagiannis); Lauxtermann, Byzantine Poetry 78–81; Patedakis, Mia epigrafī me īgemonikī diastasī 342.

[65] Lauxtermann, Byzantine Poetry 78– 79. Lora Taseva has recently studied the insertion of fourteen tetrasticha translated into Serbian before the readings of translation D of the Triodion Synaxaria in about ten South Slavonic manuscripts that date from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries. Tetr. 268a, which is dedicated to Nicodemus, appears in the entry for the Sunday of the Holy Myrrh Bearers in five of them ranging in date from the late fourteenth to the fifteenth century. This can be accounted for by the fact that Nicodemus is commemorated on this day together with Joseph of Arimathea. Since no similar combination has been found in a Byzantine codex, it is not possible to examine how the Triodion may have contributed to the dissemination of the tetrasticha. It is also important to note that the epigram in question is referring to Nicodemus's identity as the "nocturnal" disciple and not to his actions in the Deposition. On this see Taseva, Tetrasticha des Theodoros Prodromos 59–79.

[66] These appear in manuscripts that date from the thirteenth to the fourteenth century: Paris. gr. 1277 (p4) (thirteenth c.), Ven. Marc. gr. 498 (M) (second half of fourteenth c.), and Vatic. gr. 1277 (v2) (1313–1316). On these see Theodoros Prodromos, Tetrasticha 1, 145–146 (Papagiannis).

[67] Lauxtermann, Byzantine Poetry 300.

[68] On these see Dionysius of Fourna, Hermeneia 233, 277 (Papadopoulou-Kerameus). There is no acknowledgement of Theodore Prodromos's authorship of these epigrams. The Tetr. 187a and Tetr. 230a have been identified by Marc Lauxtermann (Lauxtermann, Book review of Gr. Papagiannis 370; Idem, Byzantine Poetry 80).

[69] Dionysius of Fourna, Hermeneia 233 (Papadopoulou-Kerameus). On the Tetr. 230a see Theodoros Prodromos, Tetrasticha 2, 241 (Papagiannis). The epigram reads as follows: Τί δακρύεις θάπτουσα Χριστόν, Παρθένε, πάλαι λαβοῦσα τῆς χαρᾶς τὰς ἐγγύας; οἰμωζέτω θάνατος, Ἅιδης κλαιέτω· σὺ δὲ τριταῖον τὸν σὸν υἱὸν ἐκδέχου. ("Why do you shed tears Virgin Mary while you are burying Christ, when you have already received the guarantee of joy? Let Death wail aloud, let Hades cry, while you wait for your son to return on the third day.") The last two verses are transmitted here anonymously and without the original title of the epigram. Even though the content of the epigram does conform with the iconography of the scene, it is interesting that the verses refer to the grief of the Virgin Mary and offer her consolation by announcing the defeat of Death and her son's impending resurrection.

been considered appropriate to the emotional intensity given from the twelfth century onwards to the grief and sorrow of the Virgin and other saintly figures in the scene, as noted above. This could account for the almost invariable absence of this epigram from the Byzantine scenes of the Deposition. However, we now know that it was eventually used as an inscription on a fourteenth-century scene at Potamia on Naxos.

Taking all the above into consideration, the following possibilities emerge. The first scenario involves the patron or the painter of this small church being familiar with, and/or having at their disposal a manuscript, such as those mentioned above, which contained the Tetr. 262a or a collection of epigrams, including Tetr. 262a[70]. This could have been the source from which they took this specific epigram. Up to now there has been no evidence for the existence of any manuscripts on the island in this period, whereas the activity of learned patrons can only be indirectly detected in the patronage of certain monuments[71]. We should not, of course, exclude the possibility that these individuals might even have been able to recite the epigram from memory[72]. Needless to say, by attributing the appearance of this epigram on a wall painting in Naxos to the wishes of a patron and his familiarity with Prodromos's work, we might perhaps account for its unique appearance in art. Yet, it would still probably be hard to explain why this learned individual selected only the scene of the Deposition, the figure and the actions of Nicodemus, for poetic amplification, and not Joseph of Arimathea or the Virgin, especially in a period when viewers would be looking for features in the scene that could create a connection with the grief caused by the death of Christ. A disjunction in this connection, between a hypothetical learned patron and his familiarity with Prodromos's poetic oeuvre, arises when we consider the careless rendering of the epigram, and indeed the small size and simple plan of the church and the choice of a local painter. Finally, if we do accept the above hypothesis, we are then witnessing an amazing coincidence, i.e. the presence in a fourteenth-century fresco of both a twelfth-century text and an image that is mainly based on the middle Byzantine tradition, each coming from separate sources but ultimately so well matched.

I believe that this last factor, namely, the close relationship between the content of the epigram and the iconography of the composition, should lead us to the assumption that the text could have travelled with the iconography to the church, and to ponder the possible pathways by which they could have arrived on the island of Naxos. Could we assume that the painter of this small church reproduced both image and text from memory[73]? The faithful reproduction of the text and the small number of errors (two) tends rather to suggest that the artist had the text in from of him. Was our painter then perhaps copying a drawing of the scene, included in a set of sketches or a model book,

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[70] There is only a smattering of evidence for the use of codices containing literary material by Byzantine painters. On this see RHOBY, Inscriptions and Manuscripts 28–29. For the possible use of manuscripts containing epigrams by the painters on Crete, see PATEDAKIS, Mia epigrafī me īgemonikī diastasī 341, n. 21.

[71] Recent research based on the presence of specific surnames in dedicatory inscriptions and other epigraphic and visual elements has detected the presence of opponents of Michael VIII Palaiologos on the island. On this theory and related arguments see E. KOUNTOURA-GALAKE, Decoding Byzantine Churches on Naxos in the Early Palaiologan Period: Motivations and Inevitable Necessities, Pour une poétique de Byzance. Hommage à Vassilis Katsaros, ed. S. Efthymiadis et al. (*Dossiers byzantins* 16). Paris 2015, 141–161; EADEM, Women Living on Palaiologan Naxos: the Epigraphic Evidence, Women and Monasticism in the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean: Decoding a Cultural Map, ed. E. Kountoura-Galake – E. Mitsiou (*Section of Byzantine Research, International Symposium* 23). Athens 2019, 163–185; N. ZARRAS, Identity and Patronage in Byzantium: Epigraphic Evidence and Donor Portraits of Naxos, Inscriptions in the Byzantine and Post-Byzantine History and History of Art, ed. Chr. Stavrakos. Wiesbaden 2016, 53–78.

[72] On the role of memory and the existence of an oral tradition concerning verse inscriptions see BOURAS, Allīgorikī parastasī tou Viou-Kairou 32; W. HÖRANDNER, Customs and Beliefs as Reflected in Occasional Poetry: Some Considerations. *BF* 12 (1987) 238; ZAGKLAS, Theodore Prodromos 131, 139.

[73] On the role of the memory in the transmission of visual motifs see primarily R. CORMACK, Painter's Guides, Model-Books, Pattern-Books and Craftsmen: or Memory and the Artist, in: L'artista a Bisanzio e nel mondo cristiano-orientale, ed. M. Bacci. Pisa 2007, 11–29.

which was accompanied by the corresponding inscription? Was he following the written instructions of a painter's guide, which included the description of this specific variant of the scene and proposed the Tetr. 262a as the ideal inscription for it? These attractive ideas cannot be definitively accepted or rejected, since our knowledge of the use of painters' manuals in Byzantium, and more importantly of the form they took, is inadequate[74].

The use of a model book or a painter's guide could explain the "simple" rendering of the epigram and why this is the only scene to be accompanied by a metrical inscription in this church, even allowing for the significant losses in the painted surfaces of the church. The use of such a source could explain the coexistence of metrical and prose texts with shorter captions and labels. Such a solution would correspond well to the content of the post-Byzantine, anonymous Art of Painting, which is basically a compilation of inscriptions of all kinds[75]. A significant collection of inscriptions, including a series of epigrams, is also found in the recently published Hermeneia of the Painters (Panteleimoniensis 259, last decade of the sixteenth century), which is probably a copy of a late Byzantine painter's manual[76]. Inscriptions of all kinds and lengths are also found in the famous Painter's Manual of Dionysios of Fourna[77]. Two tetrasticha have been transmitted anonymously and without their titles in the Art of Painting and in the manual of Dionysios of Phourna, as mentioned above.

Even though we lack firm evidence concerning the existence of a model book from this early period, I would propose that in this case this was the source of our epigram. I would also suggest that the model book that our painter used in this church was based to a significant extent on older models, since the iconography of the scene and the epigram are both more consistent with the "simplicity" of the early twelfth-century versions of the scene[78]. The relationship with the middle Byzantine artistic tradition is revealed by the rest of the iconography of the church and of the other painted churches by the same workshop[79]. Moreover, it is possible that the painter and cleric Michael, who belonged to the same workshop, found the epigram that is inscribed on the scroll of St.

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[74] The discussion concerning the existence, form, date and function of model books and painter's guides is still ongoing. On this subject see V. GRECU, Byzantinische Handbücher der Kirchenmalerei. *Byz* 9 (1934) 675–701; M. CHATZIDAKIS, Ek tōn Elpiou tou Rōmaiou. *EEBS* 14 (1938) 393–414; E. KITZINGER, The Mosaics of Monreale. Palermo 1960, 43–63; A.J. ROSS, A Late Twelfth-Century Artist's Pattern Sheet. *Journal of the Warburg Institute* 25 (1962) 119–128; D.C. WINFIELD, Middle and Later Byzantine Wall Painting Methods. A Comparative Study. *DOP* 22 (1968) 93–96; K. SNIPES, A preliminary Study of the Yale Menologium Pattern Sheets. *The Yale University Library Gazette* 42 (1968) 140–153; H. BUCHTHAL, The "Musterbuch" of Wolfenbüttel and its Position in the Art of the Thirteenth Century. Vienna 1979; R.W. SCHELLER, Exemplum: Model-Book Drawings and the Practice of Artistic Transmission in the Middle Ages (ca. 900–ca. 1470). Amsterdam 1995; M. VASSILAKI, Apo tous eikonographikous odīgous sta schedia ergasias tōn metavizantinōn zōgrafōn. To technologiko ypovathro tīs vyzantinīs eikonographias. Athens 1995; I. HUTTER, The Magdalen College 'Musterbuch': A Painter's Guide from Cyprus at Oxford, in: Medieval Cyprus. Studies in Art Architecture and History in Memory of Doula Mouriki, ed. N. Patterson Ševčenko – Chr. Moss. Princeton N.J. 1999, 117–146; N.P. ŠEVČENKO, The Heavenly Ladder Images in Patmos MS. 122: A 12th-century Painter's Guide? *Nea Rhome: rivista di ricerche bizantinistiche* 6 (2009) 393–405; G. KAKAVAS, Dionysios of Fourna: Artistic Creation and Literary Description. Leiden 2008; G.R. PARPULOV – I.V. DOLGIKH – P. COWE, A Byzantine Text on the Technique of Icon Painting. *DOP* 64 (2010) 201–215; C. VAPHEIADES, Encheiridia zōgraphikīs sto Byzantio. Ī martyria tou kōdikos I. M. Panteīmonos 250. Ekdosī, kritiko ypomnīma, scholiasmos. Athens 2017; IDEM, Byzantine painting treatises: the case of Codex Panteleimoniensis 259. *Journal of Mediae aetatis sodalicium* 16 (2018) 132–144.

[75] The initial date of this collection remains unknown. The manuscript Hieros. Patr. 214, that contains this guide dates to 1674. On this see Dionysius of Fourna, Hermeneia 274–288 (PAPADOPOULOU-KERAMEUS); LAUXTERMAN, Book review of Gr. Papagiannis 370.

[76] VAPHEIADES, Encheiridia zōgraphikīs sto Byzantio 224–229; IDEM, Byzantine painting treatises 132–144, and especially 138–141.

[77] Επίγραμμα or στίχοι are the words used by Dionysios of Fourna to indicate an inscription, not necessarily metrical. On this see Dionysius of Fourna, Hermeneia 228–233 (PAPADOPOULOU-KERAMEUS).

[78] KONSTANTELLOU, Ena "ergastīrio" zōgraphikīs 317– 319.

[79] KONSTANTELLOU, Ena "ergastīrio" zōgraphikīs 317– 319.

John the Baptist in the church of the Panagia at Archatos on Naxos (1285) in just such a source[80]. Last, but not least, a manual might also be the source of the well-known epigram—if it was not reproduced from memory, since it is a well-known and widely used text—that accompanies the scene of the Melismos at the church of Agios Georgios at Lathrenos (ca.1285) and appears in two other churches on the island of Naxos [Agios Ioannes at Kerami (c. 1260–1270 or ca.1275)] and Agios Ioannis Theologos at Kaminos of Philoti (1314)[81].

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Given the significant number of verse inscriptions that have been found in the painted decoration of Byzantine and post-Byzantine churches in recent years, the discovery of another one in a small private church with frescoes dating to the early fourteenth century should probably not come as a great surprise or indeed excite the sort of enthusiasm that characterizes this article. However, the fact that the epigram examined in this paper constitutes an epigraphic reproduction of a poem composed in Constantinople in the twelfth century by the famous author Theodore Prodromos prompted me to consider significant aspects of its "epigraphic life" in a different historical moment and space. The examination of the content of Tetr. 262a, entitled Eis tēn apokathēlōsin, demonstrated that it actually constitutes a description of and elaboration on the significance of the actions of the figure (Nicodemus) who releases the nails from the hands and feet of Christ in the Deposition. Yet despite this strong and straightforward visual content, this epigram has never been selected to be inscribed on any other image of the Deposition known to date. Its rarity is probably explained by its focus on a secondary figure who is not strictly connected with the main message of the scene from the twelfth century onwards, that is the grief aroused by the Passion of Christ.

In its unique reproduction in the Naxian church, Tetr. 262 is rendered as a common prose inscription. Signs that could highlight its poetic nature, such as reserving a special place for it, an elegant visual appearance, and the use of *sigla*, are absent. The script is rather carelessly executed, while the text has been broken into several parts in order to ensure a close connection with the iconography of the scene and most importantly with its protagonist, Nicodemus. Based on the above, I have argued that our painter was copying the scene along with the inscription from a drawing included in a set of sketches or a model book, or he was following the written instructions of a painter's guide, which proposed the Tetr. 262a as the ideal inscription for this specific variant of the scene, which emphasizes the main action of the event, the removal of the dead body of Christ from the Cross. Both, text and imagery, reveal the strong presence of the middle Byzantine tradition in the representation of this event.

In addition, the epigram we have examined can be added to the group of Tetrasticha which have been preserved *in situ*. It is of great interest that the Tetr. 230a, entitled Eis ton entaphiasmon, which has been included in the post-Byzantine book Art of Painting as mentioned above, was found inscribed according to Hans Rott below the scene of the Resurrection in the church of agios Stephanos on the island of Nis in Lake Eğirdir, Turkey[82]. However, given that these frescoes have

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[80] KONSTANTELLOU, Saint John the Baptist Rigodioktes. A Holy Healer of Fevers in the Church of the Panagia at Archatos, Naxos (1285). *DChAE* 41 (2020) 183. The epigram was read with the help of Manolis Patedakis. But since the epigram remains unpublished and its literary sources have not been established, any hypothesis concerning those sources and the context in which it was created would be problematic.

[81] KONSTANTELLOU, Ena "ergastīrio" zōgraphikīs 64–66, with the other examples from the painted programmes of Naxos and elsewhere. On this epigram see primarily RHOBY, Byzantinische Epigramme auf Fresken und Mosaiken 172–173.

[82] The scene was visible until the beginning of the twentieth century. On this see H. ROTT, Kleinasiatische Denkmäler aus Pisidien, Pamphylien, Kappadokien und Lykien. Leipzig 1908, 89; LAUXTERMAN, Book review of Gr. Papagiannis, 370; IDEM, Byzantine Poetry 81; RHOBY, Byzantinische Epigramme auf Fresken und Mosaiken 310–311.

since been destroyed, it is now impossible to clarify their date (thirteenth century?) and comment further on the source of this specific epigram (another model book?). Manolis Patedakis has recently identified Tetr. 186a, entitled 14th (On the Book of the Genealogy), in the church of the Panagia at Merona in Crete (1380–1400)[83]. Its examination showed that it was probably a book epigram, while it appears that it was probably intentionally selected by the patron of the church, the *archon* Matthaios Kallergis, in order to emphasize his ancient and noble origins in the local society. It is rather hard to establish at this point the source of Tetr. 229a, entitled Eis tēn staurōsin (On the Crucifixation), which is inscribed on an icon of the Crucifixion in Moscow (fifteenth century)[84], while the errors and variants that have been detected in another epigram by Prodromos, but not one from the same collection, included in the eighteenth-century depiction of Bios in the church of Panagia Krina on Chios, demonstrate that the painter probably inscribed the epigram from memory[85].

The different contexts and artistic media in which these Tetrasticha have been found may explain the variations in their reception and transmission. Despite these differences, the above examples, just like the inclusion of these or other Tetrasticha in collections of approximately the same period, confirm the strongly inscriptional character of these poems, and their use as inscriptions from at least the thirteenth or fourteenth century. No doubt the publication of other examples and their systematic exploration will reveal more about the various ways in which this group of inscriptions were received, rendered and circulated in the Byzantine world and beyond.

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[83] Patedakis, Mia epigrafī me īgemonikī diastasī 328–359.

[84] A. Frolow, Quelques inscriptions sur des œuvres d'art du moyen âge, 3. Inscription sur une icône byzantine. CahArch 6 (1952) 167; H. Maguire, Image and Imagination: The Byzantine Epigram as Evidence for Viewer Response. Toronto 1996, 23–24; Lauxtermann, Book review of Gr. Papagiannis, 369; W. Hörandner, Randbemerkungen zum Thema Epigramme und Kunstwerke, Πολύπλευρους νοῦς. Miscellanea für Peter Schreiner zu seinem 60. Geburtstag, ed. C. Scholz – G. Makris (*Byzantinisches Archiv* 19). München – Leipzig 2000, 80–82; Lauxtermann, Byzantine Poetry 81; Rhoby, Byzantinische Epigramme auf Ikonen und Objekten 124–126.

[85] Bouras, Allīgorikī parastasī tou Viou-kairou 26−34; Hörandner, Customs and Beliefs 238; Zagklas, Theodore Prodromos 137−139.

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Are the Fasts of the Apostles, the Dormition and Christmas Obligatory or Voluntary (or Even Prohibited)? Religious Controversy in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Byzantium

ABSTRACT: This article seeks to cast light on a debate in eleventh- and twelfth-century Byzantium. At that time it was discussed whether the fasts of the Apostles, the Dormition and Christmas were obligatory or a matter of personal choice. The champions of the latter view argued that there was no canon requiring their observance. Others accused them of laxity but found it difficult to argue their case. Since proof texts were few and far between and not as informative as they would have wished the defenders of the fasts came to quite different conclusions.

KEYWORDS: Fast of Christmas; Fast of the Dormition; Fast of the Apostles; Nicholas III Grammatikos; Michael Glykas

Today the Orthodox Church recognises four periods of extended fasting: the movable Great Lent before Easter, which lasts seven weeks, the fast preceding the feast of the Holy Apostles on 29 June, which begins after All Saints, the movable Sunday after Pentecost, and varies in length between eight and forty-two days, the fast of the Dormition, which lasts from 1 to 14 August and the fast of Christmas, which begins after the feast of St Philip on 14 November and ends on 24 December[1]. The authors of contemporary *fastenspiegel* take it for granted that the four fasts have been observed since time immemorial. Yet this is not the case. Only the fast of the Great Lent goes back to the early church[2]. Firm evidence for the fasts of the Apostles and of Christmas is only found in monastic rules of the tenth century, and the fast of the Dormition was instituted even more recently: the first attempts to implement it were made in the second half of the eleventh century. Given that the fast of the Dormition was a new development it comes as no surprise that it was controversial. It is more striking that it was also questioned whether the two other lesser fasts should be observed. The participants in the debate seek to support their positions with proof texts whereas unwritten traditions are rejected as invalid. This is a new trend, which sets the later eleventh and twelfth centuries apart from earlier periods when such traditions were readily accepted.

THE FAST OF THE DORMITION

For anyone who wishes to study the fast of the Dormition the first port of call is Venance Grumel's article *Le jeûne de l'Assomption dans l'Église grecque*, which came out in 1933[3]. Responding to an earlier contribution by Karl Holl[4], Grumel sought to determine how the custom evolved. His article is an impressive feat of scholarship. It not only considers almost all the surviving evidence but also

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[1] See e.g. the homepage of the St Peter the Apostle Antiochian Orthodox Church: Feasts and Fasts of the Church 2023/2024 https://stpeterantiochian.org/downloads/2023-2024%20Church%20Year.pdf (consulted: 02.01.2024).

[2] See R. ARBESMANN, Fasttage, in: *RAC* VII. Stuttgart 1969, 500–520.

[3] V. GRUMEL, Le jeûne de l'Assomption dans l'Église grecque. *EO* 32 (1933) 162–183. J. HERBUT, De ieiunio et abstinentia in ecclesia byzantina ab initiis ad saec. XI. Rome 1968, 75–77, follows Grumel. For a recent summary see B. CASEAU, Nourritures terrestres, nourritures célestes, la culture alimentaire à Byzance. Paris 2015, 174–177.

[4] K. HOLL, Die Entstehung der vier Fastenzeiten in der griechischen Kirche, in: Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kirchengeschichte. Tübingen 1928, II.1 155–203.

contains many pertinent observations. I am greatly indebted to Grumel's work but will discuss the sources in a different sequence in order to bring out more clearly the dynamics of the debate.

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The beginnings of the fast of the Dormition are shrouded in mystery. The first text that appears to mention it dates to the year 920. It is the so-called *Tomus Unionis*, which ended the controversy about the four marriages of Emperor Leo VI[5]. This text stipulates that those who get married for a third time are permitted to partake of the Eucharist on the feast of the Dormition because it is preceded by a fast[6]. Yet there is no evidence to show that this fast was implemented. Other sources that seem to date to the same or an even earlier period turn out to be pseudepigrapha[7]. Indeed, it is not mentioned in monastic rules of the tenth and early eleventh centuries, our most important sources for the Byzantine fasting regime[8]. It first appears in the *kanonarion* of Nicon, monk of the Black Mountain in the region of Antioch[9]. In another of his works, the *Pandectes*, which he wrote in the 1060s, Nicon claims that it was endorsed by the patriarchs of Antioch and observed in the monasteries of Mt Olympus[10]. Other evidence, however, suggests that it was unknown in the Byzantine heartland even after this date. The monks of Mt Athos seem to have become aware of it only around the year 1100 when they enquired of Patriarch Nicholas III Grammatikos (1084–1111) whether they should observe it[11]. Indeed, it is not yet mentioned in the *Notificatio perspicua*, an update of Athanasius' *Hypotyposis* for Lavra, which was written during the same years by the *protos* John Tarchaneiotes[12]. The first Constantinopolitan rule to include the fast of the Dormition is the *typikon* of the monastery of Phoberos on the Bosphorus, which was composed soon after the year 1113[13]. Its author, the abbot John, adds it to the text of his model, the Evergetis *Typikon*, where it is not mentioned[14]. Yet even in the twelfth century references to the fast of the Dormition

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[5] For the Tetragamy controversy see S. Tougher, The Reign of Leo VI (886–912): Politics and People. Berlin – New York – Cologne 1997, 157–159.

[6] Tomus unionis (ed. L.G. Westerink, Nicholas I Patriarch of Constantinople: Miscellaneous Writings. Washington, DC 1981, 66). See V. Grumel – J. Darrouzès, Les regestes des actes du patriarcat de Constantinople, I: Les actes des patriarches, 2–3: Les regestes de 715 à 1204. Paris 1989, 244–246 (n. 715).

[7] Grumel who seeks to arrange the evidence in chronological order begins with five texts that he dates to the eighth to tenth centuries: the Stoudite Catechesis chronica, which he considers to be by Theodore the Stoudite († 826), a canon of Patriarch Nicephorus I (806–815), a treatise by John of Nicaea, which he dates to the later ninth century and a brief text that refers to the time of Leo VI. See Grumel, Jeûne 163–172. Yet these texts must be dated to the eleventh or twelfth centuries. See below notes 56, 70, 22. Holl claims that the fast was instituted at the initiative of Pope Nicholas I (858–877). See Holl, Entstehung 198–200. This argument is highly speculative since Holl only produces circumstantial evidence.

[8] See the Stoudios Hypotyposis, Athanasius' Hypotyposis for Lavra and the Testament of Paul of Latros, which date to the tenth century, and the Iviron Hypotyposis, the Typikon of Patriarch Alexius and the lost Typikon of the Panagios monastery, which date to the first half of the eleventh century. For references see note 37.

[9] Nicon, Kanonarion (Logos 1) 89 (ed. Chr. Hannick – P. Plank – C. Lutzka – T.I. Afanas'eva, Das Taktikon des Nikon vom Schwarzen Berge: Griechischer Text und kirchenslavische Übersetzung des 14. Jahrhunderts. Freiburg i. Br. 2014, I 48–134, esp. 120.19–121.8).

[10] See Grumel, Jeûne 173. The Greek text has not yet been edited. Grumel refers to a Latin summary of an Arabic translation in A. Mai, Scriptorum veterum nova collectio e Vaticanis codicibus edita. Rome 1831, IV 162–163. For the date of the Pandectes see Hannick – Plank – Lutzka – Afanas'eva, Taktikon, I xxvii.

[11] This is pointed out by Grumel, Jeûne 176.

[12] John Tarchaneiotes, Notificatio perspicua (Εἴδησις εὐσύνοπτος) (ed. A.A. Dmitrievskij, Opisanie liturgičeskich rukopisej chranjaščichsja v bibliotekach pravoslavnago vostoka, III: Typika. Petrograd 1917, 135–151, esp. 145–150). On this text see D. Krausmüller, The Athonite monastic tradition during the eleventh and early twelfth centuries, in: Mount Athos and Byzantine Monasticism, ed. A.A. Bryer – M. Cunningham. Aldershot 1996, 57–65.

[13] John, Phoberos Typikon (ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Noctes Petropolitanae. St Petersburg 1913, 1–87, esp. 50).

[14] Timothy, Evergetis Typikon (ed. P. Gautier, Le typikon de la Théotokos Évergétis. *REB* 45 [1982] 1–101, esp. 43).

are absent from most rules[15]. The only other exception is the Southern Italian Patirion *Typikon*[16]. Fasting in August appears to have become *de rigueur* only in the Late Byzantine period[17].

The treatment of the topic in the rules of Nicon and of John of Phoberos is strikingly similar. As is customary the two authors prescribe a particular diet for the two weeks. Yet this is not their main concern. The bulk of their chapters is taken up with explanations as to why the fast of the Dormition should be observed. Nicon and John of Phoberos refer to two texts, the *Tomus Unionis*, and an anti-Armenian treatise by a certain John of Nicaea, which lists the fast of the Dormition as one of the official fasts of the Byzantine church[18]. It is evident that these texts are meant to justify the practice and to persuade those who do not yet recognise its existence.

That this was an up-hill struggle can be seen from Nicon's *Pandectes* and from another text originating in the patriarchate of Antioch, a treatise by Anastasius, bishop of Caesarea, which postdates the year 1084[19]. In the *Pandectes* we read:

> We have asked not a few people about such a fast and we have found that for some reason unknown to us their answers do not match. And some say that the fast is lawful and canonical, and it is painstakingly kept by them, whereas others confess that it does exist but say that they do not observe it, and yet again others do not accept it at all but rather denounce those who observe it[20].

The first group finds Nicon's reasoning convincing and acts accordingly. By contrast, the second and the third groups maintain that the fast of the Dormition is without testimony. Nicon offers no further explanation, but we can reconstruct their argument from other sources. For one thing, they criticised that the 'proofs' produced by Nicon, Anastasius and John of Phoberos were few in number: despite all their efforts the three authors had only managed to unearth two texts. (When Anastasius claims that he could have offered more evidence he is being disingenuous.) Moreover, they did not consider these texts to be authoritative. They pointed out that the *Tomus Unionis* was of late date and had no counterpart in earlier canonical literature[21], and they may have known that the anti-Armenian treatise of 'John of Nicaea' was in reality written by the Constantinopolitan monk Euthymius of Peribleptos in the second quarter of the eleventh century[22].

While the second and third groups agreed in rejecting the evidence they differed in their responses. The second group was of the opinion that there was no obligation to fast in August but that everyone was free to do so since the custom had been introduced by pious people. The third

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[15] It is not mentioned in the Kecharitomene Typikon, in the Mamas Typikon, in the Pantokrator Typikon, in the Machairas Typikon and in the Kosmosoteira Typikon. See GRUMEL, Jeûne 186–187.

[16] Patirion Typikon (MS Jena, Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, G.B.q.6a, fol. 161–189, esp. fol. 163v–164r [*Diktyon* 34174]). See D. ARNESANO, La penitenza dei monaci a S. Maria del Patir e a S. Nicola di Casole. *REB* 72 (2014) 249–273.

[17] See GRUMEL, Jeûne 178–179.

[18] Pseudo-Isaac, Oratio I contra Armenios (*PG* 132, 1155–1217, esp. 1197A–1204C). See below note 21.

[19] Anastasius of Caesarea, De jejunio ss. Deiparae (ed. G.A. RHALLES – M. POTLES, Syntagma tōn theiōn kai hierōn kanonōn tōn te hagiōn kai paneuphēmōn apostolōn kai tōn hierōn oikoumenikōn kai topikōn synodōn kai tōn kata meros paterōn. Athens 1854, IV 585–588). See GRUMEL, Jeûne 174; and HOLL, Entstehung 201.

[20] Nicon, Pandectes (excerpt) (589 RHALLES – POTLES): Οὐκ ὀλίγοις δὲ περὶ τὴν τοιαύτην νηστείαν ἐπερωτήσαμεν, καὶ οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἀσυμφώνους εὕρωμεν τὰς τούτων ἀποκρίσεις, καὶ οἱ μὲν λέγουσιν ὅτι ἔνθεσμός ἐστι, καὶ κανονικὴ νηστεία, καὶ ἐν ἀκριβείᾳ φυλάττεται παρ' αὐτῶν, ἕτεροι δὲ ὁμολογοῦσι μὲν αὐτὴν εἶναι, λέγουσι δὲ μὴ φυλάττειν αὐτήν, ἄλλοι δὲ οὐδὲ ὅλως αὐτὴν παραδέχονται, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατηγοροῦσιν μᾶλλον τοὺς ταύτην φυλάττοντας. (my translation) It is not entirely clear whether the passage is by Nicon himself. In the Coislinianus 37, it is identified as σχόλιον ἑτέρου (scholion by someone else). See MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Coislin 37, fol. 1–367, esp. fol. 324v (*Diktyon* 49179). A comparison of the numerous manuscripts is beyond the scope of this article.

[21] See below note 51.

[22] See V. GRUMEL, Les invectives du 'catholicos Isaac'. *REB* 14 (1956) 179–186, esp. 184–186. GRUMEL, Jeûne, 168–169, still thought that John of Nicaea was a ninth-century figure.

group was much more aggressive. For them any custom that was not mentioned in the canons was downright heretical. Anastasius gives us a hint as to how they may have argued their case. He avers that the fast of the Dormition should be accepted because it was instituted in honour of the Virgin and not a pagan custom like the *artzibourion*, the Armenian fast during the second week before Great Lent when the Byzantines still partook of all types of food[23]. In treatises against the *artzibourion* it was claimed that the Armenians had no proof texts that would justify their custom[24]. This suggests that the third group drew a parallel between the heretical *artzibourion* and the fast of the Dormition, which for them was equally undocumented.

Anastasius and Nicon do not name names, which makes it difficult to reconstruct the debate. Yet it would be wrong to think that the demand for proof texts was a clever strategy devised by people who wished to shirk a new burden. In fact, their views were shared by none other than the saintly Patriarch Nicholas. When the Athonite monks asked him about the fast of the Dormition he responded tersely: 'One must not ... observe the fast from the beginning of August to its fifteenth day.'[25] After the Athonite monks had enquired whether the *Tomus Unionis* was not valid proof he qualified his position. He now stated that the fast mentioned in the *Tomus Unionis* had been transferred but that 'many people still fasted in order to purify themselves from illnesses'[26]. The focus on the health of the body shows clearly that Nicholas did not accord the fast of the Dormition a religious significance. This is in stark contrast to Nicon and Anastasius who declared that those who kept the fast honoured the Virgin.

At this point we must ask: why would Nicholas reject the fast of the Dormition? He was certainly no laxist. He spent much of his time attempting to implement a stricter regime for the two weekly fast days Wednesday and Friday[27]. This does not, however, mean that he was inconsistent. He, too, believed that a custom was only valid if it could be supported by canon law. When he championed the weekly fasts he based his argument on canon 69 of the Apostles, which did not permit relaxation on any day of the year. As a pronouncement of Christ's disciples this text had the highest possible authority[28]. By contrast, he could not accept the late and dubious testimonies of John of Phoberos, Nicon and Anastasius.

Significantly, Nicon and John of Phoberos also propagated the weekly fasts, buttressing their arguments with extensive florilegia of canonical texts[29]. Such exclusive reliance on written sources was a new development, which set the late eleventh and twelfth centuries apart from earlier periods

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[23] Anastasius, Jejunio (586 RHALLES – POTLES).

[24] See A. SHARF, Byzantine Orthodoxy and the 'Preliminary Fast' of the Armenians, in: Byzance: Hommage à André Stratos. Athens 1986, II 650–672, esp. 652–658.

[25] Nicholas, Responsa ad monachos I (ed. J.B. PITRA, Spicilegium solesmense complectens sanctorum patrum scriptorumque ecclesiasticorum anecdota hactenus opera. Paris 1858, IV 477): Οὐ δεῖ … φυλάττειν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τοῦ αὐγούστου καὶ μέχρι τῆς πεντεκαιδεκάτης αὐτοῦ νηστεύειν. (my translation) See GRUMEL, Jeûne 175.

[26] Nicholas, Responsa ad monachos II (477 PITRA): ἔτι πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων διὰ τὸ καθαρεύειν τῶν ἀρρωστημάτων νηστεύουσιν.(my translation) There also exists an abbreviated redaction of the text with Balsamon's commentary. It has the same content but omits the reference to illnesses (419 RHALLES – POTLES). See HOLL, Entstehung 176, 200. For a discussion see GRUMEL – DARROUZÈS, Regestes 434–440 (n. 977). A transferral is also mentioned in a text by Patriarch Michael II Kourkouas (1143–1146). There it is claimed that the fast was moved from August to November and December and thus became the fast of Christmas. Consequently, Michael II was also of the opinion that there was no fast of the Dormition. See GRUMEL, Jeûne 177–179.

[27] For the following see KRAUSMÜLLER, Tradition 60–65.

[28] In reality it is, of course, a fourth-century forgery. See F.X. FUNK, Die apostolischen Konstitutionen, eine litterar-historische Untersuchung. Rottenburg 1891.

[29] See Nicon, Taktikon (Logos 6) (266–278 HANNICK – PLANK – LUTZKA – AFANAS'EVA); and John, Phoberos Typikon 16 (27–28 PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS).

when oral tradition had played an important role[30]. Only rarely do we hear a dissenting voice. One example is found in a collection of canons:

> Some people do not keep the fast from the beginning of the month of August until the fifteenth day, because concerning it no canon is found. But since many people fast in order to purify themselves from sins, and it has become a custom in the church, and piety abounds worthily, he who does not keep it must be excommunicated[31].

Here it is claimed that established custom is as binding as canon law and that those who disregard it must be punished. In the manuscripts the canon is attributed to Patriarch Nicholas and it indeed bears a resemblance to Nicholas's second answer to the Athonites: in both texts mention is made of purification. Yet in the canon the wording is subtly changed. 'Sins' has been substituted for 'illnesses', which gives the fast a religious significance[32]. There can be no doubt that the original text was reworked by a champion of the fast of the Dormition who wished to enlist of the authority of the patriarch[33]. Interestingly, it was no longer enough to appeal to custom: the validity of tradition itself had to be affirmed by canon law.

THE FASTS OF THE APOSTLES AND OF CHRISTMAS

Secondary literature about the development of the fasts of the Apostles and of Christmas in the eleventh and twelfth centuries is sparse. Karl Holl's wide-ranging and erudite article *Die Entstehung der vier Fastenzeiten in der griechischen Kirche* only discusses the previous period[34]. And Joachim Herbut's monograph deals with the topic only in cursory fashion[35]. The most important contribution remains Grumel's article on the fast of the Dormition where several sources pertaining to the other two fasts are also analysed.

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Since it was a recent development it is not surprising that the fast of the Dormition became a bone of contention. By contrast, the two other lesser fasts, that of the Apostles and that of Christmas, were much more firmly rooted in tradition: already in the late seventh century Anastasius of Sinai speaks of 'fasts' in the plural[36]. They are then mentioned in all monastic rules that contain stipulations about diet, beginning with the Stoudios *Hypotyposis* from the late ninth or early tenth

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[30] See J.-M. SANSTERRE, La parole, le texte et l'image dans les auteurs byzantins des époques iconoclaste et posticonoclaste, in: Testo e immagine nell' alto Medioevo. Spoleto 1994, 197–240; and K. PARRY, Chapter 16: Written and Unwritten Tradition, in: Depicting the Word. Byzantine Iconophile Thought in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries. Leiden – New York – Cologne 1996, 156–165.

[31] Nicholas, Synodicae constitutiones 10 (470 PITRA): Τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς αὐγούστου μηνὸς καὶ μέχρι ιε' νηστείαν τινὲς οὐ φυλάττουσι, διὰ τὸ μὴ εὑρεθῆναι περὶ αὐτῆς κανόνα· ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων διὰ τὸ καθαρεύειν τὰ ἁμαρτήματα νηστεύουσι, καὶ εἰς συνήθειαν ἐκράτησεν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, καὶ τὸ ψυχωφελὲς πλεονάζει τιμίως· ταύτην γοῦν ὁ μὴ φυλάξας, ἀφοριστέος. (my translation) See GRUMEL – DARROUZÈS, Regestes 440–443, esp. 441 (n. 977).

[32] See GRUMEL, Jeûne 177.

[33] So also GRUMEL, Jeûne 177. Here one must briefly mention the thorny issue of the *Fastengedicht*, which in the manuscripts is almost unanimously attributed to Nicholas Grammatikos. There it is stipulated that one must observe the fast of the Dormition (ed. J. KODER, Das Fastengedicht des Patriarchen Nikolaos III. Grammatikos. Edition des Textes und Untersuchung seiner Stellung innerhalb der byzantinischen Fastenliteratur. *JÖB* 19 [1970] 203–241, esp. 226). Grumel thought that it was a pseudepigraphon. See GRUMEL, Jeûne 177. In several instances it is much more lenient than other texts by Nicholas, which begs an explanation. A detailed study remains a desideratum.

[34] See HOLL, Entstehung 155–203.

[35] See HERBUT, Abstinentia 72–75.

[36] Anastasius of Sinai, Quaestiones et Responsiones 51 (ed. M. RICHARD – J.A. MUNITIZ, Anastasii Sinaitae Quaestiones et Responsiones. Turnhout – Leuven 2006, 304–305). See HOLL, Fastenzeiten 184 who only knew the much more elaborate version in *PG* 89, which is a later reworking. See below note 64.

century[37]. Thus one would expect their observance to be a matter of course. Yet this was not the case as can be readily seen from the following text:

> Noone shall break the fast in the so-called fast of St Philip and in that of the Holy Apostles. If someone transgresses our decree, if he is a cleric he shall be deposed, and if he is a layman he shall be deprived of the participation in the good (i.e. the Eucharist)[38].

The text presents itself as a canon issued by Patriarch Nicholas. Unfortunately, this attribution is not beyond doubt. The canon is found in the same collection as the anathema of those who do not fast in the first half of August, which as we have seen cannot have Nicholas as its author. Yet in this case no other text by Nicholas is known that would contradict its contents. Thus it could well be genuine.

If this conclusion is correct the canon does not seem to have had the desired effect. At the end of the twelfth century the famous canonist and patriarch of Antioch, Theodore Balsamon (1193–1195), was faced with the same problem. In his *Epistula de jejuniis*, which he sent to his flock in Syria, he makes the following statement:

> We see some indifferent people who only keep the forty-day-long fast of the Pascha without fail, whereas they not only debase the others, but also consider them almost to be non-existent, for they extol the feast of the birth of Christ and the feast of the holy and leading Apostles through a fast of four days. And they seem <not> to transgress but rather to honour the feasts because they do that supposedly out of piety, what has not been canonically handed down by the divine Fathers[39].

Here it is claimed that some of those who fast before the feasts of Christmas and the Apostles do not regard this as a canonical obligation but as a voluntary act of piety and therefore feel free to fast as long as they like. This argument is already familiar to us from the previous discussion: the second group mentioned in Nicon's *Pandectes* had drawn the same conclusion for the fast of the Dormition. Yet in this case there is no mention of an outright rejection. Noone appears to have been prepared to take such a radical stance.

More detailed information about the debate can be gleaned from the treatise *De tribus quadragesimis*, which goes under the name of Anastasius of Sinai, patriarch of Antioch, but was written by an unknown author in the middle of the twelfth century[40]:

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[37] Stoudios Hypotyposis (*PG* 99, 1704–1720, esp. 1716); Lavra Hypotyposis (ed. Ph. Meyer, Die Haupturkunden für die Geschichte der Athosklöster. Leipzig 1894, 130–140, esp. 137); Iviron Hypotyposis (tr. K. Kekelidze, Liturgičeskie gruzinskie pamyatniki v otečestvennych knigokhraniliščach. Tiflis 1908, 228–313, esp. 307–308); Typikon of Patriarch Alexius (Church Slavonic translation) (ed. A. Pentkovskij, Tipikon patriarcha Aleksija Studita v Bizantii i na Rusi, Moscow 2001, 374–375). In this text there is no reference to the fast of the Apostles but this may be due to the clumsiness of the translation. Evergetis *Typikon* (43 Gautier); Petritzos Typikon (ed. P. Gautier, Le typikon du sébaste Grégoire Pakourianos. *REB* 47 [1984] 5–145, esp. 71). Both fasts are then also found in the twelfth-century rules of the Phoberos, Patirion, Kecharitomene, Mamas, Kosmosoteira, Machairas and Pantokrator monasteries.

[38] Nicholas, Synodicae constitutiones 17 (472 Pitra): Τὴν τοῦ ἁγίου Φιλίππου τεσσαρακοστὴν ὀνομαζομένην καὶ τὴν τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων μηδεὶς καταλυέτω, εἴ τις δὲ παραβαίνει τὸν ἡμέτερον ὅρον, εἰ μὲν κληρικὸς καθαιρείσθω, εἰ δὲ λαϊκὸς ἀφορίζεται τῆς τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ κοινωνίας. (my translation) See Grumel – Darrouzès, Regestes, 442 (n. 980).

[39] Balsamon, Epistula de jejuniis (ed. G.A. Rhalles – M. Potles, Syntagma tōn theiōn kai hierōn kanonōn tōn te hagiōn kai paneuphēmōn apostolōn kai tōn hierōn oikoumenikōn kai topikōn synodōn kai tōn kata meros paterōn. Athens 1854, IV 577): Βλέπομεν ἀδιαφόρους τινὰς μόνην τὴν τεσσαρακονθήμερον νηστείαν τοῦ πάσχα συντηροῦντες ἀπαρασάλευτον, τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς οὐ μόνον παραχαράττοντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς μηδὲ οὔσας λογιζομένους σχεδόν· τὴν γὰρ ἑορτὴν τῆς γεννήσεως τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ τὴν ἑορτὴν τῶν ἁγίων καὶ κορυφαίων ἀποστόλων διὰ τετραημέρου νηστείας ἀποσεμνύνοντες, δοκοῦσι <οὐ> παρανομεῖν, ἢ μᾶλλον φιλοτιμεῖσθαι τὰς ἑορτὰς ὅτι τὰ τοῖς θείοις πατράσι μὴ παραδοθέντα κανονικῶς, αὐτὰ ποιοῦσι δῆθεν θεοφιλῶς. (my translation) Also translated by Grumel, Jeûne 185.

[40] Pseudo-Anastasius, De tribus quadragesimis (*CPG* 7773) (*PG* 89, 1389–1397). For the date see Holl, Entstehung 200; and Grumel, Jeûne 181.

> Now he (sc. the devil) has entered some of ours, not only laypeople and the ignorant and illiterate but already also those who pride themselves on their powers of reasoning and haughtily lift their eyebrows because of their very great wisdom, I mean bishops, metropolitans and priests and deacons and the other clerics and perhaps also monks whose God is considered to be their belly, who without blushing shamelessly teach that there is only one fast that has been handed down from the holy Apostles and the divine Fathers, the so-called Great one, but that of Christmas, which some also call of St Philip, for a reason that we will state further down, and the one before the commemoration of the holy chiefs of the Apostles Peter and Paul are not based on the command of the Apostles and the Fathers but inventions and projects of some monks who observe these two aforementioned fasts[41].

Pseudo-Anastasius claims that this resulted in great confusion. Some fasted eighteen days, some twelve days, some six days, and some four days. Moreover, the diet also varied: some abstained from meat only and others also from cheese and eggs[42].

In the quoted passage mention is made of members of all ranks of the clergy and even some monks. These were people capable of arguing their case. They pointed out that the canons of the Church councils only mentioned the Great Lent but no other fasts. In this they were right: after a diligent search Balsamon had to confess that he was unable to find a canon pertaining to the topic[43]. At the same time they rejected the monastic rules as inventions of individuals, which had no authority.

To gauge the force of this argument we need briefly to return to the parallel debate about the weekly fasts[44]. Around the year 1100 the Athonite monks discussed the question 'whether one must rather follow the rules and synaxaries in the breaking of the fast or follow the more ancient commandments, I mean those of the Apostles and of the Fathers.'[45] The issue was of great practical importance since the rules were much more lenient than the canons. In this debate hardliners such as Patriarch Nicholas insisted that the canons be followed to the letter and denied the validity of more recent texts such as the *Hypotyposis* of Lavra. This evidently put them in a difficult position. How could they then defend the fasts of the Apostles and of Christmas, which were only known from *typika*?

The lack of 'ancient' proof texts is keenly felt by Pseudo-Anastasius. He disingenuously claims that those who rejected the lesser fasts were disobedient to the Apostles and the Fathers. But then he has very little to offer. He quotes canon 69 of the Apostles, the central proof text of the champions of weekly fasts[46]. Yet there mention is made of only one period of fasting, the Great Lent. Pseudo-Anastasius' *pièce de résistance* is a lengthy quotation from the *Acts* of the Apostle Philip[47]. In this apocryphal text Philip is said to have been punished for his cruelty against his

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[41] Pseudo-Anastasius, Quadragesimis (*PG* 89, 1392A): Ἄρτι δέ γε καὶ μάλιστα ὑπεισῆλθέ τινας τῶν ἡμετέρων οὐ μόνον λαϊκῶν ἢ ἀγνώστων καὶ ἀγραμμάτων, ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ἐπὶ λόγῳ σεμνυνομένων καὶ ἐπὶ μεγίστῃ σοφίᾳ τὴν ὀφρὺν αἰρόντων, ἐπισκόπων φημὶ μητροπολιτῶν καὶ ἱερέων καὶ διακόνων, καὶ λοιπῶν κληρικῶν, καὶ αὐτῶν δήπου ἴσως τῶν μοναχῶν, ὧν θεὸς ἡ κοιλία λελόγισται, οἳ καὶ ἀπηρυθριασμένως οὑτωσὶ καὶ ἀναιδῶς διδάσκουσι μόνην εἶναι νηστείαν, ἔκ τε τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν θείων πατέρων παραδιδομένην τὴν λεγομένην μεγάλην, τὴν δέ γε τῶν Χριστοῦ γέννων, ἣν καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Φιλίππου τινὲς ὀνομάζουσι, δι' αἰτίαν ἣν παρακατιόντες εἴπωμεν, καὶ τὴν πρὸ τῆς μνήμης τῶν ἁγίων κορυφαίων ἀποστόλων Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου μὴ εἶναι μήτε ἔξ ἀποστολικῆς καὶ πατρικῆς διαταγῆς, ἀλλά τινων εὑρέματα μοναχῶν καὶ θελήματα, τῶν ταύτας τὰς ῥηθείσας δύο νηστευόντων νηστείας. (my translation)

[42] Pseudo-Anastasius, Quadragesimis (*PG* 89, 1392B).

[43] Balsamon, Epistula (566 RHALLES – POTLES).

[44] See KRAUSMÜLLER, Tradition 57–65.

[45] John, Notificatio (136 DMITRIEVSKIJ): Εἰ δεῖ τοῖς τυπικοῖς συναξαρίοις ἀκολουθεῖν μᾶλλον ἐν ταῖς καταλύσεσι τῶν νηστειῶν, ἢ τοῖς ἀρχαιοτέροις ἔπεσθαι διατάγμασι, λέγω δὴ τοῖς ἀποστολικοῖς καὶ πατρικοῖς. (my translation)

[46] Pseudo-Anastasius, Quadragesimis (*PG* 89, 1393C).

[47] Pseudo-Anastasius, Quadragesimis (*PG* 89, 1396A–1397A).

enemies by a wait of forty days before he could enter Paradise[48]. Moreover, we are told that before he died Philip enjoined his companions Bartholomew and Mariamne to pray for him during the forty days following his death[49]. Pseudo-Anastasius adds that they also fasted and that they informed the other Apostles about this so that they, too, could fast and pray. After these modifications he can conclude that the Apostles had instituted a fast that began after 14 November, the day of Philip's commemoration.

Pseudo-Anastasius soon found readers[50]. Among them was a correspondent of the theologian Michael Glykas († after 1200), the monk and recluse Alypius. Alypius, too, had encountered people who would argue that the fast of Christmas should not be observed because it is not mentioned in the canons of the Apostles[51]. In order to refute this claim he, too, had had recourse to the *Acts* of Philip. Glykas pours scorn on this argument. He states that the canons of the Apostles were not the only authoritative texts since the decrees of later Fathers also needed to be taken into consideration. Then he continues:

> Most people, then, do not know this, as we have said, and are held in the grip of considerable doubt, from which I think you, too, suffer, and therefore are in doubt about the topic at hand and introduce a strange and unseemly fairy tale. And how would this not be strange, if indeed some make the fanciful claim that such a fast is kept each year because of the disciple of Christ and Apostle Philip? ... But put this out of your mind as being mythical blather[52].

Glykas quotes the *Tomus Unionis*, which declares that those who got married for the third time are permitted to partake of the Eucharist on Christmas because it is preceded by a fast[53]. Then he draws the following conclusion:

> There (sc. in the *Tomus Unionis*), then, this fast is mentioned in an indefinite manner, for which reason some traverse this fast in one way, some in another way, and others in full forty days—for it is written that he who is able to comprehend may comprehend it[54].

Unlike Pseudo-Anastasius, Glykas leaves it open how long one should fast since the *Tomus Unionis* does not specify the number of days. As he had no firm view on this matter he had no need to adopt the fanciful interpretation of the *Acts* of Philip.

TWO OR THREE LESSER FASTS?

The *Tomus Unionis* lists three fasts, Great Lent and the lesser fasts of the Dormition and of Christmas. No mention is made of the fast of the Apostles, despite the fact that it was observed in Byzantine monasteries at this time. In the later eleventh and twelfth centuries this discrepancy

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[48] Acta Philippi 31 (ed. F. Bovon – B. Bouvier – F. Amsler, Acta Philippi: Textus. Turnhout 1999, 396).

[49] Acta Philippi 41 (426 Bovon – Bouvier – Amsler).

[50] Balsamon was one of them, see Holl, Entstehung 200.

[51] Michael Glykas, Epistula 45 (ed. S. Eustratiades, Michaēl tou Glyka eis tas aporias tēs theias graphēs kephalaia. Alexandria 1912, II 19–29, esp. 19).

[52] Michael Glykas, Epistula 45 (20–21 Eustratiades): Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οἱ πλείους ἠγνοηκότες, ὡς εἴπομεν, ἀπορίᾳ κὰν τῷ τυχόντι συνέχονται, ὃ δὴ καὶ σὲ πεπονθέναι οἴομαι, κἀντεῦθεν ἠπορηκότα περὶ τοῦ προκειμένου ζητήματος ἀλλόκοτόν τι παρεισάγειν καὶ οὐκ εὐπρεπὲς μυθολόγημα. Καὶ πῶς γὰρ οὐκ ἀλλόκοτον τὸ τοιοῦτον, εἴπερ τινὲς τὴν τοιαύτην τεσσαρακοστὴν διά γε τὸν μαθητὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ἀπόστολον Φίλιππον ἐπιτελεῖσθαι καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος κομψεύονται … Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὡς μυθώδη ληρήματα τῆς διανοίας σου ἔξελε. (my translation)

[53] Tomus Unionis (66 Westerink).

[54] Michael Glykas, Epistula 45 (24 Eustratiades): Ἐκεῖσε οὖν ἀορίστως ἡ νηστεία ταύτη ἐμφέρεται, ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ ἄλλοι μὲν ἄλλως, ἄλλοι δὲ ἑτέρως, καὶ ἕτεροι ἐν ὅλαις ἡμέραις τεσσαράκοντα – ὁ δυνάμενος γάρ, φησί, χωρεῖν χωρείτω – τὴν τοιαύτην νηστείαν διέρχονται. (my translation)

caused much confusion. Glykas follows the *Tomus Unionis* but runs into conceptual problems when he offers a Biblical justification for the need to fast three times:

> The nation of the Hebrews celebrated each year three very great feasts, and let holy Scripture convince you, which says: 'Three times a year all males will be seen before your God', when the sheep is sacrificed, when the Pentecost occurs to them, and when the feast of the Tabernacle holds sway[55].

Here Glykas quotes and then paraphrases Exodus 23:14–17 where three Jewish solemnities are mentioned: Pesach, Shavuot and Sukkot. It is clear that Pesach corresponds to Christian Easter and Sukkot to Christmas. By contrast, the identity of the third celebration is ambiguous. According to Glykas it should be the Dormition. Yet the fact that Shavuot follows fifty days after Pesach and that it is celebrated between 15 May and 14 June, makes the fast of Apostles a more likely candidate since it began soon after Pentecost.

The reason for this incoherence can be found in other texts of the time. In the *Catechesis chronica*, which is attributed to Theodore of Stoudios but dates to the twelfth century[56], three fasts are mentioned: the fasts of Christmas in honour of the Father, the fast of Easter in honour of the Son, and the fast of the Apostles in honour of the Spirit[57]. When they are correlated with the Jewish feasts, Shavuot is consequently linked to the fast of the Apostles[58]. Interestingly, the author of the text acknowledges the existence of the fast of the Dormition but he does so only in passing and clearly felt no need to change his overall argument[59].

Although Glykas' reasoning is not altogether transparent it seems that he wished to replace the traditional fast of the Apostles with the new fast of the Dormition in order to maintain the link with the three Jewish feasts. Corroborating evidence is lacking but it is noticeable that the champions of the latter fast showed no great interest in the former. Indeed, Anastasius of Caesarea claimed that the fast of the Dormition should be accorded greater honour than the fast of the Apostles[60].

The majority of authors were not prepared to go so far. They were then faced with a problem: how could one have four Christian feasts preceded by fasts and only three Jewish feasts? Balsamon offered a completely new interpretation. He averred that there were in fact five periods of fasting: the fast of Great Lent, the fast of the Apostles, the fast of the Transfiguration, the fast of the Dormition and the fast of Christmas[61]. These he correlated with *five* Jewish feasts, which he unearthed in the Old Testament[62]. Balsamon also claimed that each of the lesser fasts lasted just

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[55] Michael Glykas, Epistula 44 (21 EUSTRATIADES): Μεγίσταις τρισὶ πανηγύρεσιν ἑκάστῳ ἐνιαυτῷ τὸ τῶν Ἑβραίων γένος ἑώρταζε, καὶ πειθέτω ἡμᾶς ἡ θεία γραφὴ λέγουσα· τρεῖς καιροὺς ὀφθήσεται τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ πᾶν ἀρσενικὸν ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ σου, καθ' ὅν τε καιρὸν ἐθύετο τὸ πρόβατον, ἡνίκα ἡ πεντηκοστὴ παρ' ἐκείνοις συνέπιπτε, καὶ ὅτε ἡ τῆς σκηνοπηγίας ἐπεκάτει πανήγυρις. Τρὶς ἤδη καὶ ἡμεῖς τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ κατ' ἐκείνους πανηγυρίζομεν. (my translation).

[56] Catechesis chronica (*PG* 99, 1693–1702). GRUMEL, Jeûne 165–166, regards it as a work of Theodore of Stoudios, as do CASEAU, Nourritures 183; and D. KAKLAMANOS, O agios Theodōros o Stouditēs kai to agiologiko tou ergo. Symbolē stē meletē tēs ekklēsiastikēs grammateias tēs mesobyzantinēs periodou. Thessaloniki 2018, 215–217. As Migne points out it is found in none of the collections of Theodore's catecheses. The subtitle is best understood as a clumsy attempt to claim it as a genuine work (*PG* 99, 1993): Πολλαὶ γὰρ κατηχήσεις εἰσὶ τοῦ Στουδίτου, ἀλλ' αὕτη λέγεται κατήχησις χρονική (There are many catecheses of the Stoudite but this is called catechesis about times). A reference to the legend of the *artzibourion* (*PG* 99, 1700A) presupposes the anti-Armenian treatise of Euthymius of Peribleptos from the second quarter of the eleventh century. See above note 22. For this legend see P. ERMILOV, 'Satanic Heresy': On One Topic in Anti-Armenian Polemic, in: Orthodoxy and Heresy in Byzantium. The Definition and the Notion of Orthodoxy and Some Other Studies on the Heresies and the Non-Christian Religions, ed. A. Rigo – P. Ermilov. Rome 2010, 79–90, esp. 80–83.

[57] Catechesis chronica (*PG* 99, 1696ABC).

[58] Catechesis chronica (*PG* 99, 1693B).

[59] Catechesis chronica (*PG* 99, 1697A).

[60] Anastasius, Jejunio (586 RHALLES – POTLES). See HOLL, Entstehung 201.

[61] Balsamon, Commentarii (488 RHALLES – POTLES).

[62] See HOLL, Entstehung 202–203.

seven days and that the only *quadragesima* in the strict sense of the word was the Great Lent. This entailed a considerable shortening of the fasts of the Apostles and of Christmas whereas the fast of the Dormition remained intact since Balsamon had split it into two, from 1 to 7 and from 9 to 14 August. Only monks had to fast from 14 December and from the Sunday after Pentecost if they were constrained to do so by their rules[63].

The diametrically opposite stance is found in the treatise *De tribus quadragesimis*. Pseudo-Anastasius continues to speak of three fasting periods and to quote Exodus 23 as proof. Indeed, he emphasises this point by quoting a passage, supposedly by John Chrysostom, which states that the number three could not be changed because doing so would be an attack on the Trinity[64].

Pseudo-Anastasius claims that the fast of the Apostles and the fast of the Dormition were originally one continuous period of fasting. In order to make his case he adduces a proof text:

> The fast after the Pentecost is this one, which has been mentioned in the Constitutions of the holy Apostles, for they say: 'After this day of the Pentecost let us celebrate one week and after that one you shall fast. For it is right to rejoice at the gift of God and to fast after the relaxation.'[65]

This is a literal quotation from the fourth-century *Apostolic Constitutions* but with one important qualification: in the original text we are told that one must fast one (week) after the Sunday following Pentecost[66]. By leaving out the word 'one' Pseudo-Anastasius can give the impression that the Apostles themselves had instituted a fast that lasted from the feast of All Saints until the feast of the Dormition[67]. His next proof text is a canon of Patriarch Nicholas:

> When he was presiding over the synod the most holy patriarch of Constantinople Lord Nicholas was asked by the monks of the Holy Mountain if it was necessary to keep a fast before the Dormition of the more-than-holy God-bearer, and he set this out in writing: 'This fast was before at this time of the month of August. But it was transferred because it coincided with Gentile fasts that took place at that time. But we still keep this fast and fast[68].

This canon is already familiar to us. In it Nicholas seeks to explain why in his time people did not observe the fast of the Dormition when the *Tomus Unionis* suggested that there had been such a custom in the early tenth century. It is evident that Nicholas' argument could not serve Pseudo-Anastasius' needs. Indeed, Balsamon once remarks that those who did not wish to fast in August

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[63] Balsamon, Commentarii (420 Rhalles – Potles).

[64] The combination of the two texts may not be the author's own invention since the quotation from Exodus followed by the passage from Chrysostom (although not identified here as such) is also found in a florilegium appended to quaestio 64 of the reworked Quaestiones et Responsiones of Anastasius of Sinai (*PG* 89, 668AB). It is not found in the genuine collection and cannot be dated with any precision. See above note 36.

[65] Pseudo-Anastasius, Quadragesimis (*PG* 89, 1397B): Ἡ δὲ μετὰ τὴν πεντηκοστὴν νηστεία αὕτη ἐστὶν ἐν ταῖς διατάξεσιν τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων ῥηθεῖσα· φασὶν γὰρ ἐν ταύτῃ ὅτι μετὰ τὴν ἁγίαν πεντηκοστὴν ἑορτάσωμεν ἑβδομάδα μίαν, καὶ μετ' ἐκείνην νηστεύσατε· δίκαιον γὰρ εὐφρανθῆναι ἐπὶ τῇ θεοῦ δωρεᾷ καὶ νηστεῦσαι μετὰ τὴν ἄνεσιν. (my translation)

[66] Constitutiones apostolorum V.20.14 (ed. M. Metzger, Les constitutions apostoliques. II. Paris 1986, 282): Μετὰ οὖν τὸ ἑορτάσαι ὑμᾶς τὴν πεντηκοστὴν ἑορτάσατε μίαν ἑβδομάδα, καὶ μετ' ἐκείνην νηστεύσατε *μίαν*· δίκαιον γὰρ καὶ εὐφρανθῆναι ἐπὶ τῇ ἐκ θεοῦ δωρεᾷ καὶ νηστεῦσαι μετὰ τὴν ἄνεσιν.

[67] This was noticed by Herbut, Jejunio 69.

[68] The version of the treatise that is found in the *PG* appears to be abbreviated at the end. A fuller text of the last section is found in the MS Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, graecus 725 (*Diktyon* 67356), fol. 5r-v, which has been dated to the twelfth century and is thus close to the time of composition. There the text reads as follows: Ὁ δὲ ἁγιώτατος πατριάρχης Κωνσταντινουπόλεως κύριος Νικόλαος ἠρωτήθη ἐπὶ συνόδου προκαθήμενος παρὰ τῶν μοναχῶν τοῦ ἁγίου ὄρους, εἰ χρὴ νηστεύειν νηστείαν πρὸ τῆς κοιμήσεως τῆς ἁγίας θεοτόκου, καὶ ἐξέδωκεν οὕτως ἐγγράφως· αὕτη ἦν ἡ νηστεία πρότερον ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ τοῦ αὐγούστου μηνός, μετετέθη δὲ διὰ τὸ περιπίπτειν ταῖς κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον γενομέναις ἐθνικαῖς νηστείαις, πλὴν καὶ ἔτι ταύτην ταύτην τὴν νηστείαν φυλάσσομεν καὶ νηστεύομεν. (my translation) Partially edited in A. Mai, Scriptorum veterum nova collectio. Rome 1837, IX 618, without author's name.

would justify their stance through recourse to it[69]. In order to be able to use it as a proof text Pseudo-Anastasius had to manipulate the wording. He adds a sentence at the end, which gives the impression that the patriarch considered the fast of the Dormition to be obligatory.

The rest of the argument is equally idiosyncratic. Pseudo-Anastasius claims that the 'transferral' mentioned by Nicholas was in reality a 'splitting into two parts', the fast of the Apostles and the fast of the Dormition. He intimates that the danger from non-orthodox fasts was no longer given and that one should therefore again fast from All Saints to the Dormition. His mindset becomes evident when he declares that the real reason for the 'splitting' was an *oikonomia* of the Fathers, which took into account the laziness of the Christian people. It is clear that he wishes to return to the original *akribeia*.

Pseudo-Anastasius' ideal is a period of continuous fasting in Summer. Since All Saints was a movable feast the resulting timespan varied according to year between fifty-seven days and seventy-eight days. As such it was longer than Great Lent. This strengthened Pseudo-Anastasius' argument considerably. He could now maintain that all fasts must be 'forty-day' periods of fasting and that the fast of Christmas should therefore start on 14 November.

The curious idea of a 'split' fast is also found in a supposed canon of Patriarch Nicephorus I (806–815), which is no doubt spurious[70]. The author of the text claims that the fast in Summer used to last from the Sunday after Pentecost to 15 August until the days of Nicephorus:

> For this godly Father together with the rest of the holy synod, knowing the oppressiveness of the season and the sluggishness (sc. of the people) decreed that the fast after Pentecost be split into two, the one from the week after Pentecost until the commemoration of the divine Apostles Peter and Paul, and the other from 1 August until the Dormition[71].

We can assume that this text was not known to Pseudo-Anastasius because otherwise he would certainly have referred to it. Yet the opposite might be the case. It is conceivable that the author of the 'canon' was influenced by Pseudo-Anastasius' argument.

Pseudo-Anastasius and Michael Glykas had felt the need to look for proof texts because they accepted the terms of the debate. Not everyone, however, did so. Balsamon mentions that the fast of the Dormition was discussed during a meeting in the palace, which was attended by Emperor Manuel I, Patriarch Luke Chrysoberges (1156–1169) and the synod. As one might expect it is claimed that the *Tomus Unionis* provides sufficient justification for the practice. Yet this did not completely solve the problem:

> When some were then still doubting because one does not find anywhere a fixed quantity of the days of such a fast, the same most holy patriarch said that although the days of this one and of the fast that takes place before the feast of the birth of Christ are not indicated by any written

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[69] Balsamon, Epistula (578 RHALLES – POTLES).

[70] See GRUMEL – DARROUZÈS, Regestes 48 (n. 404). There it is considered to be of doubtful authenticity as it is only preserved in a late manuscript. Indeed, since the Catechesis chronica and 'John of Nicaea' are pseudepigrapha it would be the only text predating 920, and that by more of a hundred years.

[71] MS Sinai, Monastery of St Catherine, graecus 1609 (*Diktyon* 59984), s. 15, f. 315r: Ἑόρταζον γὰρ τὴν νηστείαν μετὰ μίαν ἑβδομάδα τῆς ν' μέχρι τῆς ιε' τοῦ Αὐγούστου μηνός, ἐν τῇ κοιμήσει τῆς θεοτόκου· τὸ γὰρ καὶ τὴν τῶν θείων μετάληψιν τῷ λαῷ μετέδιδον· καὶ γὰρ ἐκράτει οὕτως μέχρι καὶ τὰς ἡμέρας τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Νικηφόρου, πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, τοῦ ὁμολογητοῦ· ὁ γὰρ οὗτος ὁ θεοφόρος πατὴρ σὺν τῇ λοιπῇ ἁγίᾳ συνόδῳ εἰδὼς τὸ βαρὺ τοῦ καιροῦ καὶ τὸ ῥᾴθυμον, εἰς δύο τυπώσας, τὴν μετὰ τὴν ν' νηστείαν, ἀπὸ γὰρ τῆς ἑβδομάδος τῆς μετὰ τὴν ν', ἕως οὗ καὶ τὴν μνήμην τῶν θείων ἀποστόλων Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου, τὴν μίαν, τὴν δὲ ἑτέραν ἀπὸ τὴν α' τοῦ Αὐγούστου μηνὸς ἕως οὗ καὶ τῆς κοιμήσεως. (my translation)

source, we are forced to follow the unwritten tradition of the church, and we must fast from the first day of the month of August and from the fourteenth day of the month of November[72].

The patriarch claims that the unwritten tradition of the church is as binding as the canons. This argument may well be directed against the viewpoint of men like Michael Glykas who had concluded from the vague reference in the *Tomus Unionis* that individual Christians could decide for themselves how long they wished to fast. This does not, however, mean that the argument from tradition was accepted by everyone. Balsamon himself begs to differ. As we have seen he then advocates fasts that do not last longer than a week. This shows clearly that he put little store by the patriarch's reasoning.

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To conclude: In the second half of the eleventh and in the twelfth centuries laymen, monks, and clerics of all ranks debated whether one must observe the lesser fasts. In this debate canon law played a crucial role. Most of the participants took it for granted that a custom was only valid if it was mentioned in canonical literature. Some went so far as to accept only the pronouncements of Late Antique councils and reject all later texts. There were a few dissenters who claimed that the unwritten tradition of the church was just as binding. Yet it does not seem that their views were taken seriously. The fast of the Dormition is first mentioned in the *Tomus Unionis*, which dates to the year 920. There is, however, no sign that it was observed at the time. The monastic rules of the tenth and early eleventh centuries do not mention it. The first attempts to implement it were made around the year 1060. Its propagators, Nicon of the Black Mountain who lived in the region of Antioch and John of Phoberos who was based outside Constantinople, not only included it in their *typika* but also supplied two proof texts, the *Tomus Unionis* and a treatise by John of Nicaea (in reality Euthymius of Peribleptos), in order to show that it needed to be kept. From Nicon's *Pandectes* it is clear that not everyone accepted the validity of the two testimonies. Nicon distinguishes between two groups of opponents. The former asserted that the fast of the Dormition was not a canonical requirement but that one could fast if one wished to do so since it had been instituted by pious people. By contrast, the latter rejected it as being contrary to canon law. A treatise by Anastasius of Caesarea suggests that they drew a parallel with the *artzibourion* fast of the Armenians, which the Byzantines considered to be heretical because it had not been sanctioned by a synod. The most prominent representative of this position was Patriarch Nicholas III Grammatikos who stated that the fast of the Dormition must not be kept, denying it any spiritual relevance. The fasts of the Apostles and of Christmas were much more firmly rooted in tradition. They are first mentioned in the monastic rules of the tenth and early eleventh centuries. Yet they, too, became the subject of a debate. It seems that they were never rejected outright. Yet it was again claimed that they were voluntary and that it was left to the individual how long he wished to fast. Theodore Balsamon and the author of the treatise *De tribus quadragesimis*, Pseudo-Anastasius of Sinai, state that this opinion was held by highly educated metropolitans and patriarchal deacons. These men averred that monastic rules had no authority, a position that was shared by Patriarch Nicholas. Searching for 'ancient' proof texts Pseudo-Anastasius lighted on a narrative source, the apocryphal *Acts* of the Apostle Philip. His fanciful argument was, however, made fun of by Michael Glykas who argued that more recent sources such as the *Tomus Unionis* should also be accepted. An additional problem concerned the number of the fasts. Traditionally there had been

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[72] Balsamon, Commentarii (419–420 RHALLES – POTLES): Ἀμφιβαλλόντων δὲ καὶ εἰσέτι τότε τινῶν, διὰ τὸ μὴ εὑρίσκεσθαι ὁπουδήποτε ὡρισμένην τὴν ποσότητα τῶν ἡμερῶν τῆς τοιαύτης νηστείας, εἶπεν ὁ αὐτὸς ἁγιώτατος πατριάρχης ὡς τῶν ἡμερῶν ταύτης τε καὶ τῆς τελουμένης νηστείας πρὸ τῆς ἑορτῆς τῆς γεννήσεως τοῦ Χριστοῦ μὴ δηλουμένων ἔκ τινος ἐγγράφου, ἀναγκαζόμεθα ἕπεσθαι τῇ ἀγράφῳ ἐκκλησιαστικῇ παραδόσει, καὶ ὀφείλομεν νηστεύειν ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης τοῦ αὐγούστου μηνός, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ιδ' τοῦ νοεμβρίου μηνός. (my translation)

three, the fast of Great Lent and the fasts of the Apostles and of Christmas, which were correlated with three Jewish feasts. Yet the *Tomus Unionis* mentioned the fast of the Dormition instead of that of the Apostles. Glykas gives the impression that he wanted the latter to be suppressed. Other authors proposed other solutions. Theodore Balsamon suggested that there were as many as five fasts, each lasting a week, and that they corresponded to several more Jewish feasts. Pseudo-Anastasius held the diametrically opposite view. He continued to claim that there were only three fasts. Yet he averred that the fast of the Apostles and the fast of the Dormition had originally been one continuous period of fasting. All these authors take it for granted that one must produce proof texts. There was only one dissenting voice, Patriarch Luke Chrysoberges, who argued that the unwritten tradition of the church had to be followed. Yet this view was by no means universally accepted. Even Balsamon who records the patriarch's words did not find them convincing. When analysing the sources we can see that authors holding different views responded to each other and grappled with each other's arguments. We thus get a glimpse of the liveliness of religious debate in Constantinople during the late eleventh and twelfth centuries. More research needs to be done in order to establish how this debate continued in the Late Byzantine period.

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In the Margins of Strabo: Menander Protector on Persian Religion and the *Passio S. Isbozetae*[*]

ABSTRACT: This paper concerns the content, character and transmission of Menander Protector's *History*, a fragmentary work of classicizing historiography written in the later sixth century. Investigation of a previously unexamined scholion to Strabo's *Geography*, which recommends Menander's *History* as an especially accurate source on "Persian customs", establishes the provenance, context and significance of this rare testimonium and questions why the ninth-century scholiast directed readers of Strabo to this late antique text in preference to well-established classical authorities on ancient Persia. As the scholion responds to Strabo's uniquely detailed treatment of Persian religion, particularly magi and Zoroastrian sacrificial rituals, it becomes necessary to reconsider evidence for this subject in Menander's extant writings, notably those fragments of his *History*, together with a separately transmitted epigram (*Palatine Anthology* I 101), that concern the martyrdom of Isbozetes (Yazdbōzēd), a Persian magus who converted to Christianity (AD 553). Widening the inquiry to include largely overlooked martyrial acta, particularly an Armenian *Passio S. Isbozetae*, reveals an early textual tradition characterized by accurate and precise information about magian practices and paraphernalia, which closely and exclusively corresponds to Strabo's account of Zoroastrian fire-cult. Menander's interest in this story of an apostate magus both explains the scholiast's recommendation and casts new light on Menander's aims and sources, including East Syriac hagiographical tradition. In line with recent scholarship, a more variegated picture of Menander's historical writing emerges beyond the focus on diplomacy imposed by the thematically determined transmission of surviving fragments in the Constantinian *Excerpta*.

KEYWORDS: Greek Classicizing Historiography; Textual Transmission; Byzantine Scholia and Excerpta; Hagiography; Armenian Literature.

This study is essentially an extended note on a note. It concerns the content, transmission and reception of Menander Protector's *History*, a work of classicizing historiography written in the 580s, which survives only as Byzantine excerpta and derivative lexical extracts. Given the fragmentary state of the received text, even the thinnest thread of textual tradition can have value in scholarly assessments of Menander and his oeuvre. The most recent edition, by Roger Blockley, commences with just three testimonia[1]. The first and earliest is a citation by Menander's continuator, Theophylact Simocatta, who, at the beginning of his *Histories*, explains that his predecessor provided a lucid account of events leading to the Avars' capture of Sirmium in 581/2, one of the last episodes Menander recorded[2]. The second occurs in *De thematibus*, in which Constantine VII adduces Pro-

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[1] R.C. BLOCKLEY, The *History* of Menander the Guardsman. Introductory Essay, Text, Translation, and Historiographical Notes. Liverpool 1985, 38–39. All testimonia and fragments are cited from this edition. A new edition with German translation in preparation by Bruno Bleckmann and Markus Stein is eagerly awaited.

[2] Menander Protector T1 (38–39 BLOCKLEY) = Theophylact Simocatta, *Histories* I 3, 5 (ed. C. DE BOOR, rev. P. WIRTH, Theophylacti Simocattae Historiae. Stuttgart 1972, 45, 1–2): τὸ δ'ὅπως Μενάνδρῳ τῷ περιφανεῖ σαφῶς διηγόρευται, "in what manner has been clearly related by the distinguished Menander." Terminal date of Menander's *History*: BLOCKLEY, Menander 4–5, 15, 25, 32; W.T. TREADGOLD, The Early Byzantine Historians. Basingstoke – New York 2007, 295–296. B. BALDWIN, Menander Protector. *DOP* 32 (1978) 101–125 at 106–107 mulls possibilities of a later terminus. Theophylact's use of Menander: T. OLAJOS, Les sources de Théophylacte Simocatta historien. Leiden 1988, 21–27, 96–106; L.M. WHITBY, The Emperor Maurice and his Historian, Theophylact Simocatta on Persian and Balkan Warfare. Oxford 1988, 227–

copius, Agathias, Menander and Hesychius as historical authorities he consulted for his investigations into imperial administrative toponymy[3]. In neither case, the continuator's preliminary scene-setting nor the scholar-emperor's erudite inquiry, is a reference to Menander particularly surprising. In contrast, the third testimonium is remarkable for both its unusual context or "cover-text" and its allusive content, at least as hitherto presented and understood. Blockley's edition is reproduced here in full, inasmuch as it represents the current—and, indeed, long-term—state of research:

(Margine cod. Paris Strabonis n. 1394 ap. Dindorf *HGM* II p. 131)
Ἀκριβέστερον τὰ Περσικὰ ἔθη Μένανδρος ὁ Προτίκτωρ ἐν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ἱστορίᾳ παρέθετο

Προτίκτωρ scripsi [Πρακτίκωρ cod.]

In his English translation, Blockley clarifies the source: "In the margin of MS Strabo, Paris n.1393", that is Bibliothèque nationale de France, grec. 1393 (Diktyon: 51009). He translates the Greek text "Menander the Guardsman in his History has very accurately described the customs of the Persians."[4] Most extraordinary is the lack of interest this rare testimonium has elicited. Scholars of Menander have not asked even basic questions about its provenance, context and significance. Evidently a marginal annotation to Strabo's *Geography*, is this paratext unique to the cited codex or found in other copies of Strabo's work, indicative of a broader textual tradition? That is to say, is this a scribal or editorial annotation contemporary with and specific to *Parisinus gr*. 1393, dated 1250–1300, and thus exceptionally late evidence of familiarity with Menander's *History* in the Palaeologan era? Or is it the product of a prior—perhaps much earlier—scholiast's intervention as part of a more extensive paratextual apparatus? Both scenarios raise further questions about the transmission and reception of Menander's *History*, especially given a common impression that his was never a popular or well-known work (see below). Most importantly, how does this paratext relate to Strabo's text? Neither the folio of the manuscript nor the passage of the *Geography* is indicated. What was it exactly in Strabo's *Geography* that inspired this exceptional recommendation of Menander—in preference to well-established classical authorities on ancient Persia—and how might this assist in understanding the content and character of his *History*. To answer these questions, it will be necessary to trace how editors of Menander first introduced and subsequently treated this testimonium, to assess the limited *Nachleben* of Menander's *History* and, above all, to reconnect this marginal annotation with scholarship on Strabo's *Geography* and its scholia. Ultimately, in line with some recent studies, this inquiry seeks to illuminate aspects of Menander's *History*, particularly religion, that are largely obscured by the diplomatic focus of surviving fragments.

The annotation cited by Blockley is found at *Parisinus gr*. 1393, fol. 217^{r}. It was first reported by Carl Heinrich Tzschucke (1811) in his monumental re-edition (with Johann Philipp Siebenkees) of Strabo's *Geography*[5]. Although Tzschucke consulted the manuscript first-hand, he did not provide a folio reference, while his printed text contains garbled Πρακτίκωρ (Praktiktōr). The codex

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230, 242, 275; B. Bleckmann, Die letzte Generation der griechischen Geschichtsschreiber. Studien zur Historiographie im ausgehenden 6. Jahrhundert (*Historia-Einzelschriften* 267). Stuttgart 2021, 47–63; M. Whitby, Review of Bleckmann, Die letzte Generation, *Plekos* 24 (2022) 25–36 at 27–28.

[3] Menander Protector T2 (38–39 Blockley) = *De thematibus* 2, 9–12 (ed. A. Pertusi, Costantino Porfirogenito, De Thematibus. Introduzione, testo critico, commento. Vatican 1952, 63): Καὶ φαίνεται νεωτέρα ἡ τοιαύτη ὀνομασία· οὔτε γὰρ Προκόπιος, οὔτε μὴν Ἀγαθίας, οὔτε Μένανδρος, οὔτε Ἡσύχιος ὁ Ἰλλούστριος ἐμνημόνευσαν τοῦ τοιούτου ὀνόματος, οἱ τὰ χρονικὰ συντάξαντες ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλείας, "And it seems that this nomenclature [sc. Armeniakon] is more recent, for neither Procopius nor indeed Agathias nor Menander nor Hesychius *illustris* mentioned this name, they having compiled chronicles in the reign of Justinian". See below n. 22.

[4] Menander Protector T3 (38–39 Blockley).

[5] J.P. Siebenkees – C.H. Tzschucke, with F.T. Friedemann (eds.), Strabonis rerum geographicarum libri XVII. Leipzig 1796–1818, VI [1811] 226 (§16), n. 1: "In margine cod. Paris. scriba haec adleverat: Ἀκριβέστερον …". When Siebenkees died in 1796, Tzschucke continued the project (from *Geography* VII) until his own death in 1813; Friedemann completed the final volume.

reads correctly Πρωτίκτωρ (Prōtiktōr), in fact so clearly that one can only suspect Πρακτίκωρ of being a printer's error rather than Tzschucke's transcriptional blunder. All subsequent scholarship relating to Menander is, directly or indirectly, indebted to this publication and replicates its shortcomings. Understandably, Tzschucke's discovery in a codex of Strabo was initially overlooked by editors of Menander: Immanuel Bekker and Barthold Georg Niebuhr (1829) and Karl Müller (1851) were seemingly unaware of this item[6]. Subsequently, in his more comprehensive edition of Menander's fragments, Ludwig Dindorf (1871) reproduced Tzschucke's text of the annotation, evidently without further investigation, including erroneous Πρακτίκωρ, marked "(sic)." Furthermore, as Dindorf did not indicate where in the *Geography* this annotation occurs, it now became detached from its exegetical relationship to Strabo's text[7]. Mostly recently, Blockley (1985) in turn replicated the text of the annotation directly from Dindorf, without reference to Tzschucke or inspection of *Parisinus gr*. 1393; thus Blockley again reports Πρακτίκωρ as the transmitted reading and supplies his own emendation: "Προτίκτωρ scripsi [Πρακτίκωρ cod.]"[8] The most significant effect of this editorial pedigree has been to divorce the marginal annotation from the text that inspired it and to which it refers. Consequently, it is assumed or implied that the annotation, irrespective of its date and author, merely alludes, in general terms, to Persian-related content in Menander's *History*[9]. That might have been a plausible inference in the case of a well-known and widely cited authority on τὰ Περσικὰ ἔθη (ta Persika ethē), most obviously Herodotus or Ctesias, but, in the case of Menander, the rarity of his *History* and the specificity of the annotation call for closer inspection.

TRANSMISSION AND RECEPTION OF MENANDER'S *HISTORY*

The differing reception of the four sequential classicizing historians of the sixth century—Procopius, Agathias, Menander and Theophylact—brings into sharper relief the tenuous transmission and meagre *Nachleben* of Menander's *History*, at least beyond the initial impact that prompted Theophylact to write a continuation[10]. Menander typically has the lowest profile, and not only because his work alone did not survive in a direct tradition—indeed Theophylact's *Histories* narrowly escaped the same fate by the peripheral survival of a single codex[11]. Clearly, Procopius became the most admired and influential, even if the currency and popularity of his *Wars* was neither uniform nor unilinear over successive centuries[12]. Following a long-recognised cessation of classicizing

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[6] I. Bekker – B.G. Niebuhr (eds.), Dexippi, Eunapii, Petri Patricii, Prisci, Malchi, Menandri historiarum quae supersunt (*CSHB* 14). Bonn 1829, 279–444; C. Müller – T. Müller (eds.), Fragmenta historicorum graecorum. Paris 1841–1872, IV [1851] 200–269. Much later, Baldwin, Menander 101, also omits this scholion from cited testimonia.

[7] L. Dindorf (ed.), Historici graeci minores. Leipzig 1870–1871, II 131: "Margo cod. Paris. Strabonis n. 1393 apud Tzschuckium vol. 6, p. 226".

[8] Blockley, Menander 38 (T3).

[9] E.g. Blockley, Menander 13

[10] Blockley, Menander 3–4, infers a limited circulation of Menander's work even among contemporaries. W.T. Treadgold, Early Byzantine Historians 298–299, is slightly more positive.

[11] The *codex unicus* is early tenth-century *Vaticanus gr*. 977. P. Schreiner, Die Historikerhandschrift Vaticanus Graecus 977: Ein Handexemplar zur Vorbereitung des konstantinischen Exzerptenwerkes? *JÖB* 37 (1987) 1–29 identifies this manuscript as the exemplar used by the Constantinian excerptors; see further C. Mango (ed.), Nikephoros, Patriarch of Constantinople, Short History (*CFHB* 13). Washington, DC 1990, 19–21; A. Németh, The *Excerpta Constantiniana* and the Byzantine Appropriation of the Past. Cambridge 2018, 59, 102. If this thesis is correct, the tradition of Theophylact's *Histories* would be exceptionally narrow. An annotation (fol. 93^{v}) locates the codex on Samos and Kos in 1417/1418. See additional clarifications in T. Olajos, Remarques sur la tradition manuscrite de l'Histoire universelle de Théophylacte Simocatta. *Revue d'histoire des textes* 9 (1979) 261–266.

[12] Reception of Procopius' *Wars*: B. Rubin, Prokopios von Kaisareia. *RE* XXIII.1 (1957) 273–599 at 587–594 (= R. Rubin, Prokopios von Kaisareia. Stuttgart 1954) is still useful. See recently, with differing emphases, M. Jankowiak, Procopius of Caesarea and His Byzantine Successors, in: A Companion to Procopius of Caesarea (*Brill's Companions to the Byzanti-*

historiography around the 630s, it is difficult to trace readers of this genre across the literary-cultural "Dark Age" up to the late eighth century, except for scattered testimonia and vestigial influence[13]. Thereafter, evidence for the reception of the four authors is sporadic and uneven. The chronological scope and manuscript tradition of Patriarch Nicephorus' *Concise History*, dated to the 780s–790s, implies knowledge of Theophylact's work and intent to continue its narrative[14]. In compiling his *Selection of Chronography* in *c*.808–810/13, George Syncellus incorporated an excerpt from Agathias' *Histories*, a self-contained digression on Near Eastern chronology, though such secular histories are uncharacteristic of George's source material and his direct use of Agathias' text is uncertain[15]. When Theophanes Confessor continued this *Chronography* in *c*.810/13–814, he variously adapted Procopius' *Wars* (I–IV) and Theophylact's *Histories*, but his knowledge of Agathias and Menander cannot be verified. It remains unclear to what extent Theophanes' sources were determined by a prior "dossier" inherited from George Syncellus and/or authorial choice among available bookholdings[16]. Perhaps more tellingly, three or four decades later, Photius similarly included Procopius and Theophylact in his expansive literary survey, chronologically arranged as items 63 and 65 of the *Bibliotheca*. Placed between them at 64 is Theophanes of Byzantium's *History*, now entirely lost, which covered much the same period as Menander's work. Following at 66 is Patriarch Nicephorus' "sequel" to Theophylact. Yet Photius omits Agathias and Menander from this sequence[17]. While it might be tempting to assume their obscurity or inaccessibility rather than intentional exclusion, interpretation of Photius' silence is complicated by evidence, within the *Bibliotheca* itself, that he was in fact familiar with Agathias' *Histories*. Although

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ne World 11), ed. M. Meier – F. Montinaro. Leiden – Boston 2021, 231–251; S. KENNEDY, A Lost Classic: The Reception of Prokopios' *History of the Wars* in Byzantium. *BSl* 79 (2021) 5–40.

[13] Testimonia: John of Nikiu, *Chronicle* 92, 19–20 (tr. H. ZOTENBERG, La Chronique de Jean de Nikioû. Paris 1883, 397) cites Agathias and Procopius; see JANKOWIAK, Procopius 240–241. Historiographic influence: a lost Procopius-inspired account of the plague of 747–748 posited as the common source of several late eighth-/early ninth-century texts: TREADGOLD, The Middle Byzantine Historians. Basingstoke – New York 2013, 20 n. 82; S. KENNEDY, A Classic Dethroned: The Decline and Fall of Thucydides in Middle Byzantium. *GRBS* 58.4 (2018) 607–635 at 621–625; KENNEDY, A Lost Classic 24–25.

[14] MANGO, Nikephoros 7, with dating evidence at 8–12; TREADGOLD, Middle Byzantine Historians 27–31.

[15] George Syncellus, *Selection of Chronography* 439, 23–440, 25 (ed. A.A. MOSSHAMMER, Georgius Syncellus. Ecloga chronographica. Leipzig 1984) derives from Agathias, II 25, 4–27, 3 (ed. R. KEYDELL, Agathiae Myrinaei Historiarum libri quinque [*CFHB* 2]. Berlin 1967, 73, 23–76, 8). See A.M. CAMERON, Zonaras, Syncellus, and Agathias – A Note. *Classical Quarterly* 14.1 (1964) 82–84; thus MOSSHAMMER, Georgius Syncellus xxix, 439 (app. crit.); W. ADLER – P. TUFFIN. The *Chronography* of George Synkellos: a Byzantine Chronicle of Universal History from the Creation. Oxford 2002, lxii, 516–519 (footnotes).

[16] Theophanes' sources: Y.N. LYUBARSKIJ, Feofan Ispovednik i Istochniki ego «Khronografii» (K voprosu o metodakh ikh osboenija). *VV* 45 (1984) 72–86; C. MANGO – R. SCOTT, The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor. Oxford 1997, lxxiv–xcv (esp. lxxxi), xci–xcv, with annotations at 306–313, 321, 374–420; TREADGOLD, Middle Byzantine Historians 68–75, 477; R. SCOTT, The First Half of Theophanes' *Chronicle*. *TM* 19 (2015) 239–260 at 239–260; NÉMETH, The *Excerpta Constantiniana* 93–94; JANKOWIAK, Procopius 241–247. Recently, KENNEDY, A Lost Classic 11–12 discerns Theophanes' isolated use of Agathias' *Histories* (V 4, 4–6 [169, 4–21 KEYDELL]) to supplement a Malalas-derived account of an earthquake, though KENNEDY (11 n. 39) seemingly conflates two entries with similar details, referring to Theophanes, *Chronography* AM 6050|AD 557 (ed. C. DE BOOR, Theophanis Chronographia. Leipzig 1883, 231, 34–232, 2) but citing AM 6046|AD 554 (229, 10–13 DE BOOR). This issue cannot be resolved here, but, rather than familiarity with Agathias' *Histories*, Theophanes' text may alternatively reflect differing traditions of Malalas' *Chronicle*, including those now witnessed only in Syriac sources.

[17] See W.T. TREADGOLD, The Nature of the *Bibliotheca* of Photius. Washington, DC 1980, 62, 79–80, 89; Middle Byzantine Historians 290–293; NÉMETH, The *Excerpta Constantiniana* 94–95, 178–179; JANKOWIAK, Procopius 246. On the long-disputed chronology of the *Bibliotheca* see M. LOSACCO, Photius, la Bibliothèque, et au-delà: l'état de la recherche, l'usage des classiques et les préfaces du corpus, in: Autour du *Premier humanisme byzantin* & des *Cinq études sur le XIe siècle*, quarante ans après Paul Lemerle (= *TM* 21.2), ed. B. Flusin – J.-C. Cheynet. Paris 2017, 235–308 at 259–61, with bibliography.

a satisfactory explanation remains elusive, even if Photius did know Menander's *History*, he evidently preferred Theophanes of Byzantium's parallel account[18].

A slightly more positive image of Menander emerges in the Macedonian era. The core component of the so-called *Lexicon Haimōdein* (*Αἱμωδεῖν*) is a glossary of uncommon words found in Procopius, Agathias, Menander and Theophylact, originally compiled between the mid-ninth and late tenth centuries, though later variously abridged and interpolated, and now in parts reconstructed using derivative lexica[19]. Modern editors of these four historians have almost entirely overlooked this early textual witness[20]. While the intellectual context of this author-specific glossary awaits further investigation, presumably the lexicographer sought to elucidate vocabulary likely to be unfamiliar to current readers of the four classicizing historians, suggesting renewed or sustained interest and, perhaps, perceived value as curricular texts and/or historiographical or rhetorical models[21]. This collective treatment also implies that the four histories were then viewed as a literary-historiographic quartet, in line with modern scholarly perceptions, even if evidence for conjoined manuscript transmission is elusive.

Around 934, as noted above, Constantine VII cited Procopius, Agathias and Menander, along with Hesychius, as historical authorities in *De thematibus*[22]. A certain quasi-canonical status might be inferred from the selection of Procopius, Agathias, Menander and Theophylact as "base-texts" in Constantine's project of historical excerption in the 940s/950s, though not to the exclusion of other sixth-/seventh-century authors writing in a range of historiographical formats (John Malalas, John of Antioch, Peter the Patrician, Hesychius). Excerpts from Menander's *History* are found primarily in both volumes of *De legationibus* and, to a much lesser extent, in *De sententiis*[23]. Lexical citations of Menander in the *Suda* derive from the excerpts in *De legationibus* and several now-lost

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[18] J. KLINKENBERG, De Photi bibliothecae codicibus historicis. Bonn 1913, 40–42 detected material from Agathias I, proem. 23 and IV 27, 1–4 (7, 24–31; 157, 20–158, 6 KEYDELL) interpolated into the entry on Procopius at *Bibliotheca*, cod. 63, 21b–22a (ed. R. HENRY, Photius, Bibliothèque. Paris 1959–1991, I 64–65). He deduced that a section on Agathias, formerly placed between cod. 63 and 64, has gone astray. This interpretation—though not Photius' familiarity with Agathias—is variously refuted by P. MAAS, Rez. Klinkenberg, De Photi bibliothecae codicibus historicis. *BZ* 23 (1914/19) 265; A. DILLER, The Scholia on Strabo. *Traditio* 10 (1954) 29–50 at 45–46 n. 38; TREADGOLD, The Nature of the *Bibliotheca* 62. See also T. HÄGG, Photios als Vermittler antiker Literatur. Untersuchungen zur Technik des Referierens und Exzerpierens in der Bibliotheke. Uppsala 1975, 191–192.

[19] Critical edition: A.R. DYCK (ed.), Epimerismi Homerici. Lexicon AIMΩΔEIN quod vocatur seu verius ETYMOΛOΓIAI ΔIAΦOPOI (*SGLS* 5/1–2). Berlin – New York 1983–1995, II 825–1016, 1033–1034 (Addenda et corrigenda). Dating termini *c*.850–994: DYCK II 848–850, 859–884, esp. 861–863. Textual evolution, sources and transmission: 845–864.

[20] With respect to critical texts, only Keydell's meticulous edition of Agathias takes account of this lexicon: KEYDELL, Agathiae xx–xxi, xxxiii–xxxiv, 1 (siglum: Etym). See further DYCK, Epimerismi Homerici II 857–858, 996, 998. A study of the Menander-derived content of the *Lexicon Αἱμωδεῖν* is in preparation.

[21] NÉMETH, The *Excerpta Constantiniana* 245–248 argues for a compositional link between the *Lexicon Αἱμωδεῖν* and the Constantinian *Excerpta*, similar to the derivative relationship of the *Suda* to the *Excerpta*. The limited prior scholarship concluded, on the contrary, that the *Excerpta* and *Lexicon Αἱμωδεῖν* descend from separate traditions: KEYDELL, Agathiae xxxiii–xxxiv, though Keydell's argumentation does not conclusively validate his stemma (proving only that the *Lexicon* (Etym) does not descend from the hyparchetype of the direct tradition (ψ), but without excluding an affinity with the *Excerpta* (C)). Further comparative analysis by DYCK, Epimerismi Homerici II 857–858 lacks sufficient corresponding passages to resolve this question.

[22] See n. 3. Dating of the first redaction of *De thematibus* to *c*.934: PERTUSI, Costantino Porfirogenito, De Thematibus 18–49, esp. 39–43. Constantine's opinion that Menander, like the other three authors, wrote ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλείας, "in the reign of Justinian", may imply superficial acquaintance; thus BALDWIN, Menander 103. *De thematibus* 11, 10–15 (97 PERTUSI) also cites an epigram from Agathias II 10, 8 (54, 22–27 KEYDELL). Additional remarks in NÉMETH, The *Excerpta Constantiniana* 129 n. 29, 232–233; JANKOWIAK, Procopius 248.

[23] Conspectus of *Excerpta* from Menander: BLOCKLEY, Menander 31–32. General remarks and bibliography in NÉMETH, The *Excerpta Constantiniana* 9–11, 270–277; excerptive methodology (based on Procopius' *Wars*): 77–86, 105–106. Catalogue of excerpts from Procopius' *Wars*: RUBIN, Prokopios 589–592; from Agathias' *Histories*: KEYDELL, Agathiae, xviii–xxi.

volumes of the *Excerpta* rather than a direct tradition[24]. Similarly, contemporary court-centred historiography also drew material from the *Excerpta*, including excerpts from late antique classicizing histories, but this further stage of adaptation arguably belongs more to the reception of the *Excerpta*, as an independent oeuvre, than of those original authors[25]. As a parallel development, among broader shifts in taste, emphasis and agenda in historical writing, Byzantine military resurgence and territorial "reconquista" from around the mid-tenth century fostered a historiographical environment that favoured emulation and creative adaptation of analogous Justinianic narratives. Again, Procopius' *Wars* was an obvious choice, though Leo the Deacon's selective adaptation of both Procopius and Agathias in the mid-990s attests the broader appeal of late antique models[26]. If, however, Leo the Deacon too knew the texts of Procopius and Agathias only via the *Excerpta*, as recently proposed, their incorporation into his *History* would not in fact reflect direct textual traditions or contemporary readership, but more simply Leo's court milieu and access to the *Excerpta*[27]. In any case, as the loss of most of Menander's text precludes recognition of its influence, the possibility that passages of his work may likewise lurk undetected—and undetectable—beneath the textual fabric of tenth-century histories can be no more than a tantalising prospect. Overall, it is difficult to escape the impression that Menander was the "poor relation" of this family of four. It is

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[24] Correlation of *Suda* entries and the *Excerpta*: BLOCKLEY, Menander 297–298. Dependence of the *Suda* on the *Excerpta*: see now NÉMETH, The *Excerpta Constantiniana* 238–255, with older bibliography.

[25] Most notably, identified sources of the *Life of Basil* or "*Theophanes Continuatus* V" include excerpts of Procopius, Menander and Theophylact transmitted in *De legationibus*. See Chronographiae quae Theophanis Continuati nomine fertur liber quo Vita Basilii imperatoris amplectitur, ed. and Eng. trans. I. ŠEVČENKO (*CFHB* 42). Berlin 2011, 479–501 (Index locorum), esp. 485, with TREADGOLD, Middle Byzantine Historians 176, nn. 86–87; NÉMETH, The *Excerpta Constantiniana* 151–155, 161–164. In contrast, I am not convinced that a quoted remark about "the Wheel of Fortune" by Soldan at *De administrando imperio* 29.123–126, ed. Gy. MORAVCSIK; rev. ed. (*CFHB* 1) Washington, DC 1967, 128, must derive from the tale of Sesostris as told in Menander Protector fr. 6, 1 (64, 212–66, 236 BLOCKLEY) via *Exc. de Leg. Rom.* 3 (177, 12–34 DE BOOR), whereas an identical episode relating to Soldan in the *Life of Basil* 56 (202, 12–204, 19 ŠEVČENKO) undoubtedly draws the same legend from Theophylact Simocatta, *Histories* VI 11, 10–15 (243, 10–244, 18 DE BOOR – WIRTH) via *Exc. de Leg. Rom.* 5 (224, 23–225, 18 DE BOOR). See Moravcsik's apparatus at 128, 123–126, and "Sources and Parallel Passages" at 340, with remarks of I. ŠEVČENKO, Re-reading Constantine Porphyrogenitus, in: Byzantine Diplomacy, ed. J. Shepard and S. Franklin. Aldershot 1992, 167–195 at 191, n. 60 (who confuses Sesostris with Sardanapalus), and NÉMETH, The *Excerpta Constantiniana* 162–163 (who conflates the Persian Shah and the Avar Chagan; and (n. 92) mistakenly ascribes Menander's phrase τὸ ἀστάθμητόν … τύχης (66, 231 BLOCKLEY) to Theophylact). It seems that the only grounds for positing a connection with Menander is a single verbal parallel concerning "turning wheels": *De administrando imperio* 29, 124: τροχοὺς κυλιομένους; Menander Protector fr. 6, 1: τροχὸν κυλινδούμενόν … τροχῷ κυλιομένῳ (66, 224, 231–232 BLOCKLEY = *Exc. de Leg. Rom.* 3, 177, 22, 29–30). However, this noun-verb combination is not sufficiently remarkable to be diagnostic; note in particular that Theophanes, *Chronography* 273, 21–22 (DE BOOR), demonstrably reworking Theophylact's version of the story, changed the original wording τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν τροχῶν κίνησιν at VI 11, 12 (244, 4–5) to τὸν τροχὸν … κυλιόμενον, without any need to invoke the influence of Menander. The compiler(s) of *De administrando imperio* could easily have made the same adjustment.

[26] Procopius: L.R. CRESCI, Procopio al confine tra due tradizioni storiografiche. *Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica* 129 (2001) 61–77, esp. 65–70; A. KALDELLIS, The Byzantine conquest of Crete (961 AD), Prokopios' *Vandal War*, and the Continuator of the *Chronicle* of Symeon. *BMGS* 39.2 (2015) 302–311; JANKOWIAK, Procopius 247–248; KENNEDY, A Lost Classic 28–33. The textual analysis in KALDELLIS, The Byzantine conquest, is now modified and corrected in J. SIGNES CODOÑER, Les Excerpta Constantiniana et le métier d'historien au Xe siècle: le livre VI du Theophanes Continuatus et le poème de Léon le Diacre, in: Le destin d'un manuscrit. Du vice et de la vertu: de Constantinople à Tours via Chypre, ed. M.-F. Auzépy – A.-M. Cheny – P. Trelat. Leiden, forthcoming, who demonstrates that the tenth-century compiler did not use Procopius' *Wars* directly but rather a derivative section of Theophanes' *Chronography*. Agathias: P. RANCE, *Simulacra pugnae*: the Literary and Historical Tradition of Mock Battles in the Roman and early Byzantine army. *GRBS* 41.3 (2000) 223–275 at 258; A.-M. TALBOT – D.F. SULLIVAN, The *History* of Leo the Deacon. Byzantine Military Expansion in the Tenth Century. Washington, DC 2005, 11–12, 262 (Index locorum); TREADGOLD, Middle Byzantine Historians 241, 243; KENNEDY, A Classic Dethroned 625–627.

[27] This proposition requires comprehensive analysis, but preliminary observations by NÉMETH, The *Excerpta Constantiniana* 158–161 are persuasive.

therefore all the more striking that a ninth-century scholiast should single out Menander's *History* for recommendation to readers of classical geography.

THE SCHOLION ON STRABO

As tersely referenced in previous scholarship on Menander, the source of this testimonium is *Parisinus gr*. 1393, a bombycine paper codex of 260 folios, dated to the second half of the thirteenth century. Excepting lacunae, it contains all seventeen books of Strabo's *Geography*[28]. Books X to XVII (from fol. 116^{r}) are furnished with marginal annotations, ranging from one-word variant readings to longer exegetic remarks. The citation of Menander's *History* is found in the middle of the outer margin of fol. 217^{r}. It occurs beside the ending of a section of *Geography* XV concerned with Persian religious customs. The significance of this placement will be discussed below. The marginalia are by the same hand as that of the main text and in identical ink. Even if there were no other witnesses, one would infer that the copyist reproduced these annotations from his antigraph rather than having devised his own paratextual apparatus while copying Strabo's text; in any case, intervention by a posterior editor or scholiast is ruled out. In fact, seemingly unknown to Tzschucke—and certainly to Dindorf and thence Blockley—the same marginalia, including the citation of Menander, are found in other manuscripts of Strabo's *Geography*, which thus testify to a pre-existing ensemble of scholia.

Our understanding of Byzantine scholia on Strabo is deeply indebted to Aubrey Diller's foundational study, which assembled the texts and assessed their transmission, interrelationships and sources. Diller restricted inquiry to "old scholia" or "the earliest fund of scholia … that appear to derive from ancient archetypes", distinct from recent annotations unique to individual codices and specific to their production and editorial histories[29]. He edited around 125 such scholia, unevenly distributed throughout *Geography* I-XVII, with the last three books accounting for nearly a quarter of the total. Acknowledging the rarity of a testimonium to Menander, Diller's exhaustive investigation found this scholion in four codices[30]. Besides *Parisinus gr*. 1393 (= C), the witnesses are: early fourteenth-century Hagion Oros, Monē Vatopediou, 655 (Diktyon: 18799) (= W / Diller's B)[31], early fifteenth-century Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, gr. 418 (G 93 sup.) (Diktyon: 42839) (= v) and mid-fifteenth-century Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 174 (Diktyon: 66805) (= g)[32]. All four contain Strabo's complete work and independently descend, wholly (CWv) or in part (g: X–XVII only), from the same hyparchetype (see below).

Rehearsal of the extensive—and especially recent—scholarship on the textual tradition of Strabo's *Geography* is unnecessary[33]. It suffices to observe that the "old" scholia variously transmitted

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[28] See A. DILLER, The Textual Tradition of Strabo's *Geography*. Amsterdam 1975, 70–76, with older literature. *Parisinus gr*. 1393 is conventionally dated to the end of the thirteenth century; see also G. AUJUC – F. LASSERRE (eds.), Strabon, Géographie I.1 (Introduction générale – Livre I). Paris 1969, lxxii; S. RADT (ed.), Strabons Geographika, mit Übersetzung und Kommentar. Göttingen 2002–11, I [2002] viii. Recently, Pérez Martín proposes a somewhat earlier date of production "vers le milieu ou le troisième quart du XIIIe siècle": A. COHEN-SKALLI – I. PÉREZ MARTÍN. La Géographie de Strabon entre Constantinople et Thessalonique: à propos du Marc. gr. XI.6. *Scriptorium* 71 (2017) 175–207 at 202 n. 91.

[29] DILLER, The Scholia, quoting 29, 43; summarised DILLER, The Textual Tradition 30–31, 39.

[30] DILLER, The Scholia 41 (referencing XV 733B Casaubon), "This scholium, lacking in Müller [*FHG*], is almost the only citation [of Menander] outside the historical excerpts of Const. Porph. and *Suda*."

[31] A. DILLER, The Vatopedi Manuscript of Ptolemy and Strabo. *American Journal of Philology* 58.2 (1937) 174–184; A. DILLER, The Tradition of the Minor Greek Geographers. Lancaster, PA 1952, 10–14; DILLER, The Textual Tradition 77–79; D. MARCOTTE (ed.), Géographes grecs, introduction générale, Pseudo-Scymnos. Paris 2000, c–cix: "le premier tiers du XIVe s.".

[32] DILLER, The Textual Tradition 107–109.

[33] Among older studies, the most influential are AUJUC – LASSERRE, Strabon xlviii–lxxxi, and DILLER, The Textual Tradition, with stemma codicum at 26; summarised in RADT, Strabons Geographika, I [2002] vii–xvii. See additions and adjustments

in extant manuscripts ultimately derive from a single annotated copy of *Geography* (ω), divided into two volumes (I–IX and X–XVII), in which each book was furnished with preambular arguments and marginalia: indices, scholia and variant readings. The origin of this annotated text predates 900. Diller's comparative analysis of contemporary manuscript production, editorial practice and scholiastic activity pointed to a Constantinopolitan intellectual milieu around the third quarter of the ninth century. In this context, the scholarly circle around Photius offers an obvious and attractive setting, though partly for want of alternative scenarios. Conceding that "there is no trace of Strabo" in any of Photius' ascribed works, Diller identified affinities between the repertoire of sources cited in the scholia and Photius' documented lexical interests and historical reading, albeit with some exceptions, including Menander, as previously noted. A connection between the oldest scholia and Photius has since become generally accepted[34]. This reconstruction allows—even requires—that some scholia, as an intrinsically accumulative medium, were added slightly later. In particular, historical content and/or geographical focus assign several scholia to a redactive or exegetical stage attributable to Arethas around 900, which may have been responsible for other paratextual features[35]. Although the evidence leaves room for interpretative differences, scholarly consensus holds that this later ninth-/early tenth-century interest in Strabo produced archetype ω (Lasserre = Σ Diller), the common ancestor of the annotated tradition transmitted in all manuscripts, derivative texts and indirect witnesses. The four codices CWvg that transmit our scholion are descendants of hyparchetype δ (Lasserre = α Diller), which contained a composite, multi-stage text copied from more than one exemplar, whereby only X–XVII preserved the original annotated format, whereas preceding books were devoid of marginalia. The complex and largely obscure editorial and collative sequence that led from ω to δ can be only very loosely dated between *c*.950 and *c*.1250[36]. Nevertheless, the format, vocabulary and content of the scholion citing Menander are consistent with other "old" scholia attributed to Photius or his circle, while broader characteristics of the textual tradition give no reason to suspect that this scholion was not part of the earliest ensemble (pre-900), much less that it was added during the creation of δ[37].

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to the textual tradition, with further bibliography, in P.-O. Leroy, Deux manuscrits vaticans de la Géographie de Strabon et leur place dans le stemma codicum. *Revue d'histoire des textes* 8 (2013) 37–60, esp. 39–41, 55–59, with stemma at 60; P.-O. Leroy – B. Laudenbach, Nouvelles données sur la tradition manuscrite de la Géographie de Strabon. *Eikasmos* 26 (2015) 213–230; P.-O. Leroy (ed. and trans.), Strabon, Géographie XII (Livre XV). Paris 2016, cxxxv–clxiii, with stemma at clxiii; Cohen-Skalli – I. Pérez Martín. La Géographie; A. Cohen-Skalli, La famille des codices decurtati et la division en tomes des manuscrits de Strabon. *Eikasmos* 29 (2018) 369–380.

[34] Diller, The Scholia, esp. 31–33, 43–50 (quoting 46); Aujuc – Lasserre, Strabon lvii–lxi, lxvi–lxvii, lxxvii–lxxx; Diller, The Textual Tradition 29–31, 38–40; with remarks of Leroy, Deux manuscrits 37–38, 55–59; Leroy –Laudenbach, Nouvelles données 222–255; Leroy, Strabon, Géographie XII (Livre XV) cliv–clv. In his comparative study of authors cited in the scholia and in Photius' *Bibliotheca*, Diller, The Scholia 45–46 notes the absence of Menander's *History*; nonetheless, since Photius omitted – but demonstrably knew – Agathias' *Histories* (above n. 18), Diller infers that "he probably knew Menander as well, however we explain the omission"; see also Diller, The Textual Tradition 30. This conjecture becomes a certainty in Aujuc – Lasserre, Strabon lxxix, "[l]es auteurs qu'elles citent, ... et Ménandre Protictor [sic], ont tous laissé à la littérature byzantine des extraits dus à l'activité compilatrice de Photios et nous savons qu'il en avait des oeuvres dans sa bibliothèque."

[35] These scholia are distinguished by local knowledge of Patras and neighbouring regions and of the Slavs settled in the Peloponnese. See Diller, The Scholia 43–44, 48–49; Aujuc – Lasserre, Strabon lxi–lxii, lxvi–lxvii, lxxvii–lxxx; Diller, The Textual Tradition 79–81. Whether Arethas annotated Photius' archetype (as Diller) or produced his own redaction (as Lasserre) is of no immediate consequence.

[36] Diller, The Scholia 29–30; Aujuc – Lasserre, Strabon lxv–lxxi, lxxxi; Diller, The Textual Tradition 27, 54–55; with revisions and refinements in Leroy, Deux manuscrits 40, 58–60; Leroy – Laudenbach, Nouvelles données, esp. 215–222, 224–230; Leroy, Strabon, Géographie XII (Livre XV) clvi–clxiii; additional remarks in Cohen-Skalli – Pérez Martín. La Géographie, esp. 187–191, 201–204.

[37] For example, likewise transmitted in codices CWvg (as well as F), compare scholion ad XVI 4, 6 (770A): (τοπάζια) ἀκριβέστερον περὶ τούτου ἱστόρηται Ἀγαθαρχίδῃ ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης ὑπομνήματι, "(*topazia* [a gemstone]) this matter has been more accurately reported by Agatharchides in his treatise *On the Red Sea*". As with the scholion citing

The following analysis is based on the two oldest and most authoritative witnesses: *Parisinus gr*. 1393, fol. 217^{r}, and *Vatopedinus* 655, fol. 265^{r}. The text and apparatus published in editions of Menander require minor adjustments. As noted above, the *Parisinus* reads Πρωτίκτωρ rather than previously reported Πρακτίκωρ. The *Vatopedinus* reads Προτίκτωρ. The orthographic variation is unremarkable. Otherwise, the two witnesses are identical except for minor differences of linear arrangement and graphic features specific to each copyist[38]. More importantly, previous editors did not enquire concerning the inspiration and context of this scholion. Strabo devotes *Geography* XV 3 to Persis and Susiana, and their inhabitants. In both witnesses, the scholion occurs in the same marginal position in relation to the main text, at the juncture of XV 3, 15 and 3, 16 (733B Casaubon), according to the subdivision and numbering of modern editions. This locus directly precedes a thematic shift in Strabo's exposition. Having surveyed physical geography and ancient history (3, 1–12), Strabo discusses diverse aspects of regional society. He first treats religious beliefs and practices in Persia, with particular reference to magi, on the basis of historical sources (3, 13–14). This material he augments with information about magi and fire-sanctuaries in Cappadocia, based on his autopsy of that region, to provide a deeper understanding of the magian cult (3, 15). He then concludes his treatment of religion in Persia with a few additional details on beliefs and rituals (3, 16), again, it seems, drawn from textual sources, before turning to social customs and culture (3, 17–22), followed by some final historical remarks (3, 23–24)[39]. As the exceptional content, focus and character of XV 3, 13–16 are relevant to the following inquiry, these chapters are quoted in full below[40]:

> 13 Τὰ <δ'> ἔθη τὰ Περσικὰ καὶ τούτοις καὶ Μήδοις τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ἄλλοις πλείοσι, περὶ ὧν εἰρήκασι μὲν πλείους, τὰ δὲ καίρια καὶ ἡμῖν λεκτέον. Πέρσαι τοίνυν ἀγάλματα μὲν καὶ βωμοὺς οὐχ ἱδρύονται, θύουσι δ' ἐν ὑψηλῷ τόπῳ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἡγούμενοι Δία· τιμῶσι δὲ καὶ Ἥλιον – ὃν καλοῦσι Μίθρην – καὶ Σελήνην καὶ Ἀφροδίτην καὶ πῦρ καὶ γῆν καὶ ἀνέμους καὶ ὕδωρ· θύουσι δ' ἐν καθαρῷ τόπῳ κατευξάμενοι παραστησάμενοι τὸ ἱερεῖον ἐστεμμένον· μελίσαντος δὲ τοῦ Μάγου τὰ κρέα τοῦ ὑφηγουμένου τὴν ἱερουργίαν ἀπίασι διελόμενοι, τοῖς θεοῖς οὐδὲν ἀπονείμαντες μέρος· τῆς γὰρ ψυχῆς φασι τοῦ ἱερείου δεῖσθαι τὸν θεόν, ἄλλου δὲ οὐδενός· ὅμως δὲ τοῦ ἐπίπλου τι μικρὸν τιθέασιν, ὡς λέγουσί τινες, ἐπὶ τὸ πῦρ.
>
> 14 Διαφερόντως δὲ τῷ πυρὶ καὶ τῷ ὕδατι θύουσι· τῷ μὲν πυρί προστιθέντες ξηρὰ ξύλα τοῦ λέπους χωρὶς, πιμελὴν ἐπιτιθέντες ἄνωθεν εἶθ' ὑφάπτουσιν ἔλαιον καταχέοντες, οὐ φυσῶντες, ἀλλὰ ῥιπίζοντες (τοὺς δὲ φυσήσαντας ἢ νεκρὸν ἐπὶ πῦρ θέντας ἢ βόλβιτον θανατοῦσι)· τῷ δ' ὕδατι, ἐπὶ λίμνην ἢ ποταμὸν ἢ κρήνην ἐλθόντες, βόθρον ὀρύξαντες εἰς τοῦτον σφαγιάζονται φυλαττόμενοι μή τι τοῦ πλησίον ὕδατος αἱμαχθείη, ὡς μιανοῦντες· εἶτ' ἐπὶ μυρρίνην ἢ δάφνην διαθέντες τὰ κρέα ῥάβδοις λεπταῖς ἐφάπτονται οἱ Μάγοι καὶ ἐπᾴδουσιν, ἀποσπένδοντες ἔλαιον ὁμοῦ γάλακτι καὶ μέλιτι κεκραμένον οὐκ εἰς πῦρ οὐδ' ὕδωρ, ἀλλ' εἰς τοὔδαφος· τὰς δ' ἐπῳδὰς ποιοῦνται πολὺν χρόνον ῥάβδων μυρικίνων λεπτῶν δέσμην κατέχοντες.

Menander, here too initial ἀκριβέστερον precedes subject, author and work. Agatharchides is also cited in scholion ad XV 2, 1 (720D) and is the uncited source ad XI 2, 12 (495D). Unlike Menander's *History*, Photius includes—and approves of—Agatharchides' *Periplus* in his *Bibliotheca*, cod. 213, 250. See DILLER, The Scholia 39, 41–42, with remarks at 45.

[38] In *Parisinus gr*. 1393 (217^{r}), the scholion covers five lines: ἀκριβέστερον τὰ | Περσικὰ ἔθη Μένανδρο(ς) | ὁ Πρωτίκτωρ ἐν τῇ | ἑαυτοῦ ἱστορίᾳ παρέ|θετο. See the digitisation of the Bibliothèque nationale de France: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8468312f/f443.item (last accessed Sept. 2023). The copyist of *Vatopedinus* 655 (265^{r}) arranged the text across four lines, with greater use of superscription: ἀκριβέ^{στερον} τὰ Πε^{ρσι}κ^{ὰ} | ἔθη Μένανδρο(ς) ὁ | Προτίκτωρ ἐν τ^{ῇ} | ἑαυ^{τ}οῦ ἱστ^{ο}ρί^{α} π^{α}ρέθετο. No digitisation is available; I consulted a microfilm copy courtesy of the Patriarchal Institute of Patristic Studies, Thessaloniki (Nov. 2022).

[39] LEROY, Strabon, Géographie XII (Livre XV) vii–xvii summarises the structure of *Geography* XV.

[40] Strabo's text is cited from RADT, Strabons Geographika, IV [2005] 260–264. See also LEROY, Strabon, Géographie XII (Livre XV) 87–89.

15 Ἐν δὲ τῇ Καππαδοκίᾳ – πολὺ γὰρ ἐκεῖ τὸ τῶν Μάγων φῦλον (οἳ καὶ Πύραιθοι καλοῦνται), πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῶν Περσικῶν θεῶν ἱερά – οὐδὲ μαχαίρᾳ θύουσιν, ἀλλὰ κορμῷ τινι ὡς ἂν ὑπέρῳ τύπτοντες. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Πυραιθεῖα, σηκοί τινες ἀξιόλογοι, ἐν δὲ τούτοις μέσοις βωμός, ἐν ᾧ πολλή τε σποδός καὶ πῦρ ἄσβεστον, <ὃ> φυλάττουσιν οἱ Μάγοι καὶ καθ’ ἡμέραν δὲ εἰσιόντες ἐπᾴδουσιν ὥραν σχεδόν τι πρὸ τοῦ πυρὸς τὴν δέσμην τῶν ῥάβδων ἔχοντες, τιάρας περικείμενοι πιλωτὰς καθεικυίας ἑκατέρωθεν μέχρι τοῦ καλύπτειν τὰ χείλη τὰς παραγναθίδας. ταὐτὰ δ’ ἐν τοῖς τῆς Ἀναΐτιδος καὶ τοῦ Ὠμάνου ἱεροῖς νενόμισται· τούτων δὲ καὶ σηκοί εἰσι, καὶ ξόανον τοῦ Ὠμάνου πομπεύει. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἡμεῖς ἑωράκαμεν, ἐκεῖνα δ’ ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις λέγεται καὶ τὰ ἐφεξῆς.
16 Εἰς γὰρ ποταμὸν οὔτ’ οὐροῦσιν οὔτε νίπτονται Πέρσαι, οὐδὲ λούονται οὐδὲ νεκρὸν ἐμβάλλουσιν οὐδ’ ἄλλο τῶν δοκούντων εἶναι μυσαρῶν. ὅτῳ δ’ ἂν θύσωσι θεῷ, πρώτῳ τῷ πυρὶ εὔχονται.

13 The Persians’ customs are the same as those of these [peoples] and Medes and several others; much has been said about them, but I too must make some opportune remarks. Now, Persians do not erect statues and altars, but offer sacrifice on a high place, regarding the firmament as Zeus; they also worship Helios—whom they call Mithras—and Selene and Aphrodite, and fire and earth and winds and water; they offer sacrifice in a purified place with earnest prayers, presenting the victim crowned. And when the magus, who directs the sacrifice, has cut the meat into pieces, they divide it up and depart, without assigning a portion to the gods, for they say that the god requires the soul of the victim, but nothing else; yet, some report that they place a small part of the caul upon the fire.
14 It is especially to fire and water that they offer sacrifice: to fire by adding dry wood without bark and placing soft fat on top, then they light it from below, pouring oil on to it, while not blowing but fanning it; for those who have blown the fire or placed anything dead or filthy upon it they put to death. And to water [they offer sacrifice] by going to a lake or river or spring, and, having dug a trench to it, they slaughter a victim, being on their guard lest any of the nearby water should become bloody, thereby polluting it. Then, placing the meat upon myrtle or laurel branches, the magi touch them with slender twigs and sing incantations, pouring out oil mixed together with milk and honey, not into fire nor water, but upon the ground. They make the incantations for a long time, holding a bundle of slender tamarisk twigs.
15 In Cappadocia—for there the sect of the magi (who are also called fire-kindlers) is numerous, and also temples of the Persian gods are many—it is not with a knife that they sacrifice [victims], but by beating with a kind of log as with a cudgel. There are also fire temples, certain enclosures worthy of note, and in the middle of these is an altar, on which is a large amount of ash and the fire that the magi keep constantly burning. And entering each day, they sing incantations for close to an hour, holding before the fire the bundle of twigs and wearing headdresses of felt, which have cheekpieces coming down on both sides as far as to cover their lips. The same is customary in the temples of Anaïtis and Omanus; these also have enclosures, and they carry in procession an image of Omanus. These things I myself have seen, but those [other] matters, and what follows, are recorded in the histories.
16 For Persians neither urinate nor wash themselves in a river nor bathe nor cast in anything dead or any other thing deemed defiled. And to whatever god they sacrifice, to him first they offer prayer with fire.

In both the *Parisinus* and the *Vatopedinus*, the beginning of the four-/five-line marginal annotation coincides with the final words of XV 3, 15[41]. When Tzschucke first published the scholion in his edition of Strabo, he placed its text in a footnote to the opening line of XV 3, 16: Εἰς γὰρ ποταμὸν οὔτ' οὐροῦσιν οὔτε νίπτονται Πέρσαι …, "For Persians neither urinate nor wash themselves in a river …", with the implication that the scholion has particular relevance to these words[42]. The evidence clearly indicates otherwise. First, in the *Parisinus*, this line of the main text is parallel with the end of the annotation rather than its beginning; in the *Vatopedinus*, without discernible intent or significance, these words of the main text are parallel with the middle lines of the annotation. It is most unlikely that the original scholiast or subsequent copyists, in writing the annotation, so positioned its four/five lines down the margin that it finished at—or ran past—the point in the text that had inspired the scholion. On the contrary, common annotational practice leads one to expect marginalia to begin at the point of reference. In both manuscripts, this would mean that the operative word or phrase is to be sought in the sequence καὶ ξόανον … καὶ τὰ ἐφεξῆς at the end of XV 3, 15.

Second, this expectation is confirmed by the realisation that the wording and content of the scholion are prompted by and in dialogue with the main text, specifically the "cue word" ἱστορία, "history". Strabo writes: ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἡμεῖς ἑωράκαμεν, ἐκεῖνα δ' ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις λέγεται καὶ τὰ ἐφεξῆς, "These things I myself have seen, but those [other] matters, and what follows, are recorded in the histories." Here Strabo draws a distinction between autopsy and written sources. To the former, autoptic category belongs the additional information he provides regarding the magian cult in Cappadocia (XV 3, 15). The latter, written category includes both "those [other] matters" (ἐκεῖνα), which can only refer to the immediately preceding material on magi in Persia (XV 3, 13–14), and "what follows" (τὰ ἐφεξῆς), which appears to refer to the concluding text-based information on religious beliefs in XV 3, 16 (but could conceivably be a broader reference also to the subsequent socio-cultural material in XV 3, 17–22)[43]. Accordingly, in response to Strabo's words ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις λέγεται, "are recorded in the histories", the scholion observes: ἀκριβέστερον τὰ Περσικὰ ἔθη Μένανδρος ὁ Πρωτίκτωρ ἐν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ἱστορίᾳ παρέθετο, "Menander Protector *in his own history* more accurately described the Persians' customs". The scholiast thus, explicitly, directs future readers of Strabo towards a specific ἱστορία, rather than unspecified collective ἱστορίαι, and towards a history that, if ἀκριβέστερον is intended in a strict comparative sense, is "more accurate" or perhaps "more detailed" than what Strabo has to offer[44]. In short, and in a modern annotational format: "see further Menander Protector".

But concerning what exactly? What made a late ninth-century scholiast, presumed to be Photius or an associate, think of Menander at this point? And why particularly Menander, whose work, as previously discussed, seems never to have been widely known or especially well regarded? In addition to preceding observations on annotational technique and the "cue word" ἱστορία, there are other reasons why we should not follow Tzschucke in looking below the starting line of this mar-

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[41] In *Parisinus gr*. 1393, fol. 217[r], the five-line marginal annotation is inscribed beside lines 17–19 (of 35) of the main text (more precisely, the first line of the annotation is parallel to the interlinear space between lines 17–18; the final line of the annotation, which comprises merely the last two syllables of παρέ|θετο carried over from the preceding line, is parallel to the space between lines 19–20). These lines read: |[17] καὶ τοῦ Ὠμάνου ἱεροῖς νενόμισται· τούτων δὲ καὶ σηκοί εἰσι, καὶ ξόανον |[18] τοῦ Ὠμάνου πομπεύει. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἡμεῖς ἑωράκαμεν, ἐκεῖνα δ' ἐν ταῖς |[19] ἱστορίαις λέγεται καὶ τὰ ἐφεξῆς. Εἰς γὰρ ποταμὸν οὔτ' οὐροῦσιν οὔτε νίπτονται |[20] Πέρσαι … In *Vatopedinus* 655, fol. 265[r], the four-line marginal annotation is inscribed beside lines 17–19 (of 39) of the main text (more precisely, the first line of the annotation is parallel to the interlinear space between lines 17–18). These lines read: |[17] καὶ ξόανον τοῦ Ὠμάνου πομπεύει. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἡμεῖς ἑωράκαμεν, ἐκεῖνα δ' ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις λέγεται καὶ τὰ |[18] ἐφεξῆς. Εἰς γὰρ ποταμὸν οὔτ' οὐροῦσιν οὔτε νίπτονται Πέρσαι οὐδὲ λούονται οὐδὲ νεκρὸν ἐμβάλλουσιν οὐδ' ἄλλο |[19] τῶν δοκούντων εἶναι μυσαρῶν. ὅτῳ δ' ἂν θύσωσι θεῷ, πρώτῳ τῷ πυρὶ εὔχονται.

[42] See above n. 5.

[43] LEROY, Strabon, Géographie XII (Livre XV), 289 (n. 905).

[44] BLOCKLEY, Menander 39 (T3), rendering ἀκριβέστερον as "very accurately", loses the comparative sense.

ginal annotation. Another key element of the scholion is inspired by and drawn from the main text: the scholiast's phrase τὰ Περσικὰ ἔθη , "the Persians' customs", evidently reprises the words with which Strabo opens this entire section on Persian society, beginning with religion, at XV 3, 13: Τὰ <δ'> ἔθη τὰ Περσικὰ καὶ τούτοις καὶ Μήδοις τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ἄλλοις πλείοσι, "the Persians' customs are the same as those of these [peoples] and Medes and several others"[45]. This phrase—or any similar formulation—does not otherwise occur in *Geography* XV. The verbal concurrence clearly points the (medieval and modern) reader of the scholion back to the start of this subsection. More specifically, the scholiast constructed his scholion using two operative phrases, τὰ Περσικὰ ἔθη and ἱστορία, lifted respectively from the first and last lines of subsection XV 3, 13–15, concerning Persian religion, with the implication that the intervening material is the object of his comment. In contrast, Strabo's following remarks on Persian lore about urinating and washing in rivers (XV 3, 16), along with much of the subsequent account of family life, mores and elite education (XV 3, 17–20), could hardly have failed to remind the scholiast—or any educated ninth-/tenth-century reader—of corresponding content in Herodotus (or derivative texts), the *locus classicus* for τὰ Περσικὰ ἔθη[46]. All the more so, given that, to varying degrees, Strabo's account of Persian religion and society is indebted to Herodotus, in both wording and substance, even if Strabo used other textual sources and sought to update this material[47]. Without presuming to know the scholiast's intention or taste, it is hard to believe that he had in mind this commonplace "Herodotean" information when he directed the reader, instead, to a comparatively obscure sixth-century classicizing history. This content does not provide a compelling answer to the question: why Menander?

Third, although inevitably an argument from silence, the fragments of Menander's *History*, both historical excerpts and lexical citations, contain no evidence of—nor give any reason to suspect—a general excursus on Persian culture and society. Conversely, the fragments do evince a particular and exceptional interest in magi (or, at least, one magus) and, by extension, in Zoroastrianism (see below). Strabo's discussion of this arcane topic (XV 3, 13–15), framed by the key phrases Τὰ <δ'> ἔθη τὰ Περσικὰ and ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις λέγεται reiterated in the scholion, is one of a handful of longer and uniquely detailed treatments to have survived, indeed "the most important description of Zoroastrian rituals in Greek literature"[48]. The evidence therefore suggests that this material, rare and intriguing, is what reminded the scholiast of Menander's *History*, and in preference to any other source on Persian matters. More specifically, whereas Strabo's introductory explanation of the Persian pantheon, worship and sacrifice (XV 3, 13), as well as concluding remarks on the sanctity of rivers (XV 3, 16), exhibit selective but obvious correspondence with Herodotus (I 131–133, 138), it is precisely Strabo's supplementary information, with its narrow focus on cultic practices and paraphernalia—magi, sacrificial rites, libations and daily rituals performed at fire-sanctuaries (XV 3, 13–16)—for which Herodotean antecedents are entirely lacking, not least because some of these features demonstrably or probably reflect the subsequent development of Zoroastrianism. Consequently, in reading these passages, our scholiast—and presumably other ninth-/tenth-century

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[45] LEROY, Strabon, Géographie XII (Livre XV), 87b, app. testimoniorum, reports the scholion as referring to text following XV 3, 13: Τὰ <δ'> ἔθη τὰ Περσικὰ …, but does not indicate the actual position of the scholion at the end of XV 3, 15.

[46] Herodotus I 138, 2: Ἐς ποταμὸν δὲ οὔτε ἐνουρέουσι οὔτε ἐμπτύουσι, οὐ χεῖρας ἐναπονίζονται …, "They neither urinate nor spit in a river, nor wash their hands …"

[47] Parallels between Strabo XV 3, 13–20 and Herodotus I 131–140: A. DE JONG, Traditions of the *Magi*. Zoroastrianism in Greek and Latin Literature. Leiden 1997, 122–124, 127–130; RADT, Strabons Geographika, VIII [2009] 240; LEROY, Strabon, Géographie XII (Livre XV), lxxvii–lxxix, with commentary at 277–290. It has long been disputed whether Strabo drew on Herodotus (and/or other sources) directly or via a prior combination of Herodotean material and an alternative tradition(s); see most recently LEROY, Strabon, Géographie XII (Livre XV), lxv–lvi, with cited scholarship. Strabo XV 3, 16 corresponds to Herodotus I 138, 2 with respect to urinating and washing in rivers; Strabo's further observations on defilement of rivers and fire offerings during prayers do not have parallels in Herodotus.

[48] DE JONG, Traditions 156.

readers—would not have thought of Herodotus' better-known and more widely circulated *Histories*[49].

MENANDER ON PERSIAN RELIGION AND THE *PASSIO S. ISBOZETAE*

A continuator of a continuator is conscious of tradition. Aware of their respective places in a literary-historical continuum, sixth-century classicizing historians explicitly eschewed detailed discussion of events and topics that immediate predecessors had adequately treated[50]. Conversely, in writing an avowed sequel, an author was alert to gaps in prior literature that might offer excursive opportunities to supplement or correct previously presented knowledge. Before the mid-sixth century, at least to judge by extant works, Roman historical writing reveals little awareness of the particularities of Persian religion, even when Roman-Persian military and diplomatic interaction are central themes[51]. Procopius' *Wars* I-II, completed *c*.549/50, contain scattered and incidental references to selected Zoroastrian beliefs and practices, mostly conventional themes superficially treated, presumably reflecting his limited interest[52]. In contrast, Agathias, Menander's direct precursor and model, was seemingly the only Greek historical author since the first century AD, and one of the very few writing in any genre, to discuss Zoroastrianism[53]. Within Agathias' narrative of Roman-Persian hostilities in the 550s, the death of the Persian general Mihr-Mihroe in Lazica in 555 occasions an excursus on Persian customs and religion (II 22, 6–25, 2), followed by a chronographical sub-digression (II 22, 3–27, 9) that incorporates a few details on the history and functions of magi (II 26, 3–5). Two topics predominate, funerary rites (II 23, 1–24, 1, 31, 5–9) and consanguineous marriage (II 24, 1–4), but Agathias shows some understanding of Zoroastrian dualist doctrine, conceived in "Manichean" terms (II 24, 9–10), while briefly reprising Greek literary topoi and/or popular traditions regarding fire-worship and the sanctity of rivers (II 25, 1–2). Overt moralising polemic depicts the historically obscure figure of Zoroaster as a perverting innovator of a tradition-

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[49] See textual and historical analysis in DE JONG, Traditions 76–120 (Herodotus I 131–133), 121–156 (Strabo XV 3, 13–15), with 124–125 for Strabo's focus on cultic rites and utensils; also LEROY, Strabon, Géographie XII (Livre XV), lxxvii–lxxix, cxx–cxxiii, with commentary on Strabo XV 3, 13–16 at 277–290. Persian pantheon and sacrificial rites: Herodotus I 131–132; Strabo XV 3, 13; sanctity of rivers: Herodotus I 138, 2; Strabo XV 3, 16. Both authors treat burial as an aspect of social customs rather than "religion": Herodotus I 140, 1–2; Strabo XV 3, 20, with commentary in DE JONG, Traditions 92–119, 125–130; LEROY, Strabon, Géographie XII (Livre XV), 295–296.

[50] E.g. Agathias I, proem. 22 (7, 21–24 KEYDELL): on Procopius; Theophylact Simocatta, *Histories* I 3, 5 (45, 1–5 DE BOOR – WIRTH): on Menander.

[51] Notably, Ammianus Marcellinus' lengthy excursus on the Persians at *Res gestae* XXIII 6, 1–88, though recognising religion as an important aspect and aware of magi as a class of religious specialists, can provide few details of beliefs and customs (XIII 6, 5, 32–35, 79–80); see DE JONG, Traditions 289–290, 321, 418–420; J. DEN BOEFT – J.W. DRIJVERS – D. DEN HENGST – H. TEITLER, Philological and Historical Commentary on Ammianus Marcellinus XXIII. Groningen 1998, 168–175, 220

[52] Procopius, *Wars* (ed. J. HAURY, rev. G. WIRTH, Procopii Caesariensis Opera Omnia. Leipzig 1962–1964, I: Bella I–IV), e.g. polytheism: I 14, 11; II 7, 22, 11, 1; fire-cult: II 24, 4; solar worship: I 3, 20; II 11, 1; funerary practices: I 11, 35, 12, 4; magi as priests, diviners, judges and royal advisers: I 3, 18–22, 5, 19–28, 7, 19; II 5, 9, 13, 9–10, 24, 4. See H. BÖRM, Prokop und die Perser. Untersuchungen zu den römisch-sasanidischen Kontakten in der ausgehenden Spätantike. Stuttgart 2007, 178–200, with commentary and further bibliography in G. GREATREX, Procopius of Caesarea: *The Persian Wars*. A Historical Commentary. Cambridge 2022, esp. 62–63, 84–85, 110–111, 159, 423, 496, 590–591. Although Procopius was demonstrably familiar with Strabo's *Geography*, its influence on his depiction of Persian religious customs has not been detected. See generally M. MAAS, Strabo and Procopius: Classical Geography for a Christian Empire, in: From Rome to Constantinople: Studies in Honour of Averil Cameron, ed. H. Amirav and B. Haar Romeny. Leuven 2007, 67–83.

[53] Following Strabo XV 3, 13–16, two significant treatments survive: Plutarch, *On Isis and Osiris* 46–47 (369D–370C) (ed. J. GWYN GRIFFITHS, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride*. Cardiff 1970, 45–47): Zoroastrian theology and cosmogony; Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Sophists* I 6–9 (ed. T. DORANDI, Lives of Eminent Philosophers. Cambridge 2013, 70–72): summary of Greek literary traditions about magian beliefs and practices.

al belief system (II 24, 5–9)[54]. Agathias freely combines authentic, apparently oral information, with rhetorical ornament and his own deductions. His declared use of Persian royal annals, via an interpreter named Sergius (II 27, 5; IV 30, 2–5), is evident in superior knowledge of Sasanian dynastic history (IV 23, 7–30, 5), but does not appear to have exercised much, if any, influence upon his treatment of Zoroastrianism. Nonetheless, Sergius is Agathias' most likely informant on contemporary customs and religious beliefs[55]. Scholarship has variously accentuated or minimized Agathias' familiarity, direct or indirect, with Classical Greek sources on Persian society, especially Herodotus and/or Ctesias[56]. In any case, it may be inferred that this section of Agathias' *Histories* inspired Menander likewise to address this subject, while, at the same time, the limitations and shortcomings of Agathias' account offered his continuator scope for additional content or alternative focus.

As has often been noted, the main interpretative challenge in assessing the fragments of Menander's *History* is that they come to us as a thematic pre-selection: the vast majority of what survives is transmitted via *Excerpta de legationibus*, and thus largely or exclusively concerns diplomacy. To what extent this sample accurately represents the actual prominence of diplomacy in Menander's work has elicited differing and inclusive opinions, though it is safe to assume that the excerptors deemed Menander an authoritative source on this subject. He clearly had access to diplomatic documents, whether published or archived; inference of his participation in diplomacy remains pure conjecture[57]. Overall, those few passages relating to religion leave no doubt of Menander's Christian conviction and identity, including acceptance of divine orchestration of human affairs, while revealing awareness of religious beliefs and practices among other peoples, especially the Persians. The excerpts on diplomacy sometimes touch on religion, notably with respect to the Roman emperor's declared role as protector of Christian minorities living under Sasanian rule, as well as religious elements of ceremonies and procedures. Beyond this diplomatic framework, some fragments attest Menander's ambition to demonstrate the moral pre-eminence and efficacy of Christianity relative to other belief systems, specifically Zoroastrianism, the only potential counterpart to Christianity on the global stage and the chief obstacle to its universal triumph[58]. Other traits discernible in the fragments could also have orientated Menander's *History* towards this topic. Imitation and emulation of Agathias' *Histories*, including correction and competitive inversion of his forerun-

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[54] Commentaries: A.M. CAMERON, Agathias on the Sassanians. *DOP* 23–24 (1969–70) 67–183 at 90–111 (Agathias II 22, 6–27, 9 [70, 10–77, 3 KEYDELL]); DE JONG, Traditions 232–250 (Agathias II 23, 1–25, 2, omitting 23, 8–10 [70, 14–73, 19 KEYDELL]).

[55] Agathias and Sergius: CAMERON, Agathias on the Sassanians 69–70, 74–76, 90–92, 109, 112–116, 161–163; A.M. CAMERON, Agathias. Cambridge 1970, 38–42; DE JONG, Traditions 229–231, 247–248, 250; J. HÄMEEN-ANTTILA, *Khwadāynāmag*. The Middle Persian Book of Kings (*Studies in Persian Cultural History* 14). Leiden – Boston 2018, 14–21, with additional bibliography.

[56] Agathias' use of Classical Greek sources in II 23–27 (70, 14–77, 3 KEYDELL): G. FRANKE, Quaestiones Agathianae (*Breslauer philologische Abhandlungen* Hft. 47). Trebnitz 1914, 9–11 perceives extensive mimesis of Herodotus manifest in verbal borrowings; A.M. CAMERON, Herodotus and Thucydides in Agathias. *BZ* 57 (1964) 33–52 at 34–41, 51–52; CAMERON, Agathias on the Sassanians 75–76, 90, 92–94, 96, 98–99, 109, rejects alleged substantial and/or direct Herodotean influences and accentuates Agathias' use of Ctesias or Ctesian traditions and rehearsal of literary commonplaces.

[57] BALDWIN, Menander 104–105; BLOCKLEY, Menander 1–2 with n. 5, 16–20; WHITBY, Emperor Maurice 243–244; L.M. WHITBY, Greek Historical Writing after Procopius: Variety and Vitality, in: The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East 1: Problems in the Literary Source Material, ed. A. Cameron – L.I. Conrad. Princeton 1992, 25–80 at 39–44; B. BLECKMANN, Christentum und nichtchristliche Religionen in nachjustinianischer Zeit: Das Zeugnis des Menandros Protektor, in: Une Antiquité tardive noire ou heureuse? Actes du colloque international de Besançon (12 et 13 novembre 2014), ed. S. Ratti. Besançon 2015, 227–250 at 227–228.

[58] See especially BLECKMANN, Christentum und nichtchristliche Religionen, and now BLECKMANN, Die letzte Generation 64–94. See also earlier remarks in BALDWIN, Menander 101–102 with n. 8, 115–116, 121; BLOCKLEY, Menander 20–22, 25 n. 114; WHITBY, Emperor Maurice 243–244; Greek Historical Writing 44–45; D. BRODKA, Dariusz. Zum Geschichtsverständnis des Menander Protektor. *Electrum* 13 (2007) 95–103 at 96–97, 100.

ner's content and judgements, might point towards a treatment of Persian themes[59]. The scholion to Strabo has seldom been adduced in this context[60]. Inclusion of material about magi and Zoroastrianism would also be consistent with a broader taste for the exotic or sensational, as discerned by modern readers of Menander, particularly in connection with arcane rituals of foreign peoples[61]. Finally, unnoticed in previous studies, an inspection of the textual splinters of Menander's *History* variously preserved in lexical entries identifies isolated words that have apparently been extracted from a religious context[62].

Menander provides information about magi and Zoroastrian beliefs and practices in several contexts. In two cases, reference is more detailed and explicit. First, a protocol appended to the ratified text of the fifty-year peace treaty of 561/2, evidently reproduced from official documentation, guarantees certain liberties to Christian inhabitants of the Sasanian empire, including building churches, freedom of worship and inhumation of the dead, without compulsion also to worship a plurality of unspecified Zoroastrian deities. In return, Christians undertook not to attempt to convert specifically magi, a prohibition that, by implication, concedes the possibility of proselytising other adherents of Zoroastrianism[63]. Second, and directly related to this last point, Menander treats an episode of a magus who converted to Christianity. The few, mostly very short, fragments transmitted via *De sententiis*, constituting a much smaller proportion of the surviving text, furnish a sample of Menander's *History* that appears largely to escape the thematic boundaries that circumscribe the excerpts in *De legationibus*. Most are moralising clichés or proverbs without obvious historical context; a few also relate to diplomacy, others to accounts of military operations[64]. Belonging to neither category, a sequence of two excerpts concerns a magus, here named Isaozites (Ἰσαοζίτης), who was executed for apostasy (fr. 13, 3–4 = *De sententiis* 24–25)[65]. Menander's particular fascination is indicated by both his resort to first-person discourse and his insertion of a commemorative epigram on this martyr (fr. 13, 3 = *De sententiis* 24):

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[59] Competition with Agathias: BLOCKLEY, Menander 2–3 with n. 9, 13. Stylistic and lexical imitation: M. APOSTOLOPOULOS, Menandros Protektōr mimētēs Agathiou. Athens 1894. Menander's language and style: BALDWIN, Menander 101, 116–120; BLOCKLEY, Menander 6–9.

[60] BLOCKLEY, Menander 13, "The third of the testimonia [the scholion] … could indicate that Menander wrote a formal account of Persian customs (perhaps in competition with Agathias 2, 23–27) though it could merely refer to discrete pieces of information."

[61] E.g. Menander Protector fr. 10, 3 (118, 9–20 BLOCKLEY): shamanistic rituals of Gök Türks; 19, 1 (176, 118–178, 131): their funerary rites and facial scarring; 25, 1 (220, 67–222, 89): Avar khagan swearing oaths. See BALDWIN, Menander 118–119, "addicted to the exotic"; BLOCKLEY, Menander 13, "indulge a taste … for exotic details"; BLECKMANN, Christentum und nichtchristliche Religionen 241–243, "Unbekannte exotische und auch primitive religiose Vorstellungen."

[62] For example, the *Lexicon Αἰμωδεῖν* contains one-word lemmata assignable, by default, to lost sections of Menander's *History* (above n. 19, with the list of lemmata at DYCK, Epimerismi Homerici, II 998). These include θεοκλυτοῦσιν, "they pray to the gods." This verb actually occurs in fr. 6, 1 (76, 403 BLOCKLEY) in connection with magian worship: μήτε καταναγκάζεσθαι … μήτε μὴν θεοκλυτεῖν ἀκουσίως τοὺς παρὰ Μήδοις νενομισμένους θεούς, "nor compelled … against their will to pray to the gods the Medes believe in." However, as each lemma in the *Lexicon Αἰμωδεῖν* cites the headword in precisely the form that occurs in the text, third-person plural present θεοκλυτοῦσιν cannot refer to infinitive θεοκλυτεῖν in fr. 6, 1, but must be cited from another, now-lost passage, which presumably also concerned religious matters.

[63] Menander Protector fr. 6, 1 (74, 398–76, 407 BLOCKLEY), with BLECKMANN, Christentum und nichtchristliche Religionen 237–238; Die letzte Generation 85–87. On Zoroastrian-to-Christian conversion see R.E. PAYNE, A State of Mixture. Christians, Zoroastrians, and Iranian Political Culture in Late Antiquity. Oakland, CA 2015, 48–56, 192–196, differentiating the responses of Zoroastrian authorities to apostasy of secular and religious elite individuals. In addition, the form of the oath used in the treaty indicates recognition of Persian polytheism: Menander Protector fr. 6, 1 (58, 96–99 BLOCKLEY), with BLECKMANN, Christentum und nichtchristliche Religionen 240–241.

[64] Menander Protector fr. 1, 2; 4, 1–8; 6, 2; 7, 1–9; 12, 8; 13, 1–4; 14, 1–2; 15, 3–4; 20, 4–8; 23, 4, 10–12; 26, 2–7; 27, 1.

[65] Menander Protector fr. 13, 3–4 (144–146 BLOCKLEY) = *Excerpta de sententiis* 24–25 (ed. U.P. BOISSEVAIN. Berlin 1906, 22, 3–20).

Ὅτι ὁ ἱστορικός φησι Μένανδρος περὶ Ἰσαοζίτου τοῦ ἐν Περσίδι σταυρωθέντος· ἐγὼ δὲ πυθόμενος καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ἐσότι ἀγασθεὶς ἐν νῷ ἐβαλόμην ὡς καὶ ἄξιον τῷ τοῦ θεοῦ θεραπευτῇ τῷ βαρβάρῳ ἐν ἑξαμέτρῳ ἐπίγραμμα λέξαι. καὶ δὴ λέλεκταί μοι τὸ ἐπίγραμμα ὧδε·

ἦν πάρος ἐν Πέρσῃσιν ἐγὼ μάγος Ἰσαοζίτης
εἰς ὀλοὴν ἀπάτην ἐλπίδας ἐκκρεμάσας.
εὖτε δὲ πυρσὸς ἔδαπτεν ἐμὴν πόλιν, ἦλθον ἀρῆξαι,
ἦλθε δὲ καὶ Χριστοῦ πανσθενέος θεράπων.
κείνῳ δ' ἐσβέσθη δύναμις φλογός, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔμπης
νικηθεὶς νίκην ἤνυσα θειοτέρην.

The historian Menander says regarding Isaozites, who was crucified in Persia: When I learned (of him) and since I admired the man, I resolved to write a hexametric epigram worthy of this servant of god, though a barbarian. And here then is the epigram I wrote:

Formerly I, Isaozites, was a magus among the Persians,
upon a destructive delusion hanging my hopes.
When fire was consuming my city, I came to help,
there too came a servant of all-powerful Christ.
It was he who extinguished the flame's force, and yet, though
vanquished, I accomplished a victory that was more divine.

This epigram is also found in the *Palatine Anthology* (I 101), with an ascription to Menander Protector and under the lemma Εἰς Πέρσην μάγον, γενόμενον χριστιανὸν καὶ μαρτυρήσαντα, "On a Persian magus, who became a Christian and suffered martyrdom." Compared to the verses transmitted in *De sententiis*, the text in the *Anthology* contains two variants, of which the more significant is an alternative form of the martyr's name Isbozetes (Ἰσβοζήτης)[66]. Judging purely by poetic criteria, the latter is to be preferred insofar as Ἰσβοζήτης (– – | – –) correctly scans as two spondaic metra, whereas Ἰσαοζίτης (Isaozitēs), however either iota is quantified, is metrically unsound[67]. Overall, the evidence suggests that the epigram found its way into the *Anthology* via a separate tradition, independent of Menander's *History*, and certainly pre-dating the creation of *De sententiis*[68]. As a poet Menander is otherwise unattested. In combining historiography and poetry, he may have consciously followed the example of Agathias, who quotes four, mostly anonymous epigrams or couplets in his *Histories*, though other examples could hint at a broader literary phenomenon[69].

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[66] *Palatine Anthology* I 101 (ed. P. WALTZ et al. Anthologie grecque. Paris 1960–80, I^2 39 = H. BECKBY, Anthologia Graeca 1965–8^2, I 168). Variants: 1 Ἰσβοζήτης *AP* : Ἰσαοζίτης *De sent*. | 5 πυρός *AP* : φλογός *De sent*. See also H. SCHULTE, Griechische Epigramme der Kaiserzeit: handschriftlich überliefert. Trier 2009–2011, I 83–84.

[67] P. PEETERS, De Sancto Isbozeta, martyre in Perside. *AASS* Nov. IV (1925) 191–216 at 191B, 'tamen salvo metro', alludes to the issue. Other studies pass no comment.

[68] A. CAMERON, The Greek Anthology from Meleager to Planudes. Oxford 1993, 150–159, 333–335 argues persuasively that book I of the *Anthology* was first compiled by Constantine Cephalas as part of the poetic collection he assembled in the late 890s. In light of preceding observations on the tradition of Menander's *History*, the variants in I 101 point to an independent transmission of the epigram that does not require Cephalas' knowledge of Menander's historical work. It appears, nonetheless, that the lemmatist of I 101 had access to contextual information, unless he inferred καὶ μαρτυρήσαντα, "and suffered martyrdom", from the final line of the epigram: νίκην ἤνυσα θειοτέρην, "I accomplished a victory that was more divine."

[69] Agathias' *Histories*: II 10, 8 (54, 22–27 KEYDELL): anonymous epigram reportedly inscribed on a battlefield memorial beside the R. Casilinum; II 17, 8 (63, 24–29 KEYDELL): anonymous epigram seen by Agathias on a statue base outside Tralles; II 31, 7 (82, 3–4 KEYDELL): anonymous hexametric couplet (= *Palatine Anthology* IX 498); IV 23, 5 (152, 22–23 KEYDELL): hexametric couplet (= Nonnus, *Dionysiaca* I 42–43). See CAMERON, Agathias 8 n. 5, 39 n. 5. See another example in the late fifth-/sixth-century *Vita S. Danielis Stylitis* 36 (ed. H. DELEHAYE, Les saints stylites. Brussels 1923, 34, 12–18)—I owe this reference to Michael Whitby.

Menander's case differs in that he explicitly inserts his own verse into his historical writing[70]. Menander himself writes of the Emperor Maurice, whose financial incentives had enticed him to take up historical writing: "as a lover of the muses, he has a keen interest in poetry and history" (μουσῶν ἐραστὴς ποιημάτων τε καὶ ἱστορίας ἥδιστα ἐπαΐων), which he studied and patronized alike[71].

Along with his expressed admiration for Isaozites/Isbozetes, Menander's endeavour in elegiac verse signals distinct interest in this story outside and irrespective of the compositional context of his *History*. Furthermore, the preliminary framing and intrusive character of the epigram within the *History* (fr. 13, 3 = *De sententiis* 24) suggest that Menander formally and self-consciously interrupted its narrative to digress on this martyrdom. The verses record the martyr's former priestly status and allude to the circumstances that inspired his conversion: the extinguishing of an urban conflagration by a servant of Christ, even if a historical event, must also be read as a metaphorical defeat of Zoroastrian fire-worship[72]. The second fragment (fr. 13, 4 = *De sententiis* 25) comes from an account of Isaozites' crucifixion, though the thematic focus of *De sententiis* restricts the content of this excerpt to edifying "sayings", stripped of narrative context. It thus reports, in *oratio obliqua*, the refusal of the former magus to retract his conversion and return to ancestral rites, his sole regret that he had not converted sooner, and his willingness to suffer earthly torment in expectation of eternal life[73]. Menander's overall objective appears to be triumphant affirmation of the Christian faith, exemplified at a level of individual moral superiority. This apologetic-polemic function is consistent with other vestigial material from his *History*, notably a fragment concerning a reliquary of the true Cross (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, grec. 1140A (Diktyon: 50741), fols. 58^{v}–59^{r} = Blockley [fr. 17]), where a textual witness entirely independent of the subject-specific Constantinian *Excerpta* permits insights into otherwise lost or obscured aspects of Menander's work[74].

While Menander's source has not been traced, Blockley's opinion that "[n]othing further is known about Isaozites" is mistaken[75]. On the contrary, the story of the converted magus, formerly called Machož but known by his baptismal name Yazdbōzēd (Middle Persian "saved by God"; Armenian Yizitbuzit), is well documented and gave rise to martyrial *acta* in several languages. Of the two transmitted Greek renderings of his name, metrical Ἰσβοζήτης recorded in the *Anthology* is also the more accurate onomastically and Isbozetes will be preferred below. In later Greek liturgical texts his name is sometimes translated Sositheos (Σωσίθεος)[76]. An original Syriac *Passio* has

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[70] BALDWIN, Menander 101, 103 n. 12, 115 draws a parallel with Olympiodorus, as the only other historian to quote his own verse: fr. 41 (ed. R.C. BLOCKLEY, *The Fragmentary Classicising Historians of the Later Roman Empire*. Liverpool 1981–1983, II 204) = Photius, *Bibliotheca*, cod. 80, 63a (I 185, 22 HENRY). BLOCKLEY, Menander 2 n. 7 is sceptical that Menander's interest in poetry extends beyond these "six lines of doggerel" (an unfair description).

[71] Menander Protector fr. 1 (40, 18–28 BLOCKLEY). See BALDWIN, Menander 103; WHITBY, Emperor Maurice 21, 42; TREADGOLD, Early Byzantine Historians 294–295. Contemporary literary patronage: BLECKMANN, Die letzte Generation 114–140.

[72] BLECKMANN, Christentum und nichtchristliche Religionen 244 with n. 59.

[73] See BLOCKLEY, Menander 149 (app. crit.), 269 (n. 169) on textual difficulties.

[74] See now BLECKMANN, Christentum und nichtchristliche Religionen 243–250; Die letzte Generation 66–82.

[75] BLOCKLEY, Menander 269 (n. 168); corrected by BLECKMANN, Christentum und nichtchristliche Religionen 244 n. 59. Similar views are expressed by e.g. P. WALTZ et al. Anthologie grecque. Paris 1960–80, I^{2} 39a n. 7, "Inconnu"; SCHULTE, Griechische Epigramme I 84, "Der anderswo nirgends belegte Name".

[76] Name forms: F. JUSTI, Iranisches Namenbuch. Marburg 1895, 147, sv Yazdbōzedh; PEETERS, De Sancto Isbozeta 191B, 196C–D, 200A, 201B n. 8. Historical contexts of the martyrdom of Yazdbōzēd: PEETERS, De Sancto Isbozeta 191–200 (2–17); G. GARITTE (ed.), La Narratio de rebus Armeniae (*CSCO* 132, Subsidia 4). Louvain 1952, 158–159; J.M. FIEY, Notes d'hagiographie syriaque. *L'Orient Syrien* 11 (1966) 133–145 at 133–137; N. GARSOÏAN, L'Église arménienne et le grand schism d'Orient (*CSCO* 574, Subsidia 100). Louvain 1999, 228–229; J.M. FIEY, Saints syriaques, ed. L.I. Conrad (*Studies in Late Antiquity and Early Islam* 6). Princeton 2004, 195–196, n° 463; C. JULLIEN, Martyrs en Perse dans l'hagiographie syro-orientale: le tournant du VIe siècle, in: Juifs et chrétiens en Arabie aux Ve et VIe siècles. Regards croisés sur les

not survived. Its composition exemplifies a strand of East Syriac hagiography, from the fourth to seventh centuries, which narrated sporadic martyrdoms of members of the Zoroastrian elite who converted (or sometimes reverted) to Christianity[77]. Paul Peeters believed he had discovered a short, truncated fragment of an abridgement of that lost Syriac text, but subsequent scholarship showed that this morsel concerns another, homonymous figure[78]. A complete Armenian *Passio* demonstrably derives from a Syriac archetype. In turn, an Armenian exemplar, close to the extant text, became the model of a Georgian version[79]. The diverse implications of this material for the study of Zoroastrianism, East Syriac hagiography and Sasanian history and historiography go far beyond the scope of the present study, but three points merit attention. First, the *Passio* confirms and elaborates the episode outlined by Menander: following initial attraction to Christianity and preliminary instruction, the magus Isbozetes was ultimately convinced to reject the fire-cult and profess the true faith after he witnessed a destructive fire at Dvin. This started in the residence of a senior Persian official, where local magi were conducting a sacrificial ceremony in which Isbozetes himself participated. The sacred flame set the roof alight and the blaze spread uncontrollably, until Christian priests, summoned to assist, arrived bearing a cross and miraculously extinguished the flames. These events are undoubtedly the subject of Menander's epigram[80]. The *Passio* then relates Isbozetes' arrest and successive interrogations and punishments over a six-year period of incarceration, during which he was baptised in prison, and ends with his final trial and crucifixion[81]. The procedural form and duration of the authorities' response to Isbozetes' apostasy, if not the mode of execution, are consistent with other cases of conversion by elite individuals and need not be linked to broader notions of state persecution of Christian communities[82].

Second, whatever the detailed historicity of Isbozetes' *acta*, explicit dating references, partly secured by external evidence, trace his initial interest in Christianity to 542, around the age of twenty, and record his martyrdom at Dvin, on Sunday, 9 November 553, in the twenty-third regnal year of Khosrow I Anūširwān (553/4). Internal chronology thus places the conflagration and Isbozetes' public apostasy in 547/8[83]. This dating is significant as it somewhat precedes the starting point of

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sources, ed. J. Beaucamp – F. Briquel-Chatonnet – C.J. Julien Robin. Paris 2010, 279–290 at 282; PAYNE, A State of Mixture 119–122.

77 PAYNE, A State of Mixture 48–56, 192–196 explores the socio-political and jurisprudential dimensions of apostasy.

78 A single detached and mutilated folio of a ninth-/tenth-century parchment codex, bound in composite British Library, MS Add. 17216 (fol. 45), contains a hagiographical text concerning several interconnected sixth-century figures; the last five lines (26–30), incomplete and badly preserved, concern an Iazdbozid. See P. PEETERS, Une légende syriaque de S. Iazdbozid. *Analecta Bollandiana* 49 (1931) 5–22: Syriac text at 10, Latin trans. at 13, discussion at 17–21. FIEY, Notes 134–137 demonstrates that this Iazdbozid belongs to a different location and milieu.

79 See the detailed "commentarius praevius", with bibliography, in PEETERS, De Sancto Isbozeta, esp. 191, 200–203 (§18–§26). Armenian *Passio S. Isbozetae* [*BHO* 433], ed. with Latin trans. PEETERS, De Sancto Isbozeta 204–213. A shorter *Passio* or eulogy, later inserted into the Armenian synaxarion [*BHO* 434], has no independent value: ed. PEETERS, De Sancto Isbozeta 213–216. Georgian *Passio S. Isbozetae*, ed. A. KHAKHANOV, Materialy po gruzinskoj agiologii po rukopisjam X veka (*Trudy po vostokovedeniju*, fasc. 31). Moscow 1910, 51–57; Latin trans. PEETERS, De Sancto Isbozeta 204–213 (lower register).

80 *Passio* 2 (205–206 PEETERS), with discussion of historical and religious contexts at PEETERS, De Sancto Isbozeta 193E–195B (§5–§8). The occasion of the ceremony may have been the festival of Nowruz, though the evidence is uncertain: PEETERS, De Sancto Isbozeta 194B–D. See PAYNE, A State of Mixture 119–122 for political-religious contexts of such festivals.

81 *Passio* 3–9 (207–213 PEETERS). Two references to three-year intervals at *Passio* 4 (ed. 208A / tr. 207E, 208D PEETERS) appear to be successive rather than concurrent. See discussion of chronology at PEETERS, De Sancto Isbozeta 196A and D with n. 10, 198E.

82 See recently PAYNE, A State of Mixture 48–56, 192–196: apostasy among Zoroastrian elites; 23–58 (citing older literature): the self-representational template of persecution and intolerance in East Syriac hagiography and polemic.

83 The *Passio* connects Isbozetes' first attraction to Christianity with his having witnessed the martyrdom of another high-status convert, Pirangushnasp-Gregory, at Pirisabora/Perozshapur on 18 April 542, and provides a precise and internally consistent dating for Isbozetes' own execution on 9 November 553. Internal chronology places Isbozetes' birth *c*.522/3.

Menander's *History* in 559 and long predates the time of writing in the 580s. Consequently, when Menander writes of "learning" (πυθόμενος) about Isbozetes, he does not refer to a current report of a recent incident but to historical information, however conveyed, concerning events at least thirty years earlier. Moreover, within his *History*, Menander could not have discussed this martyrdom as an event that occurred during his chosen timeframe (559–582) and correctly placed in that narrative sequence. Rather, the case of the apostate magus, by definition, must belong to a retrospective treatment of prior events or to a thematic digression unrestricted by these chronological termini[84]. The occasion remains guesswork: whether a general excursus on Persian religion or a more focused exemplum relevant to later developments[85]. If the latter, one likely context, as previously mentioned, is Menander's documentary account of the treaty of 561/2, which addressed Roman-Persian tensions arising from Christian proselytising and/or conversion in Zoroastrian communities, with specific reference to magi[86]. Blockley finds an alternative setting in Khosrow I's apparent enforcement of Zoroastrian observance, including construction of fire-sanctuaries, in Persarmenia from 570, which became a significant factor in the Persarmenians' decision to request Roman assistance, before revolting in early 572. Although Blockley's dating and analysis harbour clear misconception, it is conceivable that such a tale of Christian martyrdom, even one that had occurred two decades earlier in different circumstances, could have reinforced Persarmenian appeals to Constantinople[87]. Whatever its narrative setting within Menander's text, the punishment of crucifixion is rarely reported in contemporary East Syriac hagiographical literature in any context, and this aspect, along with the martyr's prior membership of the Zoroastrian religious elite, may have elicited Menander's particular interest[88].

Third, what is most striking about the episode of the conflagration in the *Passio* (2) is its circumstantial accuracy and technical precision. The location of the sacrificial rites in an official's residence is consistent with the absence of a fire-temple in Dvin at this date. More importantly, for present purposes, the *Passio* relates specific details about Zoroastrian fire-worship that, in extant Greek and Latin literature, are recorded only in Strabo's *Geography* XV 3, 14–15, the very text that inspired the scholion citing Menander. To judge by the Armenian translation, the hagiographer wrote that, while Isbozetes was attending the fire-ceremony, he was "bound at the mouth" (պնդեալ զբերանն). Subsequently, once Isbozetes had comprehended the miraculous quenching of the blaze, in a dramatic act of renunciation, he cast away the sacred implement he was holding "as well as the mouth-binding" (նոյնպէս եւ զբերանակապն), before publicly professing Christianity. This form of apparel corresponds to Strabo's report of magi who officiate before the sacred fire "wearing headdresses … which have cheekpieces coming down on both sides as far as to cover

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See *Passio* 1, 3, 9 (204D, 207D, 212E PEETERS), with discussion at PEETERS, De Sancto Isbozeta 191E–193A, 198B–E (§14); GARITTE, La Narratio 158–159; GARSOÏAN, L'Église arménienne 228–231. Political-military contexts: G. GREATREX – S.N.C. LIEU, The Roman Eastern Frontier and the Persian Wars, part II, AD 363–630: a narrative sourcebook. London 2002, 110 n. 38, 120 n. 27.

[84] The chronological implications are also noted by A.D. LEE, Evagrius, Paul of Nisibis and the Problem of Loyalties in the Mid-Sixth Century. *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 44.4 (1993) 569–585 at 581 n. 57, but his deduction that Menander's Isaozites/Isbozetes and the Yazdbōzēd of the *Passio* must therefore be different individuals is mistaken—Menander's epigram evidently describes the same specific events as *Passio* 2. See above n. 80.

[85] WHITBY, Review of Bleckmann (see n. 2) 26. More generally, the fragments offer little or no assistance in assessing Menander's taste for formal digression: BLOCKLEY, Menander 13; WHITBY, Emperor Maurice 243 n. 39.

[86] See n. 63.

[87] See the arrangement of hard-to-place fragments 13.1–5, including the two concerning Isbozetes (13, 3–4), in BLOCKLEY, Menander 31, 144–147, with argumentation at 268–269 (nn. 166–170). Blockley's (269 n. 167) speculative identification of an unnamed ἡγέμονα, "leader", in fr. 13, 2 (144, 7 BLOCKLEY) as Isbozetes, with the inference that he "might have been the governor of a Persian city" in 570–72, is obviously incorrect. For background to the revolt of Persarmenia in 572 see WHITBY, Emperor Maurice 250–253; GREATREX – LIEU, Roman Eastern Frontier 137–142.

[88] C. JULLIEN, Peines et supplices dans les Actes des martyrs persans et droit sassanide: Nouvelles prospections. *Studia Iranica* 33 (2004) 243–269 at 260; PAYNE, A State of Mixture 49, 195–196

their lips" (τιάρας περικείμενοι … καθεικυίας ἑκατέρωθεν μέχρι τοῦ καλύπτειν τὰ χείλη τὰς παραγναθίδας, XV 3, 15). Both texts refer to the well-documented Avestan *paitidāna-* (Middle Persian *padām*; New Persian *panām*), a cloth covering tied over the mouth and nose, worn during ceremonies to prevent an officiant's breath from polluting the flame[89]. In addition, in describing what occurred during the ceremony, the *Passio* recounts that the sacred flame surged up specifically "from the soft fat" (ի նպղոյն) towards the ceiling. This again recalls Strabo's meticulous account of a peculiar aspect of Zoroastrian sacrificial ritual: "[they offer sacrifice] to fire by adding dry wood without bark and placing soft fat on top" (τῷ μὲν πυρί προστιθέντες ξηρὰ ξύλα τοῦ λέπους χωρὶς, πιμελὴν ἐπιτιθέντες ἄνωθεν, XV 3, 14)[90]. The *Passio* records a third item of Zoroastrian liturgical apparatus, but its identity is initially lost in translation or transmission. The received Armenian text (and thence also the Georgian) states that, just before Isbozetes threw off his mouth-covering, he also "broke a hammer (զուռն) that he was using in the rites and cast it away". While the text is notably well informed about magian ritual, use of such a utensil is not documented elsewhere and the incongruous occurrence of *uṙn* (ուռն), "hammer", here raises suspicions of textual difficulties rather than authorial error. In contrast, in light of extensive textual, artistic and anthropological evidence for Zoroastrian fire-rituals, one would fully expect a magus in these circumstances to be holding a bundle of sacred twigs, the Avestan *barəsman* (Middle Persian *barsōm*)[91]. Peeters' linguistic ingenuity deduces that the Armenian translator misread his Syriac exemplar or guessed the meaning of a word unknown to him. Peeters finds a likely source of confusion in the graphic similarity of Syriac *qwrnsa* (ܩܘܪܢܣܐ), "hammer", and *bwrsma* (ܒܘܪܣܡܐ), the Syriac rendering of *barəsman*[92]. Although other possibilities for textual corruption within the Armenian tradition could be considered, arising from confusion of *uṙn* (ուռն), "hammer", and *uṙ* (ուռ), "twig, branch", all the evidence points towards the same conclusion[93]. Accordingly, the *Passio* again corresponds to the content of Strabo's description of Zoroastrian rites, which twice refers to such bundles of "slender twigs" used in sacrifices to water: "the magi touch with slender twigs … holding a

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[89] *Passio* 2 (205D PEETERS): "oris vinculum gerens", (206D): "oris vinculum procul abiecit", with remarks at 205D n. 7, citing Strabo XV 3, 15. Strabo explains the religious belief underlying this practice in preceding XV 3, 14: οὐ φυσῶντες ἀλλὰ ῥιπίζοντες· τοὺς δὲ φυσήσαντας … θανατοῦσι, "while not blowing but fanning it; but those who have blown the fire … they put to death." See textual and representational evidence for the *paitidāna-* in DE JONG, Traditions 150; LEROY, Strabon, Géographie XII (Livre XV) 284 (n. 892), 288 (n. 901), with older bibliography.

[90] *Passio* 2 (205D PEETERS): "Porro flamma ex adipe assurgens", with remarks at n. 8, citing Strabo XV 3, 14. See DE JONG, Traditions 135, distinguishing Strabo's πιμελή, soft fat or grease, from στέαρ, hard fat; also LEROY, Strabon, Géographie XII (Livre XV), 282–283 (nn. 890–891).

[91] See evidence and extensive bibliography relating to *barəsman* in DE JONG, Traditions 117, 142–143, 149–150, 360; LEROY, Strabon, Géographie XII (Livre XV) 284–285 (n. 893).

[92] *Passio* 2 (206D PEETERS): "Malleum, quo in (ignis) superstitionibus utebatur, comminuit", with remarks at nn. 1–3 and textual analysis at 200C–D (§18). This reconstruction assumes, not implausibly, that the Armenian translator knew nothing of Zoroastrian rituals and was unfamiliar with the term *barsmunk'* (բարսմունք), the Armenian rendering of *barəsman*; see É. BENVENISTE, Sur la terminologie iranienne du sacrifice. *Journal asiatique* 252 (1964) 45–58 at 51–54; J.R. RUSSELL. Zoroastrianism in Armenia (*Harvard Iranian Studies* 5). Cambridge, MA 1987, 482, 496.

[93] PEETERS, De Sancto Isbozeta 200D n. 7 acknowledges that the close similarity of Armenian *uṙn* (ուռն), "hammer", and *uṙ* (ուռ), "twig, branch", might prompt conjecture of transcriptional error, but he rejects any possibility that this sacred instrument could have been so improperly described using such "rustic" vocabulary ("rusticana verborum abusione"). However, the factual accuracy of the information about fire-rituals transmitted in the Armenian text is not otherwise matched by a use of correct sacral or specific terminology: thus *beranakap* (բերանակապ), generic "mouth-binding, gag", instead of the technical loan *p'andam* (փանդամ) from Middle Persian *padām*; see BENVENISTE, terminologie 54; RUSSELL, Zoroastrianism 482, 496. By implication, the Syriac text also contained a descriptive term or phrase for this mouth-piece, which the Armenian translator could comprehend and accurately render, rather than an obscure *terminus technicus*. The possibility of transcriptional error within the Armenian tradition remains open, especially as the received text *zuṙn* (զուռն), followed by a vowel-initial word, can mean either accusative singular indefinite "a hammer" or definite "the twig". This would assume that the Armenian translator similarly found generic "twig, branch" in the Syriac original and not a technical Syriac rendering of *barəsman.*

bundle of slender tamarisk twigs" (ῥάβδοις λεπταῖς ἐφάπτονται οἱ Μάγοι … ῥάβδων μυρικίνων λεπτῶν δέσμην κατέχοντες, XV 3, 14), and once more, with greater relevance to the present case, in his account of rituals performed by magi at fire-sanctuaries: "they sing incantations for close to an hour, holding before the fire the bundle of twigs" (ἐπᾴδουσιν ὥραν σχεδόν τι πρὸ τοῦ πυρὸς τὴν δέσμην τῶν ῥάβδων ἔχοντες, XV 3, 15)[94]. Obviously, there is no suggestion of a textual connection between Strabo's *Geography* and the *Passio*. Rather, the original hagiographer reveals himself to be a knowledgeable and accurate witness to authentic Zoroastrian sacrificial practices in the later Sasanian period. This characteristic is consistent with a broader shift towards technical detail and circumstantial precision in East Syriac martyrological narratives in the sixth century[95]. Peeters infers that the composition of the Syriac *Urtext*, like the saint's early cult, originated in a milieu chronologically, geographically and culturally close to the historical setting of the *Passio*, in his view a Persian "Nestorian" (East Syriac Church) community at Dvin[96].

IMPLICATIONS AND CONTEXTS

Among several points of interest in the central episode of the *Passio S. Isbozetae*, the rarity and specificity of specialized knowledge must again be stressed: of the three previously noted ritual elements—the mouth-covering worn by a magus (*paitidāna*-), the application of soft fat or grease on top of a sacrificial fire, and the use of bundles of sacred twigs (*barəsman*) by officiating magi in fire-sanctuaries—in each case, outside oriental sources, Strabo (XV 3, 14–15) alone describes these magian practices and paraphernalia. Or, having now read the adjacent scholion in its correct context, should we say Strabo *and* Menander Protector? We have seen that some, unspecified aspect of Strabo's treatment of Zoroastrian beliefs and rituals induced an erudite scholiast in late ninth-century Constantinople to think of Menander's *History* and to single out for recommendation this comparatively obscure sixth-century classicizing work as a particular, indeed "more accurate" authority on this topic. Two fragments of Menander's *History* preserved in *De sententiis* expressly state his especial interest in Isbozetes and indicate that, somewhere in his work, apparently within a digression rather than in a narrative sequence, Menander provided information about the converted magus. This section included the same crucial episode of the conflagration during the fire-ceremony—which, separately, also inspired Menander to compose an independently transmitted epigram—as well as details of the martyr's crucifixion, including a report of his final words. It is extremely unlikely that the two short, dismembered and unconnected passages found in *De sententiis*, selected and incorporated solely insofar as they contain edifying "sayings", represent the totality of Menander's account of Isbozetes' conversion and martyrdom. If his fuller version of this story mentioned all, some or even one of the ritual elements recorded in the corresponding episode

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[94] PEETERS, De Sancto Isbozeta 206D n. 1 cites corresponding Strabo XV 3, 14, but not 15. Strabo is the only Greek or Greco-Roman author to record this use of bundles of sacred twigs (*barəsman*) in sacrificial rituals or fire-ceremonies. Schol. ad Nicander, *Theriaca* 613a (= Dinon, *FGrH* 690 F 3) reports tamarisk (and possibly other) rods or twigs used for divinational purposes by magi and others, though apparently alluding to a distinct practice of rhabdomancy; see text and commentary in D. LENFANT, Les Histoires perses de Dinon et d'Héraclide. Fragments édités, traduits et commentés (*Persika* 13). Paris 2009, 98–105.

[95] For literary-narrational and polemical developments in fifth-/sixth-century Syriac martyrologies see selectively: JULLIEN, Martyrs en Perse; R. PAYNE, Les polemiques syro-orientales contre le Zoroastrisme et leur contexte politique, in: Les controverses religieuses en syriaque, ed. F. Ruani. Paris 2017, 239–260.

[96] PEETERS, De Sancto Isbozeta 199A–201A (§18–§19); endorsed by GARSOÏAN, L'Église arménienne 227–231, with further historical contexts. See also P. PEETERS, Orient et Byzance. Le tréfonds oriental de l'hagiographie byzantine. Brussels 1950, 154, "une pièce historique sobre et précise, reposant sur un fond de la plus parfaite solidité". On the broader connections between martyrological texts, shrines and communal commemoration see R. PAYNE, The Emergence of Martyrs' Shrines in Late Antique Iran: Conflict, Consensus and Communal Institutions, in: An Age of Saints? Power, Conflict and Dissent in Early Medieval Christianity, ed. P.A.V. SARRIS – M.J. DAL SANTO – P. BOOTH. Leiden 2011, 89–113.

in the *Passio S. Isbozetae*, then the scholiast's motivation for linking this section of Strabo with Menander's *History* becomes clear. If not, then we must assume a remarkable series of coincidences. By extension, this characterisation of the lost "narrative" content of Menander's treatment of Isbozetes would support the view that he had at his disposal a written source, which was, in parts at least, similar in content to the extant *Passio*, rather than orally transmitted hearsay about an event that occurred more three decades earlier. A textual relationship between Menander's *History* and the *Passio* has already been mooted[97]. The observations offered here arguably enhance the possibility that Menander had access to a Greek version, even if the precise nature of intertextuality and linguistic transfer must remain obscure. Within the wide and complex diffusion of East Syriac hagiographical texts, a parallel may be drawn with Theophylact's decision to integrate into his continuation of Menander's classicizing *History* selected episodes of the story of Golinduch, a Persian noblewoman from a magian family, who converted to Christianity, suffered imprisonment and torture, and escaped to Roman territory, dying at Hierapolis (Manbij) in 591[98]. Posing similar questions of provenance, transmission and language, Theophylact's source likewise originated in a lost Syriac archetype, from which derive an extant Georgian *Passio* and (presumably via a lost Greek version) a modified rhetorical Greek *Life*. As Theophylact was writing in Constantinople in the late 620s, a comparable interval separates the composition of his *Histories* from Golinduch's demise as separates Menander's work from Isbozetes' martyrdom, though clearly Golinduch's fame as a "living martyr" far exceeded awareness of Isbozetes[99].

Broader implications for interest in or understanding of Persian religious beliefs and customs in literary-intellectual circles at Constantinople in the later sixth century are also uncertain, especially as longer-term engagement with Zoroastrianism in preceding Greek and Greco-Roman literature appears to have been typically sporadic and author-specific, and shows little unilinear development. It seems reasonable to infer that Menander, as previously Agathias, was catering to a perceived taste for such content among consumers of Greek classicizing historiography, and not merely pursuing his own esoteric interests, possibly in response to an incipient intensification of religious motifs in renewed Roman-Sasanian hostilities from the 570s, a primary framework of high-register historical literature[100]. In the absence of comparable material in this or other genres in the same literary-cultural milieu, however, it would be hazardous to extrapolate a more broadly enhanced knowledge of Zoroastrianism in the capital, even if a wider polemical discourse might be suspected[101]. Given the complexity of both Christian-Zoroastrian communal interaction within the Sasa-

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[97] Originally, PEETERS, De Sancto Isbozeta 201 n. 1 contends that Menander knew of Isbozetes' martyrdom via an oral source, though Peeters infers too much from the absence of certain details in the two excerpts (fr. 13, 3–4 = *De sententiis* 24–25), apparently assuming that they necessarily contain all Menander wrote about this episode. Peeters reiterates this view in PEETERS, Orient et Byzance 154, "Ménandre le Protecteur, qui avait entendu raconter en Arménie la mort, alors toute récente", though at 197 he seemingly allows a textual connection: "Si son [Isbozetes] histoire, alors toute récente, est parvenue à Ménandre par une relation grecque, ce grec a été traduit d'une Passion arménienne".

[98] Theophylact Simocatta, *Histories* V 12 (210, 7–212, 5 DE BOOR).

[99] See texts and bibliography in OLAJOS, Les sources 67–82; WHITBY, Emperor Maurice 236–237, 328; M. DAL SANTO, Imperial Power and its Subversion in Eustratius of Constantinople's *Life and Martyrdom of Golinduch* (*c*.602). *Byzantion* 81 (2011) 138–176 at 138–142, 148–154.

[100] Menander's taste for the "exotic": above n. 61. Religion and contemporary warfare: L.M. WHITBY, *Deus nobiscum*: Christianity, Warfare and Morale in Late Antiquity, in: *Modus Operandi, Essays in Honour of Geoffrey Rickman*, ed. M.M. Austin – J.D. Harries – C.J. Smith. London 1998, 191–208, esp. 192–195; BLECKMANN, Christentum und nichtchristliche Religionen 243–250.

[101] For example, the *Life* of Golinduch composed by Eustratius in Constantinople in *c*.602 hardly mentions Persian religious beliefs, practices or institutions, real or imagined: see *Life* 3 (151, 20–21): marriage to a magus; 12 (159, 1–4): Persians worship a serpent(s) (ed. A. PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, Analekta Ierosolymitikēs stachyologias. St. Petersburg 1891–1897 [repr. Brussels 1963], IV 149–174). See the nuanced analysis of DAL SANTO, Imperial Power, identifying the author's main purpose as enhancement of the sacral authority of Maurice's regime. Aside from his own digression on Golinduch (above n. 98), Theophylact rarely refers to magi and employs literary language that does not reveal or imply appreciation

nian Empire and confessional divergence across eastern Christianity, there is no reason to assume that the socio-religious, commemorative and literary dynamics that motivated the production of works like the *Passio S. Isbozetae* in distant East Syriac communities were understood or recognised by Menander or his audience, beyond a common basic objective of affirming the truth of Christianity against the lie of Zoroastrianism. Nonetheless, locating Menander's Isaozites/Isbozetes within the diverse historical, religious and linguistic contexts of Machož-Yazdbōzēd permits a more variegated picture of the content, concerns and possible sources of Menander's historical writing, outside the thematic confines of "diplomatic history".

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of Persian religion. See notably *Histories* II 2, 2–3 (72, 3–12 de Boor): magian prophesy depicted in terms of the Delphic oracle; also brief allusions at III 16, 10 (144, 21–23); IV 12, 5 (172, 3–4). Theophylact applies the same term (μάγος) generically to an Avar priest: I 8, 3 (53, 17–18).

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The *Library* and *the Mystagogia*. Genetic Pathways Compared

ABSTRACT: The article focuses on the similarities in the genesis of Photius' *Library* and *Mystagogia*: after recalling the results of the most recent studies on the first and proposing some new hypotheses on the nature and origin of its chapters, it analyses the structure of the *Mystagogia*, showing that this work derives from the transcription of a composite dossier-prototype prepared by Photius from very heterogeneous sources. Some similarities in the contents of the two works suggest using the same set of materials to compose some sections of both, at different times in the scholar's life. This reconstruction seems to confirm the late dating of the *Library* (proposed in previous works) and implies a radically new dating for some parts of the *Mystagogia*, which will be the subject of a further contribution.

KEYWORDS: Textual Genetics; Codicology; Philology; Manuscriptology; Archetype/Prototype; *Schedaria*

INTRODUCTION[*]

The *Library* and the *Mystagogia* (from now on *Bibl*. and *Myst*.) by Photius of Constantinople seem not to share much: they deal with different themes (the first is probably the earliest Western example of the literary-review genre[1], the second is a polemical treaty on the *Filioque*); though both inhomogeneous, they are characterized by different styles (apart from the quotations, the *Bibl.* is, in general, less rhetorically elaborated than the *Myst*.); their structures are different (independent chapters *vs* an apparently unitary text). According to the traditional view, they also belong to different periods of Photius' life: the *Bibl.* to his youth, the *Myst.* to old age. Finally, following some manuscripts, the latter is not even by Photius[2]. Margherita Losacco noted some years ago that they are the only two works by the author endowed not only with a prologue but also with an epilogue[3]. This detail implies another analogy: since the preface of the *Bibl.* comes in the form of a letter written by Photius to his brother Tarasius, to whom the epilogue is also addressed, Warren Treadgold correctly claimed that in a way "the *Bibliotheca* is not only composed in the form of a gigantic

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[*] I am responsible for all translations.

[1] J. SCHAMP, Photios abréviateur, in Condensing texts-condensed texts, ed. M. Horster – Ch. Reitz. Stuttgart 2010, 649–734: 665; J. SCHAMP, Le projet pédagogique de Photios, in Encyclopedic Trends in Byzantium? Proceedings of the international conference held in Leuven, 6–8 May 2009, ed. P. Van Deun – C. Macé. Leuven – Walpole 2011, 57–75: 67. N.G. WILSON, Fozio, Biblioteca. Milan 1992, 15, noted that the chapters of the *Bibl*. are not reviews in the modern sense of the word.

[2] The manuscripts Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (BAV), Pal. Gr. 216 (*Diktyon* 65948), Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, 2412 (585) (*Diktyon* 9729), and Athêna, Ethnikê Bibliothêkê tês Hellados (EBE) Metochion tou Panagiou Taphou (ΜΠΤ), 145 (*Diktyon* 6542), attribute the *Myst*. to Metrophanes (PmbZ 4986, 25088), archbishop of Smyrna, an Ignatian who was deposed by Photius. Following P. LEMERLE, L'histoire des pauliciens d'Asie Mineure d'après les sources grecques, *TM* 5 (1973) 1–147: 39, this is the fruit of a deliberate falsification. See also P. VAN DEUN, La chasse aux trésors: la découverte de plusieurs œuvres inconnues de Métrophane de Smyrne (ixe–xe siècle). *Byz* 78 (2008) 346–367: 364, and V. POLIDORI, Fozio, La Mistagogia del Santo Spirito. Rome 2018, XXV–XXVI. This attribution is not always rejected: A. SIECIENSKI, The Filioque. History of a Doctrinal Controversy. New York 2010, 102, 254 n. 109.

[3] M. LOSACCO, Photius, la Bibliothèque, et au-delà: l'état de la recherche, l'usage des classiques et les préfaces du corpus, in Autour du Premier humanisme byzantin [...] quarante ans après Paul Lemerle, ed. B. Flusin – J.-C. Cheynet. Paris 2017 (= *TM* 21/2), 235–308: 286–287.

letter; it really is one"[4]. In its turn, in one of its oldest manuscripts, the *Myst.* is introduced by an epistolary inscription, and, as we shall see, its first and last paragraphs look like the beginning and end of a letter[5]. Finally, the oldest preserved manuscripts of both texts were copied during Photius' life or shortly after[6].

This article aims to demonstrate the similarities in the genesis of the two works: after recalling the results of the most recent studies on the *Bibl*. and proposing some new hypotheses on the nature and origin of its chapters, it will focus on the structure of the *Myst.* to demonstrate that it stems from a composite dossier-prototype set up by Photius himself. Some analogies in the contents of the two works suggest the use of the same materials to compose some sections of both. This reconstruction supports the late dating of the *Bibl*. and a radically new dating for some parts of the *Myst*., on which I will focus in a further contribution[7].

THE LIBRARY

THE LIBRARY REDATED

The *Bibl*. has long been referred to the youth of Photius based on the literal interpretation of the letter to Tarasius that opens it in its most ancient manuscript (*A*): Photius claims to have composed the work at his brother's request just before leaving on an embassy "to the Assyrians", who have been generally identified with the Arabs ([…] τῷ τε κοινῷ τῆς πρεσβείας καὶ τῇ βασιλείῳ ψήφῳ πρεσβεύειν ἡμᾶς ἐπ' Ἀσσυρίους αἱρεθέντας […]: "[...] having been chosen by the whole embassy and by the imperial vote to be sent on a mission to the Assyrians […].)[8] Since neither the head of the imperial chancellery nor *a fortiori* the patriarch would personally participate in such a diplomatic mission, the latter had to have taken place during Photius' youth. But there is no evidence whatsoever of his participation in such an embassy to the East, and a recent attempt to identify him with the head of a Byzantine mission to Al-Andalus in 839/840 seems problematic[9]. Based on the

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[4] W.T. TREADGOLD, Photius and the Reading Public for Classical Philology in Byzantium, in: Byzantium and the Classical Tradition, ed. M. Mullet – R. Scott. Birmingham 1981, 123–126: 124; IDEM, The Nature of the Bibliotheca of Photius. Washington, D.C., 1980, 16, 20; IDEM, Photius before his Patriarchate. *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 53 (2002) 1–17: 9.

[5] Vat. gr. 2195, p. 271: + Περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ ζωοποιοῦ καὶ προσκυνητοῦ Πνεύματος. Φώτιος ἐλέῳ Θεοῦ ἐπίσκοπος Κωνσταντινουπόλεως νέας Ῥώμης :~ Τῷ ὁσιωτάτῳ εὐλαβεστάτῳ ἐπισκόπῳ † Βέδαι^{πόλων} † ἐν Κυρίῳ χαίρειν. ("On the holy and life-giving and venerable Spirit. Photius bishop of Constantinople new Rome by the grace of God, greets in the Lord the most holy and reverend bishop † Bede^{Polōn} †"). See F. RONCONI, Notes sur les plus anciens manuscrits de la Mystagogie de Photius, u.p. in *Segno e Testo*, and IDEM, On the nature and date of Photius' Mystagogia, and on the identities of its addressees, in preparation.

[6] On the most ancient codex of the *Bibl*., see F. RONCONI, L'automne du Patriarche. Photios, la Bibliotheque et le Marc. Gr. 450, in Proceedings of the Madrid Workshop The Transmission of Byzantine Texts: Between Textual Criticism and Quellenforschung. Philosophy, Historiography, Law, Rhetoric. Thursday, 2 February 2012 – Saturday, 4 February 2012, Centro de Ciencias Humanas y Sociales, ed. J. Signes Codoñer – I. Pérez Martín. Madrid 2014, 93–130. In a further contribution I will focus on the most ancient manuscripts of the *Myst*.: RONCONI, Notes sur les plus anciens manuscrits de la Mystagogie.

[7] RONCONI, On the nature and date of Photius' Mystagogia.

[8] Phot., *Ep. ad Tarasium* (3 BIANCHI – SCHIANO).

[9] J. SYPIAŃSKI, Photius entre l'Assyrie et al-Andalus, in: La diplomatie byzantine, de l'Empire romain aux confins de l'Europe (Ve–XVe s.), ed. N. Drocourt – É. Malamut. Leiden 2020, 61–112. The identification is based on a correction of the name mentioned three times in the Arabic text, which is, according to Sypiansky's reading, "*qrtiūs* (ou *qrtbūs*) et une fois *frtiūs* avec des signes critiques qui en feraient soit *Fartayūs*, soit *Furtiūs*". He proposes the correction "Fūtius" ("Qartiyūs": 80–81). The diplomat in question, who is referred to as the head of the embassy (Photius would have been between 19 and 29 years old at the time) is referred to as an interpreter, whereas there is no evidence of Photius' knowing Arabic. It should also be noted that the sources that testify to Photius' relations with Arab emirs have an interest in extolling them: this is particularly the case with Elias, the ambassador of the patriarch of Jerusalem at the Photian council of 879–880 (J.D. MANSI, Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio. Venetiis 1771, XVII, col. 484) and Nicholas Mystikos in a letter to an emir (probably of Crete: A. VASILIEV, Byzance et les Arabes, II. La dynastie macédonienne (867–

idea, held by some scholars[10], that the embassy of the letter was, in fact, a fiction, in 2013 I noted that in the tenth and last praxis of the Acts of the Constantinopolitan council that excommunicated Photius in 869/870, the participants mentioned the biblical character of Ephrem as the *alter ego* of the deposed patriarch: quoting loosely from the prophet Oseas (7:11), they stated that Ephrem went to the Assyrians (*in Assyrios ibat*)[11]. Moreover, in a letter written soon after the council, Photius focused on its nature, noting the role played by the Ishmaelite ambassadors, and above all by the pope's legates, whom he considers the leaders of the council (κορυφαίους καὶ ἐξάρχους). The synod ended with a vote (ψῆφος [psēphos]) in which the emperor participated[12]. The first sentence of the letter to Tarasius can then be interpreted as a sarcastic metaphor referring to the council ("[...] having been chosen by the whole embassy [i.e., the council, which was dominated by the Roman ambassadors] and by the imperial vote, to be sent on a mission 'to the Assyrians' [i.e., into exile, by virtue of my identification with Ephrem [...]")[13]. This interpretation implies that the letter to Tarasius and the original core of the *Bibl.* were composed shortly after the last section of the council (February 870), and just before Photius' exile, when he was relegated to the monastery of Skepē without his books but with his notes (*schedaria*)[14]. There he wrote many epistles and a part of the *Amph*.: it comes then as no surprise that, in those hours of loneliness and distress, he also composed—at Tarasius' request, as he claims in the prefatory letter and the epilogue—some short reviews of books, based on his memory and notes[15]. Nevertheless, these summaries are but a minimal part of the actual *Bibl*., since, once received by Tarasius, they started being merged with other materials of different kinds, produced by Photius and the members of his circle through the years, especially in the framework of the scholar's pedagogical activity[16].

The nature of the chapters of the Bibl.

Some forty years ago, Thomas Hägg and Warren Treadgold proposed two slightly different classifications of the chapters of the *Bibl.*, both based on their nature[17]. Hägg distinguished three types of chapters ("Kurzreferat", "analytisches Referat" and "Exzerpte"), and Treadgold went even further,

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859). II, Extraits des sources arabes, trad. Marius Canard, Bruxelles 1968, 401–402). Photius' letters and *Amph*., on the contrary, testify of polemical relations with the Arabs (see e.g. epp. 2 [40–53 Laourdas – Westerink I] and 297 [163–166 Laourdas – Westerink III], and *Amph*. 316 [122–124 Laourdas – Westerink VI.1]).

[10] For a comprehensive presentation of the critical positions taken by the scholars over the centuries, see L. Canfora, Thesaurus Insignis, non liber, in Bianchi – Schiano, Fozio XI–LXIV.

[11] *Gesta sanctæ ac universalis octavæ synodi quæ Constantinopoli congregata est Anastasio bibliothecario interprete*, *Actio* X, ed. C. Leonardi – A. Placanica. Firenze 2012, 345, 995–996. On the whole issue, see F. Ronconi, The Patriarch and the Assyrians: New Evidence for the Date of Photios' Library. *Segno e Testo* 11 (2013) 387–395.

[12] Phot., Ep. 118 (155–158 Laourdas – Westerink I). See F. Ronconi, Pour la datation de la Bibliothèque de Photius. La Myriobiblos, le Patriarche et Rome, in Byzanz und das Abendland II. Studia Byzantino-Occidentalia, ed. E. Juhász. Budapest 2014, 135–153.

[13] See also, for another metaphoric interpretation of the passage, Canfora, Thesaurus. The fact that according to the Septuagint, Ephrem did not go to the Assyrians is irrelevant, since Photius is not quoting the Septuagint, he is referring to the conciliar canon which excommunicated him, and which explicitly states that Ephrem *in Assyrios ibat*. Be that as it may, Canfora is right in linking the letter to Tarasius to Photius' first deposition. C.M. Mazzucchi, Restauro e interpretazione dell'epistola a Tarasio. *Aevum* 95 (2021) 441–464: 461 n. 64, criticizes Canfora's hypothesis (but also his textual reconstruction of the corrupted parts of the letter and its Italian translation) and seems to believe that Photius actually went on an embassy.

[14] This is what he states himself: Phot., Ep. 98 and Phot., *Amph.* 148, on which see below.

[15] On the political and "identitarian" value of common readings in the milieu of Photius, see below.

[16] On the Photian circle, see now Canfora, Thesaurus XIV–XX, and below.

[17] Th. Hägg, Photios als Vermittler antiker Literatur. Zur Technik des Referierens und Exzerpierens in der Bibliotheke. Uppsala 1975, 195–204. The researcher rightly noted that there are mixed chapters (on which see *infra*), and that some chapters were dictated. However, rather than attributing this diversity to the genesis of the work, he attributed it to Photius' choice (p. 204).

adding seven subcategories[18]. Though the latter's classification looks fundamentally correct to me, thanks to the studies conducted in the last decades, another one can be proposed, which focuses not only on the *nature* of the chapters but especially on their *genesis*. This new classification implies five main groups[19]:

(1) 'type a' chapters: the summaries (ὑποθέσεις [hypotheseis]) composed in captivity by Photius for Tarasius, with the sole aid of his memory and his notes[20], shortly after February 870. These are the shortest chapters of the actual *Bibl*., and are generally found in the first part of the work: they are quite generic and omit details that Photius did not remember and had not noted on his *schedaria*. Some examples: in ch. 17, he claims that the Acts of the fourth ecumenical council consist of fifteen sections (*praxeis*), but he is unable to specify the corresponding number of books, contenting himself in claiming that they occupied "some books" (ἐν βιβλίοις μὲν διαφόροις[21]); in chs. 19 and 20, the number of sections of the sixth and seventh ecumenical councils—whose accounts barely occupy some lines—is omitted: the copyists of *A* and *M* (the two oldest manuscripts of the *Bibl*., on whose relationship see below), left some blanks in its place; a *locus fenestratus* is also found, in *A* and *M*, corresponding to the number of books constituting a work by John Philoponos commented in ch. 21; in ch. 68 blanks were left corresponding to the indication of the number of authors and works mentioned in the last four books of the text of the historian Cephalion[22], etc.;

(2) 'type b' chapters: produced in the framework of the bibliographic research conducted through the years by Photius and his assistants in different libraries and collections. This includes three subcategories: type b_1 chapters, i.e. notes on texts that had not yet been read, but whose mention had been found in other works[23]. For instance, ch. 137 concerns the *Apologeticon* (or *Apologia I*) by Eunomius, a work against which Basil of Caesarea composed his *Contra Eunomium*. The heretic replied in his turn with the *Apologia apologiae* or *Apologia II*, to which ch. 138 is devoted. To the latter, Gregory of Nyssa replied in turn with his *Contra Eunomium*, to which chs. 6 and 7 of

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[18] Treadgold, The Nature 180, distinguished "I. descriptions probably composed from memory: imprecise references", "II. descriptions probably composed referring back to the original text (or possibly to notes on it)" (consisting of four subcategories: "A. precise references; B. references by parts; C. precise summaries; D. epitomes") and "III. descriptions probably copied by Photius' secretary from reading notes taken before the *Bibl.* was compiled" (also split into sub-categories: "A. epitomes with introductions added by Photius for the *Bibl.*; B. epitomes without such introductions; C. excerpts, also without such introductions").

[19] I do not take into account cases such as those of ch. 124 (141 Bianchi – Schiano), which consists, in *A*, only of the verb ἀνεγνώσθη [*anegnōsthē*, i.e. "it was read"], to which a later hand has added τοῦ αὐτοῦ ("by the same"), thus connecting it with Epiphanius of Salamis, which is discussed in the previous chapter. According to Treadgold, The Nature 72, such cases are the consequence of a "lapse of memory". But see next note.

[20] Photius claims to have worked based on his μνήμη in the epistle to Tarasius and in the epilogue (3 and 953 Bianchi – Schiano), as well as, for example, in ch. 189, where he speaks of παλαιὰν μνήμην ἀναγνωσμάτων ("ancient memory of the readings" 260 Bianchi – Schiano). This does not imply (as Hägg, Photios 15–124 has pointed out) that the work is in its entirety the product of Photius' prodigious memory, as seems to believe N.G. Wilson, The Composition of Photius' Bibliotheca. *GRBS* 9 (1968) 451–455; Idem, Photius' Bibliotheca. A Supplementary Note. *GRBS* 12 (1971) 559–560; Idem, Scholars of Byzantium, London 1996, 96 (but see L.D. Reynolds – N.G. Wilson, D'Homère à Érasme. La transmission des classiques grecs et latins. Nouvelle édition de la traduction de Cl. Bertrand et P. Petitmengin, revue, mise à jour et augmentée à partir de la 4e édition anglaise par L.-A. Sanchi et Au. Cohen-Skalli. Paris 2021, 58). On the interpretation of μνήμη as "aide-memoire", see Canfora, Thesaurus XXIX, who identifies such supports with the *schedaria* that Photius mentions in *Amph*. 148, on which see below and F. Ronconi, Écrire par schédê, schédia, schédiasmata et schédaria. *Genesis* 55 (2022) 57–67.

[21] 19 Bianchi – Schiano.

[22] A blank was also left in *A*, in ch. 78 (on the historiographer Malchus' work), corresponding with a word considered particularly significant (103 Bianchi – Schiano). In this case, it is possible that the prototype was unreadable for the copyist. On the importance of the blanks in *A* and *M*, see below.

[23] The existence of chapters concerning books that had not been read is confirmed by ch. 268 on Lycurgus (867 Bianchi – Schiano). See J. Schamp, Les Vies des dix orateurs attiques. Fribourg 2000, 204–206; Idem, Photios abréviateur 661. In any case, this is an anomalous chapter, which does not open with the verb Ἀνεγνώσθη and features a double numbering in *A* (it was, then, probably not intended as an autonomous chapter, but as an appendix to the previous one).

the *Bibl*. are consecrated. This text by Gregory is also mentioned in ch. 138, together with two other anti-Eunomian works by a certain Sophronius and Theodore of Mopsuestia[24]: these two texts are addressed in chs. 4 and 5, which are not coincidentally contiguous with the aforementioned chs. 6 and 7. In short, Photius wrote chs. 137–138—the first of which even omits the title of the text reviewed—on the sole basis of the many confutations of the two Eunomian works that he had read (it should be noted that both texts were condemned to destruction centuries before Photius)[25]. The same might apply to some other chapters, like for instance the quite polemical ch. 21 on the lost *Bodily resurrection* by John Philoponos[26]; type b_2 chapters: more or less detailed summaries of specific parts of certain works, often enriched with literal quotations, e.g. ch. 244, which contains heavily cut and abbreviated excerpts from books 31–34, 36–38, and 40 of the *Bibliotheca Historica* by Diodorus of Sicily, coordinated by connecting phrases due to the excerptor[27]; type b_3 chapters: rough extracts. This is, for instance, the case of ch. 275, containing passages from treatises by two Jerusalem patriarchs (Hesychius and Modestus), probably found in a miscellaneous manuscript[28];

(3) 'type c chapters', produced in the framework of Photius' pedagogical activity (on which see below). This group seems to include in its turn three subcategories: 'type c_1' chapters: transcriptions of notes produced by Photius as *pro-memoria* to hold his seminars; 'type c_2' chapters: transcriptions of notes written down during the seminars by some of Photius' students; 'type c_3' chapters: precise transcriptions of certain seminars, written down, perhaps in tachygraphy, by some secretaries. Chapters $c_{1–3}$ are not easy to distinguish and generally include a mixture of quotations, summaries, and commentaries, often all introduced by ὅτι (*hoti*)[29]. For instance, ch. 177 stages an imaginary and somehow ironic dialogue between Photius and Theodore of Mopsuestia (probably a rhetorical expedient for didactic purposes):

> "Theodore himself rightly rejects these things and at times strikes out quite well and strongly the absurdity and blasphemy of these opinions [...]. Not always, however: on the contrary, we saw that in many points he harbors the heresy of Nestorius and that he even suggests that of Origen concerning the final judgment [...]. There is another thing that I do not consider to be in line with the dogmas of truth, and which is repeated many times although it is not recognized by the Church of God: that there are two remissions of sins [...]. So far it is great, and everybody is left open-mouthed waiting for the conclusion. Speak then: what more? We're all ears. What is this

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[24] 177 Bianchi – Schiano.

[25] See Ronconi , Il Moveable Feast 208–211, and the notes to these chapters in Bianchi – Schiano, Fozio 1043–1044. The two chapters are characterized by the same metaphor: both Eunomian works are represented as an abortive fetus destroyed by the orthodox authors.

[26] B. Lourié, John Philoponus on the Bodily Resurrection. *Scrinium* 9 (2013) 79–88.

[27] Y. Vernière – F. Chamoux – P. Bertrac, Diodore de Sicile, Bibliotheca Historica, Livre I. Paris 1993, CXXXIII. The text is so heavily altered that it has been speculated that Photius (or a member of his circle) had access not to the original work of Diodorus, but to "un choix assorti" of passages from the last ten books: Schamp, Photios abréviateur 660. See also Corcella, Nuovi frammenti 170–171 et n. 42, 198. A similar picture can be drawn for the treatment of certain texts by Flavius Josephus in the *Bibl*.: see F. Ronconi, Les sources des Excerpta constantiniens à la lumière de celles de la Bibliothèque de Photius. Quelques réflexions, u. p. in Le destin d'un manuscrit. Du vice et de la vertu: de Constantinople à Tours, via Chypre, 14–15 octobre 2021, Tours, ed. M.-F. Auzépy – A.-M. Cheny – Ph. Trélat (with further bibliography). The *Bibliotheca historica* by Diodorus of Sicily is also reviewed in ch. 70, which summarized the entirety of its forty books, drawing all information, as it seems, from the preface of book I: Schamp, Photios abréviateur 659; P. Goukowsky, Diodore de Sicile, Bibliotheca Historica, Fragments des Livres XXVII–XXXII. Paris 2012, XXXV–XXXVI.

[28] In this chapter, the only Photian intervention seems to consist in the lines specifying that one of the speeches by Hesychius is very prolix and lacking in interest: Bianchi – Schiano, Fozio 893.

[29] See also Hägg, Photios 31 and 201; Treadgold, The Nature 89 n. 32.

'complete remission of sins'? That after the resurrection, he says, we will sin no more. At what point did you disappoint our hopes!"[30]

In some chapters, the verb ἀναγιγνώσκειν (*anagignōskein*) is associated with the emphatic use of the personal pronouns ἔγωγε (*egōge*), μοι (*moi*) etc. (ch. 67 [on the historiographer Sergios, who might be Photius' father][31]; 97 [Phlegon of Tralles]; 201 [Diadochus of Photice]); in some other chapters, some bibliographical discoveries are presented as strictly personal (219 [Oribasius]: εἶδον ἔγωγε ["I myself saw"]; ch. 171 [Eustratios]: εὗρον ἐν τῷδε τῷ βιβλίῳ ["I found in this book"])[32]. While such chapters probably stem from the transcription of Photius' seminars (types c_2 or c_3), ch. 225 is perhaps the transcription of some of his notes (type c_1). It consists of a series of extracts from the first book of a work by the Alexandrian patriarch Eulogius: of these quotations, only the incipit (sometimes preceded by ἀπὸ τοῦ [*apo tou*, i.e. "from"]) and the explicit (which follows formulas meaning "up to", such as μέχρι τοῦ [*mechri tou*] /ἕως τοῦ [*eōs tou*]) are given, so that the chapter is partially incomprehensible in its present form. It seems then that, in preparing his seminar, the scholar contented himself with noting the references of the passages that would be read in the classroom directly from the manuscript[33]. A note meticulously prepared by Photius for didactic purposes is probably ch. 222, which consists of a rich review of the lost work by a certain Job, and might be the λόγος (*logos*, i.e. "discourse") that he claims to have devoted to this very text in *Amph*. 79;

(4) 'type d' chapters: supplementary material probably composed by Photius after his return from exile, in c. 873[34]: five chapters on theological themes contain twenty-six invocations to a reader/listener, addressed with formulas such as σὺ δέ μοι σκόπει ("look at this") or σὺ δέ μοι συνδιασκόπει ("look at this with me"), which are quite rare in the rest of the *Bibl*. and recur identically in some letters, in an *Amph.* and in the *Myst*. These five codices—which are almost contiguous—are among the longest of the *Bibl.* and share a common structure: they contain an introduction, a meticulous analysis of the contents chapter by chapter (sometimes with extensive quotations), and a final evaluation[35];

(5) type e chapters: mixed chapters, in which rough extracts (type b_3) or summaries (type b_2 or c) have been joined to potentially autonomous reviews or bibliographical notes (type a or b_1). This is the case, for instance, of ch. 3 (on the historiographical work of Nonnosos) and chs. 63–65 (on Procopius', Theophanes' of Byzantium, and Theophylact Simocatta's *Histories*), in which, after a potentially autonomous generic section, extracts alternate with summaries. The case of ch. 63 is

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[30] Ὁ δὲ Θεόδωρος οὗτος εὖ μὲν ποιεῖ ἀποπεμπόμενος αὐτά, ἐνιαχοῦ δὲ καὶ ἄριστα αὐτῶν καὶ σὺν ἰσχύϊ τὸ ἀλλόκοτον καὶ βλάσφημον τῶν ὑπολήψεων ἐπιρραπίζει [...]. Οὐκ ἀεὶ δέ, ἀλλὰ τήν τε Νεστορίου αἵρεσιν ὠδίνων ἡμῖν ἐν πολλοῖς ὤπται, καὶ τὴν Ὠριγένους κατά γε τὸ τέλος ὑποφωνεῖν τῆς κολάσεως [...]. Ἔτι δὲ κἀκεῖνο οὐκ ἐγκρίνω ἔγωγε τοῖς τῆς ἀληθείας δόγμασι, περιέργως τε εἰρημένον καὶ οὐδὲ γνώριμον τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὸ δύο ἀφέσεις ἁμαρτιῶν εἶναι λέγειν [...]. Ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν μέχρι τούτου ὡς σεμνὰ καὶ κεχηνέναι μόνον οὐχὶ πρὸς τὸ πέρας ἅπαντας κατασκευάζοντα. Εἰπὲ δὴ λοιπὸν καὶ τί τοῦτο; ὀρθὰ γάρ σοι παρεχόμεθα τὰ ὦτα. Τίς ἡ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἄφεσις ἡ παντελὴς ἐκείνη; οὐκέτι, φησί, μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἁμαρτησόμεθα. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὡς ἐξ οἵων ἡμᾶς κατέσπασας τῶν ἐλπίδων (218–219 Bianchi – Schiano).

[31] See at least the notes to this chapter in Bianchi – Schiano, Fozio 997.

[32] See also ch. 77, on which, see the observations by L. Canfora in Bianchi – Schiano, Fozio 1010, n. 3 to ch. 77.

[33] On this chapter, see also J. Schamp, Photios historien des lettres. La Bibliothèque et ses notices biographiques. Paris 1987, 122–124.

[34] These chapters occupy an average of 30.2 pages each in Bianchi – Schiano, Fozio, compared to the average length of all the chapters in the *Bibl*. which is 3.36 pages. For identical invocations to a reader/listener in some of Photius' epistles (that the editors attribute to a late period in his life), *Amphilochia* and *Myst.*, see F. Ronconi, Il Moveable Feast del Patriarca. Note e ipotesi sulla genesi della Bibliotheca di Fozio, in: Nel segno del testo. Edizioni, materiali e studi per Oronzo Pecere, ed. L. Del Corso – F. De Vivo – A. Stramaglia. Firenze 2015, 203–238: 226–227.

[35] Ch. 222: Job the Monk's *On the Incarnation*; ch. 223: Diodorus of Tarsus, *Against the Destiny*; chs. 225 and 230: Eulogius of Alexandria's *Against Severus and Theodosius* and other works; ch. 229: four texts by Ephrem of Antioch. See in general Ronconi, Il Moveable Feast and below.

especially instructive: after the first part, the reader finds a summary (enriched with literal quotations) of the first book and the first nineteen chapters of the second book of *De bello Persico*[36]. A similar configuration is also present in chs. 72 on Ctesias, 80 on Olympiodorus[37], 92 on Arrian, 96 on a work by George of Alexandria concerning John Chrysostom, and 190 on the *New Histories* of Ptolemy Chennos.

The *Bibl.* and Photius' teaching activity

This classification presupposes a close relationship between the genesis of the *Bibl.* and Photius' pedagogical activity, whose characteristics are worth evoking[38]. The scholar explicitly recalls his seminars in some *Amph.*[39] and in a letter he wrote to Pope Nicholas I in 861[40], and implicitly in the letter to Tarasius, in ch. 165 of the *Bibl.*, and in some other epistles[41]. His seminars are also hinted at by some anti-photian documents and texts, like the acts of the aforementioned Constantinopolitan council of 869–870 and the *Vita Ignatii* by Nicetas David of Paphlagonia, according to which his acolytes gathered with him around books and "answered each other in reading and dialoguing" (τῶν ἀμοιβαίων ἀναγνωστῶν καὶ συνομιλητῶν[42]).

Photius' seminars, insofar as they can be reconstructed on the basis of these sources, are reminiscent of the ones held in some late-antique philosophical schools[43]. For instance, in Plotinus', books were read aloud in the presence of the teacher (in *Bibl.* 165, Photius mentions the fact that texts were read "in my presence", κατὰ πρόσωπον ἡμῶν); the reading was sometimes interrupted

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[36] The second section of this chapter ends abruptly and, in *A*, is followed by a three-column *agraphon.* On the *agrapha* in *A* and *M*, see below. On this chapter, see also Hägg, Photios 184–194.

[37] This chapter has been the object of many analyses and interpretations, for which I content myself with referring to De Cicco 2016, 1012 n. 1, and Canfora, Thesaurus XX.

[38] On this relationship, see also Canfora, Thesaurus, *passim*.

[39] *Amph.* 77 (101, 212–214 Laourdas – Westerink V): ἔτι ταῖς διαλεκτικαῖς ἐνασχολουμένων ἡμῶν μελέταις, ἡνίκα καὶ πολλοὺς παῖδας ὠδίνοντες οἱ λόγοι εἰς φῶς ἀπέτικτον τῆς πολλοῖς χρόνοις δι'ἐπινοίας ἀνδρῶν παρανόμων ἐναποσβεσθείσης θεωρίας: "(at the time when) we could still devote ourselves to our dialectical exercises, when our pregnant speeches gave birth to many offspring in the light of the Sun, whereas for a long time now, thanks to the designs of outlawed men, research has been put aside." *Amph.* 78 (104, 97–102 Laourdas – Westerink V): καὶ γὰρ πάλαι ποτὲ κατὰ τὰς διαλεκτικὰς συγγυμνασίας, τὰς τοπικὰς μεθόδους ἀναπτύσσοντός μου τοῖς ἀκροωμένοις, ὧν καὶ αὐτὸς οὐδὲ τῶν τυχόντων, ἀλλὰ τῶν μάλιστα συζητούντων ἦσθα, ἱκανῶς ἔχων λόγος περὶ τούτου τοῦ ζητήματος κατεβλήθη, ἐφ'ᾧ καὶ γεγραμμένον ἔχειν τηνικαῦτα τοῖς βουλομένοις ἐξεδόθη: "Once, in the course of common dialectical exercises—when I was expounding the methods of commonplaces to my hearers and you were not one of the many, but one of my most intimate collaborators—I had dealt extensively with this subject, on which a text had also been written, available to those who wanted it." On these passages, see J. Schamp – B. Kindt, Thesaurus Photii Constantinopolitani Bibliotheca. Turnhout 2003, xxiv–xxv, and on Photius' didactical activity, see also Schamp, Le projet pédagogique.

[40] Phot., ep. 290 (49–81 Laourdas – Westerink III), on which see at least Canfora, Thesaurus XIV–XVI. It should be noted that Photius wrote it in response to the pope's complaint that he had been consecrated patriarch despite being a layman, wanting to be *magister* before being a *discipulus*. Therefore, Photius' statements concerning the existence of three teaching cycles culminating in the study of religious texts should be interpreted with caution.

[41] Ch. 165: τούτους οἶμαι τοὺς λόγους μόνους τοῦ σοφιστοῦ Ἰμερίου, περί που ο΄ ὄντας, κατὰ πρόσωπον ἡμῶν τὴν σὴν φιλοπονίαν ἀνεγνωκέναι (196 Bianchi – Schiano: "These I believe to be the only speeches of the sophist Imerius, some seventy, that you have laboriously read in our presence"). On the contradiction between this passage and the letter to Tarasius, see Treadgold, The Nature 22; Schamp, Photios abréviateur 651–652.

[42] Nicetas David, *Vita Ignatii* 48.22–23 (ed. David Nicetas, *The life of Patriarch Ignatius*. Greek text and translation by A. Smithies with notes by J.M. Duffy. Washington, D.C. 2013, 68). For the passage of the council of 869–870, see L. Canfora, Le 'cercle des lecteurs' autour de Photios: une source contemporaine. *REB* 56 (1998) 269–273, and Idem, Thesaurus XV.

[43] See in general Ph. Hoffmann, Bibliothèques et formes du livre à la fin de l'Antiquité. Le témoignage de la littérature néoplatonicienne des Ve et VIe siècles, in: I Manoscritti greci tra riflessione e dibattito. Atti del V Colloquio Internazionale di Paleografia Greca (Cremona, 4–10 ottobre 1998), ed. G. Prato. Firenze 2000, 601–632.

by Plotinus and by some members of the audience in order to comment and debate[44] (let us recall Nicetas David's words); the philosopher's notes circulated among his students, though they were orthographically incorrect and often difficult to decipher because of his cursive script[45]: notes by Photius or dictated by him to a secretary might have circulated among his students, later merging into the *Bibl.* (chapters of type c_1)[46]. Porphyry mentions some treatises written down during Plotinus' seminars, which were circulated among the philosopher's students[47]: in *Amph.* 77, referring to his lessons in dialectics, Photius claims that "our discourses (*logoi*) gave rise to many offspring"[48] and in *Amph*. 78 he states that "in the past, during the exercises in dialectics […], a text was composed and made available to anyone who wanted it"[49]. Some of these treatises were probably reproduced in the *Bibl.* (it is the case of the aforementioned ch. 222), while some others, composed exclusively by his students or assistants, were not: this is probably the case for a very short text Περὶ χρόνου ("On time")[50], preserved on the last folio of Marc. gr. Z 258 (= 668)[51]. The title attributes it to Zacharias, a member of Photius' circle and probably one of his assistants, whom the patriarch appointed bishop of Chalcedon, and called τέκνον (*teknon*, i.e. "son") in some of his letters[52]. Since Photius treats the same theme in similar terms in *Amph*. 137–147[53], Zacharias' text (which begins with ὅτι [*hoti*], as do several chapters of the *Bibl*.: see *supra*) may be linked to a cycle of Photius' seminars on the subject of time. This may not be the only example of a text produced in the context of Photius' teaching activity and not included in the *Bibl*.: Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopoulos' ms Oxon. Bod. Barocci 142, (13th–14th c.) contains some extracts from the *Ecclesiastical History* of Philostorgius (ff. 243r–261r)[54], collected under the title ἐκ τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἱστοριῶν Φιλοστοργίου ἐπιτομὴ *ἀπὸ φωνῆς* Φωτίου πατριάρχου ("Epitome of the *Ecclesiastical Histories* of Philostorgius *from the voice* of Patriarch Photius")[55]. Even if the formula ἀπὸ φωνῆς (*apo phōnēs*) partially lost its original value over time, in the Middle Ages often indicating no more than the authorship of a text[56], this epitome seems to stem from the transcription of one or more of

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[44] Porphyrius, *Vita Plotini*, chs. 13–14 (18, 10–19, 19 ed. P. Henry – H.-R. Schwyzer, Plotini Opera, Porphyrii Vita Plotini. Paris – Bruxelles 1951, vol. 1).

[45] Porphyrius, *Vita Plotini*, chs. 8, 19–20 (24, 1–30, 104 Henry – Schwyzer).

[46] On the importance (and consequences) of dictation in the realization of the *Bibl*., see Hägg, Photios 64–67, 195–200.

[47] Porphyrius, *Vita Plotini*, chs. 3–4 (5, 43–7, 68 Henry – Schwyzer).

[48] *Amph*. 77 (101, 212–214 Laourdas – Westerink V), on which see *supra*.

[49] *Amph*. 78 (104, 97–102 Laourdas – Westerink V), on which see *supra*.

[50] K. Oehler, Zacharias von Chalkedon über die Zeit. *BZ* 50 (1957), 30–38.

[51] F. 324v. The text is also found in two *recentiores*: Vat. Ott. gr. 45 (*Diktyon* 65286) and København, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Fabr. 88 8° (*Diktyon* 37122). The *Marcianus* belongs to the so-called "philosophical collection": see F. Ronconi, La collection brisée. Pour une étude des milieux socioculturels liés à la « collection philosophique », in La face cachée de la littérature byzantine. Le texte en tant que message immédiat. Actes du colloque international, Paris, 5–7 juin 2008, ed. Paolo Odorico. Paris 2011, 137–166: 155. Concerning the second manuscript, see at least D. Harlfinger, Die Textgeschichte der Pseudo-Aristotelischen Schrift Peri atomōn grammōn. Amsterdam 1971, 194, n. 3.

[52] On Zacharias, see PmbZ 8635. The letters in question are Phot., epp. 107 and 108 (147–148 Laourdas – Westerink I).

[53] Oehler, Zacharias von Chalkedon 37–38.

[54] Ch. 40 of the *Bibl*. is also devoted to the same text. See in general n. 1 to this chapter (by M. Losacco) in Bianchi – Schiano, Fozio 973–974 n. 1.

[55] Treadgold, The Nature 39 and 98; Ronconi, Il Moveable Feast 252.

[56] M. Richard, apo phōnēs. *Byz* 20 (1950) 191–222 (followed among others by Treadgold, The Nature 39 n. 6). But see Ch. du Fresne Monsieur Du-Cange, Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae graecitatis. Louvain 1688, II, col. 1717. E.I. Argov, Giving the Heretic a Voice: Philostorgius of Borissus and Greek Ecclesiastical Historiography. *Athenaeum* 89 (2001) 497–524, attributes to the formula its literal meaning to deny Photian authorship: he is then not entirely wrong when he states (520–523) that the epitome could be due to an individual related to the patriarch, provided that this is understood as one of his listeners. Be that as it may, it is not true that the title of the epitome, in red in the *Baroccianus* "[...] appears to be an addition by a later hand." For other proofs concerning Photian authorship of this chapter see A. Baldini, Eunapio, Olimpiodoro, Filostorgio: indizi sulle "responsibilità" del patriarca Fozio, in: Philostorge et l'historiographie de l'Antiquité tardive / Philostorg im Kontext der spätantiken Geschichtsschreibung, ed. D. Meyer. Stuttgart 2011, 41–64: 43–45. The Baroccianus also contains (e.g. on ff. 212r, 225r, 236v) summaries and extracts from various works put together by Xan-

Photius' seminars (type c_2 or c_3 chapters)[57]: in fact, the extracts are not faithfully copied and some comments, probably made by Photius, are interspersed with them. All these materials are introduced by ὅτι (*hoti*): it seems then that the compiler was not copying from a manuscript containing the text, but rather writing down a seminar he was attending by noting the passages of the work that were being read, the summaries of some sections which were being resumed orally, and the comments by Photius (and possibly by some other participants)[58]. This epitome was, then, probably a note which was not included in the *Bibl.* and was preserved in a later manuscript. This seems to also be the case for some extracts from works by Artemidorus preserved in two manuscripts *recentiores* and those from Longinus, Aelius Aristides, and Diodorus of Sicily preserved in Laur. Plut. 58.24 (*Diktyon* 16443): in the last case, the quotations are interrupted by brief explanations and comments that sometimes match *ad litteram* works and epistles by Photius[59].

In addition to participating in the scholar's seminars, some of his assistants supported him in his bibliographical research by producing notes, summaries, and extracts that also merged into the *Bibl*. (type b chapters): several of Photius' letters mention the exchange of notes and manuscripts, and the debates on literary, rhetorical, and grammatical issues that bound the scholar to his (ancient) students[60].

The genesis of the Bibl. and its most ancient manuscripts

It has long been noted that chs. 1–233 generally look like book reviews, usually containing a series of standardized information (name of the author, dedicatee, description of the content, general evaluation), while chs. 234–280 mostly consist of excerpts, introduced by formulas like ἀνεγνώσθη ἐκ ("has been read from") and ὅτι (*hoti*), and are much longer than the previous ones. Following our reconstruction, the first part of the *Bibl*. mainly contains chapters of type a–b_1 and the second chapters of type b_2–d. Nevertheless, the distinction is not that clear-cut. For example, chs. 259–268, which constitute a well-studied group of chapters on Attic orators[61], do not consist of extracts, though they belong to the second part of the *Bibl*., and in the first part of the work many extracts and quotations are found, generally associated with mixed chapters (type e), which, as I said, are

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thopoulos, introduced by the formula *apo phones*. This manuscript, partly written by Xanthopoulos himself, is important for the genesis of the *Historia ecclesiastica*: see, Ch. Gastgeber, Xanthopuliana: Das Arbeitsexemplar Codex Oxford BL, Barocci 142 – Der Computist Xanthopulos, in: Anekdota Byzantina. Studien zur byzantinischen Geschichte und Kultur. Festschrift für Albrecht Berger anlässlich seines 65. Geburtstags, ed. I. Grimm-Stadelmann, A. Riehle, R. Tocci, M.M. Vučetić (*Byzantinisches Archiv* 41). Berlin – Boston 2023, 137–157: 137–152.

[57] Treadgold, The Nature 39 considered it as the transcription of some of Photius' personal annotations (our type c_1).

[58] The epitome of Philostorgius mixes passages from this author with information taken from other sources: Baldini, Eunapio 52. On the whole issue, with further bibliographical references, see the notes to this ch. in Bianchi – Schiano, Fozio 973.

[59] C. Schiano, Artemidoro sul Nilo (fr. 90 Stiehle): falsificazione umanistica o prodotto dell'officina di Fozio? *Byz* 90 (2020) 271–308; A. Corcella, Nuovi frammenti della 'Biblioteca Storica' di Diodoro Siculo. *Quaderni di Storia* 89 (2019) 147–203, 198–199 n. 99. For Longinus, see *ibid*. 150 and n. 4, 153–155 and nn. 14 and 15, 157 n. 19; for Aelius Aristides, see 155–157 and nn. 17 and 18; for Diodorus, see 194–196. See also Hägg, Photios 86–89 (on Photian adaptations of the original texts for stylistic and rhythmic reasons). The *Laurentianus* presents *agrapha* (e.g. on f. 82r, after an excerpt from Diodorus Siculus: see Corcella, Nuovi frammenti 164), like *A* and *M*, and has a rich system of tachygraphic signs that may have been incorrectly reproduced from the model (*ibid*. 178): the *schedaria* (on which see *infra*) were probably often copied in cursive and abbreviated scripts. See also, on Photius' materials scattered in other manuscripts, S. Micunco, Dallo *schedarion* al codice: sulla tradizione manoscritta della *Biblioteca*, in Bianchi – Schiano, Fozio LXV–LXXXV: LXV and n. 1 p. LXXVIII, and the contribution of C. Schiano in this volume.

[60] See, for example, the epistolary exchanges with Zacharias: Phot., epp. 107 (147–148 Laourdas – Westerink I), 108 (148 Laourdas – Westerink I), 179 (68 Laourdas – Westerink II), 221 (131–134 Laourdas – Westerink II) et 223 (135 Laourdas – Westerink II).

[61] Schamp, Les Vies.

the fruit of the juxtaposition of materials of different kinds[62]. This complex situation can be better understood by analysing ms *A*: not only has it been referred on solid palaeographic grounds to the second half of the ninth and the very beginning of the tenth century[63], but it was realized in the Photian milieu[64]. Not by chance, in *A*, the two parts of the *Bibl*. correspond to two independent groups of quires, written by two teams of copyists, who, as I said, left more or less extensive blanks at the end of some chapters[65] and inside some others. These *agrapha* (but not the codicological bipartition) are also found in the other key manuscript of the *Bibl.*, *M*, copied between the end of the 11th and the beginning of the 12th century[66]. The relationship between the two *codices* has recently been reconsidered, in a way that helps to reconstruct the genesis of the *Bibl*.: by merging the notes written by Photius during his captivity with some other materials (as I said), the dossier-prototype was set up in the milieu of Tarasius, and precociously copied into the first part of *A* by two copyists. At the beginning of the manuscript, starting from f. 1v to f. 4v, a *pinax* corresponding to the chapters contained at the time in the copy (and in the dossier-prototype) was also set up. The first folio recto of the manuscript was left blank[67]. After some time, other notes and extracts were added to the end of the dossier-prototype, and again after Photius' return from exile, around 873, some further notes were added. The second part of the dossier was also copied (by the second group of copyists) in *A*, which thus acquired a further, less organized section (chs. 234–279). The *pinax* was also implemented. This multi-phased work did not succeed in saving all Photian materials: the epitome of Philostorgius' *Ecclesiastical History* and other notes—which were probably preserved in the archives of some of Photius' students—were not included in the prototype, and were copied independently in later manuscripts, not in *A* or *M*[68]. The letter to Tarasius was also copied (with some modifications) on the first folio recto of *A*, which had been left blank. At the end of the manuscript the last chapter (280) was added, whose beginning contains a formula that partially overlaps the epilogue. Two details are worth noting: the chapter was added in *A* after its completion, while the epilogue never was. In fact, the manuscript has lost its last quire, but the addition of the last chapter is demonstrated by the addition of its title at the end of the *pinax*, and by its presence in a later copy of *A*[69]. Conversely, there is no trace of the epilogue in the *pinax* of *A* nor in its copy. The absence of the epilogue is meaningful since it partially contradicts the letter to Tarasius

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[62] Concerning these mixed chapters, it should be noted that the "coupling operation" was not systematic, as proven by doublets, i.e. two (in one case three) chapters concerning the same work, and generally different in nature: one found in the first part of the *Bibl*. and consisting of a "book-review", and the other, in the second part, including extracts or partial summaries: see Treadgold, The Nature 41 and n. 13; Schamp, Photios historien des lettres 97f; Schamp, Photios abréviateur 658–659. Eulogius' *Contra Navatos* is the object of chs. 182, 208 and 280: see *ibid*. 655, 727–729; Ronconi, Il Moveable 217 and n. 125. Sometimes two concurrent chapters are found in the first part of the *Bibl*.: for example, chs. 49 and 169 both contain a brief evaluation of Cyril of Alexandria's *Against Nestorius* and partially contradict each other concerning its style (judged positively in the first, "modest" in the second).

[63] G. Cavallo, Per le mani e la datazione del codice Ven. Mar. gr. 450. *Quaderni di storia* 49 (1999) 157–162; Ronconi, L'automne du Patriarche 97–100; Micunco, Dallo *schedarion* LXV. Against this datation, Mazzucchi, Restauro e interpretazione, attributes the whole manuscript to the beginning of the tenth century, but the palaeographic criteria he proposes do not seem convincing to me.

[64] Ronconi, L'automne du Patriarche 109–112. On the pinax, see M.R. Acquafredda, Un documento inesplorato: il *pinax* della *Biblioteca* di Fozio. Bari 2015, and B. Trono, Per la storia del testo della *Biblioteca* di Fozio. *Pinax* e note redazionali. *Segno e testo* 18 (2020) 123–185.

[65] Some chapters present *agrapha* (in *A* and sometimes in *M*) not in their final part, but in the middle: chs. 72, 92, 244, 265, 271, 277. For a complete list of the *agrapha* in both manuscripts, see Micunco, Dallo schedarion LXX–LXXII.

[66] M. Losacco, Ancora sui testimoni della Biblioteca foziana: sulle mani del Marc. gr. 451. *Segno e testo* 12 (2014) 223–269; Micunco, Dallo schedarion LXVII–LXVIII.

[67] See Ronconi, L'automne du Patriarche 112–114.

[68] Ronconi, Il Moveable Feast.

[69] On the addition of the title of ch. 280 at the end of the *pinax* of *A*, see Ronconi, L'automne du Patriarche 124–125. The late copy of *A* is Paris. gr. 1266 (*Diktyon* 50875), on which, see Micunco, Dallo schedarion LXVIII–LXX. The formula is not found in *M*.

about the very nature of the *Bibl.*[70]: according to the epistle, the work only concerns the books read in the absence of Tarasius[71], whereas the epilogue mentions all the books read by Photius from the very beginning, with some exceptions[72]. The epilogue was, then, probably added to the dossier-prototype after the last modification of *A*: not by chance, it is found in *M* (copied, as I said, some two centuries after *A*), which also contains chs. 185 and 279, absent in *A*. The two manuscripts have long been believed to descend independently from a common model (that is the prototype)[73], but recent studies seem to imply that *M* stems from *A* itself *via* a lost intermediate manuscript whose copyist(s) also had access to the prototype. Be that as it may, it is sure that the prototype continued to "evolve" after the transcription of *A*[74].

The prototype, a dossier made of schedē and schedaria

In *Amph.* 148 (written during the captivity in Skepē, and then, following our reconstruction, almost contemporary with the composition of the notes sent to Tarasius), Photius states that his books had been taken from him and that he only had at his disposal his σχεδάρια (*schedaria*)[75]. This is a technical word designating a precise type of transitional medium: a booklet or a folder containing loose sheets, called σχέδη (*schedē*). Working by *schedē* and *schedaria* was a widespread literate habit between at least the 4th and 15th centuries, rooted in the scholarly practices of antiquity[76]. The fact that the *Bibl.* is derived from the transcription of a prototype consisting of *schedē* and *schedaria* is implied by some facts. The first is the presence of groups of consecutive chapters dealing with the same topics and generally characterized by intertextual references, that are generally retrograde: for

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[70] Ronconi, Il Moveable Feast 229. On the epilogue see Canfora, Thesaurus XLIII–LVII.

[71] Τοσαῦτα γάρ, οἶμαι, τῆς σῆς οὐ τυχόντα παρουσίας ἀναγνωσθῆναι συνέπεσεν (3 Bianchi – Schiano: "this is, I think, the number of books I happened to read in your absence"). On ch. 165 see *supra*.

[72] Ἃ μὲν οὖν φιλολογουμένοις ἡμῖν καθ'ἑαυτοὺς εἰς ἀνάμνησιν ἐλθεῖν συνηνέχθη, χωρὶς ὧν ἡ σπουδὴ καὶ μελέτη τέχνας φιλεῖ καὶ ἐπιστήμας ἐργάζεσθαι, ἀφ'οὗπερ τις αἴσθησις ἡμῖν ἀμηγέπῃ καὶ κρίσις λόγων ἐνεφύη μέχρι τῆς παρούσης τῶν ἀνεγνωσμένων ὡς ἐν τύπῳ συνεκδόσεως […] (953 Bianchi – Schiano: "The books I happened to come across, from the time when some perception and discernment arose in me until the present summary publication of the readings I have done, with the exclusion of those whose in-depth study concerns the trades and sciences, applying myself in solitude to cultivate memory [...]"). On this contradiction, see Ronconi, L'automne du Patriarche 122–125 and Canfora, Thesaurus XLV-XLVI.

[73] See A. Severyns, Recherche sur la Chrestomathie de Proclos. Première partie. Le Codex 239 de Photius. Tome I. Etude paléographique et critique. Liège – Paris 1938, proposes a two-branch stemma characterized by the proliferation of lost intermediate manuscripts (see on this aspect Micunco, Dallo schedarion LXXIII, LXXXIV n. 89, and Mazzucchi, Restauro e interpretazione 460). This led H. Erbse, Rev. of Photius, Bibliothèque. Tome 1: Codices 1–84, ed. R. Henry. *Gnomon* 32 (1960) 608–618: 613 to propose a simplified version. The latter was, taken up by Hägg, Photios 44 and by D. Marcotte, Les mines d'or des Ptolémées: d'Agatharchide aux archives de Photios. *Journal des savants* s.n. (2017) 3–49 (who nevertheless does not quote Erbse, but refers to Severyns). Both versions of the stemma appear untenable in the light of recent research on the transmission of the scholies of Arethas, on the genesis of the Bibl. and on the date and nature of manuscript A: for Arethas, see G. Russo, Contestazione e conservazione. Luciano nell'esegesi di Areta. Berlin – Boston 2012, 107–110.

[74] See Micunco, Dallo *schedarion* LXXIII–LXXIV; P. Isépy, Die Überlieferung der "Bibliotheke" des Photios und die Frage nach dem Archetypus, in Lachmanns Erbe. Editionsmethoden in klassischer Philologie und germanistischer Mediävistik, ed. A. Kathrin Bleuler – O. Primavesi. Berlin 2022, 321–62; P. Isépy – O. Primavesi, Oliver, Helladios und Hesychios. Neues zum Text der Bibliotheke des Photios (Cod. 279). *ZPE* 192 (2014) 121–142; P. Isépy, Towards a New Text of Helladius. Neglected manuscript evidence on Photius' "Bibliotheke". *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 163 (2020) 189–230; Losacco, Photius 258; P. Isépy, A preliminary Text of Photius' Bibliotheca c. 278 [279] – the Chrestomatheiai of Helladius of Antinoupolis. *ZPE* 220 (2021) 97–117; Ronconi, Les sources.

[75] Canfora, Thesaurus XVII–XX.

[76] Ronconi, Écrire par schédê.

instance, chs. 186–190 all concern, with one exception, paradoxographical texts[77], thus constituting a coherent group, in which the preceding chapters are referred to by the following ones and never vice versa. The *schedarion* was then implemented gradually: *schedē* concerning the different texts were added over time, and each time, reference was made to the previous *schedē*. They could move within the *schedarion* (proof of the fact that the *schedaria* were often folders, and the *schedē* loose sheets): let us take the case of another *schedarion*, corresponding to chs. 62–67, all dealing with Christian historical texts, sequenced according to their period of composition[78]. The chapter which precedes this group (ch. 61, on Aeschines' works) ends with a note about a term (*margaros*) which is not found in the chapter itself nor in the surviving texts of Aeschines. The note explicitly refers to Praxagoras' work (reviewed in ch. 62), and Procopius', reviewed in ch. 63[79], where the term *margaros* is found. Then, the lexicographical note that is now found at the end of ch. 61, was written on a *schedos* originally placed after ch. 63, but which moved to the beginning of the "historiographical *schedarion*" of chs. 62–67. When all these materials were transcribed into *A*, the note was reproduced before ch. 62, that is at the end of ch. 61[80]. A similar phenomenon probably occurs in the case of the "mixed" ch. 223, concerning a lost work by Diodorus of Tarsus (*Against Astronomers, Astrologers and Destiny*). It consists of 1184 lines in the printed edition and probably constituted a *schedarion* in itself, containing three independent media: the first was a *schedos* containing a brief review (16 lines); the second (15 lines) another *schedos* containing a résumé of the ch. 51 of Diodorus' text, focusing on the heresy of a gnostic philosopher named Bardesanes; the third and last (1153 lines, i.e. 97% of the chapter) was probably a quire containing a summary of the work[81], rich in syntactical inconsistencies, errors, and incomprehensible sentences[82]. In this summary, ch. 51 (on the heresy of Bardesanes) is presented a second time, in more detail but without any reference to the first résumé. This probably implies that the chapter was originally a folder containing two loose sheets and a quire[83].

The *schedē* did not just move within the *schedarion* they belonged to, but also, more generally, within the dossier-prototype: the chapter on Proclus' *Chrestomatia* is numbered 239 in *M*, 234 in *A,* and 238 in the *pinax* of A[84]. Finally, some *schedē* were added or subtracted from the prototype: ch. 202 is found in *A*, not in *M* (the corresponding *schedos* was then subtracted from the prototype after *A* was copied), and ch. 185 and 279 are found in *M*, not in *A* (the corresponding *schedē* were then probably added to the prototype before *M* was copied).

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[77] Photius' interest in paradoxical and fantastic tales is made evident by the fact that in his review of many (especially historical) works, he emphasizes such elements (perhaps in order to use them for didactic or rhetorical purposes). On the possible reasons for this interest, see the article by C. Schiano in this volume.

[78] Ch. 62: Praxagoras, 4th c.; ch. 63: Procopius, 6th c.; ch. 64: Theophanes of Byzantium, 6th c.; ch. 65: Theophilactus 6th–7th c.; ch. 66: Nicephorus, 8th–9th c.; ch. 67: Sergius, 9th c.

[79] On ch. 62, see SCHAMP, Photios historien des lettres 168–170.

[80] I would like to draw the reader's attention to some chapter sequences that, due to the coherence of their content, intertextual references, or other specific reasons, could be derived from the transcription of schedaria: chs. 4–7, 9–13, 15–20, 21–24, 27–31, 52–55, 63–67, 73–94 (?), 103–105, 109–111, 114–121 (?), 122–124, 128–131, 132–135, 137–138, 139–140, 141–144, 145–158 (?), 183–184, 186–190, 191–201 (?), 202–207, 216–221 (?), 222–230 (?), 252–258, 259–268, 269–277 (on chs. 269–275 as deriving from a *schedarion*, see *infra*, and TRONO Per la storia, *passim* and especially 133–144 (with previous bibliography in n. 49).

[81] With the exception of Chapters IV and V.

[82] RONCONI, Il Moveable Feast 214–215.

[83] Another instructive case regarding the dynamics of reading and studying in the photian *entourage*, but probably also the mobility of the *schedē* and the *schedaria*, is that of the chapters of the *Bibl*. that are devoted to the novelists, which are thematically but not physically contiguous: N. BIANCHI, Sequenze di lettura nella Biblioteca di Fozio: i capitoli sui romanzieri, in: Storie di testi e tradizione classica per Luciano Canfora, ed. R. Otranto – P.M. Pinto. Roma 2018, 1–11.

[84] ACQUAFREDDA, Un documento inesplorato 34–38. On the different position of the chapter on Proclus in A and M, see also the complex reconstruction by TRONO, Per la storia 144–147.

The multiple uses of schedē and schedaria: the archives of Photius

In *Amph.* 158, Photius answers a question ("For what reason did the Lord choose Mary Magdalene, from whom he cast out seven demons?") by way of a hidden quotation. The same quotation is contained in ch. 275 of the *Bibl.*, where the scholar specifies that it comes from a lost homily by Modestos, patriarch of Jerusalem[85]. This chapter of the *Bibl.* also contains other extracts from other homilies by the same author and by another patriarch of Jerusalem, Hesychios. *Amph.* 158 and the corresponding part of *Bibl*. 275 might stem from the same model, which might have been a *schedos* belonging to a thematic (homiletic) *schedarion*: while only one *schedos* was probably transcribed in *Amph*. 158, the whole *schedarion* seems to have been copied in the *Bibl*.[86]. This reconstruction is confirmed by another, more complex case: twenty-four extracts and paraphrases from as many texts attributed to John Chrysostom are found both in *Bibl*. 277 and in *Amph.* 159–170[87]. In the first, they are subdivided into fifteen blocks, each endowed with a title (the chapter is then probably the copy of a *schedarion* consisting of fifteen *schedē*):

sched.	**Edition**[88]	**Progressive numbering in the *Bibl.***	**Title of the texts following the *Bibl.***	***Amph.* (number and title)**
1	901 Bianchi – Schiano (516a 31–517a 6 Bekker)	1	Ps.-Chrysost., *First homily on the Holy Spirit* Ἀνεγνώσθη τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου ἐκ τῆς περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος πρώτης ὁμιλίας (≈ *PG* 52, col. 825)	159 Τί ἐστι τὸ 'ἐγὼ ἀπ' ἐμαυτοῦ οὐ λαλῶ';
2	902 Bianchi – Schiano (517a 7–28 Bekker)	2–4	(Ps.-Chrysost.?), *The Christ is the Rising Sun + On the words 'He ascended and descended' + The Holy Spirit is all-powerful* Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὅτι Χριστὸς ἀνατολή, καὶ εἰς τὸ ἀνέβη καὶ κατέβη, καὶ ὅτι τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον παντοκράτωρ ἐστίν (?)	160 Πῶς βραχίονα κυρίου ὁ θεολόγος Ἰωάννης τὴν οἰκονομίαν διαλαμβάνει;
3	902–908 Bianchi – Schiano (517a 29–520b 3 Bekker)	5	(Severian of Gabala), *On the incarnation (and the fact that angels are assigned to each region)* Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ εἰς τὴν ἐνανθρώπησιν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· καὶ ὅτι ἑκάστῳ κλίματι ἐφεστήκασιν ἄγγελοι (*CPG* 4204)	161–163 Τί δηλοῖ, 'ὅτι καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ κτίσις ἐλευθερωθήσεται ἀπὸ τῆς δουλείας' καὶ ἐξῆς; Τί ἐστι 'πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως'; Τί ἐστι δέησις καὶ τί προσευχή;
4	908–911 Bianchi – Schiano (520b 4–522a 3 Bekker)	6–8	Ps.-Chrysost., *On the Old and New Testaments + On the priest's habit + On penitence* Ἐκ τοῦ λόγου, ὅτι παλαιᾶς καὶ καινῆς διαθήκης εἷς ὁ νομοθέτης· καὶ εἰς τὸ ἔνδυμα τοῦ ἱερέως· καὶ περὶ μετανοίας (≈ *PG* 56, col. 400–406)	164–165 'Οὐ γὰρ ἐπαισχύνομαι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον· δικαιοσύνη γὰρ θεοῦ' καὶ ἑξῆς Ch. 165 has no title and continues the previous one

[85] *CPG* 7872, *BHG* 1162a. See Á.I. Chacón, Uno *schedarion*, due rielaborazioni. Fozio, Epistola 94 e Biblioteca 186, 131b.32–40. *JÖB* 71 (2022) 259–268.

[86] Trono, Per la storia 134–135, has reconstructed a homiletic *schedarion* that, in her view, included chs. 269–275 (first part, containing Hesychius). She cautiously proposes that the section on Modestus was added in a space initially left blank at the end of the same *schedarion*. This would explain the fact that the *pinax* only records the first homily (by Hesychius). It is, however, also possible (perhaps more probable) that the section on Modestus' homilies was written on an independent *schedos*, such as the one containing the other homiletic extracts found in chapters 276–277.

[87] The attribution of some of these texts to Chrysostomus is *sub judice*, some of them are apocryphal, and at least one is by Severian of Gabala: K.-H. Uthemann, Severian von Gabala in Photios' Bibliothek und Amphilochia: Überlegungen zu den Dubia Severiani. *JÖB* 43 (1993) 61–86.

[88] For the sake of precision, I also give the reference to Bekker's edition.

sched.	Edition[88]	Progressive numbering in the *Bibl.*	Title of the texts following the *Bibl.*	*Amph.* (number and title)
5	911 Bianchi – Schiano (522a 4–522a 22 Bekker)	9	Ps.-Chrysost., *May my grace suffice you* Ἐκ τοῦ εἰς τό «Ἀρκεῖοι ἡ χάρις μου· ἡ γὰρ δύναμίς μου ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ τελειοῦται» (≈ *PG* 59, col. 513–514)	166 Πῶς πρεσβευτὴς ἦλθεν ὁ Χριστὸς παρὰ τοῦ πατρός;
6	911–913 Bianchi – Schiano (522a 23–523a 2 Bekker)	10	Ps.-Chrysost., *On the words of the Apostle "If you are in Christ"* etc. Ἐκ τοῦ εἰς τὸ ῥητὸν τοῦ ἀποστόλου «Εἴ τις ἐν Χριστῷ, καινὴ κτίσις· τὰ ἀρχαῖα παρῆλθεν, ἰδοὺ γέγονε καινὰ τὰ πάντα» (≈ *PG* 64, col. 29)	167 Εἰς τὸ ῥητὸν τοῦ ἀποστόλου· ‘εἴ τις ἐν Χριστῷ, καινὴ κτίσις· τὰ ἀρχαῖα παρῆλθεν, ἰδοὺ γέγονε καινὰ τὰ πάντα.’
7	913 Bianchi – Schiano (523a 3–523a 13 Bekker)	11–12	*After the kalends + On those who get drunk* Ἐκ τοῦ μετὰ τὰς καλάνδας καὶ ἑξῆς· καὶ κατὰ μεθυόντων (?)	–
8	913 Bianchi – Schiano (523a 14–523a 32 Bekker)	13	*On the words of the Apostle "Concerning those who have died"* etc. Ἐκ τοῦ εἰς τὸ ῥητὸν τοῦ ἀποστόλου· «Περὶ δὲ τῶν κεκοιμημένων οὐ θέλω ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν, ἀδελφοί, ἵνα μὴ λυπῆσθε ὡς καὶ οἱ λοιποί» καὶ ἑξῆς (*CPG* 4921)	168 Διὰ τί ὁ ἀπόστολος, ὅταν περὶ Χριστοῦ διαλέγηται, θάνατον καλεῖ τὸν ἐκείνου θάνατον, ὅταν δὲ περὶ ἡμῶν, κοίμησιν;
9	913–914 Bianchi – Schiano (523a 33–523b 10 Bekker)	14	*On penitence* Ἀνεγνώσθη ἐκ τοῦ περὶ μετανοίας τοῦ αὐτοῦ Χρυσοστόμου (≈ *PG* 49, col. 338 et *PG* 63, col. 835)	–
10	914–915 Bianchi – Schiano (523b 11–524a 20 Bekker)	15	*Isaiah's vision on Judea and Jerusalem* Ὅρασις ἣν εἶδεν Ἡσαΐας κατὰ Ἰουδαίας καὶ κατὰ Ἰερουσαλήμ (*CPG* 4631)	169 Διὰ τί ἀφεὶς τὴν ὅρασιν Ἡσαΐας περὶ οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς διαλαμβάνει;
11	915 Bianchi – Schiano (524a 21–524b 15 Bekker)	16–19	Ps.-Chrysost., *On the prodigal son + On penitence + On the tree of the knowledge of good and evil + On the thief* Ἐκ τοῦ εἰς τὸν ἄσωτον, καὶ εἰς μετάνοιαν, καὶ εἰς τὸ ξύλον γνωστὸν καλοῦ καὶ πονηροῦ, καὶ εἰς τὸν λῃστήν (*PG* 59, col. 629–630; col. 630; col. 634)	170 Τίς ἡ παραβολὴ τοῦ τὴν πατρικὴν οὐσίαν λαβόντος καὶ εἰς χώραν ἀποδημήσαντος μακράν;
12	916 Bianchi – Schiano (524b 16–524b 28 Bekker)	20	(Ps.-Chrysost.?), *Exhortation to penitence* Ἐκ τοῦ παραινετικοῦ λόγου περὶ μετανοίας (?)	–
13	916 Bianchi – Schiano (524b 29–525a 8 Bekker)	21–22	(Ps.-Chrysost.?), *On the earthquake + On Lazarus and the rich man* Ἐκ τοῦ εἰς τὸν σεισμὸν καὶ εἰς τὸν Λάζαρον καὶ εἰς τὸν πλούσιον (*PG* 48, col. 1029–1030?)	–
14	916 Bianchi – Schiano (525a 9–17 Bekker)	23	(Ps.-Chrysost.?), *On not grieving too much for the dead* Ἐκ τοῦ εἰς τὸ μὴ οὕτω σφοδρῶς θρηνεῖν τοὺς τελευτῶντας (?)	–

15	916–917 Bianchi – Schiano (525a 18–30 Bekker)	24	(Ps.-Chrysost.?), *Letter to bishop Kyriakos* Ὅτι ἐν τῇ πρὸς τὸν ἐπίσκοπον Κυριακὸν ἐπιστολῇ (*PG* 52, col. 685)	–

Diagram I: Correspondence between *Bibl*. 277 and *Amph*. 159–170.

While in the case of *Amph*. 158 and *Bibl*. 252, the portion of text in common is too small to prove that they derive from the same model, in this case, this is confirmed by the fact that they share some common errors and each present some separative errors[89]. *Diagram I* shows that in *Amph*., the contents of some sections/*schedē* are split into consecutive chapters, while those of other sections are omitted. Three hypotheses are therefore possible: (1) the original *schedarion* was deliberately copied in full in *Bibl*. 277 and only partially in *Amph*. (like in the previous case); (2) the original *schedarion*, first used in *Amph*., was enriched with additional *schedē* and then copied into *Bibl*. 277; (3) the original *schedarion*, used first in *Bibl*. 277, lost some *schedē* before being copied into *Amph*. 158–170[90]. Since the respective dating of the two works is uncertain, it seems impossible to choose one of the three hypotheses.

Such correspondences do not concern exclusively the *Bibl*. and the *Amph*., but also the letters by Photius: the text of about eighty of them is almost the same as that of as many chapters of the *Amph.* (pl. 1), and it is worth noting that many of them date from the years between Photius' appointment to the patriarchate (December 858) and the end of his second exile (c. 873)[91].

Chapters of the *Amph.*	**Epistles**
81–121	145, 147, 151–152, 155–157, 161–167, 176–178, 180–182, 187, 192, 196, 203, 205, 208–211, 213–214, 216, 219, 228, 241, 246–250 and 253
131–136	254–258 and 265
171–173	30–31 and 33
193–222	34–38, 44, 51, 55, 59, 62–65, 73, 75–78, 103, 125, 127, 129, 132–134, 137–139, 144, 135

Plate. 1: Correspondences between *Amph*. and Photius' *Letters* (based on 128–130 Laourdas – Westerink V, and 5–6 Laourdas – Westerink VI.2)

To sum up, in Photius' milieu at least three *repertoires*/dossiers existed: the collection of the minutes of his letters; a collection of *schedē* and *schedaria* on books (consisting of reviews and extracts), later giving birth to the *Bibl.*; a repertory/archive on various issues following the questions-answers model (*Amph*.). All these repertoires seem to have consisted of dossiers containing *schedē* and *schedaria* that could migrate from one to another, or simply be copied and thus duplicated.

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[89] For instance, for common errors, see (all references are given following the *Amph*. ed. Laourdas – Westerink V): 160.32 om. ἐκοῦσα, 167.21 πρόσχες; for separative errors in *Amph*., see 160.37 κλήματα, 160.87 βαάλ, 168.7 λέγει pro ὀνομάζει, 170.4 σωτῆρος; for separative errors in *Bibl*., see 159.14 πλάνων (*ante corr.*), 159.21 αὐτῶν, 160.1 φησιν add., 161.42 καί om., 162.4 ἡ om., 162.14 καί om., 165.46 λέγητε, 164.9 οὖν om., 166.12 διειλέχθη, 167.16 θεοποιῆς, 167.18 τοῦ om., 167.31 ἡ om., 167.31 δέ om.

[90] Be that as it may, at the end of the section devoted to text 3, both in *Bibl*. 277 and in *Amph*. 163, is found a note by Photius which was then without any doubt already on the *schedos*.

[91] It can be stated that these texts first existed as epistles, and only later became *Amph.*: in the oldest manuscript of the latter, which dates from just a few generations after Photius, the same hand that wrote the text wrote in the margin of some chapters the names of the previous recipients. See also Chacón, Uno *schedarion*.

But Photius also produced another dossier, in which, over the years, he collected different materials on what became, from the 860s onwards, a major theological issue: the procession of the Holy Spirit.

THE MYSTAGOGIA

The Mystagogia is not a unitary text

An insidious text due to the complexity of its theme, the *Myst.* ("initiation into the understanding of the Divine") is also difficult to read because of the incoherence of its structure and the plurality of tones and arguments it uses to demonstrate the illegitimacy of the *Filioque*[92]. Its apparently unitary nature, suggested—but not imposed, as we shall see—by the manuscript tradition, was established by the *editio princeps* published in 1857 by Joseph Adam Gustav Hergenröther[93], as the first step towards a monumental monography on Photius[94]. Before him, Leo Allacci and Angelo Mai had recognized the importance of this text, which they too considered unitary, though in the 13th c., in order to support the union promoted by Emperor Michael VIII, another patriarch of Constantinople, John XI Bekkos (r. 1275–1282), refuted its different sections as independent blocks[95].

Conversely, the heterogeneous nature of the *Myst*. is evident from the first paragraphs[96]: after praising the "research magnificent and dear to God" and the "love of God" of the anonymous addressee in § 1 (τὸ σὸν μεγαλοπρεπὲς καὶ θεοφιλέστατον σπούδασμα / τοῦ σοῦ θείου ἔρωτος)[97], in § 2 the author blames his "madness", his "ungodly effort" and his "voluntary sickness" (τῆς σῆς [...] παρανοίας / τὴν σὴν [...] δυσσεβῆ σπουδήν / ἡ ἑκούσιος [...] νόσος[98]). Similar abrupt switches are found throughout the text, and the author sometimes addresses a single person, and sometimes a group of heretics. Such phenomena are coupled with inconsistencies in content, two of which are worth noting: a rhetorical question in § 5 implies that no holy Father ever said that the Spirit proceeds from the Son (Τίς εἶπε τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ περιωνύμων πατέρων ἡμῶν τὸ Πνεῦμα τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐκπορεύεσθαι; ["Who among our holy and renowned Fathers said that the Spirit proceeds from the Son?"][99]), but §§ 67–89 explain why some holy Fathers did. Also, in § 5, the author mentions the councils that deliberated on the Creed, ignoring the one of 879/880, which also did, and was gathered by Photius himself[100]: this council is mentioned in some detail in § 89.

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92 The bibliography on the subject is extensive. I content myself with referring to Polidori, Fozio, La Mistagogia XXI–XXIII, for a quick bibliographical review.

93 J. Hergenröther, Photii Constantinopolitani Liber de spiritus sancti Mystagogia. Regensburg 1857. Hergenröther (1824–1890) was a professor of theology from Würzburg, later to become a cardinal and the leader of ultramontanism, and thus one of the main theorists of papal infallibility.

94 J. Hergenröther, Photius, Patriarch von Constantinopel. Sein Leben, seine Schriften und das griechische Schisma. Regensburg 1867–1869.

95 Hergenröther, Photii Constantinopolitani Liber VI–VII. On the refutation by Bekkos see Polidori, Fozio, La Mistagogia XLI and n. 132–134 and Siecienski, The Filioque 138–140.

96 See also T. Kolbaba, Inventing Latin Heretics: Byzantines and the Filioque in the Ninth Century. Kalamazoo 2008, 77–78. On her analysis, see *infra*.

97 4, 2–3 and 5 Polidori. The numbers of the paragraphs used in the available editions, in modern studies and in this article, are those by Hergenröther, who followed the numbering of Vat. Gr. 1923: Hergenröther, Photii Constantinopolitani Liber XIV–XV.

98 4, 7–12 Polidori.

99 6, 6–7 Polidori.

100 G.D. Dragas, The Eigth Ecumenical Council: Constantinople IV (879/880) and the Condemnation of the Filioque Addition and Doctrine. *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 44 (1999) 357–69; E. Morini, Il Filioque nella crisi foziana e negli avvenimenti del 1054, in Il Filioque. A mille anni dal suo inserimento nel credo a Roma (1014–2014), ed. M. Gagliardi. Città del Vaticano 2015, 39–63.

The first comprehensive critique of the "unitarist" interpretation of the *Myst*. was formulated only in 2008 by Tia Kolbaba[101], who identified four main parameters allowing, in her view, three independent sections to be identified, deriving from three different sources[102]. The first parameter in order of importance consists, from her point of view, of the discrepancies regarding the number of addressees and the tones used:

> "some chapters are addressed to the opponent/Filioquist; others to an ally [...]; some paragraphs are addressed to the 'you' of the preface or someone like him—that is to another Greek who wants to [...] refute the Latins [...]. Written for 'us', the text discusses 'them' [...]. In contrast, other sections [...] are addressed to a Latin 'you', the imagined opponent who teaches double procession of the Holy Spirit."[103]

The not-unitary nature of the text is confirmed, according to Kolbaba, by the differences in the argumentative methods ("some chapters deal entirely with definitions of Trinitarian and Christological terms, and with proving that the filioquist position is untenable [...]; others deal entirely with exegesis [...]"[104]) and vocabulary (the term μυσταγωγέω [*mystagōgeō*] and derivatives are present in some paragraphs and not in others[105]). Kolbaba also proposes a last parameter that she judges less important[106]: the inconsistent numbering of paragraphs in the main manuscripts, which is discontinuous and does not correspond to their actual position[107].

Though Kolbaba's attempt was not convincing (in fact scholars go on considering the *Myst.* as unitary[108]), she was fundamentally right in believing that the text is composed of genetically independent parts, even if these parts are not the ones she imagined, and even if, to prove it, the starting point should be what she considered the last and less important factor[109].

The numbering of the chapters

Valerio Polidori's recent edition of the *Myst.* contains a synoptic table illustrating the way the chapters are numbered in the main manuscripts (pl. 2)[110].

Four phenomena can be noted: (1) the first and last paragraphs are unnumbered in all manuscripts; (2) three sets of currently discontinuous paragraphs (2–20, 31–48, 61–64) are provided with continuous numbering, (from '1' to '43': α–κ, κα–λη and λθ–μγ), implying that they were originally an uninterrupted sequence; (3) this sequence is currently interrupted by two groups of paragraphs: 21–30, which are unnumbered in our manuscripts, and 49–60, whose numbering starts

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[101] Kolbaba, Inventing Latin Heretics 76–103.

[102] *Ibid*. 82–87: source 1 = §§ 2, 5, 20–30, 48–59, 65–89; source 2 = §§ 3–4; source 3 = §§ 31–37.

[103] *Ibid*. 77–78.

[104] *Ibid*. 77.

[105] *Ibid*. 77 and 80.

[106] *Ibid*. 80–81 and Appendix 2 (whose indications are mostly erroneous: see also the following note).

[107] *Ibid*. 77: "after establishing some rough divisions of the text, based on these criteria, we will see that those divisions often correspond to a difference of opinion in the manuscripts about how to divide the text and number its chapters". Following Kolbaba, Inventing Latin Heretics 80, the most important are Vat. Pal. Gr. 216 ("because it is the earliest manuscript (c. 9ex–10in)", Paris. gr. 1228 ("because it is also relatively early (c. 11) and seems to reflect an early tradition") and Vat. Gr. 1923 from the 13th c. ("because Hergenröther used it for his edition"): she overlooks Vat. Gr. 2195 (*Diktyon* 68826), which is instead fundamental, except for mentioning it (by attributing it to the 14th century) and claiming that Hergenröther followed its numbering: on the contrary, he followed the numbering of Vat. Gr. 1923 (*Diktyon* 68552).

[108] Kolbaba, Inventing Latin Heretics 76–79, 82–87.

[109] Polidori, Fozio, La Mistagogia XXIV, also mentions two adressees.

[110] However, Hergenröther's edition has also preserved in the margins, in Greek characters, the original numbering of the manuscripts he used. A few corrections to the table in Polidori, Fozio, La Mistagogia LXVIII–LXX: in § 5, the numerals β–ζ do not concern the numbering of the paragraphs, but the councils enumerated in the text. The paragraphs numbered 66 to 69 in the *PG* are erroneously given as κς–κθ, instead of ξς–ξθ.

again from α; (4) the final part of the work is made up of two groups of paragraphs: 67[= κζ in the Pl. 2]–84, numbered from α to κ, and 85–95, unnumbered.

Since these inconsistencies are found in both branches of Polidori's *stemma codicum*, they stem from the prototype of the *Myst*.[111].

PG	A	P	N	B	K	F	Ma
α					?		
β	α			α	?	α	
γ	β		α	β	?	β	α
δ	γ		β	γ	?	γ	β ε γ
ε	δ	β–ζ		δ	?	δ	δ*
ς	ε	ε	γ*	ε	?	ε	ε*
ζ	ς		δ	ς	?	ς	ς
η	ζ	ζ	ε	ζ	?	ζ	ζ*
θ	η	η	ς	η	?	η	η
ι					?		
ια	θ, ι, ια	θ, ι, ια	ζ	θ, ι, ια	?	θ, ι, ια	θ
ιβ	ιβ	ιβ	η	ιβ	?	ιβ	ι
ιγ	ιγ	ιγ		ιγ	?	ιγ	
ιδ	ιδ	ιδ	θ	ιδ	?	ιδ	ια*
ιε	ιε	ιε	ι	ιε	?	ιε	ιβ
ις	ις	ις	ια	ις	?	ις	(ιγ)
ιζ	ιζ	ιζ	ιβ*	ιζ	?	ιζ	
ιη	ιη	ιη	ιγ	ιη	?	ιη	ιδ
ιθ	ιθ	ιθ	ιδ	ιθ	?	ιθ	
κ	κ	κ		κ	?	κ	
κα					?		
κβ					?		
κγ					?		
κδ					?		
κε					?		
κς					?		
κζ					?		
κη					?		
κθ					?		
λ					?		
λα	κα	κα	ιε*	κα	?	κα	ις*
λβ	κβ	κβ	ις	κβ	?	κβ	ιζ
λγ	κγ	κγ	ιζ	κγ	?	κγ	ιη
λδ	κδ	κδ	ιη	κδ	?	κδ	ιθ
λε	κε	κε	ιθ	κε	κε	κε	κ
λς	κς	κς	κ	κς	κς	κς	κα
λζ	κζ	[κζ]	κα	κζ	κζ	κζ	κβ
λη	κη	κη	κβ	κη	κη	κη	κγ
λθ	κθ	[κθ]	κγ	κθ	κθ	κθ	κδ
μ	λ	[λ]	–	λ	λ	λ	κε
μα	λα	[λα]		λα	λα	λα	κς
μβ	λβ	λβ	–	λβ	[λβ]	λβ	κζ

PG	A	P	N	B	K	F	Ma
μγ	λγ	λγ		λγ	[λγ]	λγ	
μδ	λδ	λδ		λδ	?	λδ	κη
με	λε	λε	–	λε	?	λε	κθ
μς	λς	λς		λς	?	λς	λ*
μζ	λζ	λζ	–	λζ	?	λζ	
μη	λη			λη	?	λη	
μθ	α	α		α	?	α	
ν	β	β		β	?	β	
να	γ, δ	γ, δ		γ, δ	?	γ, δ	λα*
νβ	ε	ε		ε	?	ε	
νγ	ς	ς		ς	?	ς	
νδ	ζ	ζ		ζ	?	ζ	
νε	η	η	–	η	?	η	
νς	θ, ι	θ, ι	– *	[θ], ι	?	θ, ι	
νζ	ια*	ια*		ια*	?	ια*	
νη	ιβ	ιβ		ιβ	?	ιβ	
νθ					?		
ξ	ιγ				?	ιγ	
ξα	λθ	λθ*	– *	λθ*	?	λθ*	λθ
ξβ	μ	μ	– *	μ	?	μ	
ξγ	μα	μα	–	μα	?	μα	
ξδ	μβ, μγ	μβ	– *	μβ, μγ	?	μβ, μγ	λγ
ξε					?		
κς			– *		?		– *
κζ	α	α		α	?	α	
κη	β, γ	β, γ		β, γ	?	β, γ	
κθ	δ	δ		δ	?	δ	
ο	ε	ε		ε	?	ε	
οα	ς	ς		ς	?	ς	
οβ	ζ	ζ		ζ	?	ζ	
ογ	η	η		η	?	η	
οδ	θ	θ		θ	nm	θ	
οε	ι	ι		ι	nm	ι	
ος	ια	ια		ια	nm	ια	
οζ	ιβ	ιβ		ιβ	ιβ*	ιβ	
οη	ιγ, ιδ, ιε	ιγ, ιδ, ιε		ιγ, ιδ, ιε	?	ιγ, ιδ, ιε	
οθ	ις	ις		ις	?	ις	
π					?		
πα					?		
πβ					?		
πγ	ιθ	ιθ		ιθ	?	ιθ	
πδ	spazio	κ		κ	?	κ	
πε					?		
πς					?		

PG	A	P	N	B	K	F	Ma
πζ						?	
πη						?	
πθ						?	
ϙ						?	
ϙα						?	
ϙβ						?	
ϙγ						?	
ϙδ						?	
ϙε					α–ς	?	
ϙς						?	

A = Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. gr. 2195
P = Città del Vaticano, BAV, Palat. gr. 216
F = Paris, BnF, gr. 1228
B = Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. gr. 1923
K = Istanbul, Patriarchikē Bibliothēkē, Panaghia 64
N = Bologna, Biblioteca universitaria, 2412
Ma = Venezia, BNM, gr. Z. 167

Plate 2: Synoptic table illustrating the way the chapters are numbered in the main manuscripts of the Mystagogia (based on POLIDORI, Fozio, La Mystagogia LXVIII–LXX)

[111] POLIDORI, Fozio, La Mistagogia XXV and XLVI, is the only one who has attempted to build a *stemma codicum* of the work. It implies an archetype, but he presents it as a mere "working hypothesis" based on a conjectural lesson (*ibid*. XLV).

The contents

These phenomena suggest distinguishing, within the *Myst*., five sections framed by an opening and a closing paragraph. This is confirmed by the analysis of the contents, which in any case implies that the boundaries of the sections are not as clear-cut as the numberings seem to suggest (given the complexity of our reconstruction, the reader should keep pl. 3 in mind when reading what follows).

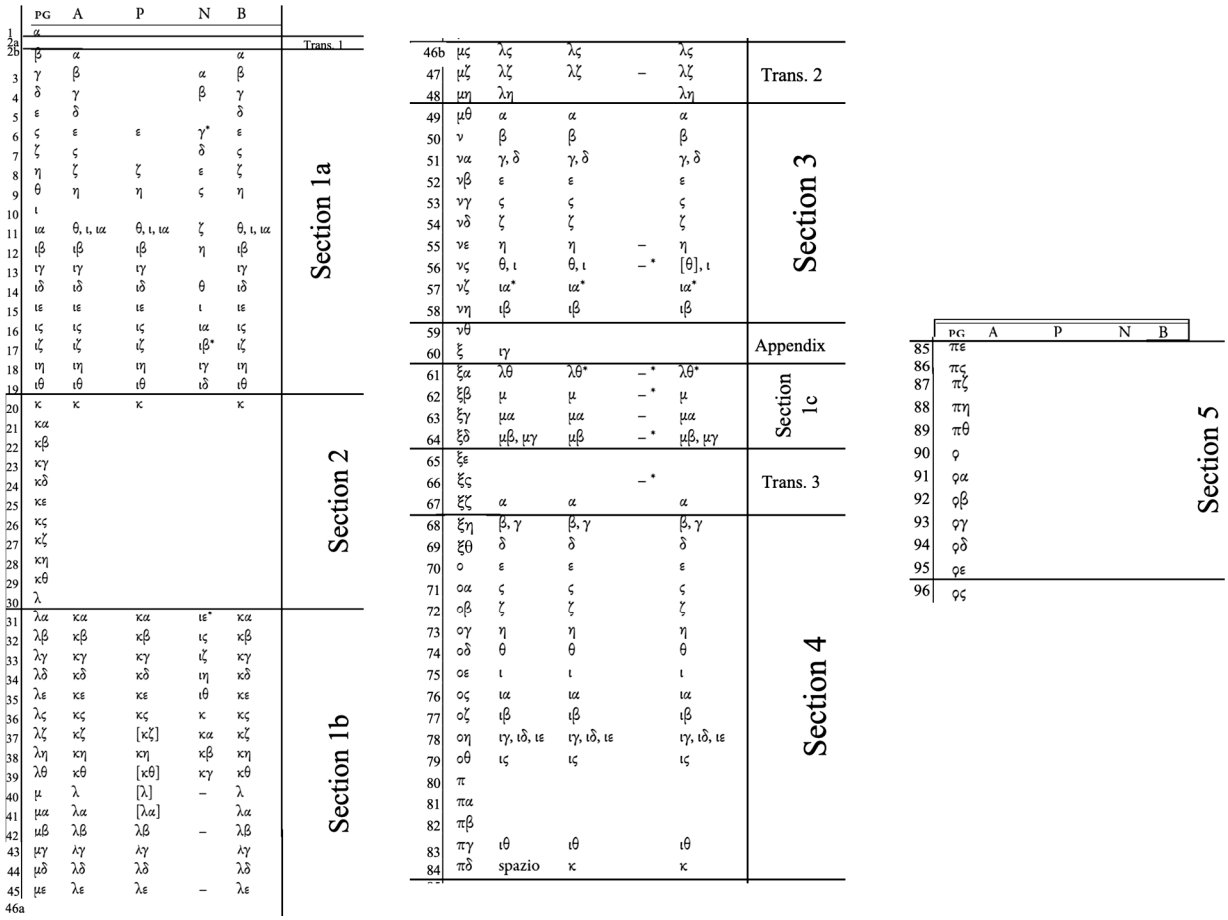


Plate 3: The sections of the *Myst*. (partially based on Polidori, Fozio, La Mystagogia LXVIII–LXX)

The addressee of the first and last paragraphs is clearly an ally: he is an honourable, orthodox man, who asked Photius for some information about the *Filioque*. The *Myst*. is Photius' response, as is clear from his own words:

> § 1 (4, 1–5 Polidori): Ἐν πολλοῖς μέν εἰσιν οἱ ἔλεγχοι πολυστίχοις ἐσπαρμένοι λόγοις, δι' ὧν ἡ ὀφρὺς κατασπᾶται τῶν τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐν ἀδικίᾳ κατέχειν φιλονεικούντων. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ σὸν μεγαλοπρεπὲς καὶ θεοφιλέστατον σπούδασμα σύνοψίν τινα τῶν ἐλέγχων καὶ ὑποτύπωσιν ἐξῃτήσατο γενέσθαι, τῆς θείας προνοίας εὐμενὲς ἡμῖν ὁρώσης οὐκ ἀνάξιον τοῦ σοῦ θείου ἔρωτος οὐδὲ τῆς αἰτήσεως τὸ πέρας ἐπιτεθήσεται.
>
> "Disseminated in many long texts, there are the arguments with which the arrogance of those who contend to overwhelm truth with injustice can be brought down. But since your search, magnificent and dear to God, has required a synopsis of the arguments and an outline of them

(which is pleasing to divine providence), you will see that this objective is not unworthy of your love of God nor will your request be ignored."

The passage from this initial frame to the first section of the *Myst*. is made possible by a transitional sentence, which constitutes the first part of § 2:

§ 2 (4, 1–6 POLIDORI): Ἐστὶν οὖν κατ᾽αὐτῶν ὀξὺ καὶ ἄφυκτον βέλος καὶ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων ἡ κυριακὴ καὶ θηρίον ἅπαν καὶ πᾶσαν ἀλώπεκα καταβροντῶσά τε καὶ ἐξαφανίζουσα φωνή. Τίς αὕτη; τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἡ λέγουσα ἐκπορεύεσθαι. Ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ὁ Υἱὸς ἐκπορεύεσθαι τὸ Πνεῦμα μυσταγωγεῖ· καὶ σὺ τελεστὴν ἄλλον ἐπιζητεῖς, δι᾽οὗ τελεσθήσῃ, μᾶλλον δὲ συντελεσθήσῃ τὴν ἀσέβειαν καὶ μυθολογεῖν τὸ Πνεῦμα προέρχεσθαι τοῦ Υἱοῦ;

"Against them there is first of all a sharp and inescapable dart, that strikes down like a roaring thunderbolt every fox and annihilates every ferocious beast: a saying of the Lord. Which one? 'The Spirit proceeds from the Father'. The Son teaches that the Spirit proceeds from the Father, and you go looking for another catechist through whom to perfect, or rather bring to perfection the impiety and create the myth that the Spirit proceeds from the Son?"[112]

The formula κατ᾽αὐτῶν (*kat'auton*, i.e. "against them") refers to "those who contend to overwhelm truth with injustice", mentioned in § 1. Since, as is clear, the latter was added *a posteriori* (with the final paragraph), the first sentence of § 2 must have been added later. The original incipit of the first section has then to be found further on in § 2, and can be identified thanks to the redundancy τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἡ λέγουσα ἐκπορεύεσθαι. Ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ὁ Υἱὸς ἐκπορεύεσθαι τὸ Πνεῦμα μυσταγωγεῖ. Here, then, is the stratigraphy of this part of the *Myst*.:

Frame	§ 1. Ἐν πολλοῖς μέν εἰσιν οἱ ἔλεγχοι πολυστίχοις ἐσπαρμένοι λόγοις, δι᾽ ὧν ἡ ὀφρὺς κατασπᾶται τῶν τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐν ἀδικίᾳ κατέχειν φιλονεικούντων. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ σὸν μεγαλοπρεπὲς καὶ θεοφιλέστατον σπούδασμα σύνοψίν τινα τῶν ἐλέγχων καὶ ὑποτύπωσιν ἐξῃτήσατο γενέσθαι, τῆς θείας προνοίας εὐμενὲς ἡμῖν ὁρώσης οὐκ ἀνάξιον τοῦ σοῦ θείου ἔρωτος οὐδὲ τῆς αἰτήσεως τὸ πέρας ἐπιτεθήσεται. "Disseminated in many long texts, there are the arguments with which the arrogance of those who contend to overwhelm truth with injustice can be brought down. But since your search, magnificent and dear to God, has required a synopsis of the arguments and an outline of them (which is pleasing to divine providence), you will see that this objective is not unworthy of your love of God nor will your request be ignored".
Transition	§ 2(a). Ἐστὶν οὖν κατ᾽αὐτῶν ὀξὺ καὶ ἄφυκτον βέλος καὶ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων ἡ κυριακὴ καὶ θηρίον ἅπαν καὶ πᾶσαν ἀλώπεκα καταβροντῶσά τε καὶ ἐξαφανίζουσα φωνή. Τίς αὕτη; τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἡ λέγουσα ἐκπορεύεσθαι. "Against them there is first of all a dart, sharp and inescapable, that strikes down like a roaring thunderbolt every fox and annihilates every ferocious beast, a saying of the Lord. Which one? The Spirit proceeds from the Father'"
Beginning of section 1	§ 2(b) Ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ὁ Υἱὸς ἐκπορεύεσθαι τὸ Πνεῦμα μυσταγωγεῖ· καὶ σὺ τελεστὴν ἄλλον ἐπιζητεῖς, δι᾽οὗ τελεσθήσῃ, μᾶλλον δὲ συντελεσθήσῃ τὴν ἀσέβειαν καὶ μυθολογεῖν τὸ Πνεῦμα προέρχεσθαι τοῦ Υἱοῦ; etc. "The Son teaches that the Spirit proceeds from the Father, and you go looking for another catechist through whom to perfect, or rather bring to perfection the impiety and create the myth that the Spirit proceeds from the Son?" etc.

Section 1 included then—following the numberings in the manuscripts—the §§ 2b–19, 31–46a and 61–64, whose original unity is demonstrated by some further circumstances. In all these paragraphs, Photius addresses the same person, who nevertheless is not the addressee of § 1, nor anoth-

[112] (4, 1–6 POLIDORI).

er ally (as Kolbaba believed[113]), but a man guilty of "seeking another catechist" (σὺ τελεστὴν ἄλλον ἐπιζητεῖς[114]) and suffering from some kind of mental illness consisting in being ready to leave orthodoxy in order to embrace heresy[115]. This man is a victim, since his madness is due to the action of unspecified, unscrupulous heretics[116]. A cure is still possible[117], and to this end, Photius deploys a series of "speculative arguments" (λογισμοί [*logismoi*]) and "reasoning" (*phrontis*) in the form of a "parallel-ordered exposition" (εἰς παράταξιν [*eis parataxin*) to demonstrate the groundlessness of the *Filioque* to which the addressee is likely to adhere[118]. Paragraphs 3 and 4 thus contain a "logical sequence" (ὁ τῆς ἀκολουθίας [...] λόγος), followed by an authoritative counter-argument (§ 5: no Father has ever spoken of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son and all the councils have ignored or denied it). The discourse then continues with a purely logical course (§§ 6–10) based on two types of formal procedure: on the one hand, the author formulates a series of rhetorical questions that outline the Truth through the opposition to the ideas attributed to the enemies[119]; on the other hand, he emphasises the paradoxical nature of these ideas by means of hypothetical periods[120]. A similar strategy based on formal logic is, not by chance, found again from § 31 onwards and up to the first part of § 46, where the author still refers to an interlocutor who can save himself from his madness by means of reasoning (φροντίς [*phrontis*]: note the recurrence of the term)[121]. The tone, rhetorical procedures and addressee are evidently also the same in §§ 61–64, whose spirit is equally firm but conciliatory. Section 1 as a whole thus consists—if one reads its paragraphs continuously, as indicated by the progressive numbering in the main manuscripts—in a long demonstration of the natures and essences of the persons of the Trinity, as well as of their relations. It entails very few scriptural quotations and is based on a logical strategy and on what can be called "externalization of guilt": the addressee is not the perpetrator of the heresy, but the victim of the heretics (plural), whose identity is not made explicit and whose arguments the author seems not to know in detail: all he knows is their overall assumption, that is the *Filioque*. He not only ignores the *auctoritates* adduced by his opponents but believes that there are none (let us

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113 KOLBABA, Inventing Latin Heretics 79: "chapters 3–4 and 6–19 […] are addressed to an ally and they speak consistently of 'their impiety and their rebellion against God'."

114 § 2b (4, 4 POLIDORI).

115 § 2b (4, 6–9 POLIDORI): Εἰ τοῦ κοινοῦ Σωτῆρος καὶ δημιουργοῦ καὶ νομοθέτου τὰ δόγματα τῆς σῆς ἠττᾶσθαι παρανοίας ὁρμὴν οὐκ ἔπτηξας ἀναλαβεῖν, τί ἄν τις ἕτερον ζητήσῃ λαβεῖν, δι'οὗ τὴν σὴν κατακράτος ἀπελέγξει δυσσεβῆ σπουδήν; ("If you were not afraid to indulge the impulse to subject the teachings of the common Saviour, Creator, and Lawgiver to your madness, what else could be found to forcefully refute your ungodly zeal?").

116 § 13 (12, 2 POLIDORI): οἱ δυσσεβεῖν θρασυνθέντες ("those who dare to blaspheme") / § 18 (16, 6 POLIDORI): τοὺς πάντα τολμητάς ("those who dare everything").

117 § 2: 4, 13 POLIDORI (ἴαμα [*iama*], cure); §§ 2, 31: 4, 11 and 32, 2 POLIDORI (θεραπεία [*therapeia*], therapy); § 3: 32, 3 POLIDORI (φάρμακον [*pharmakon*], medicine).

118 § 2 (4, 18 POLIDORI).

119 § 7 (8, 16–18 POLIDORI): Τί δήποτε προσλαμβάνον, ὅπερ οὐκ ἔσχεν ἐκπορευόμενον τοῦ Πατρός; εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἔστι τι λαβεῖν καὶ εἰπεῖν, ὃ προσείληφε, πῶς οὐχὶ χωρὶς τῆς προσλήψεως ἀτελές; etc. ("What obtains [the Spirit] that has not proceeded from the Father? If it is possible that it took something and say what it took, how, without any acquisition, would it have been non imperfect?" etc.). See also §§ 9 and 11.

120 See for instance § 15: Εἰ δ'αἴτιος ὁ Πατὴρ τῶν ἐξ αὐτοῦ, οὐ τῷ λόγῳ τῆς φύσεως, τῷ δὲ λόγῳ τῆς ὑποστάσεως, ὁ δὲ λόγος τῆς πατρικῆς ὑποστάσεως οὐδενὶ μέχρι νῦν περιορίζειν καὶ τὴν τοῦ Υἱοῦ ὑπόστασιν δεδυσσέβηται [...] (12, 1–14, 3 POLIDORI: "If in fact the Father is the cause of those who are from Him not by reason of nature but by reason of hypostasis, the reason of the hypostasis of the Father has never been desecrated by anyone who has so far dared impiously to think that it was also the hypostasis of the Son"). SIECIENSKI, The Filioque 101. On the use of logic in *Myst*., see Ch. ERISMANN, Theological Dispute, Logical Arguments: On Photios' use of syllogisms against the Filioque in the Mystagogia, in: Contra Latinos et Adversus Graecos: The separation between Rome and Constantinople from the 9th to the 15th century, ed. A. Bucossi – A. Calia. Leuven 2020, 89–104.

121 § 31 (32, 1–4 POLIDORI).

remember the rhetorical question in § 5: Τίς εἶπε τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ περιωνύμων πατέρων ἡμῶν τὸ Πνεῦμα τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐκπορεύεσθαι;[122]).

Nevertheless, as I said, the boundaries of the sections are less clear-cut than the numbering of the paragraphs suggests. For example, the first caesura in content (excluding the one between § 1 and § 2b) does not fall between §§ 20 and 21, as the numbering suggests, but at the end of § 19, as confirmed by Bekkos, who, as I noted, cut up the *Myst*. in order to refute its different parts[123]. In fact, §§ 19b–20 clearly constitute a transition, in which the enemy is introduced and in which Photius starts to address him directly. From this point onwards then, the addressee is no longer a victim, but the heretic himself, whom the author attacks with violence[124]. Moreover, there is a radical change in rhetorical strategy, which is no longer based on logic, but on the refutation of the heretic's faulty interpretation of a series of passages from the Gospel of St John: this section ends with § 30[125].

Also §§ 46–48, constitute a sort of transition. Not only does their numbering not precisely coincide with the caesura of content (which instead, once again, coincides with Bekkos' *découpage*), but there is another change of addressee: in the first part of § 46, the author addresses some readers (in the plural), who might belong to the same "group" as the addressee of section 1 (the victim), since they can still be saved[126]. But starting from § 47, Photius once again addresses a heretic (the same as in section 2?[127]). Paragraph 48, which is not numbered in some of the oldest manuscripts, clearly serves to introduce the following section, and the tone remains harsh[128]. It is not by chance then, that §§ 49–58 (section 3) share some similarities with section 2, especially since they focus on the scriptural analysis of Pauline, Johannine and biblical passages, aimed at dismantling the precise assertions of an unidentified *anthropos* (§ 49), whose "evil machination of absolute madness" (τὸ τῆς ἀπονοίας καὶ παρανοίας [...] κακομήχανον: § 57) is evoked, and whose sophisms are insisted upon (συκοφαντία [*sykophantia*]: § 49; κατασοφίζεσθαι [*katasophizesthai*]: § 57). Nevertheless, although not without accusations of falsification (παραχαράττεις [*paracharatteis*][129]), subversion (ἀναστρέψεις [*anastrepseis*][130]) and perversion (διαστροφήν [*diastrophēn*][131]), Photius attributes to this enemy a form of σοφία [*sophia*][132].

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122 6, 1–2 Polidori.

123 18, 7 Polidori.

124 § 20: "your tongue is outrageous in daring everything" (ἡ σὴ γλῶσσα πάντα τολμᾷν ἐστιν ἀσελγὴς [...]: 18, 5 Polidori); "how could your absurd babbling [...] not be rightly condemned?" (πῶς οὐχὶ τὴν σὴν ἔκθεσμον διαφωνίαν [...] οὐχ ἑάλως δίκην ὀφείλων: 18, 14–16 Polidori).

125 The author continues to address a single interlocutor (using the second person singular, not plural), *pace* Kolbaba, Inventing Latin Heretics 79.

126 "For this and similar arguments, it is good that you, even if very belatedly, become aware of the blasphemies, adhere to the thought of the Catholic and Apostolic Church against this multifaceted superstition [...]." (Διὰ ταῦτα τοίνυν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, κἂν ὀψὲ γοῦν ἀναλαβεῖν ὑμᾶς προσήκει συναίσθησιν τῶν ἠσεβημένων, καὶ τῆς καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀντὶ τῆς πολυπλανοῦς δεισιδαιμονίας συνελθεῖν τῷ φρονήματι [...]: 40, 1–2 Polidori).

127 "From which principle did you then bring forth this impious myth? For not only the Son is transformed by you into a procreator of the Spirit, but the Spirit himself is sectioned and split so that he begets the Son and procreates himself." (ἐκ τίνος ἂν ἀφορμῆς ἐξώρμας μυθολογεῖν τὸ δυσσέβημα; Οὐ γὰρ μόνον εἰς προβολέα τοῦ Πνεύματος ὁ Υἱὸς ἄν σοι μετεβάλλετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ Πνεῦμα εἵς τε τὴν τοῦ Υἱοῦ γέννησιν καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν προβολὴν ἐτέμνετό τε καὶ κατεμερίζετο: 42, 4–7 Polidori).

128 "Beware not to deprive the master of the world of the honours proper to old masters, and not to defamate the Guide to piety, instead of behaving with respect and devotion." (Ὁρᾷς ὅπως ἔγνως τὸν τῆς οἰκουμένης διδάσκαλον τῶν διδασκαλικῶν γερῶν μὴ ἀποστερεῖν, ὅπως τὸν πρὸς τὴν εὐσέβειαν ὁδηγὸν ἀντὶ τοῦ δι'αἰδοῦς ἄγειν καὶ σεβάσματος ἐπιρρήτῳ γνώμῃ δυσφημεῖς: 44, 14–16 Polidori).

129 § 51 (46, 1–2 Polidori).

130 § 52 (46, 2 Polidori).

131 § 50 (46, 4 Polidori).

132 § 55 (50, 5 Polidori).

The following two paragraphs (§§ 59 and 60) constitute a kind of appendix to section 3: unnumbered in the most ancient manuscripts, they continue to attack a heretical interlocutor by developing the specific theme of χρίσματα [*chrismata*] and their relation to the Holy Spirit.

Bekkos splits § 65 into two parts, corresponding to what is effectively a caesura in content and tone. At the beginning of § 65, Photius resumes the frontal attack against the impious heretic, revives the theme of his sophisms (*sophismata*) with an obvious echo from § 57, and evokes his "abuse of quotations" (τῶν χρήσεων τὴν παράσχησιν). But in the second part of the paragraph and in §§ 66–67, the interlocutor is no longer a heretic, nor an individual misled by heretics, but a group of people (Photius uses the third person plural), and the tone is rather pedagogical[133]. Moreover, in these few paragraphs, Photius introduces the theme that dominates the following section, namely the reason why some Western Fathers—namely Ambrosius, Augustine and Jerome, "their Fathers" (αὐτῶν τοὺς πατέρας)[134]—seem to have adopted the *Filioque*. In fact, with § 68 a new section (section 4) opens, which continues until § 84: the counterpart is once again a Latin heretic, author of at least one text in which the Western Fathers mentioned above are quoted and which has had an enormous resonance[135]. Against this heresiarch, Photius is particularly vehement, and the fact that he switches sometimes from the singular to the plural is due to the latter's position of absolute prominence among the heretics. Photius refers several times to his enemy's sophistry (§ 69: σοφισμάτων [*sophismatōn*], § 76: σόφισμα [*sophisma*]) and the overall strategy is not only to cast doubt on the philological quality of the texts he quotes (§ 71), but also and above all to evoke the principle of οἰκονομία [*oikonomia*], according to which the Fathers may have made unorthodox statements, in specific situations, to the greater benefit of the Church. This leads him to first mention the errors of a number of Western and Eastern Fathers (like Clement of Rome, Leon, Paschasius, Lucentius, Boniface[136], Basil the Great, Dionysius, Clement, Pamphilus, Theognostus, Pierius, Irenaeus of Lyon, Hippolytus and Methodius of Patara: see below[137]), then to produce a kind of counter-florilegium of patristic passages against the *Filioque*. In this framework, he strategically quotes some popes: Vigil (§ 82), Agatho (§ 83), and especially the duo Gregory the Great/Zacharias (Gregory's translator). Gregory is the only Western Father that Photius quotes *verbatim* (*via* Zacharias' translation). At this point, a redundancy implies another caesura: the last paragraph of this section, § 84, is consecrated to the two popes, and, in an obviously incongruous way, in § 85, after some lines consecrated to two biblical passages, Photius introduces Gregory and Zacharias again, as if he had not mentioned them a few lines earlier. This redundancy implies that with § 85 we enter a new section (section 5), consistently with the numbering of the manuscripts (which stops after § 84, numbered 20, i.e. 'κ'). The last section, still directed against a dangerous heresiarch, focuses on scriptural passages and on recent popes who stood against the *Filioque*. Finally, § 96, as I said, is addressed to the same addressee as § 1: "Here are these ὑποτυπώσεις [*hypotyposeis*], as you have requested, you who are for me the most reverent and indefatigable seeker of the truth [...]"[138].

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133 § 65: "To what extent is it necessary to waste time following what has already been illustrated in detail? It is rather necessary to see if anything new has been produced by them in order to spread their useless doctrine" (Ἀλλὰ μέχρι τίνος δεῖ σχολάζειν τοῖς ἀκριβῶς ἤδη καὶ πολυμερῶς ἀποδεδειγμένοις, δέον καὶ εἴ τι ἕτερον αὐτοῖς προκομίζεται τῆς κακοσχόλου γνώμης διασκορπίσαι: 60, 5–7 POLIDORI).

134 § 65 (62, 11–12 POLIDORI).

135 § 70: "[...] making the world your theatre, you trumpet all around as much as your zeal and impudence are capable of, how your 'Fathers' behave improperly." ([...] ὅσα γε τῇ σῇ σπουδῇ καὶ ἀναισχυντίᾳ τὴν οἰκουμένην θέατρον καθίζων μέγα μὲν σαλπίζεις, ὡς οἱ σοὶ πατέρες ἐνασχημονοῦσιν: 68, 12–14 POLIDORI).

136 §§ 78, 79.

137 §§ 77, 79.

138 Τὰς μὲν οὖν ὑποτυπώσεις ταύτας, ὥσπερ ᾔτησας, ἔχεις, ἀνδρῶν ἐμοὶ σεβασμιώτατε καὶ φιλομαθέστατε (104, 1–2 POLIDORI).

The prototypical dossier

The delimitation of these sections, which are thus more numerous than the two or three identified so far by scholars[139], is then made possible by the joint analysis of codicological fossils (the incoherent numbering of paragraphs found in the main manuscripts), contents, and the testimony of Bekkos[140]. To recapitulate (see pl. 3): §§ 1 and 96, which form the framework enclosing the different sections, are addressed to an esteemed man, interested in the *Filioque* from an orthodox point of view; section 1 (a–c) is addressed to an individual who is not a fanatic filioquist and who, ready to fall (or recently fallen) into error due to the action of the perfidious Latins, can still be saved (this explains the alternation, in this section, between "you", the victim, and "them", the heretics[141]); sections 2 and 3 are addressed to one or two different learned heretic(s), probably a polemicist and (a) theologian, author(s) of one or more documents containing, among other things, a series of biblical and patristic quotations. Sections 4 and 5 were probably written thinking of a similar addressee.

The different sections present two very divergent dialectical methods: section 1 (a–c) is based on logical demonstration, that is to say, the author attacks the *Filioque* on the sole basis of logic since he ignores the patristic and scriptural authorities adduced by the Latins and their theological arguments. Sections 2, 3, 4, and 5 share, with some nuances, the violent tone and meticulous pedantry of the *refutatio*: they presuppose the reading of one or more texts (in translation maybe) by one or more filioquists. The "transitions" are evidently written *a posteriori* to ensure the (in any case incomplete) integration of the different parts.

If we try to "translate" this stratigraphy in material terms, we are obliged to admit that the *Myst.* was originally a dossier, to which an accompanying note was prefixed (§ 1), and a final note was added (§ 96). It is no coincidence that this structure is reminiscent of that of the prototype of the *Bibl.*, and can be represented as in pl. 4.

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[139] See *supra* and Polidori, Fozio, La Mistagogia XXIV and XXX–XXXI, XXXIII–XXXIV, on whose reconstruction (which is the best ever proposed up to date) see *infra*.

[140] Indeed, the almost perfect correspondence between this caesura, based on paragraphic and philological factors, and the purely content-based one, proposed for example by P. Gemeinhardt, Die Filioque Kontroverse zwischen Ost- und Westkirche im Frühmittelalter. Berlin – New York 2002, 278, is remarkable: "I. Einleitung (c. 1). Hauptteil I: Argumente aus der Schrift und aus der theologischen Vernunft 1. Theologische Reflexion I: Die pneumatomachische Häresie der Gegner (cc. 2–19) Biblische Reflexion I: Empfangen vs. Hervorgehen – Joh 16, 14 (cc. 20–30) 2. Theologische Reflexion II: Das orthodoxe Konzept der Trinität (cc. 31–47) Biblische Reflexion II: Der Geist des Sohnes – Gal 4, 6 (cc. 48–56) 3. Theologische Reflexion III: Gaben und trinitarische Stellung des Geistes (cc. 57–65) III. Hauptteil II: Argumente aus der Tradition 1. Das Zeugnis der Väter und der Umgang mit ihren Irrtümern (cc. 66–77) 2. Das Zeugnis der römischen Päpste bis zur Gegenwart (cc. 78–89) IV. Zusammenfassung: Die Absurdität eines doppelten Hervorgangs (cc. 90–94) V. Schluß (cc. 95f.)."

[141] § 31 and § 48. This alternation has led Kolbaba, Inventing Latin Heretics 79–80, into confusion.

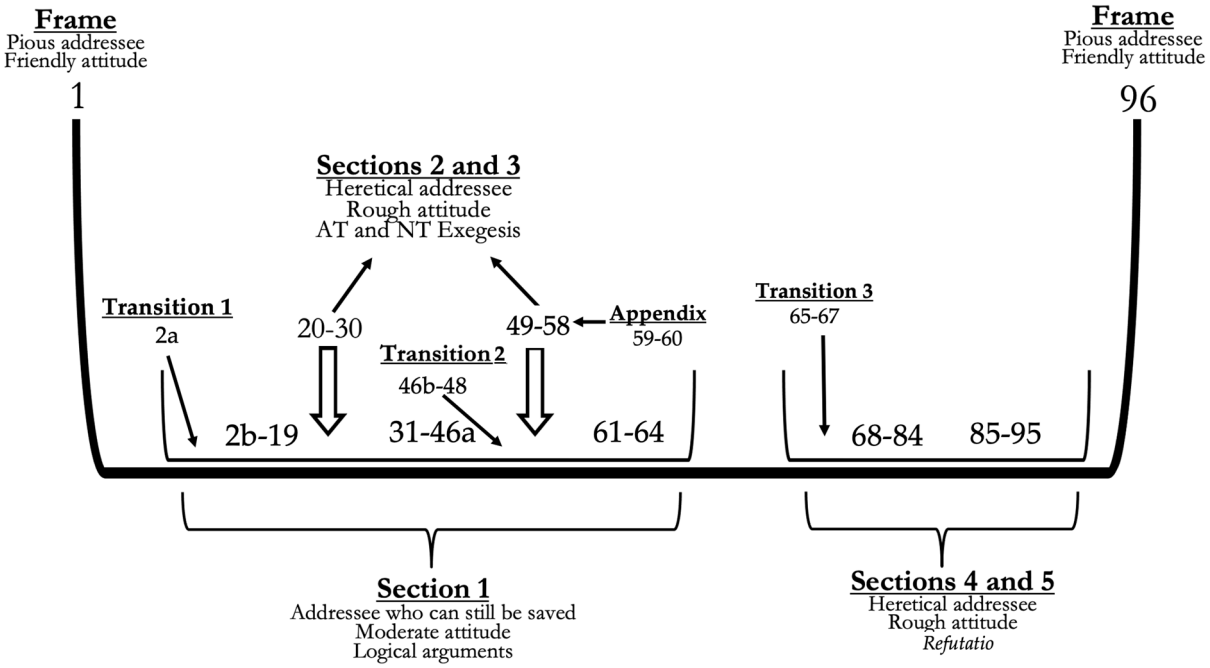


Plate 4: Schematic representation of the prototype of the *Myst*.

According to this reconstruction, the dossier consisted of two major blocks (section 1a–c and sections 4+5), the first of which was redesigned in depth, first because its beginning was readapted thanks to an introductory sentence (transition 1), then because the insertion of two exegetical sections (sections 2 and 3, the second of which has an appendix) entailed the writing of a further transition. The second part (sections 4 and 5) also entailed the composition of a few introductory paragraphs (transition 3). Some philological details seem to confirm this reconstruction, pointing to a watershed in the passage from § 67 to § 68[142].

The transcription of this composite dossier into a codex crystallized the fluidity of the model, fixing the succession of the (genetically independent) units, some of which were endowed with an autonomous numbering of the paragraphs: these numberings were copied in the main manuscripts, just like fossils[143]. The dating of each section and the identification of the addressees will be the subject of a further article[144].

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[142] In fact, a whole group of *recentiores* (depending on Marc. Gr. Z. 167, c. 14th c.) interrupts the text abruptly towards the end of § 67 and, starting from it, the distribution of variants in manuscripts seems to imply a caesura: POLIDORI, Fozio, La Mistagogia XLIV–XLV. Though based on different assumptions, this reconstruction is not entirely incompatible with the one proposed by Polidori (XXXV), who nevertheless considers as a unitary "Urtext" a portion of the *Myst.* corresponding (though not precisely) to our Sections 1+4+5 (whereas in our view these three sections have a different genesis). He also incorporates § 1 into this "Urtext" (while at the same time considering it among the "elementi del redattore secondario [Metrophane?]"), to which he also attributes §§ 95–96 (whereas for us §§ 1 and 96 constitute a frame, i.e. the introductory note and the concluding note of the dossier, which in any case are not to be attributed to Metrophanes); he defines the sequences of §§ 21–29 and 49–59 (which roughly correspond to our sections 2 and 3) as "inserti secondari", but without distinguishing our "transition 2" nor our "appendix" to section 3. Finally, he considers "elementi del redattore primario (Fozio?)" §§ 30–31a (which in my reconstruction are parts of different sections), 48 (which is part of "transition 2", together with §§ 46b–47), 60 (which for us is part of the "appendix", together with § 59), 65–67 (corresponding to our "transition 3").

[143] Some circumstances regarding its later indirect transmission might militate in favour of the fact that the *Myst.* was a dossier (although this is a fragile argument): apart from the caesuras (which we have mentioned) in Bekkos' *refutatio*, one can evoke the fact that even before him, Hugo Etherianus seems to mention only the paragraphs relating to sections 1 and 2,

TWO WORKS IN DIALOGUE?

The fact that some chapters of the *Bibl*. devote attention to the theme of the Holy Spirit, and sometimes of its procession, although this is marginal in the works reviewed, might constitute an element to date them, since the first known allusions by Photius to the question of the *Filioque* dates back to the second half of the 860s (it is found in the letter to the Eastern Patriarchs dated 867, but on which further investigation is necessary). Among these chapters, one could mention ch. 8 (where the procession of the Holy Spirit is evoked in the summary of book 1 of Origen's *De principiis*[145]) and 222 (in the summary of book 6 of a work by the monk Job). However, more interesting are some close similarities between *Bibl*. and *Myst.*, which might suggest the use of the same materials (*schedaria*). Let us start with *Myst*. 75, in which Photius focuses on the Fathers who, while generally orthodox, made some heterodox statements:

> Παρὰ πόσοις δὲ καὶ ἄλλοις τῶν μακαρίων καὶ ἁγίων πατέρων ἡμῶν ἔνεστι τοιαῦτα εὑρεῖν. Ἐννόει μοι τὸν τῆς Ῥώμης ἀρχιερέα Κλήμεντα [...], τὸν Ἀλεξανδρείας Διονύσιον ἐξ ἀντιπνοίας τῆς πρὸς τὸν Σαβέλλιον μικροῦ τῷ Ἀρείῳ χεῖρα προτείνοντα· τὸν ἐν ἱερομάρτυσι λάμποντα τῶν πατάρων τὸν μέγαν Μεθόδιον [...]. Ἐάσειν μοι δοκῶ Πάνταινον καὶ Κλήμεντα, Πιέριόν τε καὶ Πάμφιλον καὶ Θεόγνωστον [...]· μεθ' ὧν καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ Δύσεως παρατρέχομεν· Εἰρηναῖόν τε τὸν ἀρχιερέα Θεοῦ καὶ τὴν τῶν ἱερῶν ἐφορείαν τῶν Λουγδούνων δεξάμενον· καὶ Ἱππόλυτον τὸν αὐτοῦ μαθητὴν καὶ ἐν ἀρχιερεῦσι μάρτυρα· ἄνδρας θαυμασίους μὲν ἐν πολλοῖς, ἔσθ' ὅτε δὲ τῆς ἀκριβείας λόγους αὐτῶν ἐνίους οὐκ ἀναστέλλοντας κατασύρεσθαι[146].
>
> "Similar cases can be found among many others of our blessed and holy Fathers. I am thinking of the bishop of Rome Clement [...], of Dionysius of Alexandria, who in a dispute with Sabellius almost stretched out his hand to Arius, of the great Methodius of Patara who shines among the hieromartyrs [...]. I guess I will leave out Pantenus and Clement, Pierius, Pamphilus, and Theognostus [...]. Along with them we also count those from the West: Irenaeus, bishop of God, who held the first place over the saints of Lyons, and his disciple Hippolytus, martyr among bishops: wonderful men in many ways, although sometimes some of their discourses did not avoid departing from correct doctrine."

Ch. 109 of the *Bibl*. is consecrated to Clement, and in it Pantenus is quoted, who is mentioned again, with Dionysius and Pamphilus, in ch. 117. It is worth noting that most of the other authors quoted in this passage are treated, in the same sequence, in the four chapters which follow ch. 117: Pamphilus (with Eusebius) is dealt with in ch. 118 (where Clement and Pantenus are also mentioned), Pierius in ch. 119, Irenaeus of Lyons in ch. 120 and Hippolytus in ch. 121. Theognostus of Alexandria is dealt with in ch. 106, in which Photius develops the same apologetic approach he uses in this section of the *Myst*.: the impieties uttered by Theognostus are due either to a bad influence by some heretic (i.e. Origen), or to an excess of rhetoric, or to *oikonomia*, i.e. the intention to adapt the discourse to the readers' comprehension abilities. In this same perspective, in *Myst*. 75, Photius explains the dangerous tendency of Dionysius of Alexandria "to hold out his hand to Arius and Sabellius" (τὸν Ἀλεξανδρείας Διονύσιον ἐξ ἀντιπνοίας τῆς πρὸς τὸν Σαβέλλιον μικροῦ τῷ Ἀρείῳ χεῖρα προτείνοντα[147]). This same argument is applied to Origen in the aforementioned ch.

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which he quotes in disorder: see the list in POLIDORI, Fozio, La Mistagogia XXXIV no. 106, which strangely states instead that he quotes "the Mystagogy in its present order and draws from all its constituent elements."

144 RONCONI, On the nature and date of Photius' Mystagogia.

145 17 BIANCHI – SCHIANO: (…) τὸν μὲν υἱὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς πεποιῆσθαι λέγων, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα ὑπὸ τοῦ υἱοῦ ("[…] he claims that the Son was created by the Father, and the Spirit by the Son"). See n. 2 on p. 962 BIANCHI – SCHIANO (by L. Bossina).

146 72, 1–74, 17 POLIDORI.

147 72, 4–5 POLIDORI.

117 ("the anonymous treatise against Origen says, moreover, that he did not profess any doctrinal error concerning the Trinity, but to oppose the heresy of Sabellius [...], he was dragged into the opposite direction so as to appear even to have embraced the Arian heresy beforehand"[148]). Now, *Bibl*. 232 deals with this very subject in detail, and allows us to discover that Photius also found this type of argument in a text by Gobar, who mentioned Basil the Great, Athanasius of Alexandria, and Theodoret of Cyrrhus:

> Ὅτι Βασίλειος ὁ ἐν ἁγίοις τὸν ἐν ἁγίοις Διονύσιον Ἀλεξανδρείας οὐκ ἐν πολλοῖς ἀποδέχεται, μάλιστα δὲ ἐν οἷς τὸ Ἀρειανῶν ἔθνος ἐπερείδεται. Ἀπολογεῖται δὲ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ὡς οὐκ ἀσεβεῖ γνώμῃ, μάχῃ δὲ τῇ πρὸς Σαβέλλιον εἰς τὴν ἀντίθετον κατὰ τοὺς λόγους περιτραπῆναι δυσφημίαν. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος οὐκ εὐαγεῖς αὐτὸν ἀφεῖναι φωνάς. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ μέγας Ἀθανάσιος τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀνδρὸς Διονυσίου ὑπεραπολογεῖται· «Τὰ γὰρ Ἀρείου, φησί, Διονύσιος οὔτε ἐφρόνησέ ποτε, οὔτε ἠγνόησε τὴν ἀλήθειαν· οὔτε γὰρ ὑφ΄ ἑτέρων ἐπισκόπων ἐπ΄ ἀσεβείᾳ κατεγνώσθη οὔτε τὰς ἀρειανικὰς φωνὰς ἐφθέγγετο ὡς δογματίζων». Ἀλλὰ καὶ Θεοδώρητος τοὺς αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ τοῦ εἰρημένου Διονυσίου λογισμοὺς ἀποδίδωσιν[149].
>
> "St Basil disagrees with St Dionysius of Alexandria on many points, but especially on the fact that he supports the Arian sect. However, he justifies him by saying that it was not with a sacrilegious spirit, but out of hostility against Sabellius that he ended up slipping in his speeches towards the opposite heresy. Moreover, he also uttered affirmations on the Spirit that were not immaculate. But also Athanasius the Great expresses himself in defence of the same Dionysius: "Dionysius—he claims—never shared the thought of Arius, nor did he ever ignore the truth: in fact, he was never accused of impiety by the other bishops, nor did he ever utter any Arian teachings in doctrine." Theodoret also expresses the same arguments in defence of the aforementioned Dionysius."

This same text by Gobar also focused on Hippolytus, Irenaeus, and Clement[150].

Another interesting parallelism exists between *Bibl*. 230 (concerning some works by Eulogius) and *Myst*. 37:

Bibl. 230 (486 Bianchi – Schiano)	**Myst. 37 (36, 1–6 Polidori)**[151]
[...] Πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἐκπορευόμενον ἐκ Πατρός, ἀρχὴν μὲν ἔχον τὸν Πατέρα, δι'Υἱοῦ δὲ εἰς κτίσιν ἐπ' εὐεργεσίᾳ τῶν δεχομένων ἐρχόμενον, οὐ καθ'ὕφεσιν γινωσκομένης τῆς γεννήσεως, οὐ κατὰ τομὴν θεωρουμένης τῆς ἐκπορεύσεως. Εἰ γάρ τις δοίη ταῦτα, καὶ ἐπὶ τετράδα καὶ πεντάδα καὶ ἐπ'ἄπειρον τὴν πρόοδον ῥυῆναι κατὰ τοὺς Ἑλλήνων μύθους συγκατασκευάσειεν.	Ἔτι δὲ εἰ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ὁ Υἱὸς γεγέννηται, τὸ δὲ Πνεῦμα ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐκπορεύεται, τίς ἡ καινοτομία τοῦ Πνεύματος, μὴ καὶ ἕτερόν τι αὐτοῦ ἐκπορεύεσθαι, ὡς συνάγεσθαι κατὰ τὴν θεοβλαβῆ γνώμην μὴ τρεῖς, ἀλλὰ τέσσαρας τὰς ὑποστάσεις, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀπείρους, τῆς τετάρτης αὐτοῖς ἄλλην πάλιν προβαλλούσης, κἀκείνης ἑτέραν, μέχρις ἂν καὶ τῆς ἑλληνικῆς ὑπερελάσωσι πολυθεΐας;

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[148] 166 Bianchi – Schiano: Φησὶ δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ Ὠριγένους μηδὲν αὐτὸν κατὰ δόξαν ἐσφάλθαι περὶ τῆς Τριάδος, ἀντιφερόμενον δὲ τῇ αἱρέσει Σαβελλίου εἰς μέγα κακοῦ ἠρμένῃ τότε, καὶ τὴν τῶν προσώπων Τριάδα ἐναργεστάτην καὶ πολλοῖς τρόποις διαφέρουσαν ἀγωνιζόμενον παραστῆσαι, πέρα τοῦ προσήκοντος καὶ εἰς τοὐναντίον ἀπενεχθῆναι, ἐξ οὗ δόξαι καὶ τῷ ἀρειανῷ ἀρρωστήματι προεαλωκέναι. Concerning the interest of Photius for Origen and Origenism, see the article by C. Schiano in this volume.

[149] 508 Bianchi – Schiano.

[150] In addition to chapter 109, Clement is the subject of chapters 110–113 (of which chs. 112–113 are devoted to the so-called Pseudoclementines). It is worth noting that only in *Myst*. § 75 and not in *Bibl*. 112–113, Photius provides a title of the work (Κλημέντια) that is also attested by the direct tradition (Paris. gr. 930, 10th century): see F. Stanley Jones, Photius's Witness to the Pseudo-Clementines, in Pseudoclementina Elchsaiticaque inter Judaeochristiana. Collected Studies by F. Stanley Jones. Leuven – Paris – Walpole 2012, 345–355.

[151] The question is also mentioned in *Myst*. 11.

Bibl. 230 (486 BIANCHI – SCHIANO)	**Myst. 37 (36, 1–6 POLIDORI)**[151]
"[...] the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and has the Father as his beginning, and through the Son penetrates Creation to benefit those who receive him, and the generation does not imply an inferiority, nor does the procession postulate a detachment. For if this were admitted, it would cause a flow of emanations that, as in the babbles of the pagans, would extend to the tetrad, to the pentad, to infinity."	"And if the Son was generated by the Father and the Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son, how to avoid a new division of the Spirit, so that some other thing proceeds from him, and that not three, but four hypostases, or rather infinite hypostases, may be established according to such a foolish understanding, with another emanating from the fourth, and another from the latter, to the point of going beyond the polytheism of the pagans?"

Another passage of this same chapter of the *Bibl*. is reminiscent of *Myst*. 47 concerning the fact that the emanation of the Spirit takes nothing away from the Father.

Even more interesting is the comparison between *Bibl*. 252 (on a *Life of Gregory the Great*) and *Myst*. 84, since it allows us to detect, beyond some trivial lexical parallelisms (*Bibl*. 252: τοῦ θεαρέστου βίου Γρηγορίου, ὃς ἱεροπρεπῶς **ἀρχιερατεύσας** τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας[152]: "of the God-pleasing Life of Gregory, who hieratically led the Church of the Romans"; *Myst*. 84: τοὺς **ἀρχιερέας** Ῥώμης, Γρηγόριόν τε καὶ Ζαχαρίαν[153]: "the guides of Rome, Gregory and Zacharias"), the same indication (maybe erroneous) concerning the time that elapsed between the composition of the *Dialogues* and their translation into Greek[154], and the information—to my knowledge not confirmed by other sources—according to which Zacharias also translated other works by Gregory[155].

CONCLUSION

The *Bibl.* and the *Myst.* have more in common than meets the eye at first glance. First of all, they both stem from materials enclosed by a dedicatory frame (a letter), thus constituting two dossiers that had similar structures. This illustrates how Photius and his circle worked (especially since the epistolary and the *Amphilochia* also stem from dossiers). These "objects" included *schedē* and *schedaria*, excerpts and summaries, minutes of letters, notes taken during Photius' seminars, etc., and they constituted Photius' multiple archives, a treasure built up during his maturity, especially towards the end of his first patriarchate, a crucial time, when the scholar realized that the enormous work of reading, extracting, composing and archiving ancient pagan, heretic and Christian texts constituted an extraordinary "cultural capital"[156], a useful tool to consolidate and legitimize his political influence, especially in times of trouble. All these dossiers were the result of a multi-stage compositional process that lasted between the 860s and the end of Photius' life. Their complex genesis was partially due to the involvement of Photius in the turbulent political events that characterized the empire and the patriarchate in the 9th century.

The fact that Photius' literary production and the reading of classical texts went hand in hand with his theological reflection and ecclesiastical action should come as no surprise and is ummed

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[152] This is the incipit of the chapter found in *M*, which is different from the one found in *A* (= 814 BIANCHI – SCHIANO). Taking into account the lexical proximity between the incipit in *M* and the *Myst*., the difference between the two manuscripts is probably due to a reworking of the chapter in the corresponding *schedos* in the period between the transcription of *A* and of the model of *M* (on the stemmatic relationship between the two manuscripts, see *supra*).

[153] 84, 1–4 POLIDORI.

[154] 815 BIANCHI – SCHIANO and 84, 7–8 POLIDORI.

[155] 815 BIANCHI – SCHIANO and 84, 12–14 POLIDORI.

[156] On the concept of "cultural capital", see P. BOURDIEU, Les trois états du capital culturel. *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales* 30 (1979) 3–6: 3, et P. BOURDIEU, Sociologie générale, Cours au Collège de France (1983–1986). Paris 2016, vol. 2, 247–257.

up perfectly by Anastasius the Librarian, who had met Photius in Constantinople and sympathized with his opponents: in a famous passage, he claims to have spoken with the "apostle of the Slavs", Constantine-Cyril (an ancient member of Photius' circle who later spent some times in Rome) about the "heresy of the two souls", one of the main accusations brought against Photius at the council of 869–870. In Anastasius' words, the heresy was nothing but a hoax based on *syllogismi philosophorum*, and it was aimed at throwing into confusion the Ignatians, who were poorly educated[157]. Whatever the reliability of this information, it implies that, if not in reality, in the imagination of 9th-century people, in Rome and Constantinople, the study of ancient texts was considered capable of disrupting the social order and shaking up the political equilibrium. For this reason, Basil gathered Photius' documents and archives and, on November 8 869, had them publicly burned, so that, as Pope Adrian II wrote, "nothing remains of them in anyone's house, absolutely nothing, not even an iota, not even an accent" (*nec superesse apud quemlibet ex his omnibus saltem unum iota, vel unum apicem*[158]). Fortunately, some of these archives were saved, and—as in the case of the *Bibl.* and the *Myst.*—went on being enriched.

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[157] *Gesta sanctæ ac universalis octavæ synodi, Praefatio* (12–13, 186–194 Leonardi – Placanica). On this passage, see the article of C. Erismann in this volume.

[158] *Gesta sanctæ ac universalis octavæ synodi, Actio* I (42, 308–309 Leonardi – Placanica). See F. Ronconi, Nec supersit apud quemlibet saltem unus iota, vel unus apex. L'autodafé d'où naquit la Bibliothèque de Photius, in: Byzanz und das Abendland III. Studia Byzantino-Occidentalia, ed. E. Juhász. Budapest 2015, 31–52: 47–50; M. Losacco, 'Tous les livres confluaient vers lui, telles les eaux d'un fleuve': notes sur la bibliothèque de Photius. *MEG* 17 (2017) 107–135: 132–135.

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ABBREVIATIONS

A = Marc. gr. Z. 450
M = Marc. gr. Z. 451
Amph. = Photius of Constantinople, *Amphilochia* (cited—like the *Letters*—following the text printed in L.G. WESTERINK – V. LAOURDAS, Photius, Epistulae et Amphilochia, I–VI.2. Leipzig 1983–1988).
Bibl. = Photius of Constantinople, *Library* (cited following the text printed in N. BIANCHI – C. SCHIANO, Fozio, Biblioteca. Pisa 2016).
Myst. = Photius of Constantinople, *Mystagogia* (cited following the text printed in V. POLIDORI, Fozio, La Mistagogia del Santo Spirito. Roma 2018).

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Photius, the Aftermath of the Struggle against the Icons, and the Problem of the Glorious Body in the *Library*

ABSTRACT: Photius's *Library* contains numerous references to issues that had sparked theological debates in earlier centuries, starting with Origenism and the problem of the resurrected body. They are not due to mere scholarly curiosity, for this topic repeatedly challenged the sensibilities of Photius and many of his associates. The question arises whether Photius, in his role as patriarch, tried to draw doctrinal boundaries to counter hidden but somehow still active social groups that wanted to resume the fight against icons.

KEYWORDS: Photius; Iconoclasm; Glorious Body; Origenism; Relics

METHODOLOGICAL PREMISE

Anyone browsing through the almost shapeless mass of documents in Photius's *Library* in search of a *fil rouge* will notice how often the patriarch refers to the connection between the human soul and the body or to the nature of sacred bodies, especially the body of Christ after the resurrection. This does not occur in a single chapter or part of the work, but such interest is scattered throughout the *Library*. In many of the texts that Photius considers, the question of the nature of the sacred body or the resurrected body is related to the controversies sparked by Origen and those theologians who continued to think along his path. Origenism experienced a lively flare-up in the sixth century, when it caused not only ideological but also political and material clashes[1]. Much blood was shed, especially in Palestine, and a significant offshoot of the controversy reached Egypt and Constantinople towards the end of the sixth century, when a very peculiar interweaving of Aristotelian logic and Christian theology led John Philoponus to revive the debate with two new theories that were soon condemned as heresies: Tritheism on the one hand, and on the other, the idea that the body after the resurrection will be an entirely new body, numerically distinct from the living one[2]. While only one chapter of the *Library* (a short but very harsh one) is devoted to Origen, in particular to his *De principiis*—which is not to say that Photius has only a limited interest in this

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[1] Cf. F. DIEKAMP, Die origenistischen Streitigkeiten im sechsten Jahrhundert und das fünfte allgemeine Concil. Münster 1899; D. HOMBERGEN, The Second Origenist Controversy. A New Perspective on Cyril of Scythopolis' Monastic Biographies as Historical Sources for Sixth-Century Origenism. Roma 2001; A. LOUTH, The Collection Sabbaitica and Sixth-Century Origenism, in: Origeniana Octava. Origen and the Alexandrian Tradition, ed. L. Perrone. Leuven 2003, II 1167–1175; D. KRAUSMÜLLER, Origenism and Anti-Origenism in the Late Sixth and Seventh Centuries, in: Evagrius and His Legacy, ed. J. Kalvesmaki – R. DarlingYoung. Notre Dame (Indiana) 2016, 288–316.

[2] On the theology of John Philoponus, a brief and effective summary is provided by H. CHADWICK, Philoponus the Christian Theologian, in: Philoponus and the Rejection of Aristotelian Science, ed. R. Sorabji. London ²2010, 83–96. Cf. also H. MARTIN, Jean Philopon et la controverse trithéite du VI[e] siècle, in: Studia Patristica V. Papers presented to the Third International Conference on Patristic Studies, ed. F.L. Cross. Berlin 1962, III 519–525; A. VAN ROEY, Les fragments trithéites de Jean Philopon. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 11 (1980) 135–163; IDEM, Un traité cononite contre la doctrine de Jean Philopon sur la résurrection, in: ANTIDŌRON. Hommage à Maurits Geerard pour célébrer l'achèvement de la Clavis Patrum Graecorum. Wetteren 1984, I 123–139; U.M. LANG, Notes on John Philoponus and the Tritheist Controversy in the Sixth Century. *Oriens Christianus* 85 (2001) 23–40; B. LOURIÉ, John Philoponus on the Bodily Resurrection. *Scrinium* 9 (2013) 79–88.

theologian, just as there is no chapter on Plato or Aristotle, whose influence on Photius cannot be underestimated—most of the texts Photius reads on this subject are related to the long-running debate and are a valuable treasure for us, since he is our only source: in the centuries before Photius there is little or no interest in them[3], and after Photius there are definitely no more references to them.

This being the case, the question arises as to why Photius felt such a strong fascination with the subject, even though there is no evidence that Origenism and related questions about the resurrection were an issue during his lifetime. The assumption maintained here is that this was due to iconoclasm, or rather the philosophical premises of some of the questions raised by the foes of icons. It may come as a surprise that Photius felt compelled to fight a heresy that had already been defeated some decades earlier. Be that as it may, the close attention Photius paid to the connection between matter and form in the Godhead can be taken as evidence that his concern about a resurgence of the iconoclasts was genuine and not at all opportunistic, and this may shed some light on a rather obscure area of opposition to religious power in the middle decades of the ninth century in Constantinople.

As is well known, there is much scholarly debate about whether this alarm by Photius was genuine or merely a propaganda hoax to reassert the patriarch's shaky power, threatened by several outside forces. In contrast to Dvornik[4], Cyril Mango held that Photius "harped on Iconoclasm at every possible opportunity" to position himself politically, but that there was no real threat from a possible resurgence of iconoclasm[5]. On this point, Chadwick is right when he says that Mango's "judgement is more likely to be true in political than in religious terms"[6]: Photius's attention to examining the primarily philosophical, secondarily scriptural and theological basis of the iconoclastic theses testifies, as we shall see, to a genuine and deep concern. A concern, it should be said, that he shared with many of his connections, especially in the ranks of the clergy. Dvornik noted that some of the chapters of the *Amphilochia* dealing with images overlapped with letters addressed to prominent figures in the Orthodox hierarchy in the capital and the provinces[7]: the need for polemical means to effectively rebut these harmful opinions must have been felt not only in Constantinople, but in many areas of the Byzantine Empire and beyond. Of course, it cannot be ruled out that Photius was *also* pursuing a political agenda—on the contrary, it is very likely that this was the case—, but the political use of doctrinal issues, the sharpening of theological tools to combat what he perceived as a threat to the Church and the Empire, only confirms how deeply this concern was embedded in his thinking. And this is not to say that this threat actually endangered the steadiness

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[3] K. Parry, Providence, Resurrection, and Restoration in Byzantine Thought, Eighth to Ninth Centuries, in: Studia Patristica XCVII. Papers presented at the Seventeenth International Conference on Patristic Studies held in Oxford 2015, ed. M. Vinzent. Vol. 23. Leuven – Paris – Bristol 2017, 295–304: 303, assumes that polemical references to John Philoponus's *On the Resurrection* are to be recognized in Maximus the Confessor and John of Damascus: if so, they are hidden, barely discernible references.

[4] F. Dvornik, The Patriarch Photius and Iconoclasm. *DOP* 7 (1953) 67–97.

[5] C. Mango, The Liquidation of Iconoclasm and the Patriarch Photios, in: Iconoclasm. Papers given at the Ninth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies. University of Birmingham, March 1975, ed. A. Bryer – J. Herrin. Birmingham 1977, 133–140. This opinion is also shared by D. Stratoudaki-White, Patriarch Photios and the Conclusion of Iconoclasm. *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 44 (1999) 341–355; W.T. Treadgold, Photius Before His Patriarchate. *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 53 (2002) 1–17: 17; R. Price, Acta, Treatises, and Hagiography, in: A Companion to Byzantine Iconoclasm, ed. M. Humphreys. Leiden – Boston 2021, 230–260: 236–237.

[6] H. Chadwick, East and West: The Making of a Rift in the Church from Apostolic Times until the Council of Florence. Oxford 2003, 145 n. 13. Cf. also C. Bevegni, Le due omelie di Fozio sull'eresia ariana. Motivi peculiari e spunti di ricerca, in: Lingua e teologia nel Cristianesimo greco, ed. C. Moreschini – G. Menestrina. Brescia 1999, 271–297: 279–280; G. Strano, Forme e significati dei riferimenti alle eresie nell'epistolario di Fozio. *RSBN* 47 (2010) 177–194: 180–181.

[7] Dvornik, The Patriarch Photius and Iconoclasm 86.

of power: only a glance at the past would show a few centuries later how inconsistent these polemical remnants of the iconoclasts were.

The pattern we will now discuss in more detail is based on a hypothesis: that what we read in the so-called *Library* was not amassed in a short period of time, but is a lifelong work in which not only Photius, but many of his friends and students were involved. The traditional, outdated view is that Photius wrote the entire work long before his elevation to the patriarchal throne (858)[8], while the prevailing opinion today is precisely that the *Library* summarizes (part of) the fruits of a lifetime's reading, at least up to the first deposition (870), most probably even beyond[9]. A more recent attempt to confirm the traditional view is unconvincing[10]: in this case, we would have to assume that Photius read a huge amount of books in his twenties and thirties (or even much more than what is in the *Library*, since it supposedly contains only the books whose reading sessions his brother Tarasius missed). If this opinion were correct, the reading of the books and the compilation of the reading notes would be very close in time to the raging of the iconoclastic storm and Photius's obsessive focus on the dogmatic roots of a long-dead heresy would require less explanation. I will not go into detail here about the date of the *Library*. However, the prefatory letter of the *Library* which claims that Photius was about to set out on a legation "to the Assyrians" when he wrote the work, has a metaphorical meaning[11], so it is not necessary to identify a historically fulfilled diplomatic mission in which Photius is supposed to be involved. Halkin's argument (ch. 252 of the *Library* describes a hagiographical text based on John Hymmonides's *Life of Gregory*, written between 873 and 876) cannot be dismissed so easily[12]. Moreover, relating the compilation, rescue and reordering of the *schedē*/*schedaria* that make up the *Library* (most likely, without the author's final supervision) to the troubled events of the deposition, the anti-Photian council and the subsequent resistance of Photius and his acolytes in a hostile environment better explains the chaotic form of the work and its inconsistencies.

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[8] A very early date of composition of the *Library* is assumed by P. LEMERLE, Le premier humanisme byzantin. Paris 1971, 37–42 and 179–180 (around 838) and TREADGOLD, Photius Before His Patriarchate 11 (around 845).

[9] A brief survey of the problem is in L. CANFORA, «Thesaurus insignis, non liber», in: Fozio. Biblioteca, ed. N. Bianchi – C. Schiano. Pisa ²2019, XI–LXIV.

[10] C.M. MAZZUCCHI, Restauro e interpretazione dell'epistola a Tarasio. *Aevum* 95 (2021) 441–464. The scholar falls back on a (clearly later and by no means explicit) source, known since Cardinal Hergenröther's studies, in order to prove the plausibility of Photius as ambassador to the Arabs around 845/846.

[11] L. CANFORA, Libri e biblioteche, in: Lo spazio letterario della Grecia antica. 2: La ricezione e l'attualizzazione del testo, dir. G. Cambiano – L. Canfora – D. Lanza. Roma 1995, 11–93: 31–43; IDEM, Τελετή, non τελευτή, in: Poesia e religione in Grecia. Studi in onore di G. Aurelio Privitera, ed. M. Cannatà Fera – S. Grandolini. Napoli 2000, 137–140: 139; F. RONCONI, The Patriarch and the Assyrians: New Evidence for the Date of Photios' Library. *Segno e testo* 11 (2013) 387–395; IDEM, Pour la datation de la Bibliothèque de Photius: la Myriobiblos, le patriarche et Rome, in: Byzanz und das Abendland II. Studia Byzantino-Occidentalia, ed. E. Juhász. Budapest 2014, 135–153; CANFORA, «Thesaurus insignis, non liber» XXX–XLI. Cf. also M. LOSACCO, Photius, la Bibliothèque, et au-delà: l'état de la recherche, l'usage des classiques et les préfaces du corpus, in: Autour du Premier humanisme byzantin et des Cinq études sur le XIe siècle. Quarante ans après Paul Lemerle, ed. B. Flusin – J.-C. Cheynet. Paris 2017, 235–308: 260–261; and the contribution by F. Ronconi in this volume (The *Library* and the *Mystagogia*. Genetic pathways compared, §I.1). Canfora and Ronconi apparently disagree on the identification of the hidden reference for the "ambassade to the Assyrians" (*4Kgs* 18–19 and *Ps* 79, according to Christian exegesis; or *Hos* 5, 13 and 7, 11), but every reader of Byzantine texts knows how many levels of interpretation can be assumed in the case of enigmatic references to Holy Scripture, i.e., how many different biblical contexts can arise simultaneously in the mind of an author.

[12] F. HALKIN, La date de composition de la "Bibliothèque" de Photius remise en question. *AnBoll* 81 (1963) 414–417; cf. also V. MARAGLINO, Reconsidering the Date of Photius' Bibliotheca: the Biographical Tradition of Gregory the Great in Chapter 252. *Ancient Society* 37 (2007) 265–278. A different opinion is held by B. HEMMERDINGER, Le «codex» 252 de la Bibliothèque de Photius. *BZ* 58 (1965) 1–2: he believes that a lost Greek *Vita* was the source both for *BHG* 721 (which was read and described by Photius) and for John Hymmonides' *Life*; cf. also MAZZUCCHI, Restauro e interpretazione 452–453. This opinion, which is of course not unreasonable, must assume as real two things that supposedly no longer exist today: a comprehensive Greek *Vita* and its Latin translation, allegedly compiled by Anastasius the Librarian and used by John Hymmonides.

GHOSTS IN THE LIBRARY

The first example to be examined is found in a pagan text. Most of ch. 242 (Damascius's *Life of Isidore*) consists of extracts that often prevent the reconstruction of a linear narrative sequence; many of them are so short and out of context, and sometimes even filled with incomplete sentences, that understanding the sequence of events is often made difficult, even though the main manuscript, Marc. Gr. Z 450 [Diktyon 69921], presents the text as an uninterrupted and coherent narrative. Treadgold argues that this is because "these selections were chosen not for their content but for their style"[13]. I strongly doubt that this is true of most of them: many references, such as that to Ptolemy as "the best guide in the astronomical sciences"[14], should be explained in the light of the interests (e.g. scientific) that were cultivated in Photius's circle. The prevalence (not exclusivity) of a stylistic interest can only be assumed for the last part of the chapter, where Photius himself claims to apply such a selective criterion to the extracts gathered there[15]. While claiming that there is no absolute demarcation between "Sachexzerpte" and "Stilexzerpte", Tomas Hägg suggests as a difference that stylistic excerpts are not reproduced in coherent paragraphs because the excerptor makes no effort to connect them[16]. To be fair, this also applies to a considerable part of the "Sachexzerpte" in ch. 242, where Photius is more interested in some other topics that we still need to identify than in the narrative flow.

The following sentence may be considered for our purpose.

> ὁ τοίνυν τεθνηκώς, ὁ εὐτυχὴς οὗτος νῦν, ἡ ψυχὴ φημὶ καὶ τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς εἴδωλον, παρέστη μοι ἀναφανδὸν ἐπὶ τοῦδε τοῦ σκίμποδος ἀνακειμένῳ[17].
>
> This one who is now blessed, the dead man, suddenly appeared to me (I mean his soul and the image of his soul) while I was lying on this little bed.

The connection with what precedes and follows is very loose, although Athanassiadi boldly tries to figure out some coherence in this text and implies that the dead man should be Proclus, who is assumed to be alluded to as "the leading sage" in the following statement[18]. It is almost impossible to determine this: even if we can trust Photius to have largely maintained the order of the original text—especially in the series of extracts chosen for their content—nothing can ensure that the scattered sentences come from coherent contexts[19].

Why then did Photius (or one of his associates in the *Lesekreis*) select this statement if he was not even interested in understanding or reporting *who* the dead man was? The only specifics Photius wanted to salvage from the original text are these two: the fact that the man, however dead, is *now* in a state of bliss (εὐτυχὴς) transformed into a kind of pagan holiness, and the fact that the image of the deceased appears to the speaker as visible and real, not just like a deceptive dream, as

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[13] W.T. TREADGOLD, The Nature of the Bibliotheca of Photius. Washington D.C. 1980, 43.

[14] Photius, *Bibl.* 242, 345b = Damascius, *Vita Isid.* fr. 97G (ed. P. ATHANASSIADI, Damascius. The Philosophical History. Athens 1999, 236) = fr. Epitoma 145 (ed. C. ZINTZEN, Damascii Vitae Isidori reliquiae. Hildesheim 1967, 198).

[15] Photius, *Bibl.* 242, 349b–353a ("omitted expressions which, because of their stylistic beauty, must be filed together with the excerpts"). This arrangement is similar to other chapters, such as ch. 241 (Apollonius of Tyana), on which cf. Th. HÄGG, Photius at Work: Evidence from the Text of the Bibliotheca. *GRBS* 14 (1973) 213–222. On the different treatment of "Sachexzerpte" and "Stilexzerpte" in ch. 241, cf. also IDEM, Photios als Vermittler antiker Literatur. Untersuchungen zur Technik des Referierens und Exzerpierens in der Bibliotheke. Uppsala 1975, 24–39 and *passim*.

[16] HÄGG, Photios als Vermittler 39.

[17] Photius, *Bibl.* 242, 346a = Damascius, *Vita Isid.* fr. 98A (238 ATHANASSIADI) = fr. Epitoma 148 (202 ZINTZEN).

[18] ATHANASSIADI, Damascius 239–241. The identification is suggested even more clearly by ZINTZEN, Damascii Vitae Isidori Reliquiae 202 *in apparatu*.

[19] ATHANASSIADI, Damascius 66, admits that the editor who wants to reconstruct Damascius's original text should be bolder and take the opportunity to emancipate himself from the "chain" of Photius's textual order.

the position of the speaker lying on a bed may suggest[20]. It is also relevant that the preceding statement in Photius's text speaks of the "wasting away of the body" (τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἀπορροὴν) of someone, perhaps the "young man" for whom Proclus fears. The consistency of the visible body, living or dead, seems to be an important concern for the collector of these seemingly unrelated text fragments.

In the same collection of extracts there is also a brief reference to the battle of the Catalaunian Plains, which took place in 451 AD between the Romans and the Huns[21]: again, it is not clear why this should be significant in the life of Isidore, but it is the occasion for Damascius to report and for Photius to record that when the combatants fell, their bodies were dismissed and their souls continued to stand and fight with the opponents, who still had both bodies and souls; and Damascius and Photius recount many other circumstances in which similar battles took place with "shadowy apparitions of souls floating about in the air" (ἐν ἀέρι διαφοιτῶντα ψυχῶν ἄττα σκιοειδῆ φαντάσματα)[22]:

> ἐπειδὴ πεπτώκασιν οἱ μαχόμενοι τοῖς σώμασιν ἀπειπόντες ἔτι ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἵσταντο πολεμοῦντες ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ὅλας καὶ νύκτας, οὐδὲν τῶν ζώντων εἰς ἀγῶνα ἀπολειπόμενοι, οὔτε κατὰ χεῖρας οὔτε κατὰ θυμόν. […] Καὶ ἀρχαῖα δὲ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα φάσματα πολέμων μέχρι νῦν φαίνεσθαί φησι, πλὴν ὅτι ταῦτα τὰ μὲν ἄλλα, ὅσα ζῶντες ἄνθρωποι κατὰ πόλεμον δρῶσιν, οὐδὲν ὑστερεῖν, φθέγγεσθαι δὲ οὐκ ἐπὶ μικρόν[23].
>
> While the bodies of the combatants had failed when they fell, they continued to fight with their souls for three days and nights, lacking neither physical strength nor bravery in comparison with the living. [...] Several of these ancient war phantoms have been experienced down to modern times, and apart from being mute, these dead fighters behaved exactly as living men do in battle.

Such accounts may be dismissed as mere paradoxography—and it is well known that paradoxography is a very persistent interest in Photius's *Library*—but I would argue that it is not just that.

Similar considerations have been made for the patriarch's approach to Greek novels, such as Heliodorus's *Aethiopica*, where Photius seems to consider "not narrative structure or dramatic spectacle but raw story-material", i.e. "historical and paradoxographical material" such as necyomancy[24]. On the Christian side, the lives of the saints allow analogous conclusions: they are usually scrutinized in the *Library* primarily for their historical setting or for their portrayal of the martyr-

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[20] The immediately preceding context within Photius's excerpts is about a dream: in this case, the dreamer is Proclus himself, while the actor of the dream is his disciple Marinus, so that the dream clearly has a prophetic meaning.

[21] The clash between the weakening Christian empire and the violent barbarian troops, perceived by contemporaries as epoch-making, gave rise to many legends in which saints, bishops and intrepid virgins play the leading roles: cf. S. MacDowall, Catalaunian Fields AD 451. Rome's last great battle. Oxford 2015, 43–47.

[22] The reference to Plato, *Phaedo* 81d (ὤφθη ἄττα ψυχῶν σκιοειδῆ φαντάσματα, οἷα παρέχονται αἱ τοιαῦται ψυχαὶ εἴδωλα, "shadowy phantoms, images produced by such souls, were seen") is definitely no coincidence: Plato's *phantasmata* show up near graves and tombs because they were too bound to material bodies in life and are unable to completely detach themselves after death; Damascius's (and Photius's) phantoms are said to "roam in the air" but continue to do what they did in life, namely fight.

[23] Photius, *Bibl.* 242, 339b = Damascius, *Vita Isid.* fr. 50 (142 Athanassiadi) = fr. Epitoma 63 (92 Zintzen). Phantom battles are a fairly common type of miracle story: more often, however, they are repetitions of battles fought in the distant past (such as that on the plain of Marathon, 490 BC, where every night "neighing horses and fighting men are heard", as recounted by Pausanias I 32, 4) or even portents of battles to come (such as in Augustine, *Civ*. II 25). What is special about the story Damascius tells here is the simultaneity of the battle between the living and the dead.

[24] P.A. Agapitos, Narrative, Rhetoric, and 'Drama' Rediscovered: Scholars and Poets in Byzantium Interpret Heliodorus, in: Studies in Heliodorus, ed. R. Hunter. Cambridge 1998, 125–156: 131–132. On crucifixions, apparent deaths and resurrections in the novels summarized by Photius, cf. also N. Bianchi, Cross and Crucifixion in Iamblichus' Novel, in: Death, Sanctity and the Cross. Crucified Saints in Image and Text, ed. B. Crostini – A.J. Lappin. Roma 2022, 107–122: 118–120.

dom of exemplary witnesses to the faith[25], but sometimes other objectives are pursued. In the seventh-century *Life of St John Chrysostom* by George of Alexandria, for example, the episode of the appearance of the apostle Paul dictating to the unsuspecting saint the commentary on his own letters is mentioned among the political themes that moved Chrysostom's life[26]. It cannot be argued that Photius devotes much space to this episode in the overall balance of his summary of the *Life*, but it is relevant that while ch. 27 of the *Life* of George inserts the matter into the account of John's intercession with the emperor on behalf of a high official who had been slandered and stripped of his dignity[27], Photius omits this much more realistic and historically significant detail and concentrates on the miraculous appearance of the apostle. It should not be overlooked that the story establishes a close connection between the icon of Paul that Chrysostom addresses in his conversation and the image of the apostle that Proclus (but not Chrysostom himself) sees behind the bishop[28]: a clear indication of the icon's function as mediator between matter and spirit.

In the *Life of Gregory the Great*, the Pope notices at the banquet a thirteenth guest whom no one but he can see and whose appearance "is not only different from the others, but constantly changes in an astonishing way", and he turns out to be an angel sent by God to protect him[29]: this account takes up most of the chapter[30]. In the *Life of Metrophanes and Alexander*, the daughter of bishop Spyridon, Irene, who died a virgin, speaks out from her tomb and reveals where she has hidden a treasure entrusted to her[31]. In the detailed summary of the book of the monk Job, Photius recalls a biblical passage (*Jos* 5, 13) in which Joshua sees a man armed with a spear, understands that he is a supernatural being ("one of the intelligible spirits") and asks whether he is an angel or a demon[32].

Moreover, in some chapters the theme of relics and their miraculous effect on reality is hinted at: reading two different authors, Asterius and Eulogius, Photius comes across the episode of the dead man who was thrown on the tomb of Elisha and was revived solely by contact with the bones of the prophet (*2Kgs* 13, 21)[33]. The martyr Demetrius, whose *Life and martyrdom* is reported in ch. 255, was hastily buried, but miracles and healings kept gushing out of his tomb[34]. In the *Mysta-*

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[25] Th. Hägg, Photius as a Reader of Hagiography: Selection and Criticism. *DOP* 53 (1999) 43–58.

[26] Photius, *Bibl.* 96, 80b.

[27] George of Alexandria, *Vita Chrys.* 27 (ed. F. Halkin, Douze récits byzantins sur saint Jean Chrysostome. Bruxelles 1977, 142–148).

[28] Cf. M.M. Mitchell, The Archetypal Image: John Chrysostom's Portraits of Paul. *The Journal of Religion* 75 (1995) 15–43; P. Holloway, Portrait and Presence: a Note on the visio Procli (George of Alexandria, Vita Chrysostomi 27). *BZ* 100 (2007) 71–83. In the midst of iconoclasm, John of Damascus, *Or. de imag.* I 61, II 57, III 54 (ed. B. Kotter, Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos. Berlin 1975, III 161–162) cites the *visio Procli* from the hagiographical text of George of Alexandria as evidence of the antiquity of image worship; further citations in Nicephorus, *Ref.* 99 (ed. J.M. Featherstone, Nicephori patriarchae Constantinopolitani Refutatio et eversio definitionis synodalis anni 815. Turnhout – Leuven 1997, 180), and in the *Doctrina Patrum* (ed. F. Diekamp, Doctrina Patrum de Incarnatione Verbi. Münster 1907, 330). A renowned iconographic tradition spread the fame of the *visio Procli*.

[29] Photius, *Bibl.* 252, 466b–467b.

[30] Photius's chapter actually focuses only on two edifying episodes about the angel disguised as a beggar, precisely because the Greek *Vita*, which the patriarch summarizes here, contains only these two episodes: cf. V. Maraglino, Un bios greco anonimo di Gregorio Magno (*BHG* 720–721). *Vetera Christianorum* 59 (2022) 141–155. It is significant, however, that "even a Life without much historical information could interest Photius" (Hägg, Photius as a Reader 52).

[31] Photius, *Bibl.* 256, 471a–b (cf. F. Winkelmann, Vita Metrophanis et Alexandri *BHG* 1279. *AnBoll* 100 [1982], 147–183: 166–167). The episode is also narrated by Socrates Scholasticus I 12, Rufinus, *Hist. eccl.* X 5 and Sozomenus I 11, 4. While in the hagiographical account of the *Life of Metrophanes and Alexander* only Irene's voice is heard from her grave, Socrates says that the virgin "rises again, appears to her father" and then "passes away again" because the old Spyridon had prayed to God "to show him in advance the promised resurrection".

[32] Photius, *Bibl.* 222, 199b.

[33] Photius, *Bibl.* 271, 503a; 280, 544a. In the latter context, the name of the prophet Elisha is not mentioned; Eulogius (and through him Photius) recalls the episode to explain that "there is an inherent power in the bones of the saints".

[34] Photius, *Bibl.* 255, 469b. On the particular condition of the body of the civic martyr Demetrius, cf. J.C. Skedros, Saint Demetrios of Thessaloniki. Civic Patron and Divine Protector 4th – 7th Centuries CE. Harrisburg 1999, 85–104: there is no

gogy, Photius alludes to Gregory the Great's *Dialogues*, in which he catches Gregory asking whether "the energies of miracles are to be found in a part of the relics of the saints or in their whole bodies"[35]; and the pope's answer is that where there are not the bodies but only some relics of the saints, the miracles shine forth in greater splendour and marvellousness, so that even the weakest people should not doubt the efficacious presence of the saints.

What aroused Photius's interest in dealing with ghostly apparitions and with the miraculous properties of the saints' relics? The crucial point seems to be the status of the body and soul after death but before resurrection; or, in other words, how the soul, if disembodied, can still be active. This is a purely philosophical problem, if a strict Aristotelian (which Photius is not) were to maintain that the soul, which is the first act of the body, should not exist without the body, except for God, who is pure actuality that transcends matter. Hylomorphism was something that Christian eschatology had to deal with.

ORIGENIST-LIKE DOUBTS ABOUT THE FLESHLY RESURRECTION

In Christian theology, the subject has been vigorously debated, especially since Origen was confronted with the problem of the nature of the resurrected body, i.e. what distinguishes it from the living body: if the resurrected body of Christ has qualities beyond the capabilities of the flesh, since it can pass through closed doors, is its substance to be considered different and pertaining to another body, not the same one that is dead?[36] The controversy over Origenism shines through in many passages of the *Library* and in other works by Photius: the anonymous author of an *Apology for Origen* shared the idea that "souls assume different bodies", as Photius contemptuously notes[37]; Theognostus of Alexandria is said to "fantasize, like Origen, about angels and demons" and to rail against the circumscription of Christ[38]; the first of a group of wide chapters summarizing the works of Methodius of Olympus deals with Methodius's polemic against Origen concerning the resurrection and Origen's conception of the resurrected body[39], but the following chapters also contain controversial points against the Alexandrian theologian, for example, on the relationship between God and matter, i.e. whether God can be circumscribed[40].

Photius devotes a great deal of space to the discussion triggered by the publication of John Philoponus's *On the Resurrection* in the last decades of the sixth century: it is one of the last works of the Aristotelian commentator, perhaps even his last, and sparked a fierce confrontation within the

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evidence of the saint's relics scattered throughout the Byzantine Empire available for veneration, but a very strong popular belief is that his body lies under the ciborium of his church in Thessalonica. Demetrius was world famous for his relics' nursing manna, although Photius does not mention this detail, which was probably a later tradition.

35 Photius, *Myst.* 84. On the overlap between *Bibl.* 252 and *Myst.* 84, cf. also Ronconi in this volume (§ III).

36 I am not referring only to what Origen actually said or wrote—a subject that scholars have debated fiercely, especially in the field of eschatology, and it may even be questionable to claim that Origen expressed a clear idea on the issue (cf. M. SIMONETTI, Alcune osservazioni sull'interpretazione origeniana di Genesi 2,7 e 3,21. *Aevum* 36 [1962], 370–381)—but also and above all to what later came to be defined as Origenism, a magmatic pile of theses more or less loosely associated with Origen and ranging from the fourth to the sixth century: cf. A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, De la doctrine "origéniste" du corps glorieux sphéroïde. *Revue des Sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 43 (1959) 81–86; G. DORIVAL, Origène et la résurrection de la chair, in: Origeniana Quarta, ed. L. Lies. Innsbruck – Wien 1987, 291–321; A. SCOTT, Origen and the Life of the Stars. A History of an Idea. Oxford 1991, 150–164; B.E. DALEY, What did "Origenism" mean in the sixth century? in: Origeniana Sexta. Origène et la Bible, ed. G. Dorival – A. Le Boulluec. Leuven 1995, 627–638.

37 Photius, *Bibl.* 117, 91b.

38 Photius, *Bibl.* 106, 87a. On Theognostus and Origen, cf. E. PRINZIVALLI, Magister Ecclesiae. Il dibattito su Origene fra III e IV secolo. Roma 2002, 50–57; EADEM, Le metamorfosi della scuola alessandrina da Eracla a Didimo, in: Origeniana Octava. Origen and the Alexandrian Tradition, ed. L. Perrone. Leuven 2003, II 911–937: 925–931.

39 Photius, *Bibl.* 234, 293a–301b.

40 Photius, *Bibl.* 236, 305a.

Egyptian Monophysite Church, between the Cononites and the Philoponians[41]. A short series of excerpts from the refutation of Philoponus's *On the Resurrection*, written by his opponents, Conon of Tarsus and Eugenius of Seleucia, was most likely collected by Photius himself (or by his *Lesekreis*) and for some reason escaped the attention of those who collected materials for the *Library* in Marc. Gr. Z 450[42]. Philoponus seems to take up the problems raised by Origen and rethink them from a logical-philosophical point of view: if the definition of man is "a rational and mortal animal"[43] and "rational" and "mortal" are to be regarded as inseparable qualities, then when man is resurrected and his body is deprived of its mortality, he loses one of his "inseparable qualities" and his resulting substance becomes strictly, or rather numerically, different[44].

Another, rather extensive and rather curious chapter goes back to the same set of questions: the author under study here is the otherwise unknown "Tritheist" Stephen Gobar, whose intellectual profile places him among the Philoponians[45]. His work is a collection of *sic et non*[46], of opposing theses on more than fifty topics: Origenist and Philoponian themes, especially on the resurrection body and many other eschatological issues, are recognizable.

Echoes and overlaps on these themes can also be detected between the *Library*, the *Amphilochia* and the *Mystagogy*: as Filippo Ronconi has shown[47], the latter works underwent the same genetic process as the *Library*, namely the accumulation and conflation of *schedaria*, and it therefore stands to reason that the same doctrinal or cultural issues prompted Photius, on the one hand, to collect reading notes from the books he had read and, on the other hand, to outline philosophical and/or theological attempts to solve the problems he faced, mainly for pedagogical reasons[48]. In *Genesis* 3, 21, for example, we read that Adam and Eve were provided with "garments of skin" after the Fall. According to one common interpretation, these garments were their perishable bodies that were recreated once sin caused the loss of immortality and incorruption. But if this is true—asks Photius in the *Amphilochia*—does this mean that Adam and Eve did not have fleshly bodies before, but immaterial or spiritual ones? The patriarch warns that such claims could be voiced by "Origen and the chorus of Origenists":

> ἁπλῶς ἡ τῶν ὄντων δημιουργία πᾶσα καὶ πρόοδος καὶ τὸ τῆς θείας κηδεμονίας περὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον φιλάνθρωπόν τε καὶ θαυμάσιον, καὶ τὰς κατὰ διαδοχὴν δὲ τῆς γενέσεως ἀρχὰς εἰς

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[41] The names of the two opposing sides are mentioned by Timothy of Constantinople, *Rec. haer.* III 10–11 (*PG* 86A, 60–64). This controversy is the focus of chs. 21, 22, 23, 24; further discussions for and against Philoponus's theology are found in chs. 38, 43, 50, 55, 75, 215, 240.

[42] In addition to the well-known case of the fragments of Philostorgius in the ms. Oxon. Barocc. 142 [Diktyon 47429], ff. 243–261, other extravagant materials pertaining to the *Library* have been identified in recent years: cf. A. Corcella, Nuovi frammenti della Biblioteca storica di Diodoro Siculo. *Quaderni di storia* 89 (2019) 147–203; C. Schiano, Artemidoro sul Nilo (fr. 90 Stiehle): falsificazione umanistica o prodotto dell'officina di Fozio? *Byz* 90 (2020) 271–308. Cf. also Ronconi in this volume (§ I.3). The only available information on the still unpublished Greek extracts from the Cononite confutation against Philoponus, scanty as it may be, can be found in J. Paramelle, Christianisme byzantin. *École pratique des hautes études. V^e^ section. Sciences religieuses. Annuaire* 91 (1982–1983) 407–415: 408–410: I am going to publish the extracts together with a thorough reconstruction of their textual transmission and the historical and theological context of the controversy. A completely independent set of extracts, probably from the same work of Conon and Eugenius and translated into Syriac, is described by Van Roey, Un traité cononite.

[43] Cf. Porphyry, *Isag.* 10–11 (ed. A. Busse, Porphyrii Isagoge et in Aristotelis Categorias commentarium [*CAG* IV/1]. Berolini 1887).

[44] Van Roey, Un traité cononite 136.

[45] Cf. C. Schiano, Stefano Gobar e la controversia sul corpo risorto nella Bibliotheca di Fozio. *Rivista di storia del cristianesimo* 13 (2016) 89–106.

[46] Cf. A. Von Harnack, The "Sic et Non" of Stephanus Gobarus. *Harvard Theological Review* 16 (1923) 205–234.

[47] F. Ronconi, The *Library* and the *Mystagogia*. Genetic pathways compared, in this volume (exp. § I.6).

[48] An intertextual reading of the *Library* and the *Amphilochia* can offer numerous insights: cf. e.g. T. Braccini, Fozio e Giobio. *Rivista di storia del cristianesimo* 13 (2016) 73–87, who starts from ch. 222 of the *Library* (the monk Job) and goes through several of the *Quaestiones ad Amphilochium*.

νοητήν τινα σκηνὴν ἀναφέροντες οὐδὲ τὴν ἰδίαν ὕπαρξιν καὶ οὐσίωσιν ὤφθησαν εὐλαβούμενοι[49].

The whole creation and production of beings and the wonderous and benign solicitude of God for mankind do not seem to preserve their inner essence and reality since the very initial act of creating the world is transformed into a kind of intellectual set-up.

Photius meets with the same problem when he scrutinizes Stephen Gobar and Methodius in the *Library*[50].

Another doubt that troubles Photius is why the first chapters of *Genesis* describe the creation of the material world, but not a single word is said about intelligible beings. A chapter in the *Amphilochia* is devoted to this issue, which resurfaces when Photius leafs through the extensive work of the monk Job[51]. In addition, Philoponus deals with this subject in the *Commentary on the Hexaemeron*, which Photius explores in two chapters of the *Library*: Philoponus says that the angels were created before the material world and proves this by the fact that "the angels are not bodies, nor are they connected with a body as an instrument, as is our soul"; and other considerations of this kind deal with the connection between the human soul and body[52]. At the beginning of *Amph*. 79, Photius says that "in some other writings of mine an answer to this problem may be found, which lacks neither accuracy nor efficacy", but this "other writing" is apparently no longer available[53], at least not among the works that have come down to us. We can be sure, however, that Photius continued to reflect, to collect testimonies from the Church Fathers and to write on a subject that was very close to his heart.

THE CULT OF THE SAINTS AT STAKE: THE IMPACT OF ICONOCLASM

Another passage is necessary to understand why the connection between soul and material body after death was so crucial in this context. From the third century AD at the latest, the opinion began

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[49] Photius, *Amph*. 70 (ed. L.G. WESTERINK, Photius. Epistulae et Amphilochia. Leipzig 1986, V 68–71). The chapter is analysed by P. TZAMALIKOS, The Real Cassian Revised. Monastic Life, Greek Paideia, and Origenism in the Sixth Century. Leiden – Boston 2012, 294–296, who takes pains to clarify that the orthodox thesis that Photius attributes to Gregory of Nazianzus against Origen was in fact Origen's thesis. Photius misunderstanding Origen is only the latest in a long line. On Tzamalikos's wishful reconstruction of the intellectual profile of the Greek Cassian, one should read the balanced assessments of R. ALCIATI, Il Cassiano greco di Panayiotis Tzamalikos. *Rivista di storia del cristianesimo* 11 (2014) 451–478, and the sharper remarks by C. STEWART, Another Cassian?. *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 66 (2015) 372–376. Just a brief comment on the hypothesis of TZAMALIKOS, The Real Cassian Revised 21; 80 n. 132; 192; 318, and IDEM, A Newly Discovered Greek Father. Cassian the Sabaite Eclipsed by John Cassian of Marseilles. Leiden – Boston 2012, 230; 241; 372; 407; 481; 485 n. 238; 567–568; 587; 603–606, that the author of most of the *Amphilochia* chapters is not Photius but the Sabaite monk Cassian whom he purports to identify. Apart from the inherent fragility of a hypothesis based merely (or mostly) on stylistic analogies, the *Amphilochia* show clear traces of Photius's method of working with extracts from other authors to construct his own argument (e.g. in *Amph.* 70 Theodoretus is used but not mentioned). Therefore, the fact that occasionally the style of another author is echoed in these pages is not at all unexpected and certainly no proof that their author is not Photius.

[50] Photius, *Bibl.* 232, 288a; 234, 293b.

[51] Photius, *Amph.* 79, V 108–109 (WESTERINK); *Bibl.* 222, 187b–188b. In *Amph.* 79, Photius remarks that the knowledge of the creation of intelligible beings, which precedes the creation of the sensible world, was useless to men, and Moses omitted to mention it because the Jews, who had just been freed from slavery in Egypt, were not prepared to understand it.

[52] Photius, *Bibl.* 240, 323b (cf. John Philoponus, *Opif.* I 8–9). At the end of ch. 240, Philoponus (Photius) raises the issue of the pre-existence of souls.

[53] While Westerink admits that the text to which Photius alludes here cannot be found ("non exstat"), he mentions a passage in *Amph.* 6 (ed. L.G. WESTERINK, Photius. Epistulae et Amphilochia. Leipzig 1986, IV 37: "it is by no means surprising that Moses, who saw God, did not tell of the creation of the incorporeal powers because of the coarseness and weakness of his audience, and therefore did not describe the supersensible kingdom of heaven to the masses, who live more with their senses than with their intellect"), which, however, does not match the reference in *Amph.* 79.

to circulate that the soul enters a state of sleep or suspension after death. Towards the end of Philip the Arab's reign, a local synod was convened in Arabia to oppose those who believed that the soul dies and corrupts along with the body and is resurrected at the end of time, and Origen attended this synod to convince these Christians that their belief was false[54]. Their teaching spread, especially in Syria and among the Nestorians, and was a lasting success. Aphrahat says that when a man dies, his soul is buried with the body and loses its ability to perceive sensations, while his heavenly spirit returns to the presence of Christ[55].

These ideas were undoubtedly a cause for concern, especially because of their implications for the cult of the saints: asking the saints to intercede with God becomes a futile endeavour if their souls are not active but sleeping in anticipation of the final resurrection. Photius is very intrigued by the work of the priest Eustratius of Constantinople[56] (a disciple of the patriarch Eutychius, who had argued with Gregory the Great, then Roman apocrisarius in Constantinople, about the consistency of the resurrected body, which Eutychius claimed was "subtler than air" and intangible). There is debate among scholars about the reliability of John of Ephesus's claim[57] that Eutychius was influenced by the contemporary controversy sparked by Philoponus's *On the Resurrection*, but the convergence of themes is undeniable, whether the relationship is direct or not[58]. Eustratius's work aims to defend his master against the charge of heresy and advocates three truths of faith: that disembodied souls are active immediately after the death of man; that these souls can become visible and show themselves to the living through their own ability; that prayers and offerings to the dead are effective in obtaining remission of sins. Photius praises this work as "arguments not to be despised" and selects a single episode: that of the spirit of the Apostle Paul's teacher, Gamaliel, visiting the priest Lucian of Jerusalem and asking him to look after his relics and those of some others, including those of the protomartyr Stephen. Averil Cameron recalled the imperial policy of the late sixth century (exp. Justin II's), which focused on the cult of relics and saints against those who rejected them[59]: Eustratius's work fits perfectly into this context.

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[54] Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* VI 37; cf. Augustine, *De haer.* 83.

[55] Aphrahat, *Demonstr.* VI 14 (ed. J. Parisot, Patrologia Syriaca. Parisiis 1894, I/1 293). Cf. F. Gavin, The sleep of the soul in the early Syriac Church. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 40 (1920) 103–120; A. Samellas, Death in the Eastern Mediterranean (50–600 A.D.). Tübingen 2002, 55–57; M. Dal Santo, Debating the Saints' Cult in the Age of Gregory the Great. Oxford 2012, 237–320. Another synod was convened in Syria (about 580) to condemn the error of those who believed that the soul was mortal (*Hist. Nestor.* 35, PO VII/2 191). Moreover, Photius, *Bibl.* 230, 285b–286a, recalls that Patriarch Eulogius called a council in 589 against the teachings of the Dositheans, who maintained that "the soul is mortal and the world immortal". At a synod in May 790, the Nestorian patriarch of Seleucia-Ctesiphon, Timothy I, condemned those theologians who claimed that the soul retains sentience after death. Through Nestorianism, the doctrine of hypnopsychism found its way into the Islamic world (cf. S. Rassi, Christian Thought in the Medieval Islamicate World. 'Abdīshō' of Nisibis and the Apologetic Tradition. Oxford 2022, 213–215).

[56] Photius, *Bibl.* 171, 117b–118b. On Eustratius's *On the State of Souls after Death* (ed. P. van Deun [*CCSG* 60], Turnhout – Leuven 2006), cf. N. Constas, An Apology for the Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity: Eustratius Presbyter of Constantinople 'On the State of Souls after Death' (*CPG* 7522). *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 10 (2002) 267–285; Dal Santo, Debating the Saints' Cult.

[57] John of Ephesus, *Hist. eccl.* II 51 (ed. E.W. Brooks, Iohannis Ephesini Historiae Ecclesiasticae pars tertia [*CSCO, Script. Syr.* 55]. Lovanii 1935, 117; Eng. transl. R.Payne Smith, The Third Part of the Ecclesiastical History of John Bishop of Ephesus. Oxford 1860, 149).

[58] Y.-M. Duval, La discussion entre l'apocrisiaire Grégoire et le patriarche Eutychios au sujet de la résurrection de la chair. L'arrière-plan doctrinal oriental et occidental, in: Grégoire le Grand, publ. par J. Fontaine – R. Gillet – S. Pellistrandi. Paris 1986, 347–366; E. Prinzivalli, La polemica antieretica di Gregorio in merito al destino ultimo dell'uomo, in: Gregorio Magno e l'eresia tra memoria e testimonianza, ed. A. Isola. Firenze 2009, 117–130: 122–123; Dal Santo, Debating the Saints' Cult 27–34.

[59] Av. Cameron, The Early Religious Policies of Justin II, in: The Orthodox Churches and the West, ed. D. Baker. Oxford 1976, 51–67: 65–66; Eadem, Images of Authority: Elites and Icons in Late Sixth-Century Byzantium. *Past & Present* 84 (1979) 3–35; cf. also M. Dal Santo, Imperial Power and Its Subversion in Eustratius of Constantinople's Life and Martyrdom of Golinduch (c. 602). *Byz* 81 (2011) 138–176.

Photius's obsession with such themes is explained by their interference with iconoclastic doctrines. According to iconoclastic principles, the depiction of Christ's face emphasizes His human nature and weakens or even abolishes the divine one. Moreover, since the icon is made of perishable matter, it refers to His material, perishable body and can only inadequately represent the incorruptible, glorious body with which He is to be clothed after the resurrection, for the *Definition* of 754 states that Christ shall be seated with the Father and come to judge the living and the dead, not in the flesh, not without a body, but with a more God-like body (θεοειδεστέρου σώματος)[60]. Emperor Constantine V accused iconophiles of circumscribing in physical space a body that can pass through closed doors[61]. In the case of images of saints, i.e. images of people who have not yet been resurrected but are supposed to be, the matter is even more complicated and unfortunately difficult to judge because of the desperate lack of evidence due to the *damnatio memoriae* of the iconoclasts after 842. To be fair, the front of the iconoclasts cannot be described as unified and in perfect harmony: it is true that the decrees of the Council of Hiereia condemned those who questioned the cult of the saints[62], but recent studies have made it clear that a compromise was reached after discussions between the more radical and the more moderate factions. However, the ambiguities and inconsistencies of iconoclastic teachings on the cult of saints and the difficult balance between different traditions and sensibilities, as well as the general devastation of most of the iconoclastic literature, make it difficult for us to understand what the iconoclasts actually thought about the veneration of saints as mediators[63].

In a passage of his *Exposition of the Orthodox Faith*, John of Damascus attacks those who invoke the commandment of *Numbers* 19, 11 not to touch the dead bodies because they are unclean, and therefore refuse to venerate the relics[64]. John replies that the saints are not dead because Christ has abolished death, they have only "fallen asleep in hope of the resurrection and in faith in Christ"; if they were dead—he consequently asks—how could they perform miracles? Of course, John supports the thesis of the efficacy of prayers addressed to the icons of the saints, but his reference to the souls of the saints as being asleep could not go unnoticed and unchallenged. A statement in the *Definition* of the Council of Hiereia (which took place in 754, only a few years after the death of John of Damascus) must be taken into account:

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[60] J.D. Mansi, Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio. Florentiae – Venetiis 1767, XIII 336 = E. Lamberz, Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum. s. II, III/3: Concilium Universale Nicaenum Secundum. Concilii Actiones VI-VII. Berlin – Boston 2016, 758–760 (= R. Price, The Acts of the Second Council of Nicaea (787). Liverpool 2018, II 681). Cf. Parry, Providence, Resurrection, and Restoration 300.

[61] Constantine V, *Theol. quaest.* (Πεύσεις), quoted by Nicephorus, *Antirrh.* 3, 38 (*PG* 100, 437).

[62] *Anathema* 17 (Mansi, Sacrorum Conciliorum collectio XIII 348 = Lamberz, Concilium Universale Nicaenum Secundum III/3 772 = Price, The Acts II 682).

[63] S. Gero, Byzantine Iconoclasm during the Reign of Constantine V with Particular Attention to the Oriental Sources. Louvain 1977, 95–110; V. Baranov, "Angels in the Guise of Saints": A Syrian Tradition in Constantinople. *Scrinium* 12 (2016) 5–19.

[64] John of Damascus, *Exp. fidei* 88 (IV 15) (ed. B. Kotter, Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos. Berlin 1973, II 204–205). Similar considerations are found in the *Questions and Answers* of Anastasius of Sinai and in Ps.-Athanasius, who claim that the sleeping souls of the saints can act as intermediaries because they are "activated by the Holy Spirit": cf. D. Krausmüller, Contextualizing Constantine V's Radical Religious Policies. The Debate About the Intercession of the Saints and the 'Sleep of the Soul' in the Chalcedonian and Nestorian Churches. *BMGS* 39 (2015) 25–49: 40–44. This theme is taken up in contemporary anti-Jewish literature, such as the *Disputation of Sergius the Stylite* 13–14 (ed. A.P. Hayman, The Disputation of Sergius the Stylite Against a Jew [*CSCO Script. Syr.* 152]. Louvain 1973, 33–43): the Jew accuses the Christian of worshipping the bones of the dead and thus violating the commandment of *Numbers* 19, 11, and the Christian replies by distinguishing between sinners and the righteous because the latter "live in God" and "death has no power over them". On this, cf. M. Kitsos, Byzantine Christian Claims of Religious Legitimacy: Jews as Dissident Foils in Adversus Iudaeos Dialogues in Discussions on Icons, in: Dissidence and Persecution in Byzantium from Constantine to Michael Psellos, ed. D. Džino – R.W. Strickler. Leiden – Boston 2021, 161–177: 173–175.

ἢ πάλιν τοὺς μέλλοντας συμβασιλεύειν τῷ Χριστῷ συγκαθέδρους τε γίνεσθαι […], οὐκ ἐντρέπονται τῇ τοῦ Ἕλληνος ἀναγράψασθαι τέχνῃ; οὐ θεμιτὸν γὰρ τοῖς ἐλπίδα ἀναστάσεως κε κτημένοις χριστιανοῖς δαιμονολατρῶν ἔθεσι χρᾶσθαι καὶ τοὺς τοιαύτῃ καὶ τοσαύτῃ μέλλοντας δόξῃ φαιδρύνεσθαι ἁγίους ἐν ἀδόξῳ καὶ νεκρᾷ ὕλῃ καθυβρίζειν[65].

And again, those who will reign with Christ and sit with Him on the throne […], are not (the iconophiles) ashamed to represent them with the techniques of the pagans? It is not proper for Christians who hope for the resurrection to make use of the customs of demon-worshipping peoples and to violate the dignity of the saints who will shine in such glory by using inglorious and dead matter.

As such, this statement seems somehow contradictory: if the saints are now just people like everyone else, lying dead in their fleshly bodies, why are icons, made "with the techniques of the pagans", considered so offensive? In fact, the argument underlying this is twofold: since the glory of the saints lies in the future, it is assumed that their souls sleep along with their bodies and therefore remain inactive until the promised resurrection, unable to respond to the worship and prayers normally addressed to the icons[66]; the icons, because of their dead matter, do not properly represent the (expected) glory of the saints, once they receive an immortal and glorious body that is not made of perishable flesh.

The second iconoclasm was much more subtle in its theological speculations, and it is not surprising that John of Damascus's inaccurate observation (about the sleeping souls still being able to perform miracles) inspired some iconoclasts—perhaps a radical group ("les plus radicaux et les plus logiques") within them, as Dagron claims[67]—to revive and reinforce the doctrine of thnetopsychism or hypnopsychism, and to draw from it the extreme consequences for the cult of the saints.

Such a perspective would deprive the cult of icons and holy relics of all credibility. We do not know for certain whether the relics were the object of the same furious violence that struck the icons. At the Council of Hiereia, the question of relics was not even raised and "may have been regarded as theological adiaphora"[68]. Some eighth- or ninth-century sources attribute to Constantine V the act of throwing the relics of Euphemia of Chalcedon into the sea, as well as several other acts of contempt for the sacred relics[69]. Scholars argue about whether the claims of *leipsanoclasm*

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[65] Mansi, Sacrorum Conciliorum collectio XIII 277 = Lamberz, Concilium Universale Nicaenum Secundum III/3 690 = Price, The Acts II 676. This phrase seems to have been influenced by Epiphanius, *Contra eos qui imagines faciunt* fr. 6 (ed. K. Holl, Die Schriften des Epiphanius gegen die Bilderverehrung, in: Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kirchengeschichte. Tübingen 1928, II 357–358); cf. Nicephorus, *Ref.* 171 (271–272 Featherstone): Πῶς οὖν τοὺς ἐν δόξῃ μέλλοντας φαιδρύνεσθαι ἁγίους ἐν ἀδόξῳ καὶ νεκρῷ καὶ ἀλάλῳ θέλεις ὁρᾶν, τοῦ κυρίου λέγοντος περὶ αὐτῶν· ἔσονται γάρ φησιν ὡς ἄγγελοι θεοῦ; "How, then, can you expect to see the saints who will shine in glory in this inglorious, dead and dumb matter, when the Lord says about them, 'They will be like angels of God'?". G. Ostrogorsky, Studien zur Geschichte des byzantinischen Bilderstreites. Breslau 1929, 99–101, claimed that Epiphanius's passage was an iconoclastic forgery perpetrated between 754 and 815, but his doubts have not convinced most scholars. An attempt to place Epiphanius's iconophobia in the context of the discussions about the image of God triggered by Origen's teaching was made by E.A. Clark, The Origenist Controversy. The Cultural Construction of an Early Christian Debate. Princeton 1992, 86–104, exp. 103–104.

[66] Cf. Baranov, "Angels in the Guise of Saints" 9.

[67] G. Dagron, L'ombre d'un doute : L'hagiographie en question, VIe–XIe siècle. *DOP* 46 (1992) 59–68: 64–66. Cf. also D. Krausmüller, The Problem of the Holy: Iconoclasm, Saints, Relics and Monks, in: A Companion to Byzantine Iconoclasm 464–493: 474–476 (and Idem, God or angels as impersonators of saints. A belief and its contexts in the "Refutation" of Eustratius of Constantinople and in the writings of Anastasius of Sinai. *Gouden Hoorn* 6 [1998–1999], 5–16).

[68] Gero, Byzantine Iconoclasm during the Reign of Constantine V 107.

[69] This allegation is paired with another, according to which the emperor claimed that "the most holy Theotokos could not render aid after her death, and that neither the holy apostles nor any of the blessed martyrs could intercede for us, since they could intercede for no one but themselves because of their sufferings": *Contra Const. Caball.* 21 (*PG* 95, 337). The *Discourse against Constantine Caballinus* is attributed in the manuscript tradition to John of Damascus; the authorship of John of Jerusalem was assumed by B. Melioranskij, Georgij Kiprjanin i Ioann Ierusalimljanin, dva maloizvestnykh borca

("destruction of the relics"), which were only documented after the emperor's death, are credible[70]. However, if we are to consider Photius's point of view for our purposes, the patriarch most likely believed that Constantine V's characterization as a bitter enemy of icons, relics and any other form of veneration of saints could be meaningful and reliable.

A CREEPING RESISTANCE TO THE TRIUMPH OF ORTHODOXY

Photius had personally experienced the storm of iconoclasm in his youth, and as a patriarch he obviously had access to the remains of iconoclastic literature, which would soon disappear and which we are therefore no longer able to read. Thus, he could understand how the philosophical and theological premises of such a pernicious opinion, which endangered the cult of the saints, were rooted in a debate that stretched from the third to the sixth century (and beyond). Not surprisingly, he felt compelled to study it and purge the Orthodox faith of all possible residues of heresy: what we read today in the *Library* and in the *Amphilochia* are often the remnants of this study, as far as sensitive theological questions are concerned[71].

One should not underestimate the importance that the cult of icons and relics had for him, not only on the spiritual but also on the political level. The patriarch used both icons and relics as instruments for his propaganda. Armenian sources report that under Photius's supervision the relics of St Gregory the Illuminator were discovered in a tomb in Constantinople, along with those of the martyrs Sergius and Bacchus[72]; and the importance of Gregory for the Armenian religious community and of Armenia for the Patriarchate of Constantinople needs no further comment. The information in the Armenian sources may not be true, but it is relevant that Photius was held accountable for this pious act. Later, in 880, he tried to reconcile with the pope by sending him the relics of the Holy Cross. The solemn restoration and unveiling of the image of the Virgin and Child in Hagia Sophia was celebrated in March 867 with a sermon by Photius on the triumph of Orthodoxy over iconoclasm.

> αὕτη δὲ νῦν τὰς ἐπ' ἐκείναις ταῖς πληγαῖς οὐλὰς εἰς ἔλεγχον τῆς ἰσαυρικῆς καὶ χριστομάχου γνώμης ἐπὶ τοῦ σώματος ἔτι φέρουσα καὶ ταύτας ἀπαλειφομένη καὶ ἀντὶ τούτων τῆς οἰκείας δόξης περιβαλλομένη τὴν λαμπρότητα τὸ ἀρχαῖον τῆς εὐπρεπείας ἀναμορφοῦται ἀξίωμα, πλατὺν τῶν καταφρυαξαμένων αὐτῆς τὸν χλευασμὸν καταχέουσα καὶ τῆς ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀτόπου

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za pravoslavie v VIII veke. St. Peterburg 1901, cf. J.M. HOECK, Stand und Aufgaben der Damaskenos-Forschung. *OCP* 17 (1951) 5–60: 26; S. GERO, Byzantine Iconoclasm during the Reign of Leo III. Louvain 1973, 62–67; P. SPECK, Ich bin's nicht, Kaiser Konstantin ist es gewesen: die Legenden vom Einfluss des Teufels, des Juden und des Moslem auf den Ikonoklasmus. Bonn 1990, 321–440; M.-F. AUZÉPY, L'Adversus Constantinum Caballinum et Jean de Jérusalem. *BSl* 56 (1995) 323–338; PRICE, Acta, Treatises, and Hagiography 240–242.

[70] J. WORTLEY, Iconoclasm and Leipsanoclasm: Leo III, Constantine V and the Relics. *BF* 8 (1982) 253–279 [=IDEM, Studies on the Cult of Relics in Byzantium up to 1204. Farnham 2009, no. VII], believes that nothing more than a certain contempt for relics and their efficacy in performing miracles can be discerned. GERO, Byzantine Iconoclasm during the Reign of Constantine V 152–165 and KRAUSMÜLLER, Contextualizing Constantine V's radical religious policies 48–49 maintain that Constantine V, in the last years of his reign, rejected the belief in the intercessory power of the saints, probably while he revived the doctrine of the sleep of souls.

[71] Another echo of the struggle against iconoclasm in the *Amphilochia* was recognized by V. BARANOV, Amphilochia 231 of Patriarch Photius as a Possible Source on the Christology of the Byzantine Iconoclasts, in: Studia Patristica LXVIII. Papers presented at the Sixteenth International Conference on Patristic Studies held in Oxford 2011, ed. M. Vinzent. Leuven – Paris 2013, 371–379.

[72] T. GREENWOOD, Basil I, Constantine VII and Armenian Literary Tradition in Byzantium, in: Reading in the Byzantine Empire and Beyond, ed. T. Shawcross – I. Toth. Cambridge 2018, 447–466: 454–455. Cf. also J. SHEPARD, Photios' Sermons on the Rus Attack of 860. The Questions of his Origins, and of the Route of the Rus, in: Prosopon Rhomaikon. Ergänzende Studien zur Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit, ed. A. Beihammer – B. Krönung – C. Ludwig. Berlin – Boston 2017, 111–128: 112.

φρενοβλαβείας οἰκτείρουσα. Ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν εἴ τις ὀρθοδοξίας ἀρχὴν καὶ ἡμέραν, ἵνα μηδὲν ὑπέρογκον εἴπω, καλέσειεν, οὐκ ἂν ἁμάρτοι τοῦ δέοντος[73].

Still bearing on her body the scars of those wounds, in reproof of their Isaurian and godless belief, and wiping them off, and in their stead putting on the splendour of her own glory, she now regains the ancient dignity of her comeliness, and sheds the rude mockery of those who have insulted her, pitying their truly absurd madness. If one called this day the beginning and day of Orthodoxy (lest I say something excessive), one would not be far wrong[74].

More than twenty years lie between the Iconophile Council of 843 and this liberation call of Photius, who claims to be the main person responsible for the success of the reinstatement of the icon (ἐμὸν καὶ τοῦτο καλλώπισμα). This means that during these two decades, groups of iconoclasts were still active and working in the background and that the patriarch Ignatius, Photius's predecessor, had not managed to get rid of them.

Photius went to great lengths to destroy these vestiges of heresy[75], and one can surmise that he discredited Ignatius for his weak response to the nostalgic iconoclasts. In the fanatically flattering *Life of Ignatius*, the late patriarch is praised by Nicetas for "patiently enduring all the physical abuse of his teacher, who had brought him up with considerable severity to favour the iconoclasts"[76]: this may be an attempt to absolve him of the widespread accusation that he had been trained as an iconoclast and still had connections with iconoclasts. When Photius gathered the bishops and legates from Rome for a synod in the Church of the Holy Apostles in 861, he raised two issues for discussion: the definitive abolition of iconoclasm and the ratification of the deposition of Patriarch Ignatius, who had not been canonically appointed. Pope Nicholas complained that the fight against heresy was only a pretext to gain Roman support for the deposition of Ignatius from the episcopal throne and for Photius's own uncanonical election[77]. Nonetheless, the link between the two issues could not be merely opportunistic, for being too lenient in the fight to defend the icons may have been one of the accusations levelled at Ignatius[78].

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[73] Photius, *Hom.* 17, 3 (ed. B. LAOURDAS, Φωτίου ὁμιλίαι [Phōtiou homiliai]. Thessaloniki 1959, 168). Cf. DVORNIK, The Patriarch Photius and Iconoclasm 90–92.

[74] Translation by C. MANGO, The Homilies of Photius Patriarch of Constantinople. Cambridge (Mass.) 1958, 291.

[75] Photius, *Ep.* 214 (ed. B. LAOURDAS, Photius. Epistulae et Amphilochia. Leipzig 1984, II 117–119), is addressed to an unknown Stephen who is "converted to orthodoxy" but—one should say—not converted enough, for Photius lectures him, sometimes harshly (Πρόσσχες, εἰκονομάχε, καὶ μὴ ἐπαισχυνθῇς μαθεῖν δι' ὧν αἰσχύνης φρικτῆς ἀπαλλάττῃ, "beware, iconoclast, do not be ashamed to confess a truth that will free you from a terrible shame"), about the worship of icons. Same text in *Amph*. 111, V 129 (WESTERINK).

[76] Nicetas David the Paphlagonian, *Vita Ign.* 9 (ed. A. SMITHIES, Nicetas David, The Life of Patriarch Ignatius. Washington D.C. 2013, 12–13). On the importance of the political agenda for this *Vita*, whose structure and aims are quite anomalous compared to other hagiographical works, cf. S. EFTHYMIADIS, Saints and Secondary Heroes in Byzantine Hagiography, in: Constructing Saints in Greek and Latin Hagiography. Heroes and Heroines in Late Antique and Medieval Narrative, ed. K. De Temmerman – J. Van Pelt – K. Staat. Turnhout 2023, 33–56: 38–39.

[77] Pope Nicholas I, *Ep.* 11 ("*ad omnes fideles*"), *PL* 119, 783 [= *Ep.* 84, *MGH*, Epp. VI 441]. Cf. M. MORMINO, Memoria, esegesi, ruolo delle legazioni romane a Costantinopoli (861–866): spunti dalle missive ad res Orientales pertinentes di papa Nicola I (858–867). *Humanities* 4 (2015) 161–181: 164–171.

[78] According to F. DVORNIK, The Photian Schism: History and Legend. Cambridge 1948, 36–38, the appointment of Ignatius, who was known for his rigorism, as patriarch was an attempt to appease the most extreme monks who demanded the final crushing of the iconoclasts. On the contrary, P. KARLIN-HAYTER, Gregory of Syracuse, Ignatios and Photios, in: Iconoclasm. Papers 141–145, assumes that the appointment of someone who, as hegumene of a monastery, had been in communion with the iconoclasts was the result of the efforts of the empress Theodora to reach a compromise and pacify the conflicting parties. Ó. PRIETO DOMÍNGUEZ, Literary Circles in Byzantine Iconoclasm. Patrons, Politics and Saints. Cambridge 2020, 273–329, notes that during his first patriarchate Ignatius "could not allege that he had played a part in the conflict" against the iconoclasts and could only show fasting and acts of mortification of the flesh. Since Photius had built up a strong narrative of himself (and his ancestors) as a defender of the faith and images, when Ignatius returned to the patriarchate, propaganda was launched by his friends portraying him as a stiff iconodule confessor.

In 867, the council that deposed Photius held a session to condemn Theodore Crithinus, the former bishop of Syracuse, and his followers who insisted on professing their faith against the icons[79]. This report contains a rather puzzling detail: when Theodore was summoned, he apologized to the emperor, who had protected him as long as possible by saving him "from death, exile, imprisonment and starvation", but insisted on refusing to worship the image of Christ on the coin, appear before the bishops and renounce his faith; he was eventually convicted, while some of his companions publicly anathematized him and were spared[80]. Basil I was aware that by condemning Photius and appointing Ignatius he could be accused of protecting and rekindling the heresy, whose ashes were far from extinguished; so he had to perform an exemplary act to dispel this suspicion. The condemnation of someone who had previously been supported by the emperor was intended as an explicit signal of rupture and discontinuity, to deprive Photius's friends of a propaganda theme. This concern about possible inadvertent support for heresy must have been shared in Rome, for Anastasius the Librarian set about translating the Acts of the Second Council of Nicaea around 872[81]. If iconoclasm was still an issue for Arethas of Cappadocia[82], it is not surprising that Photius felt it his duty to draw attention to it, even in the last years of his intellectual activity.

Just as Photius, in his homilies devoted to the Arian heresy[83], draws a parallel between Arianism and iconoclasm in order to show that the latter pernicious doctrine was neither weak nor without roots in the history of heresies[84], so his inexhaustible learned temperament prompted him, whenever he had the opportunity, to expound the doctrines concerning the passage of the soul from bodily death to eternal life which had been adduced by the iconoclasts in support of their theses. But while the train of thought that linked Arius and John the Grammarian is clearly expressed in Photius's written production, this other path remained rather implicit: it nourished his reading and enlivened his theological reflections, but barely emerged as an explicit connection.

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[79] Cf. Dvornik, The Patriarch Photius and Iconoclasm 82–83; J. Gouillard, Deux figures mal connues du seconde iconoclasme. *Byz* 31 (1961) 371–401: 387–401; Prieto Domínguez, Literary Circles 281–282.

[80] C. Leonardi – A. Placanica, Gesta sanctae ac universalis octavae synodi quae Constantinopoli congregata est Anastasio bibliothecario interprete. Firenze 2012, 265–266; R. Price – F. Montinaro, The Acts of the Council of Constantinople of 869–70. Liverpool 2022, 341–342. Anastasius's Latin version is much longer and more detailed, while the Greek text is compendious (e.g. Crithinus's eulogies to the emperor are missing): Mansi, Sacrorum Conciliorum collectio. 1771. XVI 388–389.

[81] Th.F.X. Noble, Images, Iconoclasm, and the Carolingians. Philadelphia 2009, 160.

[82] Dvornik, The Patriarch Photius and Iconoclasm 96–97. The concern about the connection between the veneration of saints as still living and active souls and the veneration of icons was still felt in the tenth century, when the copyist of one of the codicological units of the ms. Vat. Gr. 511 [Diktyon 67142], ff. 143–204, connects the work of Eustratius with a very rare work of Gregory the Referendary on the image of Edessa (on this text, see A.-M. Dubarle, L'homélie de Grégoire le Référendaire pour la réception de l'image d'Édesse, *REB* 55 [1997] 5–51; R. Romano, Gregorio il Referendario, Sermone intorno all'immagine edessenica (Cod. Vat. gr. 511, saec. X, ff. 143–150v). *Studi sull'Oriente Cristiano* 18 [2014], 19–37). Indeed, Constas, An Apology for the Cult of Saints 284–285, lists several other iconophile texts contained in the same manuscript, along with heresiologies against Bogomils, Paulicians, etc., but these texts are in different codicological units.

[83] Photius, *Hom.* 15–16 (139–163 Laourdas); Mango, The Homilies of Photius 236–278.

[84] Cf. Dvornik, The Patriarch Photius and Iconoclasm 87–90; Bevegni, Le due omelie di Fozio sull'eresia ariana (who notes that what makes Arianism and iconoclasm comparable in Photius's eyes is not a similarity in doctrine, but an analogous strategy in the ecclesiastical struggle); D.M. Gwynn, From Iconoclasm to Arianism: The Construction of Christian Tradition in the Iconoclast Controversy, *GRBS* 47 (2007) 225–251; Strano, Forme e significati 180–185.

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Symeon Metaphrastes: Two Puzzles Reconsidered

ABSTRACT: This article deals with a long unresolved question regarding two *Lives* of the Virgin Mary written in the second half of the tenth century by John Geometres and Symeon Metaphrastes (and his team). It is evident that one of the two authors copied the other, but scholars have been unable to conclude with certainty who depends on the other. This article reviews the problem in detail and presents new textual evidence which suggests that Symeon Metaphrastes used John Geometres as one of his sources. In considering the corresponding passages between Geometres and Metaphrastes, another question arises regarding Michael Psellos' controversial description of Symeon Metaphrastes at work. On the basis of new textual evidence, this article offers a fresh perspective on Psellos' passage and its debated meaning.

KEYWORDS: Symeon Metaphrastes; John Geometres; Michael Psellos; George of Nicomedia; Euthymios the Athonite; Virgin Mary; Menologion, Metaphrasis; Rewriting, Hagiography

A QUESTION OF INFLUENCE

In the second half of the tenth century, John Geometres and Symeon Metaphrastes[1] each wrote a *Life of the Virgin*. While both texts are presented as panegyrics on the Dormition of the Theotokos, they in fact provide a biographical overview of the Virgin's entire life. Symeon's text is much shorter and follows the Gospel narratives more closely than the *Life* by Geometres[2]. However, the two works otherwise bear striking similarities that have led scholars to conclude that one depends on the other. In Antoine Wenger's words, "on both sides there is an identical plan, similar developments, parallel passages, rare and shared expressions. This fact can be seen by simply reading both texts."[3] This observation notwithstanding, whether Symeon depends on John or vice versa has remained an open question[4].

In 1923, Martin Jugie argued that Symeon's text was based on John Geometres' *Life*[5]. Jugie considered it odd that Symeon's text, which was meant as a Menologion reading for the feast of the Dormition (15 August), recounted the entire life of the Virgin. The reason for this, he argued, was his dependence on John Geometres' full account. According to Jugie, what appeared to him to be

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[1] As will be clarified later in this article, when I refer to Symeon Metaphrastes in this article as author of the Menologion, I mean the team of scholars and scribes working under his supervision. Cf. C. HØGEL, Symeon Metaphrastes: Rewriting and Canonization. Copenhagen 2002, 95–96.

[2] For an introduction to these texts, see now M.B. CUNNINGHAM, The Virgin Mary in Byzantium, c. 400–1000 CE. Hymns, Homilies and Hagiography. Cambridge 2021, 192–93, 196–99.

[3] A. WENGER, L'Assomption de la T.S. Vierge dans la tradition Byzantine du VIe au Xe siècle. Paris 1955, 193: "De part et d'autre, il y a un plan identique, des développements analogues, des passages parallèles, des expressions rares et communes. Le fait se voit à la simple lecture des deux textes."

[4] For a summary of the debate, see S. MIMOUNI, Les *Vies de la Vierge*. État de la question. *Apocrypha* 5 (1994) 211–248, at 237–239, repr. IDEM, Les traditions anciennes sur la Dormition et l'Assomption de Marie. Études littéraires, historiques et doctrinales (*Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae* 104). Leiden – Boston 2011, 103–105.

[5] M. JUGIE, Sur la vie et les procédés litteraires de Syméon Métaphraste. Son récit de la Vie de la sainte Vierge. *EO* 22 (1923) 5–10; cf. IDEM, La mort et l'assomption de la très sainte Vierge. Étude historico-doctrinale. Vatican 1944, 320. JUGIE was reading Geometres in cod. Vatic. gr. 504, ff. 173v–194v, and Symeon in a Latin translation by A. LIPOMANI, published in 1558, which, together with the text's excerpts in the Catena on the Gospel of Luke by Niketas of Herakleia (as published by A. MAI in 1837), have been reprinted in *PG* 115, 529–566.

borrowed passages and phrases, as well as the general progress of the story in Symeon, betray its inspiration by and dependence upon Geometres. But as Simon Mimouni has pointed out, this argument is hardly decisive, since one could simply reverse it and consider Geometres to be a rhetorical expansion and elaboration of the *Life* by Symeon[6]. Indeed, Albert Ehrhard had already rejected Jugie's view in 1937 and argued briefly for the dependence of Geometres on Symeon, largely because he thought that Geometres was a younger contemporary of Symeon[7]. This was not convincing either, though Ehrhard was right to maintain that, in the absence of a critical edition of Geometres' *Life of the Virgin,* the question of which text depended on the other could not be properly resolved.

The view that Geometres depends on Symeon was also supported, albeit tentatively, by Antoine Wenger, in the partial edition and French translation of Geometres' text that he published in 1955. Given Metaphrastes' profile as a rewriter, Wenger admitted that we might have expected Symeon to have used Geometres as the basis for his own Metaphrastic version of the *Life*, which adheres more closely to biographical elements. However, Wenger argued to the contrary that internal evidence points to Geometres' dependence on Symeon. For this, he cited two textual arguments[8].

The first of these arguments was that Symeon reproduced verbatim Mary's Eucharistic prayer, as transmitted by the *Transitus Mariae* of Pseudo-John the Theologian and John of Thessaloniki. Geometres, on the other hand, subjects the same prayer to "poetic embellishment", and as a result, Symeon cannot depend on Geometres for this prayer, but must have copied it directly from John of Thessaloniki or the apocryphon. Wenger further claimed that John Geometres could not have depended on the apocryphon because some slight changes to the prayer made by Symeon are also found in Geometres. But Wenger did not consider the possibility that it was Geometres who made these changes and that they were adopted by Symeon, who in addition wanted to consult the original and give a more faithful version of the prayer in the face of Geometres' embellishments. As will be explained below, substituting a literal quotation for an allusion was standard metaphrastic practice in the process of simplifying a highly rhetorical model, especially when it came to biblical allusions[9].

Wenger's second argument was that, when Geometres refers generally to earlier writers who recounted the legend of Mary's garments[10], he is more likely to allude to Symeon than to Theodore Synkellos' sermon *On the Virgin's Robe*[11], which was certainly Symeon's source[12]. It is not clear to me why Wenger made such a claim, but this argument does not make good sense, given that Geometres emphatically refers to "many different writers" before him. Thus, in fact, this statement appears to suggest that Geometres was aware of both Synkellos' and Symeon's accounts. If Wenger implies that it would have been unlikely for Geometres to have had access to Synkellos' sermon, this again would make little sense, since it is clear from the number of other writers whom

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[6] Mimouni, Les *Vies* 238.

[7] A. Ehrhard, Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts. Leipzig 1937, II 309–310, n. 3.

[8] Wenger, L'Assomption 193–195.

[9] See E. Peyr, Zur Umarbeitung rhetorischer Texte durch Symeon Metaphrastes. *JÖB* 42 (1992) 143–155, at 153.

[10] John Geometres, Life of the Virgin 120 (346.4–6 Constas – Simelidis): Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὡς οὐ τοῦ παρόντος οἰκεῖα καιροῦ καὶ ὡς ἰδίας καὶ οὐ τῆς τυχούσης ἱστορίας ἔργον καὶ ὡς οὐκ ὀλίγοις καὶ ἄλλοις καὶ πρὸ ἡμῶν παραδεδομένα παρείσθω ("Let these remarks suffice on these matters, inasmuch as they do not pertain to the present time, and because they merit their own study rather than being a part of this one, and not least because they have already been treated in detail by many different writers before us").

[11] Wenger, L'Assomption 195.

[12] As shown by Wenger, L'Assomption 125–127. About one-fifth of Symeon's text is devoted to the narration of the Galbios and Candidos legend. Symeon's account of this legend is a simplified version of Theodore Synkellos' sermon. See also P. Booth, On the *Life of the Virgin* Attributed to Maximus the Confessor. *Journal of Theological Studies* 66 (2015) 149–203, at 171–175.

Geometres is able to quote or allude to in his poetry and prose (including his theological scholarship, as evidenced in his *Life of the Virgin*) that he was an industrious scholar who had access to good libraries in the capital[13]. In any case, Wenger did not claim to have solved the problem[14]. And thus the question of dependence was subsequently described as "most controversial" (S. Mimouni)[15] and uncertain[16].

Since 1986, both texts have been considered as dependent upon a supposed lost Greek *Life of the Virgin*, which survived in a Georgian translation that mistakenly attributed the work to Maximos the Confessor[17]. Thus, the English translator of the Georgian *Life,* Stephen Shoemaker, states that, "the publication of the Maximus *Life of the Virgin* has now resolved this impasse. As van Esbroeck and I have both demonstrated, this Georgian *Life* clearly served as the primary source for the *Lives* of Symeon and John"[18]. But it has now been demonstrated that there is no need to postulate a lost Greek *Life* (whether by Maximos the Confessor or not), because the Georgian *Life of the Virgin* is in fact a paraphrase of John Geometres' *Life*, composed by Euthymios the Athonite. Geometres' *Life* is not a copy of an allegedly lost original, but an original composition consistent with the literary style and skill displayed in the rest of his writings. As I have argued elsewhere, Euthymios' background, resources, literary and translation practices show that the Georgian *Life* can only be understood as a Euthymian version of Geometres' text. Furthermore, in his working methods, Euthymios was almost certainly inspired by the metaphrastic practices of his age. The biographies of Geometres, Symeon, and Euthymios share numerous features, and their intellectual milieux were so convergent that they almost certainly knew one another or at the very least had met[19].

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[13] See C. SIMELIDIS, Two *Lives of the Virgin*. John Geometres, Euthymios the Athonite, and Maximos the Confessor. *DOP* 74 (2020) 125–159, at 129–136, and, for example, M. CONSTAS – C. SIMELIDIS, John Geometres, *Life of the Virgin Mary*, Edited and translated (*DOML* 77). Cambridge, Massachusetts 2023, viii–ix (with n. 13), 409 (on ch. 10), 428 (on ch. 53), 447–448 (on ch. 100), 453 (on the episode of Jephonias in ch. 111).

[14] WENGER, L'Assomption 193: "Nous avons dû renoncer à l'espoir d'arriver à une certitude dans la question controversée de la dépendance des deux auteurs."

[15] MIMOUNI, Les *Vies* 238 ("des plus controversées"). Cf. W. LACKNER, Zu Editionsgeschichte, Textgestalt und Quellen der Passio S. Polyeucti des Symeon Metaphrastes, in: Byzantios. Festschrift für Herbert Hunger zum 70. Geburtstag, ed. W. Hörandner – J. Koder – O. Kresten – E. Trapp. Wien 1984, 221–231, at 229, with a reference to H.-G. BECK, Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich. München 1959, 553.

[16] See, for example, HØGEL, Symeon 63, n. 10, and CUNNINGHAM, The Virgin Mary 197, n. 101.

[17] See, for example, M.-J. VAN ESBROECK, Maxime le Confesseur: Vie de la Vierge, 2 vols. (*Corpus scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* 479–479. *Scriptores Iberici* 21–22). Louvain 1986, 2: xix–xxviii; S.J. SHOEMAKER, The Georgian *Life of the Virgin* attributed to Maximus the Confessor. Its Authenticity(?) and Importance. *Scrinium* 2 (2006) 307–328, at 326; BOOTH, On the *Life* 183; A. BENIA, Iōannē Geōmetrē Bios tēs Theotokou. Meletē – Kritikē ekdosē. Athens 2021, 131*.

[18] S.J. SHOEMAKER, The Virgin Mary in the Ministry of Jesus and the Early Church according to the Earliest *Life of the Virgin*. *Harvard Theological Review* 98 (2005) 441–467, at 460.

[19] SIMELIDIS, Two *Lives*. In a recent article, S.J. SHOEMAKER (Mary at Mar Saba: The Late Ancient Origins of the Orthodox "Life of the Virgin" Tradition. *Journal of Orthodox Christian Studies* 5 (2022) 153–177) reiterates his view that the Georgian *Life of the Virgin* was based on a lost Greek *Life*, composed during the seventh or eighth century. Shoemaker chooses not to discuss the textual evidence presented in my *DOP* article (SIMELIDIS, Two *Lives* 145–155), which, in my view, demonstrates that the Georgian text in question depends directly on John Geometres' Greek *Life*. Shoemaker is right to note that my *DOP* article did not sufficiently address the textual relations between John's *Life* and Symeon Metaphrastes' *Life of the Virgin*, but his arguments related to the origins of the Georgian text are not new and have already been addressed in my *DOP* article (SIMELIDIS, Two *Lives* 156–157). The Yerevan and Iviron fragments of the Georgian *Life* are not too old for Euthymios to have been the text's translator, as Shoemaker argues. The Yerevan fragment (Matenadaran ms. 10257) could be as late as "the first decades of the eleventh century", according to the expert view cited by Shoemaker himself (Mary at Mar Saba, 162). And the Iviron fragment (cod. Geor. 95ς) was not written in the late 970s, as Shoemaker (Mary at Mar Saba, 163) wants his readers to believe, but sometime during the eleventh century (J. GIPPERT – B. OUTTIER – S. KIM – et al., Catalogue of the Georgian manuscripts. Holy Monastery of Iviron. Mount Athos 2022, 719: "Undated (ca. 11th c.)"). Last, but not least, the colophon of cod. Tbilisi, NCM, H-1664 refers, in my view, to the production of a copy at Mar Saba (VAN ESBROECK, Maxime le Confesseur 1: xi), not to the original composition of the Georgian text (SHOEMAKER, Mary at Mar Saba, 166–167), and as a result it is not relevant to this debate.

In his Georgian version of Geometres' *Life*, Euthymios also used Symeon's *Life* as one of his sources. It is noteworthy that the preface of the Georgian *Life* names the same patristic sources as Symeon (with the addition of Gregory "the Wonderworker") and a faithful translation of the Galbios and Candidos legend from Symeon has been interpolated into the Georgian version of Geometres' *Life*[20]. Symeon's text was available in Euthymios' library in a manuscript copied by Theophanes, a monk and priest in the monastery of Iviron, and a scribe directly associated with Euthymios. This manuscript, cod. Ottobonianus gr. 422, fol. 48v–68v, copied as early as August 1004, is the earliest copy of Symeon's text[21].

As far as the dates of Geometres and Symeon are concerned, recent work has placed Geometres' *Life* earlier than previous suggestions: the events alluded to in the closing paragraphs of the work are more likely to refer to the aftermath of the murder of Nikephoros II Phokas by John I Tzimiskes, that is from December 11, 969 to the autumn of 970, than to the rebellion of Bardas Phokas (987–989)[22]. Symeon's metaphrastic activities could have ended in 982, when he probably lost favour at court, but this is far from certain[23]. Given the uncertainties with these dates, an answer to the question of dependence would be important for the relative dates of the works as well.

Following this discussion of earlier scholarship, I would like to emphasize my agreement with Wenger's view that it would make better sense if Symeon was the one who had used Geometres as one of his sources. Symeon did not intend to compose original texts[24]. In addition, an important argument for Symeon's dependence on Geometres is, in my view, Jugie's point that a full biography (for what should have been a simple synaxarion text for the Dormition) is without parallel in the Metaphrastic corpus[25]. Moreover, the fact that Geometres' text was used by Euthymios the Athonite as the model for his Georgian *Life of the Virgin* adds more weight to the possibility that Geometres' *Life* was the original source for Symeon as well. This is because Euthymios was closely associated with Symeon and his Metaphrastic project, and it might not be too bold to suspect that his role in this project was much greater than assumed so far or is explicitly evidenced from the sources. In Høgel's words:

"The Iviron monastery is actually the only ascertained holder of Metaphrastic texts that we know of before at least the reign of Constantine VIII (1025–1028). No other piece of evidence on the fate of the Metaphrastic texts than the activities of Euthymios and some dated Iviron manuscripts including Metaphrastic texts has come out of the reign of Basil II, during which our sources tell us that Symeon Metaphrastes fell from favour, stopped working, and died. […] Given the lack of evidence for interest in the Metaphrastic texts from anywhere else, the Iviron monastery seems to have been a Metaphrastic hub. […] So, if Euthymios was heavily involved in reusing Metaphrastic vocabulary, he was certainly not the only one at Iviron paying special attention to these texts.

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[20] SIMELIDIS, Two *Lives* 149–150.

[21] SIMELIDIS, Two *Lives* 144. This codex, together with cod. Athos, Kutlumusiu 25 (copied in October 1011) are our earliest dated manuscripts containing Metaphrastic texts. However, they contain not the normal Metaphrastic selection of texts but what EHRHARD called the "Vermischter Metaphrast"—that is, Metaphrastic texts mixed with other texts (EHRHARD, Überlieferung III 793–794). Symeon's text has been edited by B. LATYŠEV, Menologii anonymi Byzantini saeculi X quae supersunt. St. Petersburg 1912, II 347–383 from three later Moscow manuscripts dated to 1063, the eleventh and twelfth centuries respectively. For the two most problematic words discussed below, that is περιπαθέστατον (Symeon, Life of the Virgin 30, p. 367.9 LATYŠEV) and ἀδείας (Symeon, Life 30, p. 367.5 LATYŠEV), I also consulted five eleventh-century manuscripts, including cod. Ottobonianus gr. 422 (61v), copied in August 1004 (as mentioned above); cod. Paris. gr. 1215 (ff. 186v & 186r), copied by the monk Neophytos in 1080; cod. Paris. gr. 1475 (f. 110v); cod. Paris. gr. 1516 (ff. 133r & 132v); and cod. Vatic. gr. 823 (f. 171v). They all offer the text as edited by LATYŠEV.

[22] CONSTAS – SIMELIDIS, John Geometres, x–xi, citing the view of Dmitry KOROBEINIKOV.

[23] C. HØGEL, Euthymios the Athonite, Greek-Georgian and Georgian-Greek Translator—and Metaphrast?, in: Mélanges Bernard Flusin, ed. A. Binggeli – V. Déroche (= *TM* 23). Paris 2019, 353–364, at 356.

[24] See HØGEL, Symeon 135.

[25] Cf. HØGEL, Symeon 108.

We may even start asking how much the recognition, and later sanctification, of Symeon Metaphrastes was due to Georgian involvement. Two things point that way (though certainly yielding no proof): the surprising parallel fates of the Metaphrastic texts and Euthymios' *Barlaam*; and the status of Georgian and especially Iviron affairs at the Constantinopolitan court."[26]

In fact, I would go even further and ask: would it be possible that the Iviron monastery took over the Metaphrastic project after Symeon's demise or death? I am not suggesting that the monks added new Metaphrastic texts, but is there any evidence that they lacked the ability or authority to do so? Is it unreasonable to assume that the final editing of some Metaphrastic texts was conducted in Iviron? It is important to realize who Euthymios was and what his authorship of the Greek version of *Barlaam and Ioasaph* means for his possible involvement in a Greek Metaphrastic project. His early familiarity with the Metaphrastic corpus is extraordinary: when writing his *Barlaam*, Euthymios reused heavily about fifty Metaphrastic *Lives*, coming from all ten volumes of the *Menologion*[27]. Furthermore, we should consider the possibility that, in addition to his strong, life-long connection to the imperial court, he might also have been connected to the Church of the Theotokos *ta Kyrou* or at least to Nikephoros Ouranos, Symeon Metaphrastes' closest friend and a prominent Kyriotes (like John Geometres)[28]. We do not know the specific institution (church or monastery) for which the *Menologion* was originally produced[29]. It is important to highlight the uncertainties surrounding the production and publication of the Metaphrastic texts, as well as the possible close acquaintance between the scholars involved in activities and techniques which may share common characteristics.

In addition to Wenger's view that the nature of Metaphrastes' works would tend to argue for his dependence upon Geometres, I also want to emphasize that the nature of Geometres' work—in particular its striking originality, theological depth, and rhetorical force—also supports the notion that Symeon's text is a synopsis of Geometres' (as felt by Jugie) and not that Geometres' text is an expansion of Symeon's. Wenger himself seems uncomfortable with his own argument and hoped that Geometres' dependence on Symeon "would not detract from Geometres' originality. John is not a plagiarist: he is a poet, he is a monk; he has enough inspiration, enough interior richness, to pour into the exterior framework provided by the Metaphrastes a Marian thought laden with poetry and doctrine."[30]

In what follows I will present linguistic, structural, and other arguments in support of Symeon's dependence on Geometres. If either Symeon or Geometres copied the other, one would expect to find some defects in the copy: if not obvious faults, at least cases where a common rare or striking phrase fits better in what was its original context. In theory, as in a manuscript, if a scribe is perfect, he may avoid any mistake in the copy. The Metaphrastic texts are of high quality, and they were supposed to have been reviewed and corrected, which means that finding glaring literary defects is not easy. However, the final versions of these texts were in need of multiple reviews (see Michael Psellos' passage discussed below) and we do not know whether all of them received the same thorough editing. The possibility that there may be texts in the Metaphrastic corpus that were not reviewed as meticulously as others, together with the undoubted fact that one of these two au-

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[26] HØGEL, Euthymios 359–360.

[27] HØGEL, Euthymios 361–364.

[28] See SIMELIDIS, Two *Lives* 137–144 and P. MAGDALINO, The Liturgical Poetics of an Elite Religious Confraternity, in: Reading in the Byzantine Empire and Beyond, ed. T. Shawcross – I. Toth. Cambridge 2018, 116–132, at 122.

[29] HØGEL, Symeon 111–112.

[30] WENGER, L'Assomption 195: "Mais cette dépendance n'enlève rien à l'originalité de son œuvre. Jean n'est pas un plagiaire: il est poète, il est moine; il a assez d'inspiration, assez de richesse intérieure, pour couler dans le cadre extérieur fourni par le Métaphraste une pensée mariale, chargée de poésie et de doctrine." It is unlikely that Geometres ever became a monk; he belonged to a lay confraternity and a choir attached to the church of the Theotokos in the *ta Kyrou* district; see MAGDALINO, The Liturgical.

thors (Geometres or Symeon) copied the other, should always be kept in mind when considering the evidence presented below.

A GRAMMATICAL ERROR IN A BORROWED ADVERB

The first case is a grammatical glitch in the Metaphrastic text. It is clear how the mistake happened and apparently it was not noticed during the revision of the work. For this particular passage, Geometres and Symeon draw on George of Nicomedia's oration for Good Friday, but Symeon uses Geometres as well. In the text cited below I have aligned the beginnings of the first lament of the Virgin at the cross—which is the first of four speeches by the Virgin in George of Nicomedia[31]. Geometres repeats verbatim the first words from these four speeches[32]. This was probably done as an acknowledgment of his source of inspiration, but probably also with the expectation that his listeners would recall the original speeches from George's famous homily[33]. I have highlighted the borrowings of Symeon from John and underlined his borrowings from George:

George of Nicomedia, Or. 8 (ed. *PG* 100, 1469B–C)	**John Geometres Life of the Virgin 80–81** (222.9–24 CONSTAS – SIMELIDIS)	**Symeon Metaphrastes Life of the Virgin 30** (366.35–367.11 LATYŠEV)
Ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντα ὅσα βουλομένοις ἦν τοῖς θεοκτόνοις τολμῆσαι πεπλήρωτο, ὑπενοεῖτο δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ἡ ἀναίρεσις πέρας εἰληφέναι, καὶ τὸ μὲν πλῆθος ἐπ' οἴκων, οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται αὐτοῦ που κατακλιθέντες εὐωχοῦντο· τότε δή, τότε τῶν συνωθούντων ἀνεθεῖσα, καὶ ἐπ' ἀδείας προσπελάσασα, ὅσον ἐπιψαύειν τοῦ σταυροῦ, τοὺς μὲν ἀχράντους κατεφίλει πόδας, καὶ τὰς καθηλωθείσας ὠτειλὰς περιεπτύσσετο· τά τε λακίσματα τῶν αἱμάτων ἀπαρυομένη, ὀφθαλμοῖς προσῆγε καὶ καρδίᾳ· αὐτῷ δ' ἐνατενίζουσα, τοιάδε δακρύουσα προσεφθέγγετο·	**Κατέψα μὲν τὰς πληγὰς παρειαῖς ἅμα καὶ ὀφθαλμοῖς, ἐκίρνα δὲ τοῖς αἵμασι δάκρυα, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ τὰς παρειὰς συνεπεφύκει τοῖς ἥλοις καὶ ταῖς πληγαῖς.** Ἐφιλονείκει πρὸς αὐτῷ τῷ σταυρῷ καὶ τὸ φῶς ἀφεῖναι καὶ τὴν ψυχήν· τοῦτο μέν ποτε καὶ τοῖς ἤδη κενωθεῖσιν ἐκ τῶν δακρύων ὄμμασι **περιπαθέστερον πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφεώρα**, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ῥήμασιν ὠλοφύρετο καὶ τοῖς σχήμασι, καὶ σὺν τῷ φιλοστόργῳ πανταχοῦ τὸ φιλόσοφον, ὡς μηδέν τι πρᾶξαι τῶν ἀγεννῶν καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ ἑαυτῆς ἀναξίων. Ἐποικίλλετο καὶ τοῖς πάθεσι, τὸ μὲν πάθος τῆς ὑπερβολῆς ἀπωδύρετο, τὸν δὲ πάσχοντα τῆς ἀνοχῆς κατεπλήττετο, τοὺς δὲ θεοκτόνους ἠτιᾶτο τῆς τόλμης ἢ	Ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντα ὅσα βουλομένοις ἦν ἤδη τοῖς θεοκτόνοις πεπλήρωτο, καὶ οὐδὲ ὅλως αὐτοῖς ἐκφυγεῖν προσδόκιμος ἦν, τῶν μὲν ἔγγιστα καὶ φίλων ἀποφυγόντων, ἢ μᾶλλον, ἵνα τὸ τοῦ προφήτου φαίην, ἀπὸ μακρόθεν ἱσταμένων, αὐτοῦ δὲ τῷ σταυρῷ τοῖς ἥλοις ἐμπεπαρμένου, τὰ τῆς φυλακῆς ἠμελεῖτο πάντως, τότε δὴ καὶ τὴν Θεοτόκον εἰκὸς ἀψαμένην ἀδείας αὐτῷ προσελθεῖν, οὕτως ἔχοντι κατὰ σχῆμα καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀχράντους πόδας καὶ τὰς ἐντυπωθείσας αὐτοῖς **πληγὰς ἡδέως καταφιλεῖν καὶ τοῖς αἵμασι δάκρυα κεραννῦσαν ὀφθαλμοὺς προσμάττειν καὶ παρειάς· ἐνορῶσαν δὲ καὶ περιπαθέστατον**

[31] See CUNNINGHAM, The Virgin Mary 114–116 (with bibliography).

[32] In the case of the fourth speech, Geometres chose to summarize in indirect speech the first lines of George's direct speech by the Virgin; see Geometres, Life 86 (238.25–28 CONSTAS – SIMELIDIS) and George of Nicomedia, Or. 8 (ed. *PG* 100, 1481B). As the Georgian *Life* depends on Geometres, this is the reason why this lament "does not appear in the Georgian *Life*, but the chapter in the equivalent position commences with the fleeting and rather incongruous statement, 'And again she mourned only a little, as was fitting, and spoke words of lamentation'" (BOOTH, On the *Life* 180).

[33] This homily was read in churches and monasteries on Good Friday already in the tenth century. See MAGUIRE, Art 97–98.

George of Nicomedia, Or. 8 (ed. *PG* 100, 1469B–C)	**John Geometres Life of the Virgin 80–81** (222.9–24 Constas – Simelidis)	**Symeon Metaphrastes Life of the Virgin 30** (366.35–367.11 Latyšev)
	τάχα μᾶλλον καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀπεκλαίετο.	
«Τί τοῦτο, Δέσποτα; Αὗταί σου τῆς ἀπορρήτου συγκαταβάσεως αἱ ἀμοιβαί; Τοῦτό σοι τῆς μεγάλης εὐσπλαγχνίας τὸ ἀνταπόδομα[34];	81. **"Τί ταῦτα," λέγουσα, "Δέσποτα** καὶ υἱὲ **καὶ Θεέ** μου, τίς ἡ τοσαύτη σου τῆς μακροθυμίας ὑπερβολή[35];	**«Τί ταῦτα» λέγειν, «ὦ δέσποτα καὶ Θεέ;** αὗταί σου τῆς ἀπορρήτου πρὸς ἀνθρώπους εὐσπλαγχνίας αἱ ἀμοιβαί; τοῦτό σοι τῆς φιλανθρωπίας τὸ ἀνταπόδομα[36];

If we work with the hypothesis that Symeon draws on both George of Nicomedia and John Geometres, he usually modifies the latter's text, but does not hesitate to copy verbatim from George. This is perhaps because Geometres was a contemporary author, or because he was a more complex writer than George and in need of simplification. The critical phrase in the passage from Symeon cited above is the following one (right before the beginning of the Virgin's speech): ἐνορῶσαν δὲ καὶ περιπαθέστατον ("as she looked at him in a most passionate way"). It corresponds to Geometres' περιπαθέστερον πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφεώρα ("she would gaze at him with a heartrending glance"). I think that Symeon (or whoever worked on this text) wanted to highlight the emotion more emphatically and in his haste changed Geometres' περιπαθέστερον (comparative) to περιπαθέστατον (superlative). However, both terms need to be understood as adverbs and although the neuter accusative singular of the comparative of an adjective forms the comparative of the corresponding adverb, it is the neuter accusative plural of the superlative that forms the superlative of the adverb. So, Geometres' περιπαθέστερον should have been changed to περιπαθέστατα. The mistake in περιπαθέστατον was due to its origin from περιπαθέστερον (a kind of error due to *homoioteleuton*). In my view, given the certainty that one of these texts copied the other, this is a more convincing explanation of this error than attributing it to a normal scribal error.

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[34] My translation: When everything the God-slayers desired and dared was satisfied and they considered the killing to have been completed, the crowds entertained themselves in their houses and the soldiers lay about feasting. Then, when she was released by the pressing crowd and safely approached the point of touching the cross, she caressed his immaculate feet and embraced the wounds left by the nails. As she drew off the blood of his battered flesh, she put it to her eyes and heart. And while she was staring fixedly at him, she addressed him crying with these words: "What is this, my Master? Are these the rewards for your ineffable concession? Is this the repayment for your great compassion towards men?"

[35] Translation (from the same edition): She caressed his wounds with her cheeks and eyes, mingling her tears with his blood, or rather she united her eyes themselves and her cheeks with the nails and wounds. She was striving to leave even her life and soul on the very cross. At one moment, with her eyes already emptied of their tears, she would gaze at him with a heartrending glance, at another she was animated by words and gestures of mourning, though her affection was tempered in every way by philosophical restraint, so that she did nothing improper or unworthy of herself or her son. She experienced a range of emotions: she lamented the extremity of his suffering, she was astonished by the forbearance of the sufferer, and she condemned the audacity of the God murderers, or rather she probably mourned for them as well. Speaking to him, she said: "What are these things, my Master, son, and God? What is the nature of your extreme forbearance?

[36] My translation: When everything wanted by the God-slaying people was satisfied and there was no expectation whatsoever that he would be able to flee from them, and while his fellows and friends abandoned him, or rather—if I were to use the words of the prophet—while they stood at a distance, and while he was fixed to the cross with nails, absolutely no thought was taken to guard his body. At this point the Theotokos naturally felt safe to come close and touch him, while he was in such condition, and to caress sweetly his immaculate feet and the wounds imprinted on them and press them closely to her eyes and cheeks, while mingling her tears with his blood. And as she looked at him in a most passionate way, she said: "What are these things, my Master and God? Are these your compensation for the ineffable compassion you showed to people? Is this the repayment for your love towards men?"

Interestingly, this is not the only problem in Symeon's passage cited above. Right before περιπαθέστατον, προσμάττειν lacks an indirect object or, rather, in the way I have understood and translated the sentence ("to caress sweetly his immaculate feet and the wounds imprinted on them and press them closely to her eyes and cheeks"), ὀφθαλμοὺς … καὶ παρειάς should have been in the dative[37]. And there are also problems in the parts Symeon borrowed from George of Nicomedia. In the very first sentence of the passages cited above (ἐπεὶ δὲ … πεπλήρωτο), Symeon omits the infinitive τολμῆσαι depending on βουλομένοις, but retains the relative ὅσα, which in George's version depends on the infinitive[38]. And a few lines above περιπαθέστατον, the word ἀδείας is syntactically puzzling. It corresponds to ἐπ' ἀδείας ("without fear", "safely") in George of Nicomedia's source text. This expression is more common with the preposition μετά (μετ' ἀδείας), but we can hardly attribute the same syntactic function to the sole noun in the genitive case. As in the case of περιπαθέστατον, these mistakes are likely to have been due to hasty composition and incomplete editing by Symeon's team. The final editing would be essential for the Metaphrastic texts, which in their first renderings would likely contain syntactical errors and other oversights of various kinds. As Johannes K. Grossmann has observed, we should concede that syntactical, logical, and content-related errors should be expected in authors who reworked earlier texts[39]. Indeed, in a passage discussed below, Michael Psellos implies that multiple stages of reviewing and copy editing of the Metaphrastic texts were necessary. As a result, owing to the nature of these texts, the possibility that, for example, ἀδείας above is not corrupt but imperfectly reviewed or edited, is higher than in other types of texts.

AN ORIGINAL IDEA AND ITS ANONYMOUS ATTRIBUTION (TO GEOMETRES?)

In another similar case where Symeon copies from George, there is one detail absent in George, a reference to Lazarus, which Symeon apparently copied from Geometres. Commenting on the appropriate behaviour of the Virgin during the Passion, Geometres says (regarding the Virgin): **τῷ τε γὰρ πάθει** συμμέτρως **ἐκέχρητο καὶ τὰ μητέρων δεικνῦσα** καὶ τὰ τῶν κοσμίων οὐχ ὑπερβαίνουσα, **ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς τοῦ υἱοῦ πληροῦσα νόμους, ὃς ἐπὶ νεκρῷ φίλῳ καὶ τὸ πάθος ἅμα καὶ τὸν λόγον ἔδειξε, τὸ μὲν δακρύσας, τὸ δὲ τηρήσας τὸ μέτριον** ("she gave herself over to her emotions in suitable proportion, demonstrated the duties of a mother, and did not exceed the boundaries of appropriate behaviour, but fulfilled the teachings of her son, who, when his friend died, demonstrated both emotion and reason, shedding tears but with moderation")[40]. Symeon rewrote Geometres' words (above, in bold) as follows (below, in bold), after a sentence paraphrased from George (underlined), with a preceding reference to "those who have dealt with these matters"[41]: Πλὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ αὖθις ὁ λόγος τὰ τῆς μητρὸς ὅπως ἔχει διεξιέτω· φασὶ γὰρ οἱ περὶ τούτων διαλαβόντες ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἄχρι τέλους <u>αὐτὴν διακαρτερῆσαι εὐκόσμως μὲν καὶ οὐκ ἀγεννῶς</u> **τῷ πάθει χρωμένην, ὅμως δὲ δεικνῦσαν ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων, ὅτι μήτηρ ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ μήτηρ ἐκείνου πάντως, ὃς ἐπὶ φίλου θανόντος καὶ τὰ τῆς στοργῆς ἔδειξε καὶ ὅροις τὸ πάθος ἔστησε** ("But let my discourse go through the events related to the mother. For those who have dealt with these matters say that from beginning to end she endured the passion orderly and properly; but her actions showed as well that she

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[37] Cf., for example, Symeon, Life of St. Eusebia/Xene 8 (PG 114, 989) ἄρτῳ δὲ μόνῳ τὴν χρείαν ἐπλήρου, καὶ τοῦτον οὐχ ἁπλῶς καὶ ἀπόνως προσιεμένη, ἀλλ' αὐτοῖς δάκρυσι βρέχουσα, τῇ σποδῷ τε τοῦ θυμιατηρίου προσμάσσουσα.

[38] I owe this observation to an anonymous reviewer.

[39] J.K. Grossmann, Die Abhängigkeit der Vita des Barlaam und Ioasaph vom Menologion des Symeon Metaphrastes. *JÖB* 59 (2010) 87–95, at 93.

[40] Geometres, Life 89 (248.24–28 Constas – Simelidis).

[41] Symeon Metaphrastes, Life of the Virgin 34 (369.26–31 Latyšev). The sentence by George (or. 8; ed. *PG* 100, 1486D–1488A) paraphrased here is: διακαρτεροῦσαν, καὶ πρὸς ἅπαντα προκειμένην· τῷ τε γὰρ πάθει κοσμίως καὶ οὐκ ἀγεννῶς προσωμίλει.

was a mother, and above all the mother of him who when his friend died showed affection, but also placed boundaries on the passion"). One is tempted to think that "those who have dealt with these matters" were in fact George and John. I would also argue that the example of Lazarus was an original and creative addition to this context. This sort of idea is to be expected from John Geometres, "one of the most intelligent and original writers of the tenth century"[42]. This does not mean that Symeon was incapable of adding new thoughts to contexts that were mainly based on previously existing texts, but in this particular case, where either John or Symeon was the author of the idea, it is more likely that Symeon was the one who copied it. Symeon has added phrases or ideas from additional sources (such as the phrases from homilies of Chrysostom that have been added to the Metaphrastic martyrion of Babylas), especially in the so-called *new compositions* which were based on a freer and more complex use of sources[43].

HEAVY SYNTAX IN BORROWED PHRASES

In Symeon's passage below, some phrases were apparently copied from Geometres, but they have not been incorporated into the new text with any great precision. The passages refer to Christ's entrusting of his mother to John the Apostle:

Geometres, Life 82 (228.15–230.17 CONSTAS – SIMELIDIS)	**Symeon Metaphrastes, Life of the Virgin 31** (367.23–368.4 LATYŠEV)
Οὕτω τῆς μητρὸς ὀλοφυρομένης καὶ προσκειμένης, αὐτὸς ἥμερον πρῶτον καὶ συμπαθὲς αὐτὴν ἀπιδών, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τὸν ἠγαπηκότα καὶ ἠγαπημένον συμπαριστάμενον μαθητὴν μικρὰ τὰ χείλη διακινήσας, ἡ Αὐτοσοφία, βραχέα καὶ πάντα φθέγγεται, καὶ διατιθέμενος ἅμα καὶ παρακατατιθέμενος· "γύναι, ἴδε ὁ υἱός σου·" παρθένῳ μητρὶ παρθένον καὶ πάλιν υἱὸν χαριζόμενος καὶ ἀντιτιθεὶς ἑαυτῷ, οὐκ αὐτὸς τὴν πρόνοιαν τῆς μητρὸς ἀπαρνούμενος—ἄπαγε—ἀλλ' ὁμοῦ καὶ τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς τὸ σφοδρὸν τοῦ πάθους τῆς μητρὸς προσπαραμυθούμενος καὶ τὸν μαθητὴν τοῦ περὶ ἄμφω φίλτρου καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς, **ἤδη δὲ καὶ αὐτῆς ἕνεκα τῆς ἐν τῷ Πάθει παραμονῆς ἀμειβόμενος, ὡς καὶ εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τάξιν αὐτὸν ἀντικαθιστᾶν καὶ τοσοῦτον αὐτῷ περιτιθέναι ἀξίωμα**· καὶ οὐ ταῦτα μόνον ποιῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμῖν νομοθετῶν τὴν μέχρι τέλους τῶν γονέων πρόνοιαν καὶ κηδεμονίαν, καίτοι κἀν τοῖς ἄλλοις σφοδρότερον αὐτῇ προφερόμενος· "τί ἐμοὶ καὶ σοί, γύναι;" Καὶ πάλιν· "τίς ἐστιν ἡ μήτηρ μου;" Καὶ· "μήτηρ μου καὶ ἀδελφοί μου οὗτοι εἰσίν." Ἀλλ' ἐνταῦθα φανερῶς καὶ διαφε-	Οὕτως ἔχουσαν ἀλγεινῶς αὐτὴν θεασάμενον τῷ φιλουμένῳ τε μαθητῇ συμπαρισταμένην ἀκόλουθον ἐκεῖνο φθέγξασθαι πάντως, ὃ καὶ τὸ θεῖον διέξεισιν εὐαγγέλιον· προσιδόντα πρῶτον αὐτὴν «Γύναι, ἴδε ὁ υἱός σου» φάναι, τὸν μαθητὴν δείξαντα. οὕτω καὶ σταυρούμενος πρόνοιαν ἐποιεῖτο τῆς μητρὸς καὶ τῷ φιλουμένῳ ταύτην μαθητῇ παρετίθει, παιδεύων ἡμᾶς ἄχρι καὶ πνοῆς ἐσχάτης μὴ ὀλιγωρεῖν τῶν γεγεννηκότων, καίτοι γε πρότερον καὶ διωθουμένῳ ἔοικεν οὐ κατὰ καιρὸν ἐνοχλοῦσαν· «Τί» γὰρ «ἐμοὶ καὶ σοί, γύναι», φησί, καὶ «τίς ἐστιν ἡ μήτηρ μου;» ἐνταῦθα δὲ φανερὰν ἐπιδείκνυται τὴν φιλοστοργίαν καὶ τῷ μαθητῇ παρατίθησιν, ἅμα μὲν αὐτὴν οὕτω παραμυθούμενος, ἐκεῖνον δὲ μᾶλλον τῇ παραθέσει τιμῶν καὶ ὅτι σφόδρα φιλεῖ τούτῳ μαρτυρίῳ χρώμενος. τί γὰρ ἄλλο ποιῶν ἢ λέγων τοιαύτης ἐκεῖνον ἠξίου τιμῆς; **ἅμα δὲ καὶ τῆς παραμονῆς αὐτὸν ἀμειβόμενος**. εἶτα καὶ τῷ μαθητῇ προσβλέψας «Ἴδε» φησίν, «ἡ μήτηρ σου». **<u>τοῦτο δὲ συνάπτοντος ἦν πρὸς ἀγάπην</u>, ὁμοῦ τε τὸ ἀμφοτέρων ἐπιδεικνύντος ἀξίωμα**. ἀπὸ τότε γοῦν καὶ ὁ μαθητὴς ταύτην λαμβάνει, φη-

[42] LITTLEWOOD, The Progymnasmata, vii.
[43] See HØGEL, Symeon 100–102.

Geometres, Life 82 (228.15–230.17 CONSTAS – SIMELIDIS)	**Symeon Metaphrastes, Life of the Virgin 31** (367.23–368.4 LATYŠEV)
ρόντως ἀπηρτισμένην αὐτῇ δείκνυσι τὴν φιλοστοργίαν, τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σχεδὸν πᾶσαν εἰς τὸν μαθητὴν προστασίαν μετατιθείς, εἶθ' ἵνα μὴ νομίσῃ διὰ προστασίαν μόνην τὴν υἱοθεσίαν ἐγχειρίζεσθαι τῆς αὐτοῦ μητρός, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀγάπην τὲ καὶ τιμήν, κἀκεῖνον προσβλέψας, "ἴδε," φησίν, "ἡ μήτηρ σου," μονονουχὶ κἀκείνῳ ταύτην προστάτιν καὶ κυρίαν ἀντιδιδοὺς καὶ τὴν ὀρφανίαν αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἐρημίαν παραμυθούμενος, **καὶ ὁμοῦ μὲν ὑποτάττων αὐτῇ τοῦτον, <u>ὁμοῦ δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἀγάπην συνάπτων</u> καὶ ἓν ἄμφω ποιῶν.** Τούτῳ καὶ ὁ μαθητὴς ὑπακούσας εἰς τὰ ἴδια, τὸν τῆς Σιὼν οἶκον, παραλαμβάνει ταύτην, ὃν καὶ φθάσας ὁ λόγος ἐδήλωσεν[44].	σίν, εἰς τὰ ἴδια, οἷ φέρει τὸν λόγον συνεὶς καὶ δεσποτικῷ θελήματι γνησίως ὑπηρετούμενος[45].

There is nothing plainly wrong in Symeon's text here, but there is still enough to suggest dependence on Geometres. When compared to the latter's corresponding Greek, the syntax in τοῦτο δὲ συνάπτοντος ἦν πρὸς ἀγάπην, ὁμοῦ τε τὸ ἀμφοτέρων ἐπιδεικνύντος ἀξίωμα ("this was [the word] of one [who was] uniting them in love and at the same time was pointing out the honour bestowed upon both of them") is a little heavy and awkward, betraying Symeon's reuse of Geometres' origi-

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[44] Translation (from the same edition): While his mother was caught up in her mourning and lamentation, he looked upon her peacefully and with compassion. To the loving and beloved disciple, who was also standing there, the very Wisdom of God moved his lips ever so softly and in a few words said everything, making a bequest and at the same time entrusting her to him: "Woman, behold your son!" And thus to his virgin mother he once again gave a virgin son, giving him to her in place of himself, not because he refused to care for his mother—by no means!—but by perceptible things he consoled his mother's excessive grief and rewarded the disciple for his affection to them both, and for his excellence of character, as well as for his standing beside her during the time of the Passion, and thus he substituted the beloved disciple for himself, and established him in his own place, and bestowed upon him such a great honor. But this was not all he did, for he also established as a principle for us to care for and support our parents until their death, even if at other times he strongly reproached his mother, saying, "Woman, what have you to do with me?" And again, "Who is my mother?" and "My mother and my brothers are these." But now, however, quite clearly and distinctly, he shows her the completeness of his tender affection for her, transferring essentially all of her care to his beloved disciple. And then, so that the disciple would not think that this adoption was bestowed on him solely to care for the Lord's mother, but that it was also because of his own love and honor for him, the Lord looked at him and said, "Behold your mother!" all but giving her to him as his protector and sovereign, comforting him in his orphanhood and abandonment, both subjecting him to her and uniting them in love and making them both one. Being obedient to the Lord, the disciple took her into his home, that is, to his house in Zion, which my discourse will touch on presently.

[45] My translation: As he saw her in such a pain and assisted by his beloved disciple who was standing next to her, he uttered the entirely fitting words, which are mentioned in detail by the holy gospel as well. As he first looked at her, he said, pointing to the disciple: "Woman, behold your son". In this way, even while being on the cross, he was taking care of his mother and was entrusting her to his beloved disciple, teaching us not to neglect our parents until our last breath, although earlier he seemed to have pushed her away when she annoyed him at the wrong moments; for he told her "What have I to do with you?" and "Who is my mother?". But here he displays visibly his affection and entrusts her to his disciple, at the same time comforting her and honouring him with this trust—Christ used this as a testimony of his excessive love for him, for what other action or word would bestow such an honour on him?— and at the same time rewarding him for standing beside her [during the time of the Passion]. Then he looked upon the disciple and said: "Behold your mother!". This was [the word] of one [who was] uniting them in love and at the same time was pointing out the honour bestowed upon both of them. From that time on, the gospel says, the disciple took her into his home, realizing the gravity of the Master's word and serving truly his will.

nal expressions. In Geometres' passage we can see the objects of συνάπτων in a smooth syntactical narrative: ὁμοῦ μὲν ὑποτάττων αὐτῇ τοῦτον, ὁμοῦ δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἀγάπην συνάπτων καὶ ἓν ἄμφω ποιῶν ("both subjecting him to her and uniting them in love and making them both one"). In Symeon's text they are missing and must be supplied by the reader. But a more puzzling omission is that of the definite article τοῦ before the participles, despite the fact that the identity of the one (Christ) who unites and points out is specific and known to the audience. In addition, the word ἀξίωμα is better understood as originally belonging to Geometres' context, where it constitutes a careful climax of the honour bestowed upon John; in Symeon's text the word is used (perhaps not entirely accurately) to describe an honour bestowed upon both the Virgin Mary and John the Apostle. As far as the latter is concerned, Symeon's text reads like a commentary of Geometres. Last, but not least, Symeon's truncated ἅμα δὲ καὶ τῆς παραμονῆς αὐτὸν ἀμειβόμενος ("and at the same time rewarding him for standing beside her") is likelier to depend on Geometres' text than vice versa: ἤδη δὲ καὶ αὐτῆς ἕνεκα τῆς ἐν τῷ Πάθει παραμονῆς ἀμειβόμενος ("rewarded the disciple for his standing beside her during the time of the Passion"). What is meant by παραμονῆς in Symeon could still be inferred from his context, but Geometres' τῆς ἐν τῷ Πάθει is certainly not redundant here.

SYMEON'S SIMPLIFIED RENDERINGS

Symeon is known to have added explanations and even comments in the Metaphrastic texts[46]. Such additions are indeed what we would expect to find in the Menologion texts, which, as Psellos stressed, were intended to be understandable and enjoyable for both the educated and the uneducated person[47]. The addition of one particular explanation is especially noteworthy below, because it is essential for understanding Geometres' text properly:

Geometres, Life 29 (82.6–10 Constas – Simelidis)	**Symeon Metaphrastes, Life of the Virgin 33** (351.16–20 Latyšev)
Δι' ἄμφω ταῦτα, καὶ ὡς παρθένος αἰδουμένη τὸν τόκον τῆς Ἐλισάβετ καὶ ὡς ἔγκυος τὸν οἰκεῖον ὄγκον ὑπεξίσταται καὶ εἰς τὸν οἶκον Ἰωσὴφ ἐπανέρχεται, περικρυπτομένη καὶ λανθάνουσα μὲν καὶ ἔτι ἕως ἐξόν·[48]	ἔθιμον δὴ ὂν ὑποχωρεῖν τὰς παρθένους, ἐπειδὰν μέλλοι τίκτειν ἡ ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσα (δεῖ γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο σκοπεῖν), ἤδη καὶ τῆς Ἐλισάβετ τόκου ὥραν ἐχούσης, ἡ Μαρία, καίτοι ἀτεχνῶς οὖσα ἔγκυος, ἀλλ' οὖν ἐξίσταται ὡς παρθένος καὶ εἰς τὸν οἶκον τὸν ἑαυτῆς ἐπάνεισιν[49].

In this passage, Symeon wanted to clarify Geometres' text by citing a Jewish custom mentioned by Origen, according to which, virgin women had to withdraw when pregnant women were about to give birth[50]. His parenthesis (δεῖ γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο σκοπεῖν) seems to suggest that his explicit reference

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[46] See Peyr, Zur Umarbeitung 150–152.

[47] Encomium for Kyr Symeon Metaphrastes, ed. E.A. Fisher, Michaelis Pselli Orationes hagiographicae. Stuttgart 1994, 281.260–282.265.

[48] Translation (from the same edition, but in this case slightly revised): "For both of these reasons, she, as a virgin, out of respect for the child of Elizabeth and, as a pregnant herself, out of respect for her own child, withdrew and returned to the house of Joseph in secret, avoiding notice as far as this was possible."

[49] My translation: There was a custom that the virgins would withdraw when a pregnant woman was about to give birth (for we need to consider this as well); Elizabeth was already at the time of her parturition and Mary, although she was really pregnant, withdrew as a virgin and returned to her house.

[50] Symeon's source for this custom seems to have been Origen (Fragments on Luke 47b), whom he copied verbatim: ἔθος δέ ἐστιν ὑποχωρεῖν τὰς παρθένους, ὅτε μέλλει τίκτειν ἡ ἔγκυος (ed. M. Rauer, Origenes Werke, vol. 9: Die Homilien zu Lu-

to this custom is a "response" or a supplement to Geometres, and he further feels the need to explain that Elizabeth was close to her time of labour. This is also important for understanding the relevance of this custom to Mary's departure. Geometres himself alludes to this same custom and only those who knew about it would fully understand his words (ὡς παρθένος αἰδουμένη τὸν τόκον). He most likely had the same source in mind as Symeon (that is, Origen's Fragments on Luke 47b), but preferred to be indirect and allusive, while Symeon returned to their original common source and cited it in full. This attitude of the two authors toward their (sometimes common) sources is discussed in more detail below.

GEOMETRES' ALLUSIONS AND SYMEON'S RETURN TO THE ORIGINAL COMMON SOURCES

Geometres' text was not a typical source text for the *Menologion*. It certainly needed no stylistic elevation or embellishment. On the contrary, Symeon would have found it necessary to simplify Geometres' linguistic and rhetorical complexity, in the same way as he did for the nine encomia and high-style lives by Niketas the Paphlagonian which he also used as models in the *Menologion*[51]. Interestingly, the process of adapting and simplifying Geometres' text was also followed by Euthymios the Athonite in his Georgian version of Geometres' *Life*. Given Euthymios' association with the Metaphrastic project, we should look for similar techniques employed by Symeon and Euthymios. First of all, it seems that Euthymios, like Symeon, would read an entire section of his model before rephrasing it[52]. In one case (his translation of Gregory of Nazianzos' *Oration* 38) it is evident that he dictated his oral translation to two assistant scribes. He then edited their draft himself before it became ready for copying and distribution[53]. In addition, one of Euthymios' practices was to add explicit biblical quotations and references, in those instances where Geometres referred to the Bible only through often obscure allusions, not literal quotations[54]. Indeed, this practice of importing verbatim passages of the Bible was generally followed by Symeon as well[55]. To offer an example from our texts, Geometres' καὶ πάλαι μὲν ὡς ἀετὸς νεοσσοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν πτερύγων ἐφύλαξας καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν μεταφρένων ἀνέλαβες ("long ago, like an eagle you protected them like nestlings under your wings, and bore them aloft on your back")[56], was changed by Symeon to a version closer to Deuteronomy 32:11, as follows[57]: ὡς ἀετός, σκεπάζων νοσσιάν, διεὶς τὰς πτέρυγας ἐδέξω καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν μεταφρένων τῶν σῶν ἀνέλαβες ("like an eagle that shelters its brood, you spread your wings to receive them and carried them aloft on your back"). Similarly, Geometres' οὗς στεφάνῳ χαρίτων καὶ εὐδοκίας ὅπλῳ περιετείχισας ("encircled them with a crown of graces and a shield of favour")[58] was changed by Symeon to ὅπλῳ εὐδοκίας αὐτὸς ἐστεφάνωσας (cf. Ps. 5:13 ὅπλῳ εὐδοκίας ἐστεφάνωσας ἡμᾶς "you crowned us as with a shield of favour").

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kas in der Übersetzung des Hieronymus und die griechischen Reste der Homilien und des Lukas-Kommentars [*GCS* 49]. Berlin [2]1959, 246).

[51] See Peyr, Zur Umarbeitung. Cf. Høgel, Symeon 140 and C. Rapp, Byzantine Hagiographers as Antiquarians. 7th to 10th centuries, in: Bosphorus. Essays in honour of Cyril Mango, ed. C. Rapp – S. Efthymiadis – D. Tzougarakis (= *BF* 21). Amsterdam 1995, 21–44, at 39: "Earlier martyrs Acts required considerable rhetorical embellishment, while the stylistically elaborate pieces of a skilled professional like Nicetas the Paphlagonian had to be toned down and simplified."

[52] Cf. Høgel, Symeon 97–98: "Symeon did not just take the old text sentence by sentence, but read paragraphs through to the end before rephrasing them."

[53] T. Otkhmezuri, Searching for Euthymius the Athonite's Autograph. *Le museon* 130 (2017), 177–206, at 191–98.

[54] Simelidis, Two *Lives* 148.

[55] See Peyr, Zur Umarbeitung 153.

[56] Geometres, Life 81 (224.17–18 Constas – Simelidis).

[57] Symeon Metaphrastes, Life of the Virgin 30 (367.13–15 Latyšev).

[58] Geometres, Life 81 (224.21–22 Constas – Simelidis)

As we already saw in the previous section, Symeon also recognized allusions to (apparently well-known) patristic texts and applied the same practice. Thus, Chrysostom's remarks about the star of Bethlehem, καὶ οὐχ ἁπλῶς ἐβάδιζεν, ἀλλὰ προῆγεν αὐτοὺς ἕλκων καὶ χειραγωγῶν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μέσῃ ("it was not simply marching with them, but was leading the way drawing them on and guiding them in the middle of the day")[59], were rendered by Geometres as[60]: ὥσπερ οὐχ' ὁδηγὸς μᾶλλον ἢ καὶ χειραγωγὸς ἐν ἡλίῳ μέσῳ πρὸς τὸν μέγαν καὶ πρῶτον Ἥλιον αὐτοὺς ἕλκων ("it was no longer a guide but a leader drawing them in the light of the sun to the great and primal Sun"); while Symeon[61] restored the wording of the original: εἰς Βηθλεὲμ ὁδηγεῖ, οὐχ ἁπλῶς βαδίζων, ἀλλ' ἕλκων αὐτοὺς καὶ χειραγωγῶν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μέσῃ. A similar case presents us with an interesting nuance, since here Symeon restored part of Chrysostom's text (underlined below), but at the same time retained Geometres' wording (in bold):

John Chrysostom, Homily on the Gospel of Matthew 9.4 (*PG* 57, 180.14–21)	**Symeon Metaphrastes, Life of the Virgin 21** (362.5–11 Latyšev)
Καὶ πῶς Ἀρχέλαος ἐβασίλευσε τῆς Ἰουδαίας, Ποντίου Πιλάτου ἡγεμονεύοντος; **Πρόσφατος** ἦν ἡ τελευτὴ γεγενημένη, καὶ **οὐδέπω εἰς πολλὰ ἦν** διαιρεθεῖσα **ἡ βασιλεία**· ἀλλ' ὡς ἄρτι καταλύσαντος ἐκείνου, τέως ὁ υἱὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν κατεῖχεν ἀντὶ Ἡρώδου τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ· καὶ γὰρ καὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ τοῦτο ὄνομα ἦν· διὸ προσέθηκεν ὁ Εὐαγγελιστὴς, *Ἀντὶ Ἡρώδου τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ*[62].	πλὴν ἀλλ' ἔροιτ' ἄν τις τῶν φιλολόγων, πῶς Ἀρχέλαος Ἰουδαίας ἦρξε, Ποντίου τότε Πιλάτου ἡγεμονεύοντος; ἢ ὅτι **ἔναγχος** ἦν ἡ τελευτὴ γενομένη καὶ εἰς πολλὰ **μήπω** διαιρεθείσης **τῆς βασιλείας** ὁ υἱὸς ἐκείνου τέως τὴν ἀρχὴν εἶχεν· οὐ παρέλκουσα δὲ τῷ εὐαγγελιστῇ καὶ ἡ τοῦ πατρὸς προσθήκη (ἀντὶ Ἡρῴδου γάρ φησι τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ), ἀλλ' ὥστε τοῦτον πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀντιδιαστεῖλαι, ἅτε δὴ καὶ αὐτὸν Ἡρῴδην ὁμωνύμως καλούμενον[63].

Geometres, Life 59 (156.9–15 Constas – Simelidis)

Πολλὴν ἀπορίαν παρέσχετο καὶ τὸ πῶς ἐν ταὐτῷ τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ Ἀρχέλαον βασιλεύειν καὶ Πιλάτον ἡγεμονεύειν ἦν· τό τε γὰρ λέγειν ὡς **ἔναγχος** τῆς Ἡρώδου τελευτῆς γενομένης καὶ **μήπω τῆς βασιλείας διῃρημένης** μηδὲ τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς καταπεμπομένης ἀρχῆς Ἀρχέλαος τῷ τέως ἦρχεν, ἕωλον καὶ αὐτόθεν ἔχον τὸν ἔλεγχον·[64]

Geometres goes on to argue at length against this view. This passage belongs to one of his forceful attacks on theological and historical views that he found unacceptable[65].

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[59] John Chrystostom, Homily on the Gospel of Matthew 7.3 (ed. *PG* 57, 77.13–14).

[60] Geometres, Life 38 (106.21–22 Constas – Simelidis).

[61] Symeon Metaphrastes, Life of the Virgin 17 (359.15–16 Latyšev).

[62] My translation: But how did Archelaus reign over Judea, when Pontius Pilate was governor? Herod's death was recent and the kingdom had not yet been divided into many parts; but as he had only just died, the son held power for a while in place of Herod, his father; his brother also had the same name, which is the reason why the evangelist added "in place of Herod, his father".

[63] My translation: But a learned person could ask, how did Archelaus reign over Judea, when Pontius Pilate was governor? Indeed, this was because Herod's death was recent and as the kingdom had not yet been divided into many parts, his son held power for a while; the evangelist did not consider the addition of the father redundant (for, he says, "in place of Herod, his father"), so that he would distinguish him from his brother, who was himself called by the same name, Herod.

[64] Translation (from the same edition): Now considerable uncertainty has arisen over the question of how Archelaos was reigning and Pilate was ruling in Judea at the same time. To say that Archelaos was in power for a short period of time because Herod's death had only recently taken place, the kingdom had not yet been divided, and the Romans had not yet appointed a ruler, is an anachronistic and self-contradictory solution.

[65] The confidence of Geometres in some of his views on theological matters annoyed Michael Psellos. See Simelidis, Two *Lives* 135, 153.

If Symeon consulted Chrysostom directly for short citations, then it causes no surprise that he also did so when it came to John of Damascus and George of Nicomedia, who were both used as sources by Geometres. Geometres' version of the Chrysostom passage is, as usual, highly expanded and stylistically elaborated. It is possible that Symeon wanted to return these texts closer to their original versions, not only because the shorter version was in any case what was suitable for his purpose, but also because some of these texts (and undoubtedly the biblical ones) were familiar to the audience and Symeon wanted them to be recognized. But what is significant for the purposes of this article is that in several cases it is clear that Symeon drew from both Geometres and Geometres' reputable sources for these passages, as the very first example discussed earlier in this article has demonstrated.

If Geometres is not a typical source for Symeon, Symeon's *Life of the Virgin* is also an atypical and indeed unique text in the Metaphrastic collection. As pointed out by Jugie (above), the text does not restrict itself to the Dormition (August 15) but covers the whole life of the Virgin. It is also based on a freer use of multiple sources. Even so, it is not clear how Symeon's team worked in the case of a complex Metaphrastic text such as the *Life of the Virgin*. Perhaps there were successive stages of production, one for each source. As noted above, we do not even know if some Metaphrastic texts were completed by Euthymios the Athonite and his team at Iviron, though they were certainly responsible for the final production and dissemination of the Menologion. But there is something we know about Symeon's working methods and this seems to be confirmed by some passages of our texts.

SYMEON METAPHRASTES AND HIS TEAMS AT WORK

The passages below refer to the Virgin Mary's search for a tomb in which to bury her son's body and the description of this tomb. This is the section from Geometres and its corresponding lines in Symeon:

Geometres, Life 86 (238.28–242.8 Constas – Simelidis)	**Symeon Metaphrastes, Life of the Virgin 33** (368.20–367.32 Latyšev)
ὅλη τῆς ταφῆς καὶ τοῦ τάφου **γίνεται, μὴ φέρουσα μὲν ὁρᾶν αὐτὴ τὸν υἱὸν κρεμάμενον,** μὴ φέρουσα δὲ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς καὶ ἔτι προσεπεμβαίνοντας καὶ νεκρὸν αἰκίζοντας, μὴ καί τι χεῖρον πρὸς ὕβριν ἐπινοήσωσιν, ὁρᾶν δὲ καὶ τοὺς παριόντας χλευάζοντας καὶ ὥσπερ κατὰ σκοποῦ πάντας βάλλοντας. Ἐπιθυμοῦσα δὲ καί τινα χῶρον καὶ τάφον εὑρεῖν, **ἄξιον μὲν οὐδένα τοῦ θείου καὶ ζωοπαρόχου ἐκείνου σώματος**, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ ἑαυτῆς σῶμα τὸ θεοδόχον ἄξιον κατασκήνωμα τοῦ παντὸς πληρώματος τῆς θεότητος, **ἄξιον δὲ ὅμως τοῦ ἑαυτῆς πόθου τὲ καὶ τῆς προθυμίας, ἐκπεριέρχεται γοῦν πάντα τὸν τοῦ Κρανίου Τόπον**, ὥσπερ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πτερουμένη τοῦ ζωοδότου νεκροῦ. Ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν δρόμος τοὺς πόδας εἶχεν, ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ οὐ μετέβαινε, καὶ ὁ	**Εἰθ' οὕτως ὅλη τῆς ταφῆς γίνεται καὶ ὅπως ἂν τὸ θεῖον ἐκεῖνο σῶμα τοῦ ξύλου καθαιρεθείη** καὶ μνήματος ἄρα τοῦ προσήκοντος εὐπορήσοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐχ οἷά τε ἦν δι' ἑαυτῆς ταῦτα ἀνύειν, **ὁ ταύτης υἱὸς κινεῖ πάντως τὴν ἐκείνης διάνοιαν περὶ τὸν τοῦ κρανίου διερευνῆσαι τόπον**· ὃ καὶ γενόμενον εὐχέρειαν τῷ σκοπῷ δίδωσιν· **εὑρίσκεται γὰρ μνῆμά τι καινότατον καὶ περικαλλέστατον**, καὶ χῶρος, ἐν ᾧ ἔκειτο, εὐπρεπής, **ἐκείνου μὲν οὐδαμῶς ἄξιος** (τί γὰρ ὅλως τῶν ἐπιγείων;), **τοῦ πόθου δὲ τῆς ζητούσης οὐμενοῦν οὐκ ἀνάξιος**. ὁ μὲν οὖν τάφος, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, **καινότατος** ἦν καὶ ἀκριβῶς **ἄθικτος**, **οὐδένα οὔπω δεξάμενος εἰς ταφήν**, **ἵνα μὴ καὶ ἑτέρων νεκρῶν κειμένων ὁ ἀναστὰς ἀμφιβάλλοιτο**, καὶ **ὁ χῶρος ἀέρος τε ἐν κα-**

Geometres, Life 86 (238.28–242.8 CONSTAS – SIMELIDIS)	**Symeon Metaphrastes, Life of the Virgin 33** (368.20–367.32 LATYŠEV)
μὲν τόπος ἠμείβετο, ὁ δὲ νοῦς πᾶς καὶ οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ σχεδὸν τῷ κρεμαμένῳ συνήρτηντο, πυκνὰ καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιστρεφομένης καὶ ἀνακαλουμένης τὲ καὶ ἀνακλαιούσης. **Εὑρίσκει γοῦν παρ' αὐτοῦ τούτου καὶ τὴν εὕρεσιν αἰτουμένη** χωρίον ἔγγιστα μὲν τοῦ σταυροῦ. Τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτῇ μάλιστα καὶ καταθύμιον ἦν, ὥστε καὶ τὸν σταυρὸν ὁμοῦ βλέπειν καὶ τὸν τάφον ὀρύττειν, εἰ καὶ λύει τούτου τοῦ μόχθου ταύτην ὁ ἀνωδύνως ἐξ αὐτῆς τεχθείς, οὕτω καὶ ἀμόχθως παρ' αὐτῆς ταφείς. **Εὑρίσκεται γὰρ πάγκαλον μέν τι καὶ παναρμόδιον** καὶ τὴν θέσιν τὲ καὶ τὴν κρᾶσιν, εὖ μὲν ἔχον ὡρῶν, **εὖ δὲ καὶ ἀέρος**, εὖ δὲ καὶ ἀσφαλείας, πάντοθεν περιειλημμένον, ἄπονον δὲ καὶ προειργασμένον. **Ἐν αὐτῷ μὲν γὰρ κῆπος εἰς ὥραν** καὶ αὐτὸς πάντοθεν περιειργασμένος, ἐν δὲ τῷ κήπῳ τάφος ηὐτρεπισμένος **καινὸς** ὁμοῦ καὶ κενός, ἄρτι μὲν γὰρ λελατομημένος ἐκ πέτρας, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ Ἱερὸν διέξεισιν Εὐαγγέλιον, **οὔπω δέ τινα δεξάμενος τῶν νεκρῶν**, ἀλλὰ τὸν καινὸν μένων νεκρὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ Θεόν. Ταῦτα δὲ πάντα καὶ ᾠκονόμητο καὶ τετύπωτο· ὁ κενὸς διὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν, **ἵνα μή τινος ἑτέρου νομισθῇ τῶν κειμένων**· ὁ ἐκκαινῆς διὰ τὸν νέον Ἀδάμ, τάχα δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸ ἀνεπίδεκτόν τε καὶ **ἄθικτον** πάσης ἀνθρωπίνης ἀσθενείας καὶ ἁμαρτίας· ὁ ἀσφαλὴς ἵνα μὴ καὶ κλαπῇ, μᾶλλον δὲ συκοφαντηθῇ τὴν κλοπήν, οὕτω πάντοθεν ἀνάλωτος ὤν·[66]	**λῷ κείμενος** καὶ **εἰς κήπου ὥραν διακεκοσμημένος**[67].

[66] Translation (from the same edition): She became wholly concerned with his burial and tomb, because she could not bear the sight of her son hanging there, she could not bear his enemies continuing to trample him down and torture him, even though he was dead, lest they contrive some still worse insult, and she could not bear the sight of those present mocking him as if they were still aiming to attack him. She wished to find a place and tomb that, while in no way worthy of that divine and life-giving body in the way that her own God-receiving body was a worthy dwelling place for the entire fullness of the divinity, would nonetheless be worthy of her desire and purpose; and so she searched the entire Place of the Skull, as if she had received wings from his life-giving corpse. And while her feet were moving forward, her soul did not move; and though the place was promising, her entire mind and, more often than not, her eyes remained fixed on the body hanging on the cross, for she was intensely focused on him, calling out to him and bursting into tears. Through him she found, after saying a prayer, a place near to the cross. To be sure, this was exactly what she had wished for, since from there she could both see his cross and dig his tomb, though she was relieved of this labor by the one who was born from her without pain, and so too would he now be buried by her without labor. For she found a most beautiful and suitable place, both in terms of its location and climate, mild in all seasons, having good air, secure, enclosed all around and already arranged and in need of no work. For there was a garden there in full bloom, richly cultivated, and in it was a new and empty tomb already prepared, recently hewed from the rock, just as the Holy Gospel informs us, and it had not yet received any other body, but awaited the newly dead body of God. All these things were arranged and prefigured in advance. It was empty on account of the resurrection, so that no one would think that someone else had been buried there. It was new on account of the new Adam, and perhaps also because, having received no other body, it was thus untouched by any human fault or sin. It was

There is almost nothing in Symeon which does not correspond (mostly verbatim) to Geometres' text. The latter is highly rhetorical and rich compared to Symeon's reduced version, which adheres closely to the main events, though not without linguistic elegance and flair. In a similar way, Symeon, in his more concise Metaphrastic versions, has generally shortened the narratives of the rhetorical encomia by Niketas the Paphlagonian[68]. Symeon read or listened to Geometres' full passage and then composed his own abridged version, trying to incorporate the elements of the original he liked or considered essential for his own narrative. In this process, I would like to draw special attention to Symeon's very last sentence (καὶ ὁ χῶρος ἀέρος τε ἐν καλῷ κείμενος καὶ εἰς κήπου ὥραν διακεκοσμημένος) which is out of context and belongs to what was said earlier in Symeon's paragraph (εὑρίσκεται γὰρ μνῆμά τι καινότατον καὶ περικαλλέστατον, καὶ χῶρος, ἐν ᾧ ἔκειτο, εὐπρεπής). It seems that Symeon's team had marked these details for inclusion in the Metaphrastic version, failed to include them at the right place, and then added them at the end of the section. We also notice an explanatory addition in Symeon's text: it was because the Virgin was unable to accomplish this task alone (ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐχ οἷά τε ἦν δι' ἑαυτῆς ταῦτα ἀνύειν) that her son directed her mind towards the Place of the Skull. Geometres' corresponding sentence says only that the Virgin found this place through him (that is, her son), after saying a prayer (εὑρίσκει γοῦν παρ' αὐτοῦ τούτου καὶ τὴν εὕρεσιν αἰτουμένη).

The passages just cited above prompt me to reconsider Michael Psellos' famous and controversial description of Symeon and his teams at work (the Greek text is followed by the translation by Høgel)[69]:

> καὶ ἦν αὐτῷ ἡ παρασκευὴ ἐξ ἑτοίμου κύκλος τε οὐ βραχὺς τῶν τε πρώτως ἐνσημαινομένων τὴν λέξιν καὶ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα τιθέντων· καὶ ἄλλος ἐπ' ἄλλῳ, ὁ μὲν τὰ πρῶτα ποιῶν, ὁ δὲ τὰ δεύτερα· καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις οἱ τὰ συγγεγραμμένα ἐξακριβούμενοι, ἵν', ὅ τι τοὺς ὑπογραφέας λάθοι, πρὸς τὴν προκειμένην διορθώσωνται ἔννοιαν. οὐ γὰρ ἐνῆν αὐτῷ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν συγγραμμάτων πολλάκις τὰ αὐτὰ ἀνακυκλεῖν τε καὶ ἐφορᾶν·
>
> [Symeon Metaphrastes] had the facilities at hand and quite a group of people around him, some taking down the words in shorthand, others writing out the text. These people worked successively, some doing the first job, others the second. Subsequent to these were those who checked the texts so that what had escaped the notice of the copyists would be corrected according to its intended meaning. For, due to the abundance of texts, he [Symeon] could not go over and look through the same text several times.

Høgel's translation was based on the earlier translation and discussion offered by Bernard Flusin and Joseph Paramelle[70]. The meaning of the phrase τῶν τε πρώτως ἐνσημαινομένων τὴν λέξιν καὶ

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secure so that no one could rob it, or rather falsely claim that it had been robbed, and thus it was impregnable on every side.

67 My translation: Then, she became wholly concerned with his burial and how this divine body would be taken down from the wood and an appropriate tomb be secured for it. Because she was unable to accomplish this task by herself, her son directed her mind to search around the Place of the Skull. And when this was done, it made her task easy. For a tomb brand new and most beautiful was found, and the place where it was situated was fair, and while in no way worthy of him (for what earthly thing would be worthy?), it was nonetheless worthy of the seeker's desire. So, the tomb was, as was said, brand new and completely untouched, having received no other body, so that the resurrected Christ would not be confused with other dead bodies buried there. And the place was situated so as to have good air and was adorned with a garden in full bloom.

68 See PEYR, Zur Umarbeitung 147.

69 Greek text: Encomium for Kyr Symeon Metaphrastes, p. 285, lines 333–341 FISHER. Translation: HØGEL, Symeon 93.

70 B. FLUSIN – J. PARAMELLE, La Vie métaphrastique de Pélagie *BHG* 1479, in: Pélagie la pénitente. Métamorphoses d'une légende. Vol. II: La survie dans les littératures européennes, ed. P. Petitmengin. Paris 1984, 15–45, at 22–23.

τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα τιθέντων has been debated[71]. I share Nigel Wilson's and Paolo Odorico's doubts about whether ἐνσημαίνομαι could refer to stenography[72]; furthermore, I think that the correct meaning of the phrase is one suggested by Odorico, who nonetheless dismissed it as impossible for the *Menologion*. Based on Odorico's discussion[73], as well as the case presented above (comparing Geometres' and the Metaphrastic text), I would translate the phrase as follows: "some marking up the words [of the old text], others, in a second stage, putting them down in writing [the Metaphrastic text]"[74]. That is, one group of scholars and scribes would mark and annotate the original *Life*, indicating, for example, those sections or phrases which should be retained along with other necessary changes, while another group would compose the new text by incorporating parts of the old text and making further additions and changes. A third group, as Psellos says later in the passage, would review the resulting text and correct any oversights. Symeon would also take part in the process of revision, but according to Psellos (in the same passage cited above), "due to the abundance of texts, he could not go over and look through the same text several times".

Neither shorthand nor oral dictation are directly implied by the Greek. It is true that this understanding of the text removes any major direct involvement of Symeon himself. This made Odorico suggest that this passage as a whole cannot describe Symeon's work on the *Menologion*, because Psellos attributed the success of the work to the literary abilities of Symeon himself. Based on the new meaning of the passage, all the work would have been accomplished by three teams and this (in Odorico's view) is not in agreement with what Psellos implies when he praised Symeon's intellectual capacities[75]. Odorico suggests that this passage could describe the teamwork process in other works of Symeon, which involved rewriting, though no other work than the *Menologion* is mentioned by Psellos in his encomium. This may be so, but in my view the passage, with the revised meaning suggested above, undoubtedly refers to the *Menologion* as well. The detail of the phrase taken from Geometres but misplaced in Symeon, at the very end of his version (in the passages cited above), seems to confirm this process.

As to Symeon's personal involvement, it would be reasonable to assume that he had trained the teams for their duties and he was supervising their work, dealing with difficulties and questions, in a way that would require his personal and direct involvement. Moreover, according to Psellos, Symeon himself reviewed the final Metaphrastic texts. In my view, all this would be sufficient involvement to credit Symeon with the success of the project. Symeon's chief collaborators would most likely have been scholars who would share with him a similar educational background, similar literary tastes, and a very good understanding of the metaphrastic practices to be followed in this particular project. We could also assume that all members of the teams would have been familiar with the original text, and they would have been trained for all three stages of production, as

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[71] See E.A. FISHER, Encomium for Kyr Symeon Metaphrastes, in: Michael Psellos on Literature and Art. A Byzantine Perspective on Aesthetics, ed. C. Barber – S. Papaioannou. Notre Dame, Indiana 2017, 93–217, at 215, n. 39.

[72] N.G. WILSON, Symeon Metaphrastes at Work. *Nea Rhōmē* 11 (2014) 105–107; P. ODORICO, La sténographie de Michel Psellos. *JÖB* 69 (2019) 275–288.

[73] ODORICO considers various possibilities and hypotheses, which include this understanding of the passage (La sténographie 280): "Nous pouvons lire le passage de la façon suivante, qui est plus adhérente au texte: le premier groupe devait «signaler», ou «marquer» les passages à recopier, en choisissant ce qui devait être retenu et ce qui devait être mis de côté. Le deuxième groupe devait reconstruire un texte dans une forme nouvelle, utilisant les passages choisis retenus, et le soumettre aux ὑπογραφεῖς, qui étaient censés revoir et vérifier que ce nouveau texte fût fidèle au vieux."

[74] ODORICO (La sténographie 279) suggests correcting the second part of the debated phrase to τῶν τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα τιθέντων or τῶν μετὰ τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα τιθέντων, but in my view there is no need for emending μετὰ ταῦτα. WILSON (Symeon 170) proposes conjectures for τιθέντων, because its understanding as "write out the text" or "produce copies" is indeed problematic. In my reading, the verb naturally means to "put down in writing" or "order". Following my arguments in this article, Wilson (personal correspondence, May 29, 2023) "would now be inclined to emend to <μετα>τιθέντων, which would mean 'transferring them to their new context' ".

[75] P. ODORICO, La sténographie 279–280.

described by Psellos above. In this way, those who would rewrite the text would have easily understood the selection and annotation made by the first team. Generally speaking, even without Psellos' testimony, one would expect that projects like the Metaphrastic *Menologion* would require the expert and extensive work of a team.

With Symeon being the leader of the project, it would be natural for him (to a medieval mind at least) to acquire exclusive authorial status and credit. In fact, it is very probable that the reason behind Psellos' rare description of an authorial team at work was that he wanted to clear Symeon of the responsibility for the imperfect quality of certain texts of the *Menologion*. Indeed, the final sentence from Psellos in the passage cited above (that Symeon could not go over and look through the same text several times) betrays some anxiety that any remaining errors would be blamed on Symeon. At the same time, when praising the literary virtues of the work highly, Psellos attributes them to Symeon himself. The latter's fame and authority (as well as the now proposed, by Psellos himself, sainthood) were important in Psellos' attempt to reassure his audience about the *Menologion*'s value. In my view, Psellos' praise of the Metaphrastic *Lives* (and thus of Symeon's) linguistic "beauty and grace", which delighted Psellos' ear[76], was (at least partly) due to a number of external factors. First, this praise should be understood in the context of Psellos' response to critics, who directly targeted the *Lives*' rhetorical devices as inadequate[77]. Second, Psellos' praise of the new versions is made in comparison with the older *Lives* written in a style that seemed ridiculously rustic to Symeon's learned contemporaries[78]. And although Psellos is careful to reassure his audience that he admires Symeon "for the beauty and grace <of his language> no less than for the usefulness of his subject matter"[79], the emphasis he places on the spiritual value of the *Menologion* is much stronger. Referring to the work's critics, he says that "those learned individuals want everything written for exhibition, not for beneficial moral improvement"[80]. Symeon's work, on the other hand, stimulates in people a desire to imitate the saints' lives and this places his work higher than Psellos' own writings and on an equal footing with the work of a preacher of the Gospel, as they (Symeon and a preacher) both aim at the salvation of souls. It is this value of the *Menologion* which renders Symeon worthy of a heavenly reward[81]. Psellos also composed an *akolouthia* and his aim was to promote the status of saint for Symeon[82]. His encomium of Symeon is a hagiographic encomium, which had to praise Symeon excessively and whose words of praise should not all be taken at face value.

The Metaphrastic *Menologion* was the collaborative work of a group of scholars and scribes, under the direction, guidance, and supervision of Symeon. Recent work by Elisabeth Schiffer has concluded that "in characterising the Metaphrastic process, we need to speak about tendencies rather than rules"[83]. In Laura Franco's words: "it is possible to observe several 'inconsistencies', which seems to confirm Psellos' suggestion that Symeon's *Menologion* is the collective work of a team"[84]. Further scrutiny of the Metaphrastic *Lives* may confirm and enhance the impression conveyed by some passages discussed earlier in this article that at least in places, the quality of the

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[76] Psellos, Encomium, p. 284, lines 322–323 (εὐστομίας καὶ χάριτος) and line 315 FISHER (πιαίνει γοῦν μοι τὴν ἀκοήν).

[77] Psellos, Encomium, p. 280, lines 230–242, esp. lines 236–237 FISHER: μήτε τὰ τῆς μίξεως τῶν ἰδεῶν ἐκπρεπῆ παρ' αὐτοῖς μήτε οἱ σχηματισμοὶ τῶν λόγων καταφανεῖς. Translation by FISHER, Encomium 214: "<they claim> that there is no notable mixture of forms in his works, no obvious rhetorical figures in his discourses".

[78] Psellos, Encomium, p. 278, lines 184–186 FISHER.

[79] Psellos, Encomium, p. 284, lines 322–324 FISHER. Translation by FISHER, Encomium 214.

[80] Psellos, Encomium, p. 280, lines 240–242 FISHER. Translation by FISHER, Encomium 211.

[81] Psellos, Encomium, p. 284 and 286–287, lines 324–326 and 358–369 FISHER.

[82] See HØGEL, Symeon 66 and FISHER, Encomium 201.

[83] E. SCHIFFER, Rewriting the *Life* of St John Chrysostom in Tenth-Century Byzantium, in: Metaphrasis in Byzantine literature, ed. A.P. Alwis – M. Hinterberger – E. Schiffer. Turnhout 2021, 87–107, at 106.

[84] L. FRANCO, Observations on the Methods of Metaphrastic Rewriting. The Case of the Passio of St James (*BHG* 773), in: Metaphrasis in Byzantine literature, ed. A.P. Alwis – M. Hinterberger – E. Schiffer. Turnhout 2021, 71–86, at 86.

metaphrasis could be too poor to be attributed to Symeon himself. As already mentioned, given the incomplete status of the Metaphrastic project and its later transmission through the Monastery of Iviron on Athos, it is impossible to know if all texts underwent the same level of revision and refinement.

To sum up, a range of literary and textual arguments suggest that Symeon Metaphrastes and his teams used John Geometres' *Life of the Virgin* as one of their sources for the composition of the Menologion's text for the Dormition. Symeon's dependence on Geometres would also be supported by and lend support to a recent earlier redating of Geometres' *Life*, according to which, the *Life* must have been completed in the aftermath of the murder of Nikephoros II Phokas (December 10–11, 969). The new textual evidence presented in this article confirms the earlier arguments based mostly on the contents of the unique Metaphrastic text on the Dormition and the nature of Symeon's work. Indeed, Symeon—who followed his sources closely and did not compose original texts—presented a synopsis of the entire life (and not only the Dormition) of the Virgin under the influence of Geometres' full and elaborate account. Symeon's Metaphrastic text, as expected in the case of high-style models, has simplified and occasionally explained Geometres' elaborate and allusive Greek. In a few cases, the Metaphrastic text shows errors and imperfections, which could have been due to an editorial review less thorough than necessary and in more than one instance betray Geometres as a model. Already Psellos in his encomium for Symeon revealed that multiple reviews of the Metaphrastic texts were necessary and that Symeon was unable to complete this task himself, but had to rely on his team. Psellos' encomium contains a controversial sentence referring to the teamwork carried out by Symeon's collaborators. A passage of Geometres reworked by Symeon's teams confirms the understanding of this debated sentence (τῶν τε πρώτως ἐνσημαινομένων τὴν λέξιν καὶ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα τιθέντων), describing the first two stages of the Metaphrastic texts' production, as follows: "some marking up the words [of the old text], others, in a second stage, putting them down in writing [the Metaphrastic text]"[85].

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The First Papyrological Testimony of the Letter Collection of Isidore of Pelusium (P.Vindob. G 19923 = Isidore's Letters 1970 and 1971 ÉVIEUX)

with two figures

ABSTRACT: The present article contains the first edition of a hitherto unpublished papyrus fragment belonging to the Papyrus Collection of the Austrian National Library (P.Vindob. G 19923). This fragment, which once belonged to a papyrus codex, offers the first papyrological testimony to Isidore of Pelusium's *oeuvre*. The new Viennese fragment dates from the late fifth or the sixth century CE and preserves parts of letters 1970 and 1971 of Isidore's extensive epistolary corpus.

KEYWORDS: Isidore of Pelusium; Letters; Papyrus Codex; Manuscript Tradition

THE LIFE AND WORK OF ISIDORE OF PELUSIUM

Isidore was probably born in Alexandria (or, alternatively, in Pelusium) between 360 and 370 CE, where he studied rhetoric. He spent most of his life as an ascetic monk in a monastery outside the city of Pelusium in northeastern Egypt. He died shortly after 433 CE[1]. His writing style indicates a brilliant rhetorical education[2]. Isidore was an admirer of John Chrysostom and enjoyed a good reputation as a Christian author. The learned patriarch of Constantinople, Photios, admired and praised both the erudition and orthodoxy in his writings[3]. In Byzantium, Isidore was listed among

[a] Marianna Thoma: National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, Department of Classics, Faculty of Philology, Panepistimiopolis, Zographou, 15784 Athens, Greece; mathoma@phil.uoa.gr

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[1] On the life of Isidore, see, for example, Ch. Markschies in: Der Neue Pauly. Enzyklopädie der Antike. Altertum, Bd. 5: Gru–Iug. Suttgart – Weimar 1998, 1122 and B. Baldwin in *ODB* 2, 1016; P. ÉVIEUX, Isidore de Péluse (*Théologie Historique* 99). Paris 1995, 295–377. The details about Isidore's life coming from hagiographic sources are characterized by variation. Évieux believes that Isidore was born in Pelusium, where he studied Greek, and then travelled to Alexandria to pursue rhetorical studies. For further details, see ÉVIEUX, Isidore de Péluse 309–310 and idem, Isidore de Péluse. Lettres 1214–1413, tome 1 (*SC* 422). Paris 1997, 58–60. Several other researchers, such as Treu and Runia, follow Quasten, who claims that according to Patriarch Ephraem's writings, Isidore was born in Alexandria. See J. QUASTEN, Patrology, vol. 3: The Golden Age of Greek Patristic Literature from the Council of Nicaea to the Council of Chalcedon. Westminster 1950, 180–181; D. RUNIA, Philo of Alexandria in Five Letters of Isidore of Pelusium. *Studia Philonica Annual* 3 (1991) 295–319, esp. 295; U. TREU, Isidore of Pelusium and the Grammaticus Ophelius. *Studia Patristica* 32 (1997) 376–379, esp. 376. On the vagueness of details of Isidore's life, see also the recent discussion offered by L.I. LARSEN, The Letter Collection of Isidore of Pelusium, in: Late Antique Letter Collections: A Critical Introduction and Reference Guide, ed. C. Sogno – B.K. Storin – E.J. Watts. Oakland. California 2017, 286–308, esp. 287–289.

[2] On Isidore's style, see, among others, G.J.M. BARTELINK, Observations stylistiques et linguistiques chez Isidore de Péluse. *Vigiliae Christianae* 18 (1964) 163–180.

[3] Photius, *Ep.* 207 (ed. B. LAOURDAS – L.G. WESTERINK, Photii patriarchae Constantinopolitani Epistulae et Amphilochia. Leipzig 1984, vol. 2, 107): Εἰ δὲ βούλει σὺν τῷ χαρακτῆρι καὶ πολλῶν ἄλλων καὶ μεγάλων συλλέξαι ὠφέλειαν, ἀρκέσει σοι Βασίλειος ὁ γλυκὺς καὶ ὁ κάλλους εἴ τις ἄλλος ἐργάτης Γρηγόριος καὶ ἡ ποικίλη καὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας αὐλῆς μοῦσα Ἰσίδωρος, ὅς, ὥσπερ λόγων, οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἱερατικῆς καὶ ἀσκητικῆς πολιτείας κανόν ἐστιν χρηματίζειν ἀξιόχρεως, καὶ εἴ τις ἕτερος μετὰ τῆς ὁμοίας προαιρέσεως τὴν ἐκείνων ἰδέαν ταῖς ἰδίαις ἐπιστολαῖς ἐνεδυναμώθη μορφώσασθαι ("If, however, you wish along with their style to receive benefit from many other great men, the dear Basil will suffice for you, as well as Gregorios, the producer of beauty, if anyone else is, and furthermore, the complex muse of our Isidoros, who is deserving

the canonical letter writers together with Synesios, Libanios, Gregory of Nazianzos, Basil the Great, and Michael Psellos[4]. Isidore was declared a saint by the Christian Church, and his name is celebrated on the 4th of February.

Although Isidore of Pelusium spent almost all his life in Egypt, and although his letters have reached us through a rich medieval manuscript tradition[5], no papyrus testimony containing parts of his work has as yet been found. The present article offers the first edition of a hitherto unpublished papyrus fragment from the rich holdings of the Papyrus Collection of the Austrian National Library (P.Vindob. G 19923)[6], presenting the first papyrological testimony to Isidore's *oeuvre*[7]. In particular, the Viennese fragment, which belonged to a papyrus codex written on both sides, preserves parts of two of his letters.

According to Severus of Antioch and the Suda, Isidore wrote about 3,000 letters[8]. What survives today is an extensive epistolary corpus of almost 2,000 letters in the original Greek, numbered from 1 to 2000, although a letter is missing[9].

These letters are mostly addressed to monks, priests, bishops, local officials, imperial administrators, even Emperor Theodosius II, as well as other laymen, and are full of didacticism, exhortations, and words of condolence[10]. In this collection, Isidore proves himself a sensible exegete and

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of being called a canon as of words so also of both the sacerdotal and ascetic state, and any other person with the similar disposition who was invigorated to embody their form in his own epistles"; translation by D. Stratoudaki-White, Patriarch Photios of Constantinople: His Life, Scholarly Contributions, and Correspondence together with a Translation of Fifty-two of his Letters. Brookline, Mass. 1981, 178–179, with a minor alteration by the present authors). Characteristic for the erudition of Isidore is, for example, his knowledge of Menander's *Georgos*; see E.R. Luján, A Quotation of Menander's Georgos in a Letter by Isidorus Pelusiota. *Philologus* 145 (2001) 352–353, esp. 353. On the use of other classical authors in Isidore's letters (Homer, Xenophon, Plato, Isocrates, Libanius and, above all, Demosthenes), see C. Jones, Isidore de Péluse en son temps. *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 159, 3 (2015) 1289–1300, esp. 1292–1293; on Demosthenes, see also A. Düren, Die Rezeption des Demosthenes von den Anfängen bis ins 17. Jh. Bonn 2014, 341–344.

[4] Cf. Joseph Bryennios, *Ep.* 25, 38–40 (ed. N.B. Tomadakes, Ek tēs byzantinēs epistolographias. Iōsēph monachou tou Bryenniou epistolai 30 kai hai pros auton 3. *EEBS* 46 (1983–1986) 283–362, esp. 346–347); A. Riehle, Letters and New Philology, in: A Companion to Byzantine Epistolography, ed. A. Riehle. Leiden – Boston 2020, 466–501, esp. 485.

[5] On the manuscript tradition of Isidore's Letters, see, for example, the discussion of C.H. Turner, The Letters of Saint Isidore of Pelusium. *The Journal of Theological Studies* 6 (1904) 70–86; K. Lake, Further Notes on the Mss of Isidore of Pelusium. *The Journal of Theological Studies* 6 (1905) 270–282; M. Smith, The Manuscript Tradition of Isidore of Pelusium. *The Harvard Theological Review* 47 (1954) 205–210; Évieux, Isidore de Péluse 3–8; M. Toca, The Greek Manuscript Reception of Isidore of Pelusium's Epistolary Corpus. *Biblische Notizen* 175 (2017) 133–143.

[6] We would like to thank Prof. Dr Bernhard Palme, director of the Papyrus Collection of the Austrian National Library, for his kind permission to publish this papyrus here.

[7] One should mention here that there are also three Syriac parchments dated between the seventh and the ninth centuries which preserve a variety of texts including parts of Isidore's Letters in Syriac; see *Trismegistos* and *LDAB* 115212; 117859 and 316825 (accessed: 06.02.2023). On the Syriac tradition of Isidore's letters, which includes additional letters and some of the Greek ones with alterations, see Évieux, Isidore de Péluse 353 and Idem, Lettres, tome 1, 98.

[8] On Severus, see Évieux, Lettres, tome 1, 96–97. On Suda I 629 (ed. A. Adler, Suidae Lexicon, vol. 2 [*Lexicographi Graeci* 1.2]. Stuttgart 1931, 668): Ἰσίδωρος, πρεσβύτης, ὁ Πηλουσιώτης, ἀνὴρ ἐλλογιμώτατος, φιλόσοφός τε καὶ ῥήτωρ. ἐπιστολὰς ἑρμηνευούσας τὴν θείαν γραφὴν τρισχιλίας γέγραφε, καὶ ἄλλα τινά ("Isidore the elder; of Pelusium; a very distinguished man. Philosopher and rhetor. He wrote 3000 letters expounding Holy Scripture, and certain other works"; translation in https://www.cs.uky.edu/~raphael/sol/sol-entries/iota/629), see Évieux, Lettres, tome 1, 96, n. 2 and Idem, Isidore de Péluse 302.

[9] The missing letter is no. 1378. See Évieux, Lettres, tome 1, 123 n. 1. Cf. P. Évieux, Isodore de Péluse. La numérotation des lettres dans la tradition manuscrite, *Revue d'Histoire des Textes* 5 (1975) 45–72, esp. 60. – For letters nos. 1–1213, see the old edition of *PG* 78 (Paris 1860), 177–1048. For letters nos. 1214–1413, see P. Évieux, Isidore de Péluse. Lettres 1214–1413, tome 1 (*SC* 422). Paris 1997, 182–502; for letters nos. 1414–1700, see idem, Isidore de Péluse. Lettres 1414–1700, tome 2 (*SC* 454). Paris 2000, 16–468 and for letters nos. 1701–2000, see P. Évieux and N. Vinel, Isidore de Péluse. Lettres 1701–2000, tome 3 (*SC* 586). Paris 2017, 14–410.

[10] Bartelink, Isidore de Péluse 163; C. Haas, Isidorus of Pelusium, in: Oxford Dictionary of Late Antiquity, ed. O. Nicholson, vol. 1. Oxford 2018, 792; F. Leonte, Didacticism in Byzantine Epistolography, in: A Companion to Byzantine Episto-

learned opponent of heresy, dealing with questions of dogma and taking part in the debate about Arianism and the nascent Monophysitism[11]. After Isidore's death, his letters were initally collected, copied and circulated in various monasteries in Egypt and Palestine[12]. It appears that Isidore's epistolary corpus was formed in the second half of the fifth century by the monks of the Monastery of Akoimetoi (Vigilants) at Constantinople[13]. By the beginning of the sixth century, Isidore's letters were being read and used in various areas of the Eastern Mediterranean, including Antioch, Caesarea and Alexandria. During the first quarter of the sixth century, Severus of Antioch appears acquainted with Isidore's corpus, referring to him in a very laudatory manner[14]. In the middle of the sixth century, Isidore's letter collection seems to already be established, according to a testimony by Facundus of Hermiana[15].

THE MANUSCRIPT TRADITION OF THE EPISTOLARY CORPUS OF ISIDORE

No manuscript containing letters of Isidore's survives from the sixth to the eighth centuries, while two manuscripts have been dated to the ninth century[16]. The oldest and most important MS of the collection is preserved in the Monastery of Grottaferrata under the signature B α 1, gr. 84 (C) (*Diktyon* 17543) and is dated to 985 CE[17]. This manuscript derives from the hypothetical source *S*[18], the collection of letters created at the monastery of the Akoimetoi in Constantinople. A small part of the total corpus of 2,000 letters is recorded in several manuscripts of the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries. The next manuscript of a considerable number of Isidore's letters that preserves the order of the original series is Paris, BnF, gr. 832 (P) (*Diktyon* 50418) from the thirteenth century. This manuscript contains the first 1,213 letters of Isidore's corpus (including the 400 letters which are missing from Grott. B α 1) and from which the *editio princeps* was derived[19]. The manuscript tradition of Isidore's letters from subsequent centuries is very rich.

THE FIRST PAPYROLOGICAL TESTIMONY OF ISIDORE OF PELUSIUM

The new Viennese fragment preserves part of letter 1970 of Isidore's collection on its recto and part of letter 1971 on its verso. The numbering of the letters adopted by Évieux in his edition follows the ancient order of the letters as attested in various manuscripts, florilegia and catenae, some-

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lography, ed. A. Riehle. Leiden – Boston 2020, 227–254, esp. 234; J. Roose, A Commentary on the 646th Letter of Isidore of Pelusium with a Brief Introduction, Critical Edition and Translation. *Byz.* 91 (2021) 305–352, esp. 334–335.

[11] See, for example, A. Dihle, Greek and Latin literature of the Roman Empire from Augustus to Justinian (transl. M. Malzahn). London 2013, 421; Évieux, Lettres, tome 1, 82–86 and S. Berkmüller, Schriftauslegung und Bildgebrauch bei Isidor von Pelusium. Berlin – Boston 2020.

[12] Évieux, Lettres, tome 1, 105.

[13] On the significant role of the Monastery of Akoimetoi situated in Constantinople in the formation of Isidore's epistolary collection, see, for example, the discussion offered by Turner, The Letters of Isidore of Pelusium 73–74, and Évieux, Isidore de Péluse 3–8 and 365. For a different view, see the recent discussion of Berkmüller, Isidor von Pelusium 9–35.

[14] See Évieux, Letters, tome 1, 60 with note 3 and 61 with notes 1–2; Larsen, Isidore of Pelusium 296.

[15] *Pro defensione trium capitulorum* 2,4 (see *PL* 67 [Paris 1865], 571–574).

[16] See Pinakes (*https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/recherche-generale*, accessed 07.02.2023): Mount Athos, Pantokrator Monastery 28 (Lambros 1062) (*Diktyon* 29047); Moscow, Gosudarstvennyj Istoričeskij Musej (GIM), Sinod. gr. 137 (Vlad. 82) (*Diktyon* 43762).

[17] For further details, see Turner, The Letters of Saint Isidore 74 and Évieux, Lettres, tome 1, 129–131.

[18] This hypothetical source is designated as *S* by Lake, Mss of Isidore of Pelusium 270–272, while Évieux, Lettres, tome 1, 174–175 uses the siglum c.

[19] See Turner, The Letters of Saint Isidore 75. It is noteworthy that there are two other manuscripts, earlier than Grottaferrata B α 1, gr. 84 (C), namely Athens, EBE 468 (10th c.) (A) (*Diktyon* 2764) preserving 182 letters, and Patmos, Monastery of St. John the Theologian 118 (11th c.) (D) (*Diktyon* 54362) preserving about 400 letters, which also reflect the order of the initial collection. See Évieux, La numérotation des lettres 49–50.

times with variations[20]. Letter 1970 (ÉVIEUX, tome 3, 356–357 = *PG* 78, 1219–1220, Epist. IV 139) is addressed to a presbyter Theognostos and letter 1971 (ÉVIEUX, tome 3, 358–359 = *PG* 78, 1285–1288, Epist. IV 198) to a comes Domitius.

The identification and present publication of the new Viennese papyrus fragment is important, not only because it constitutes a very ancient direct attestation of Isidore's work, but also because it sheds further light on the spread of Isidore's epistolary corpus and his teaching in Middle and Upper Egypt a few decades after his death, probably during the sixth century CE (on the date and provenance of the fragment, see below). In addition, the new papyrus fragment offers a very early testimony to the order within Isidore's epistolary corpus. Finally, the fact that the fragment contains parts of two letters from the last part of the collection is an indication that the codex of provenance contained the final part of Isidore's letter collection. It cannot, of course, be precluded that the surviving fragment did not come from a collection of the letters, but was a copy of isolated letters[21]; nevertheless, the fact that the two letters follow each other in Isidore's manuscript tradition supports the provenance of the fragment from a codex of his letter collection. However, it is improbable that the codex contained the full corpus, since a papyrus codex would have hardly enough space for 2,000 letters. The complete collection would probably have required another two or three codices, of which the one containing the present fragment would have been the last. The owner of these codices could have been a Christian scholar, a cleric or a monastery, probably located in Middle Egypt in Hermoupolis Magna or in the Hermopolite nome (see below).

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE PAPYRUS

The papyrus is damaged on three sides. Small wormholes are scattered throughout the fragment. It is written on both sides and was part of a papyrus codex. Its colour is medium brown, and it measures 10.1 × 10.8 cm. The script runs along the fibres on the recto, and across the fibres on the verso. The right margin of the recto and the left margin of the verso both measure 5 cm. The dimensions of the preserved margins indicate that the codex containing the fragment was of a rather large size and, as mentioned above, it may have contained a substantial part of the final part of Isidore's collection of letters. There is no evidence of punctuation. A single spiritus asper is found at l. 9. In two cases (ll. 6 and 9), the final ν takes the form of a superscript horizontal stroke.

DATE AND PROVENANCE OF THE PAPYRUS

The papyrus can be dated by applying palaeographical criteria. In his unpublished handwritten inventory of the Vienna Papyrus Collection, Carl Wessely dated the fragment to the sixth century CE. The handwriting of the fragment seems to confirm this proposal, suggesting sometime during the late fifth or the sixth century CE. The script appears to be a hybrid, a kind of compromise between the "biblical" and "Alexandrian" majuscules. Letters with horizontal strokes, such as Γ, Δ, Z, Π, T are broad, while E, Θ, O, C are narrow. M is typical of the "Alexandrian" majuscule; it is formed with a curve replacing the two oblique central strokes. A is written in a single, complex stroke. In addition, there is a contrast in the boldness of the strokes that compose a letter (there are thick, thin and intermediate strokes), which is common in the "biblical" majuscule. The scribal hand is comparable to the hands of P.Oxy. XIII 1600 (*Treatise on the Passion*; G. CAVALLO, Ricerche sulla maiuscola biblica. Florence 1966, pl. 47; 4th/5th c. CE.); P.Heid. 59 = P. Bad. IV 59 (Manethon's *Epitome*; R. SEIDER, Paläographie der griechischen Papyri, II: Literarische Papyri. Stuttgart

[20] See ÉVIEUX, Lettres, tome 1, 97–99, 122–123 and idem, Isidore de Péluse 5–6 and 349–350. On a detailed discussion of the enumeration of Isidore's letters in medieval manuscripts, see ÉVIEUX, La numérotation des lettres 45–72.

[21] Cf. SMITH, The Manuscript Tradition of Isidore 208.

1970, pl. 61; 5th [SEIDER] or 6th [LDAB] c. CE); P.Oxy. XV 1820 (Homer, *Odyssey*; G. CAVALLO – H. MAEHLER, Greek Bookhands of the Early Byzantine Period: A.D. 300–800. London 1987, pl. 22b; mid 5th/mid 6th [LDAB] or 6th [CAVALLO – MAEHLER] c. CE); P.Aphrod.Lit. pp. 378–380 no IV 4 = P.Lit.Lond. 98 (Dioscorus, *Encomia to Romanus*; CAVALLO – MAEHLER pl. 32a; about 551 CE); P.Berol. 13994 (LXX, *Exodus*; CAVALLO – MAEHLER pl. 38b; mid or second half of 6th c. CE; this is also a hybrid script; see CAVALLO – MAEHLER pl. 84); BKT IX 83 (Euripides, *Orestes*; photo in https://berlpap.smb.museum/04175/ [accessed: 06.02.2023]; 6th c. CE), BKT IX 85 (Theocritus, *Idyllia*; photo in https://berlpap.smb.museum/04385/ [accessed: 06.02.2023]; 6th c. CE).

Concerning the provenance of the papyrus, the information Wessely provided in his handwritten inventory, that the papyrus joined the collection in 1886 ("ex 1886"), suggests Hermoupolis Magna or the broader Hermopolite nome as its provenance since the papyri which came to the *Papyrussammlung* in that year originated from Hermoupolis Magna[22].

EDITION OF THE PAPYRUS

In the following, a standard edition of the fragment is offered. No new readings in comparison to the medieval tradition are present. For the reader's convenience, we also cite the full text of the letters based on the critical edition of Évieux and Vinel (see introd. above)[23]. The parts preserved on the Viennese fragment are printed in bold.

P.Vindob. G 19923 — 10.1 × 10.8 cm — late 5th or 6th c. CE
Hermoupolis Magna or Hermopolite nome — figures 1–2

Recto
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
1 [παρὰ τοῖ]ς σ[υν]ε̣-
2 [τοῖς ἀπο]δοχῆς
3 [ἀξιωθ]ησομένους
4 [γενν]α̣ίως φερέ-
5 [τωσα]ν οἱ σωφρο-
6 [νισταὶ τ]ῶν κακῶν
7 [καὶ λυπ]ε̣ί̣σθωσαν
8 [μὴ τὰ κα]θ̣’ ἑαυτοὺς
9 [ἐννοοῦν]τ̣ες ὅτι
10 [οὐδὲν ἕ]τ̣ερον
11 [ἢ τὸ δοκεῖν] μι̣α̣-
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

6 κακω¯ *pap.* 7]ε̣ι̣σθωσα¯ *pap.* 9 ὁτι *pap.*

Epistula 1970 Évieux: ΘΕΟΓΝΩΣΤΩΙ ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΩΙ. Τοὺς ἐπιτιμητὰς τῶν κακιῶν οἱ μοχθηροὶ πλείους ὄντες καὶ διηχοῦντες κακῶς ἀποναρκῆσαι πολλάκις πεποιήκασι, πρὸς τὸ μὴ τῇ παρρησίᾳ ἀναστέλλειν τὰ πταίσματα. Χρὴ τοίνυν μιγνύναι τῇ παρρησίᾳ τὴν προσήνειαν, καὶ τῷ ἐλέγχῳ κιρνᾶν τὴν ἀγάπην, καὶ οὕτω νουθετεῖν. Εἰ δὲ μηδ’ οὕτως ὠφελοῖντο ἐκεῖνοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ κακῶς ἀπαγορεύσειαν τοὺς μεγίστων στεφάνων ἀξίους καὶ πάντως καὶ παρὰ Θεοῦ κηρυχθησομένους καὶ **παρὰ τοῖς συνετοῖς ἀποδοχῆς ἀξιωθησομένους, γενναίως φερέτωσαν οἱ σωφρονισταὶ τῶν κακῶν καὶ λυπείσθωσαν μὴ τὰ καθ’ ἑαυτοὺς (ἐννοοῦντες ὅτι οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἢ τὸ δοκεῖν μια**ροὺς περιγέγονεν), ἀλλ’ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκείνων διαστροφῆς καὶ μιαρίας, ὅτι ἀνίατα οὕτω νοσοῦσιν, ὡς καὶ τοὺς ἰατροὺς κακηγορεῖν.

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[22] See H. LOEBENSTEIN, Vom „Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer" zur Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek. 100 Jahre Sammeln, Bewahren, Edieren, in: P.Rain.Cent. Vienna 1983, 3–39, esp. 6–7 and 22.

[23] P. ÉVIEUX – N. VINEL, Isidore de Péluse. Lettres 1701–2000, tome 3 (*SC* 586). Paris 2017, 14–410, esp. 356–357 (letter 1970) and 358–359 (letter 1971).

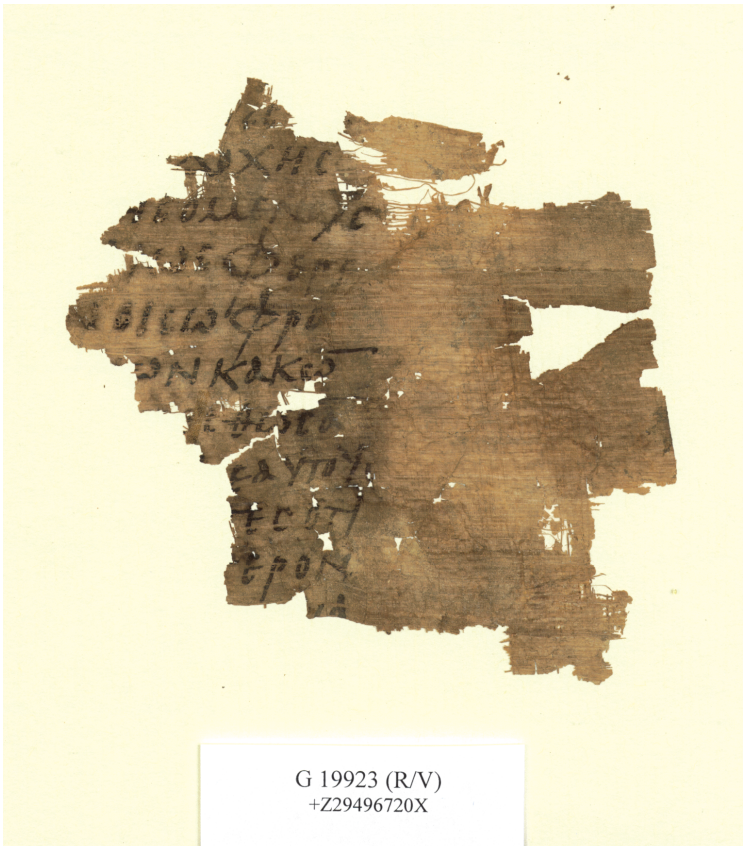


Figure 1: P.Vindob. G 19923 Recto
(© Austrian National Library)

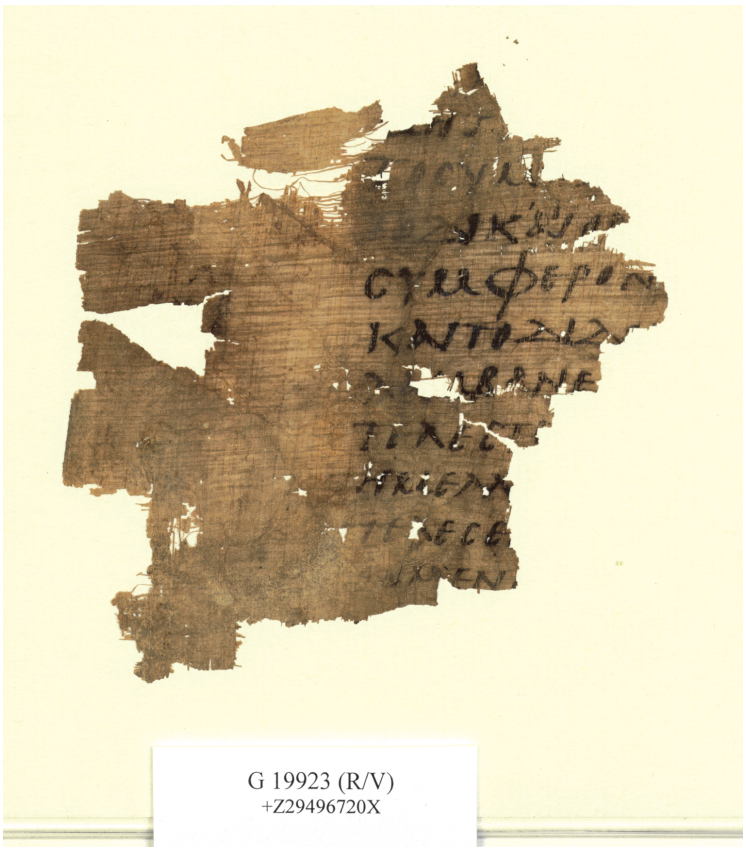


Figure 2: P.Vindob. G 19923 Verso
(© Austrian National Library)

Verso
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
12 μ̣ήτ[ε λέγειν μηδὲ]
13 τὸ συμφ̣έ̣[ρον δίκαιον, ἀλλὰ]
14 τ̣ὸ̣ δίκαιο̣ν̣ [ἡγεῖσθαι]
15 συμφέρον [*vacat*]
16 καὶ τὸ διδό̣ν̣[αι τοῦ]
17 λα̣μβάνε[ιν εἶναι λυσι-]
18 τελέστε̣[ρον ὅτε δ’]
19 ἤμελλο̣[ν εἰς ἄνδρας]
20 τελέσει[ν ὤμνυον ὅρκον ὀλί-]
21 [γ]α̣ μὲν [κομιδῇ περιέχοντα]
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

Epistula 1971 Évieux ΔΟΜΙΤΙΩΙ ΚΟΜΗΤΙ. Ἐνέτυχόν ποτε ἱστορίᾳ Περσικῇ τοιαῦτά τινα περιεχούσῃ, ὅτι οἱ παῖδες ἐμάνθανον μὲν μηδὲν ψεῦδος μήτε ἀκούειν **μήτε λέγειν, μηδὲ τὸ συμφέρον δίκαιον, ἀλλὰ τὸ δίκαιον ἡγεῖσθαι συμφέρον, καὶ τὸ διδόναι τοῦ λαμβάνειν εἶναι λυσιτελέστερον. Ὅτε δ’ ἤμελλον εἰς ἄνδρας τελέσειν, ὤμνυον ὅρκον ὀλίγα μὲν κομιδῇ περιέχοντα ῥημάτια**, μεγίστην δὲ δύναμιν ἔχοντα ῥημάτια καὶ ὑπὲρ πάσας τὰς τῶν Ἑλλήνων φιλοσοφίας. Ὤμνυε γὰρ ἕκαστος ὡς «ἐγὼ καταφρονήσω μὲν ἀεὶ παντὸς κέρδους πονηροῦ, καταφρονήσω δὲ ἡδονῆς σώματος, καταφρονήσω δὲ δόξης κενῆς, ζηλώσω δὲ ἀρετὴν καὶ τιμήσω τὸ θεῖον καὶ γονεῖς, ἀληθῆ λέγων, ἀγαθὰ πράσσων, οὐδέ τι τούτων ὑπερβήσομαι εἰδὼς οὐδ’ ἑκών.» Εἰ τοίνυν τὸ σέλας μὴ φέρων τῶν θείων γραφῶν, ὥσπερ οἱ ὀφθαλμιῶντες τὸν ἥλιον, οὔτ’ αὐτὸς ἀναγινώσκεις οὔτε τοὺς σαυτοῦ υἱεῖς συγχωρεῖς, κἂν ταῦτα καὶ σαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς σαυτοῦ παῖδας φέρειν ἐπὶ μνήμης ἔθιζε. Πιστεύω γὰρ ὅτι κινήσουσιν ὑμᾶς καὶ τοῖς θείοις λόγοις ἐντυχεῖν.

A HYPOTHETICAL RECONSTRUCTION OF THE FOLIO

The preserved text allows us to calculate the rough dimensions of the original folio. Remains of a total of 21 lines appear on the recto and verso of the papyrus. A reconstruction of the text indicates that each line contained ca. 11–14 letters on the recto, whereas the variation on the verso was larger, given that the reconstructed lines contain between 8 (l. 15) and 22 letters (l. 20). Since no upper or bottom margin is preserved in our fragment, its exact position on the leaf cannot be determined with absolute certainty. However, it is in all probability from the middle of the leaf, as the text between the preserved parts of recto and verso suggests.

The preserved text allows us to calculate the approximate dimensions of the original folio. The fact that there must have been 25 to 30 words on either side of the preserved fragment, which has a height of 10.1 cm, while 28 words are missing between the preserved parts of recto and verso, suggests that the space needed for the missing text must have been around 10 cm high. If one adds the height of the preserved fragment (10.1 cm), plus 5 cm for each of the upper and lower margins (cf. the fact that the right margin of the recto and the left margin of the verso each measure 5 cm), it could then be deduced that the original folio was c. 30 cm high, which is the typical height of a papyrus scroll in the 5th and 6th centuries CE. The width of the folio can also be calculated. Since roughly half of each line and a left-hand or a right-hand margin, respectively, of 5 cm is preserved on both sides of the 10.8 cm-wide fragment, the original leaf must have been around 22 cm wide. The codex, therefore, measured around 30 × 22 cm, which is a perfectly normal size for the papyrus codices of that time[24].

[24] On the size of papyrus codices in this period, see E.G. Turner, The Typology of the Early Codex (*Haney Foundation Series* 18). Philadelphia 1977, 13–34, esp. 14–22. The format of our codex corresponds to Turner’s Group 3 (32/31 × ca. 23/21 cm).

What follows is a reconstruction of the leaf containing our fragment. It should be borne in mind that the allocation of the lost text to each line has a hypothetical character. We print in bold the text contained in the present fragment.

Recto

Ep. 1970

[ὠφελοῖντο ἐκεῖνοι,]
[ἀλλὰ καὶ κακῶς ἀπα-]
[γορεύσειαν τοὺς]
[μεγίστων στεφάνων]
[ἀξίους καὶ πάντως]
[καὶ παρὰ Θεοῦ κηρυ-]
[χθησομένους καὶ]
1 [παρὰ τοῖ]**ς σ[υν]ẹ-**
2 [τοῖς ἀπο]**δοχῆς**
3 [ἀξιωθ]**ησομένους**
4 [γενν]**ạ́ίως φερέ-**
5 [τωσα]**ν οἱ σωφρο-**
6 [νισταὶ τ]**ῶν κακῶν**
7 [καὶ λυπ]**ẹ́ίσθωσαν**
8 [μὴ τὰ κα]**θ᾽ ἑαυτοὺς**
9 [ἐννοοῦν]**τες ὅτι**
10 [οὐδὲν ἕ]**τ̣ερον**
11 [ἢ τὸ δοκεῖν] **μι̣ạ̣-**
[ροὺς περιγέγο-]
[νεν, ἀλλ᾽ὑπὲρ τῆς]
[ἐκείνων διαστρο-]
[φῆς καὶ μιαρίας,]
[ὅτι ἀνίατα οὕτω]
[νοσοῦσιν, ὡς καὶ]
[τοὺς ἰατροὺς κα-]
[κηγορεῖν].

Verso

Ep. 1971

[᾽Ενέτυχόν ποτε]
[ἱστορίᾳ Περσικῇ]
[τοιαῦτά τινα]
[περιεχούσῃ, ὅτι]
[οἱ παῖδες ἐμάνθανον]
[μὲν μηδὲν ψεῦδος]
[μήτε ἀκούειν]
12 **μ̣ήτ**[ε λέγειν μηδὲ]
13 **τὸ συμφ̣ẹ́**[ρον δίκαιον, ἀλλὰ]
14 **τ̣ọ̣̀ δίκαιọ̣̄** [ἡγεῖσθαι]
15 **συμφέρον** [*vacat*]
16 **καὶ τὸ διδọ̣́ṇ**[αι τοῦ]
17 **λ̣ạ̣μβάνε**[ιν εἶναι λυσι-]
18 **τελέστẹ̣**[ρον ὅτε δ᾽]
19 **ἤμελλọ̣**[ν εἰς ἄνδρας]
20 **τελέσει̣**[ν ὤμνυον ὅρκον ὀλί-]
21 [**γ]ạ̣ μὲν** [κομιδῇ περιέχοντα]
[ῥημάτια, μεγίστην δὲ δύναμιν]
[ἔχοντα ῥημάτια καὶ ὑπὲρ]
[πάσας τὰς τῶν Ἑλλήνων]
[φιλοσοφίας. Ὤμνυε γὰρ]
[ἕκαστος ὡς «ἐγὼ κατα-]
[φρονήσω μὲν ἀεὶ παντὸς]
[κέρδους πονηροῦ, κατα-]
[φρονήσω δὲ ἡδονῆς σώματος,]
καταφρονήσω δὲ δόξης κενῆς]

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FIGURES

Figure 1: P.Vindob. G 19923 Recto, published with the kind permission of the Austrian National Library ©.
Figure 2: P.Vindob. G 19923 Verso, published with the kind permission of the Austrian National Library ©.

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MARIA TOMADAKI[a]

An Unpublished Byzantine Lament for a Learned Man[*]

with one figure

ABSTRACT: The article includes the *editio princeps,* an English translation and a commentary of an unpublished Byzantine lament in elegiac distichs. The poem is preserved in a philosophical manuscript that belonged to the cardinal Bessarion (cod. Marc. gr. Z 197) and is dedicated to a learned man called Trikanas Kantzas, who is not known from other sources. It is distinguished by its secular style, its adaptation of Homeric language and its emotional expression of feelings of grief.

KEYWORDS: Lament; Trikanas Kantzas; Editio Princeps; Elegiac Distichs; Late Byzantine Poetry

INTRODUCTION

The first folio of the codex Marc. gr. Z 197 (*Diktyon* 69668)—a philosophical manuscript containing Neoplatonic commentaries on Platonic dialogues[1]—kindles the interest of the reader with a well written and quite long lament in elegiac distichs dedicated to a person named Trikanas Kantzas (**fig. 1**). The poem is remarkable for its archaizing style, its lyrical expression of grief, its variety of images, and for its obscure addressee and date. As indicated in its title, it is an ethopoetic lament, which expresses in verses the deep sorrow of a child for the loss of Trikanas. This unspecified child (girl or boy) could be either a student of Trikanas or one of his children. The present paper offers an *editio princeps* of the lament, an English translation and a commentary.

The poem begins with the child's invitation to the natural elements (e.g. trees, rivers, groves) to mourn the death of a wise man (vv. 1–2). The child strongly wishes to become a Thracian bird, so as to fly away and be relieved from the pain (vv. 3–4). It urges its eyes to lament and praises the deceased through the usage of several rhetorical questions (vv. 5–14). Then it invites a circle of youths to lament for Trikanas' death by tearing at their cheeks and breasts and by shedding streams of tears, following the example of a personified stone (vv. 15–19). Moreover, it asks the sun to provide an explanation for Trikanas' death, since the sun is able to see everything (vv. 20–21). After some encomiastic words about Trikanas' character and appearance, the child also invites the basic elements of nature (water, fire, wind, and land) to honor the deceased with grief (vv. 22–26). A commemoration of his virtues follows (e.g. wisdom and rhetorical abilities), as well as a statement on the inevitability of death (vv. 27–35). In the final part of the lament the child asks the clouds to grant him/her tears and asks all kinds of animals to mourn this time for himself/herself, as he/she deeply wishes to die too (vv. 36–45). Finally, the mourning person asks the stars and the flowers to reveal on earth or in heaven Trikanas' phantom (*eidolon*) as a consolation for the

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[1] The manuscript is dated to the late Byzantine period and contains Neoplatonic commentaries on the Platonic dialogues by Olympiodorus and Damascius, see E. MIONI, Bibliothecae Divi Marci Venetiarum, Codices graeci manuscripti, volume 1, thesaurus antiquus codices 1–299. Roma 1981, 309.

mourner's pain. The poem ends with the repetition of the first verse, which functions as a refrain that gives a ring-form composition to the poem.

The lament is a witness of the Byzantine reception of the ancient laments, since it contains several elements of the latter. To begin with, its language abounds in Homeric vocabulary that serves the metrical pattern of the elegiac distich[2]. Moreover, the motifs and the ideas expressed in the poem imitate those of the ancient laments. The invocation to natural elements to participate in the ritual of grief, the reference to the Muses and to Aphrodite, as well as the images of an exaggerated expression of grief (e.g. breast beating) are indicative examples[3]. By contrast, the Church Fathers criticized the uncontrolled lamentation, favouring a moderate expression of grief on the grounds that the latter corresponds to the Christian way of life that offers the only true consolation for the death of our beloved ones[4]. The classicizing style of the poem and the absence of Christian elements indicate that the poem belongs to the so-called "learned Byzantine poetry"[5]. Earlier Byzantine poets such as John Geometres, Christopher Mitylinaios, and Theodore Prodromos also composed laments (entitled monodies) in order to mourn family members and friends or to fulfil the wish of a commissioner[6]. This indicates that the anonymous poet continues an established tradition of composing mourning texts, but this lament differs from the aforementioned examples due to its distinguished classicizing character. It is not, though, clear if it was recited during the burial, as happened with the ancient laments, or if it was composed as a kind of a literary exercise. Margaret Alexiou's significant study offers us a firm basis for examining the Greek laments and their ritual, but, in my opinion, more work is needed in order to understand the relation of the Byzantine mourning texts to the ancient ones, since the Byzantine laments often imitate the latter[7]. Other Byzantine laments, which could contribute to such a study remain unpublished. The present article aims to bring in light an unknown text and illuminate some aspects of its content and its manuscript context.

With regard to the genre of the poem, it has several of the typical characteristics of laments, as these were established and analyzed by Margaret Alexiou[8]. Specifically, the whole poem is constructed with invocations to various natural elements (e.g. trees, rivers, groves, sun, water, fire, whirlwinds and land) to weep and express their grief for the loss of Trikanas. Another structural

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[2] All the quotations and allusions are recorded in the *apparatus fontium et locorum parallelorum*. Only a few similarities to Byzantine texts and authors can be noticed (e.g. Digenis Acrites, Mitylinaios, Metochites), which are mentioned in the *apparatus fontium et locorum parallelorum* and in the commentary. The Homeric language is dominant in the ancient funerary poetry, see R. HUNTER, Greek Epitaphic Poetry, A Selection (Cambridge Greek and Latin Classics). Cambridge 2022, 5.

[3] Similar motifs occur in Bion's *Lament for Adonis*, ed. N. HOPKINSON, Theocritus, Moschus, Bion (*Loeb Classical Library* 28). Cambridge 2015, 506–517.

[4] For some examples of church fathers' disapproval of uncontrolled grief see ALEXIOU, The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition. London 1974, 28–29.

[5] The only element that relates the poem to the vernacular Byzantine laments for a deceased (e.g. Digenis Acrites, Christ) or the destruction of a city is the usage of many rhetorical questions.

[6] See, for instance, John Geometres, *On Theodore Dekapolites* (poem 229, in iambs), ed. M. TOMADAKI, Iohannes Geometra, Carmina iambica (*CCSG* 100). Turnhout 2023, 115–116; Christopher Mitylinaios, Poem 57 (*On his mother*, in elegiacs), ed. M. DE GROOTE, Christophori Mitylenaii Versuum variorum Collectio Cryptensis (*CCSG* 74). Turnhout 2012, 51–52 and Theodore Prodromos, Poem 54 (*On Manuel Anemas,* in iambs), ed. W. HÖRANDNER, Theodoros Prodromos, Historische Gedichte (*WBS* 11). Wien 1974, 450–455. For more examples of Byzantine monodies and other funerary poems dedicated to a deceased, see A. RHOBY, Labelling Poetry in the Middle and Late Byzantine Period. *Byz* 85 (2015) 276–277 and P. AGAPITOS, Ancient Models and Novel Mixtures: The Concept of Genre in Byzantine Funerary Literature from Photios to Eustathios of Thessaloniki, in: Modern Greek Literature, Critical Essays*,* ed. G. Nagy – A. Stavrakopoulou. New York – London 2003, 12–13.

[7] See M. ALEXIOU, The Ritual Lament.

[8] ALEXIOU, The Ritual Lament. For an analysis of the features of Byzantine monodies in particular, see M. D. LAUXTERMANN, Byzantine Poetry from Pisides to Geometres, Texts and Contexts. Volume Two (*WBS* 24/2). Wien 2019, 89–100.

element of laments it contains is the use of several rhetorical questions, which express the sentiments of the mourning person and at the same time commemorate the virtues of the deceased. A third motif typical of laments, particularly of those performed during the funeral, is the address to relatives or companions of the deceased. In this case the narrative voice addresses a circle of young men (*kouroi,* v. 15), inviting them to participate in the ritual of lamentation. Those youths were probably present at the funeral and could have been the students of Trikanas or young admirers and disciples belonging to the same intellectual circle.

To the best of my knowledge, the name Trikanas Kantzas does not occur in any other source. The poet depicts the deceased as a learned and wise man, a dancer of the Muses, who was especially interested in science, rhetoric, geometry and possibly astronomy[9]. The fact that the poem is rich in references to natural elements might indicate Trikanas' engagement with the natural sciences. However, there is no clear evidence either about his exact profession or about the cause of his death. As there is no indication that he was a monk or a priest, we cannot identify him with the well-known Iakobos Trikanas (14th c., *PLP* 29309), an Athonite monk who was a supporter of Hesychasm. Trikanas Kantzas seems instead to have acquired a secular training and a circle of disciples, who are invited to mourn for his loss (vv. 15–17). Another well-attested Trikanas from the fourteenth century is Kalos Trikanas (*PLP* 29310), who held the title of *sakelliou* in Constantinople and is the addressee of letters from Thomas Magistros and from the administrative official Michael Gabras[10]. The meaning of these epistles is very obscure, but they imply that Kalos Trikanas was a learned man, who offered his advice to Gabras on some of his writings and was also an organizer of the so-called rhetorical *theatra*. Although the profile of Kalos Trikanas seems to be close to that of Trikanas Kantzas, we do not possess enough evidence to support the idea that they were the same person. Two other obscure historical figures having the name Demetrios Trikanas and originating from Thessaloniki are recorded in *PLP* (29306, 29307). The surname (or sobriquet) Kantzas is attested only once in *PLP* (10991), for a certain Manuel Kantzas (13th–14th c.), whose origin remains unknown.

Neither the poet nor the scribe of the poem are known, despite my efforts to identify them. Yet, what do we know is that Marc. gr. Z 197 (*Diktyon* 69668) is a direct apograph of Marc. gr. Z 196 (*Diktyon* 69667), an important witness of the so-called 'philosophical collection', a group of Neoplatonic writings, which were copied in a characteristic script during the second half of the ninth century[11]. Both codex Marc. gr. Z 197 (*Diktyon* 69668) and his apograph belonged to Cardinal Bessarion. There are different opinions about the date of Marc. gr. Z 197 (*Diktyon* 69668). Westerink, and recently Carlini, dated the manuscript to the fifteenth century and considered it a copy commissioned by Bessarion[12]. Based on the date of the manuscript's watermarks (1318–1334), Mioni instead dated it to the fourteenth century, arguing that Bessarion possessed this Neoplatonic manu-

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[9] See the verses 11, 18, 28 and 37–39.

[10] See the epistles 355, 374, 381 and 423 of Michael Gabras in G. Fatouros, Die Briefe des Michael Gabras (ca. 1290–nach 1350) (*Wiener Byzantinistische Studien* 10). Wien 1973, 557–558, 587, 603–604, 656. On the office s*akellarios* (treasurer of the palace or of the Great Church in Constantinople), see *ODB* 3, 1828–1820 ('Sakellarios', 'Sakellion').

[11] On the manuscripts, which comprise the "philosophical collection" and some hypotheseis concerning their origin, see indicatively G. Cavallo, Qualche riflessione sulla "collezione filosofica", in: The Libraries of the Neoplatonists, ed. C. D' Ancona. Leiden 2007, 155–165 and F. Ronconi, La « collection philosophique »: un fantôme historique. *Scriptorium* 67 (2013) 119–140; cf. also D. Bianconi – F. Ronconi, La « collection philosophique » face à l'histoire. Péripéties et tradition (*Miscellanea* 22). Spoleto 2020.

[12] See L. G. Westerink, Ficino's Marginal Notes on Olympiodorus in Riccardi Greek MS 37. *Traditio* 24 (1968) 352 and A. Carlini, Due percorsi tradizionali a confronto dal IX al XV secolo: Par. gr. 1807 – Marc. gr. Z. 196 (coll. 743) e 246 (coll. 756), in: La «collection philosophique» face à l'histoire. Péripéties et tradition, ed. D. Bianconi – F. Ronconi. Spoleto 2020, 13–14. Modern editors of Neoplatonic texts often date the manuscript to the 15th century, see indicatively G. Van Riel, Damascius, Commentaire sur le Philèbe de Platon. Paris 2008, cxcvii.

script during his studies with the philosopher Plethon Gemistos in Mystras[13]. The classicizing style of the poem fits well with the revival of classical learning initiated by Plethon Gemistos in Mystras during the first decades of the fifteenth century, but we cannot argue that the poem was produced in this intellectual circle, because its script bears paleographical elements that point to an earlier date. In particular, the poem is written in two columns, in a minuscule archaizing script, which contains some elements of the so-called *Fettaugenmode* (e.g. enlarged rounded φ, ω, ε) combined with very small letters and characteristic tall majuscule gammas and etas[14]. Its script differs from the writing style of the main text and it seems to have been added to the manuscript by another fourteenth-century hand[15]. A recent autopsy of the manuscript also revealed that the folio, on which the poem is written seems to be made of oriental paper and actually to derive from another manuscript[16].

The elegiac distich is also indicative of the poem's genre. Although other meters were common for laments in Byzantium (e.g. the anacreontics and dodecasyllables), the elegiac distich was the most common one for the ancient monodies, epitaphs and funerary inscriptions[17]. The lament contains some metrical errors, but it generally gives the impression that the poet was well acquainted with metrics. Some errors such as additional syllables or the omission of a metrical syllable could have been caused not by the poet himself but by a later scribe of the poem[18]. The poet respected the prosodic rules; only in five cases does he deviate from the common prosodic patterns, namely in vv. 6, 7, 21, 33, 37. In most cases he shortens a long vowel (or a diphthong) in the last syllable of a word when the subsequent word begins with a vowel. It is likely that he considered those examples as another kind of epic correption: Μουσά**ων** ὀλωλότος (v. 7), πημον**ῶν** οἶμαι (v. 21), λόγ**ων** εἴδεα (v. 37). A usual epic correption can be found in v. 3 (ἐγ**ὼ** ὄρνις) and an internal one in v. 50 (β**αι**ᾷ). With regard to the caesurae of the 27 hexameters, the masculine caesura, the so-called penthemimeres, has predominance (3a, 8 verses), but the other common hexametric caesurae can also be found: feminine caesura (3b, 5 verses), bucolic diairesis (5 verses), hephthemimeres (4a, 7 verses), medial caesura (3c, 6 verses) and a caesura after the second foot (1 verse).[19] In most cases the bucolic diairesis coexists with the medial caesura[20]. One may wonder why so many hephthemimeres occur, as this caesura was not common in ancient elegies, but this can be explained by the late date of the poem.

In the pentameters we can notice the following tendencies: the ancient rule of having pure dactyls in the second hemistich is often violated, as there are spondees in several cases[21]. Additionally, there is a pause at the end of the first hemistich in most pentameters, which is in line with the an-

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[13] See MIONI, *Bibliothecae* 309 and E. MIONI, Vita del cardinale Bessarione. *Miscellanea Marciana* 6 (1991) 51–52.

[14] The script also contains a characteristic abbreviated form of *kai*. On the *Fettaugenmode,* see H. HUNGER, Die sogenannte Fettaugen-Mode in griechischen Handschriften des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts. *BF* 4 (1972) 105–113. It should be noted that the poem's script differs from the script of the fifteenth-century humanists, such as Bessarion, Michael Apostoles, Ianos Laskaris, Ioannis Rhosos, Andronikos Kallistos. On several examples of the humanists' writing style, see P. ELEUTERI – P. CANART, Scrittura greca nell'Umanesimo italiano. Milano 1991.

[15] A similar script, but not identical, can be found in the fourteenth-century manuscript Monac. gr. 280 (*Diktyon* 44727), which is of unknown origin, as well as in the manuscripts copied by the fourteenth-century astronomer and physician, Georgios Chrysokokkes, who lived in Constantinople and in Trabzon. For the description of Monac. gr. 280, see M. MOLIN PRADEL – K. HAJDU, Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München. 5, Codices graeci Monacenses 266-347 (*Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Monacensis* 2/5). Wiesbaden 2019, 127–129. On Georgios Chrysokokkes, see *ODB* 3, 453; *PLP* 31142 and *RGK* 3, 126.

[16] The colour of the poem's paper is darker than the paper used in the main text and it does not have any watermark. Autopsy of the manuscript in August 2022.

[17] See LAUXTERMANN, Byzantine Poetry 93, and ALEXIOU, The Ritual Lament 104–105.

[18] See the vv. 21, 31, 46 in the *apparatus criticus*.

[19] According to LAUXTERMANN, Byzantine Poetry 360, the medial caesura was first attested in Late Antiquity and is present in the compositions of many Byzantine poets.

[20] See vv. 3, 13, 43, 46.

[21] See vv. 2, 6, 10, 12, 14, 18, 20, 24, 32, 34, 42, 44, 49.

cient metrics[22]. The avoidance of hiatus between the two hemistichs is generally observed, but hiatus does occur in other positions[23]. Another element, which witnesses the Byzantine origin of the poem and creates a certain rhythm, is the paroxytone ending of several of its verses. The poet formed elegiac couplets of emotional and commemorative character by using a poetic language, which is full of Homeric expressions and several rhetorical devices, such as the personification of natural elements, hyperbaton, rhetorical questions, similes, antitheseis, and repetitions[24].

In the present edition, the punctuation of the manuscript was partly retained. Question marks were added, and full stops replaced the colons of the manuscript (:), which in most cases indicate a strong pause. As far as the accentuation is concerned, the scribe was careful with accents and he followed closely the traditional rules of the accentuation of the enclitics. He also added the iota subscript where this was needed. Only a few orthographical irregularities and the omission of a letter (φῆτραι instead of φρῆτραι) can be observed, but all of the inconsistencies are recorded in the *apparatus criticus*.

[22] See vv. 4, 6, 8, 10, 12, 14, 16, 20, 28, 30, 34, 36, 38, 40, 47.

[23] There is only one case of hiatus between the two hemistichs, namely in v. 10. Other cases of hiatus can be found in vv. 3, 13, 24, 29, 34, 43, 45 and 46.

[24] Only a few Byzantine verbal forms occur: ἔσβεσε (v. 8), λέγε (v. 20), ἔτρεχεν (v. 40).

EDITION AND TRANSLATION

Θρῆνος Τρικανᾶ τῷ Καντζᾶ τεθνηκότι, ὡς ὑπὸ παιδὸς συντεθεὶς αὐτῷ γόος.

Δένδρεα καὶ ποταμοὶ καὶ ἄλσεα, λείβετε θρῆνον
ἀνδρὸς μητιόεντος νῦν οἰχομένου·
αἰ αἴ, εἴθε γενοίμην Θρῃκία νῦν ἐγὼ ὄρνις,
ὄφρ᾽ ἐπ᾽ ἀπείρονα γᾶν εἶχον ἄγειν· ἆ, πάθον·
τέγγετε δάκρυσιν, ὀφθαλμῶν κύκλα, τέγγετε γαῖαν,
οὓς ἔρως αἰθερίης τιτρώσκει σοφίης
τοῦ χοροποιοῦ τῶν Μουσάων ὀλωλότος ἄφαρ.
τίς γ᾽ ἐμὸν ἔσβεσε φῶς; τίς φρένας εἶλεν ἐμάς;
κεῖνος ἐμὴ κραδίη, κεῖνος νόος ἔμπεδος ἦν μοι,
οὗ κεφαλὴν ποθέω, οὗ βέβλημαι ἄχει.
οἴμους ἀστερόεντας ἀνιχνεύει τίς Ὀλύμπου
ἢ φύσιος τίς ὁδοὺς ἀτρεκέως οἶδεν;
οὐκέτι ὄντος, ὃς αἰθέρα ἀγλαὸν ἀμφιπόλευε,
καίπερ ἔχων δέμας ἐν μητέρι γῇ πάντων;
δρύπτετε, κοῦροι, στήθεα λαχνήεντα, παρειάς,
οἳ Μούσαις ὕμνους ᾄδετε μυστιπόλοις,
δακρυχέοντες ἀπὸ βλεφάρων ἀπαλῶν ὡς κρῆναι·
ὃς γὰρ ἔφαινεν ἐπιστήμης ὄργια, ποῦ;
αἰνῶ τὴν λίθον, ἣ πηγὰς ἀφίησι δακρύων·
ἠέλιος, πάνθ᾽ ὁρᾷς πῶς ταυτί; λέγε.
πημονῶν οἶμαι πλῆθος ἔδρασεν ἐκεῖ κἀκεῖνα.
ἤθεα κεδνά, χαρίεσσα φυή, μέγεθος,
εἶδος ἀγαυόν, ἐπῶν ἀγορή, τίς κεύθει ταῦτα;
ἄγριος Ἅδου οἶκος, δεινός τε πικρός.
ὕδωρ, τοίνυν, πῦρ ἀΐδηλον, ἄελλαι, γαῖα,
πένθεϊ λυγρῷ τιμᾶτε τὸν οἰχόμενον.
σὴν ἀγανοφροσύνην μέμνημαι, μήδεα πυκνά,
πειθοῦς ἔκγονα τέκν᾽ ἀγκύλα ῥητορίης
ποῖ δὴ ᾤχετο; ἁρπάξασα κακὴ θυέλλη

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4 ἀπείρονα γᾶν] cf. ἀπείρονα γαῖαν locus communis in Hom. **5** ὀφθαλμῶν κύκλα] Const. Manas., *Brev. Chron.* 4040 (p. 220 Lampsidis); Const. Manas., *Arist. et Cal. fragm*. 168, 3 (p. 206 Mazal) **7** χοροποιοῦ τῶν Μουσάων] Liban., *Or.* 60, 13, 7 (p. 321 Foerster) **8** cf. *Dig. Acr. Grott.* 9N, 4113 (p. 345 Trapp) φρένας εἶλεν] Hom., *Il.* 16.805; cf. 9, 377; 18, 311 **9** νόος ἔμπεδος] Hom., *Il.* 11.813 **10** κεφαλὴν ποθέω] Hom., *Od.* 1.343 **12** ἀτρεκέως οἶδεν] Herod., *Hist.* 4, 16; 4, 25; Theod. Metoch., *Carm. XIII ad Leon. Bard.* 232 (p. 466 Featherstone) **13** αἰθέρα αμφιπόλευε] cf. Io. Gaz., *Tab. Univ. Descr.* 1, 135 (p. 14 Lauritzen) **15** στήθεα λαχνήεντα] Hom., *Il.* 18.415; Opp., *Cyneg.* 3, 31; Nonn., *Dionys.* 28, 210; 36, 324; 46, 196 **17** βλεφάρων ἀπαλῶν] cf. Eur., *Elect.* 1336 **19** πηγὰς ἀφίησι δακρύων] cf. Greg. Naz., *Or.* 14, 95 (*PG* 35, 872A) **20** πάνθ᾽ ὁρᾷς] cf. Eur., *Phoen.* 745; Eur., *Elect.* 659 **21** πημονῶν] Soph., *Oed. Tyr.* 1230 **22** ἤθεα κεδνά] Hes., *Theog.* 66; *Op. et Dies* 699; Greg. Naz. *Carm.* II, 2, 3, 167 (*PG* 37, 1492A); II, 2, 4, 67 (*PG* 37, 1510) **23** εἶδος ἀγαυόν] Orph., *Lithic.* 304 **25** πῦρ ἀΐδηλον] Hom., *Il.* 2.455 **26** πένθεϊ λυγρῷ] Hom., *Il.* 22.242; 2.70; Aesch., *Choeph.* 17; cf. Eur., *Iphig. Aul.* 1618b **27** ἀγανοφροσύνην] Hom., *Il.* 24.772; *Od.* 11.203 | μήδεα πυκνὰ] Hom., *Il.* 3.202 **29** κακὴ θυέλλη] Hom., *Il.* 6.345; Hom., *Od.* 10.54

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4 ἃ cod. **20** ἠέλιος cod. **29** ἁρπάξασσα cod.

Lament for the deceased Trikanas Kantzas,
a wailing as if it was composed for him by his child.

Trees and rivers and groves, shed streams of tears[25]
for the wise man has now died.
Alas, would that I were now a Thracian bird,
that I may travel to the ends of the earth; oh, woe is me!
Circles of eyes, dampen the earth with tears,
[eyes] which are hurt by the eros for heavenly wisdom
of the Muses' dancer, who has suddenly died.
Who quenched my light? Who seized my mind?
He was for me my heart, an unshakable spirit,
whose dear head I desire and for whom I am wounded with distress.
Who traces Olympus' starry paths
or knows precisely the ways of nature?
The one who traversed the bright sky is no more,
even though he had a living body on the mother earth?
Youths, tear <your> shaggy chests and <your> cheeks,
– you, who were singing hymns along with the mystic Muses –
weeping like fountains from <your> tender eyelids;
where is the one who brought to light the mysteries of scientific knowledge?
I praise the stone, which sheds streams of tears.
Sun, you who watch over everything, tell <me> how this <happened>?
I think the great number of miseries caused those there.
Noble manners, graceful stature, size,
lordly shape, the gathering of speeches, who covers <all> these?
The wild house of Hades, the terrible and bitter one.
So, water, consuming fire, whirlwinds, land,
honor the deceased with bitter grief.
I remember your gentleness, numerous counsels,
the offspring of persuasion, the complications of rhetoric,
whither are they gone? An evil storm-wind seized <them>

[25] On this interpretation, see *LBG*, s.v. θρῆνος.

ἄλγεά τε στοναχὰς καὶ σκοτόεντα γόον
τοῖς ἀρετήν τε καὶ ἧβην σὴν ποθέουσι λιποῦσα.
ὦ σοφίης ἐρατεινῆς, φύσιος κλεινῆς
καὶ μελιφώνου γλώσσης· ὦ θανάτοιο δυσηχοῦς
φείδεαι οὐδενός· οὐ κάλλεος, οὐ στιλπνοῦ,
οὐχ ὥρης ῥοδοπέπλου καὶ σθένεος κρατεροῖο.
ὦ νεφέλαι, δότε μοι δάκρυα, οὐ γὰρ ἔχω.
ποῦ λόγων εἴδεα πολλά, ἀμύμονος Ἑρμοῦ ἔργα
καὶ χρυσῶν ἐπέων ἅσματά μοι κλεινά;
τίς δὲ γεωμετρίης λόγος ἐν μερόπεσσι θανόντος,
οὗ κλέος ἔτρεχεν εἰς οὐρανὸν εὐρὺ<ν> μέγα;
οὔρεα καὶ πτηνῶν ἀγέλαι, νεπόδων νέφος ὑγρὸν
καὶ φρῆτραι χερσαίων, ἐμὲ πενθεῖτε·
ποῦ γάρ μοι ἐρικυδέα Μουσῶν δῶρα ἀγητὰ
καὶ Κυθερείης ἄγαλμα καλὸν δίας
ᾤχετο; τἀγαθὰ φροῦδα· ἐγὼ δὲ κακῶς φθινύθω αἰ.
τείρεα παμφανόωντα καὶ ἄνθεα ποικιλόεντα,
φαίνετέ μοι κατὰ γῆν ἠὲ κατ᾽ αἰθέρα νῦν
εἴδωλον βροτέης μορφῆς, ἀχέων θαλπωρήν,
ὃς γὰρ ἔην μέγας Ἑλλάνων ἐν σοφίῃ,
ἀχλυόεντα τὰ τῇδε λιπὼν ἐνὶ γῇ βαιᾷ κεῖται.
δένδρεα καὶ ποταμοὶ καὶ ἄλσεα, λείβετε θρῆνον.

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30 ἄλγεά τε στοναχὰς] Hom., *Il.* 2.39; Hom., *Od.* 14.39 **32** σοφίης ἐρατεινῆς] Chr. Myt., *Carm.* 10, 21 (p. 11 De Groote) **35** σθένεος κρατεροῖο] cf. Bacch., *Dith.* 4, 40; Opp., *Hal.* 4, 542 **40** cf. Hom., *Od.* 8.73; 19.107 **41** πτηνῶν ἀγέλαι] Soph., *Aj.* 168; cf. Eur., *Ion* 106 **43** ἐρικυδέα…δῶρα] Hom., *Il.* 3.65; *Il.* 20.265 **46** τείρεα παμφανόωντα] Greg. Naz. *Carm.* II, 1, 61, 17 (PG 37, 1395A); cf. Hom. *Il.* 18.485

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34 οὔ στιλπνοῦ cod. **39** γαιομετρίης cod. **40** εὐρὺ cod. μέγα p. corr. cod. recte: μέγαν a. corr. **42** φρῆτραι scripsi: φῆτραι cod. **46** παμφανόοντα cod.

and left behind griefs and groans and dark mourning
to those who desire your virtue and your youthful bloom.
Oh, delightful wisdom, renowned nature
and honey-voiced tongue; Oh, dissonant death,
you don't spare any; neither the beauty, nor the brightness,
nor the bloom of youth with the roseate veil and the powerful strength.
Oh clouds, grant me the tears, I do not yet have.
Where are the many forms of speech, the deeds of blameless Hermes
and the well-known songs of the golden verses?
Which word of geometry <is still > in mortals, since he died,
the one whose great glory was coursing through the broad heaven?
Mountains and flocking birds, the fluid cloud of fish
and the tribes of the land-animals, mourn for me.
Where <are> the glorious admirable gifts of the Muses
and the beautiful sculpture of the divine Cythereia?
Is it gone? The goods have vanished; Ah, I shall badly perish.
Radiant stars and multicoloured flowers,
show me now on earth or on heaven
the phantom of the mortal figure, the consolation of pains,
the one who was great among Hellenes in wisdom,
abandoning the gloomy <earthly life>, he lies in this small portion of land.
Trees and rivers and groves, shed streams of tears.

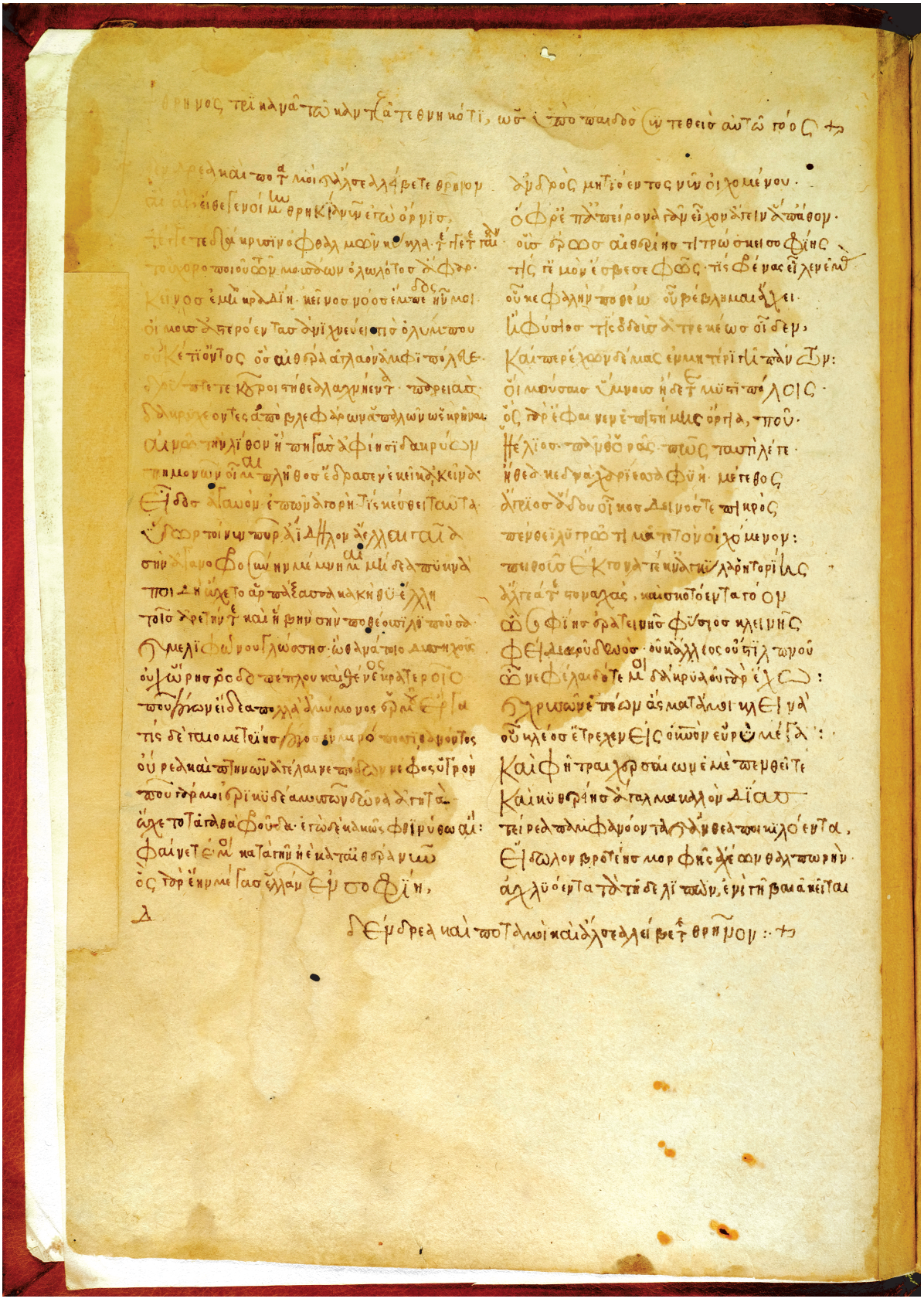


Figure 1: Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, gr. Z 197, f. Iv
(© Bibliotheca Marciana; su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana. Divieto di riproduzione)

COMMENTARY

Tit: The title consists of two verses in *dodecasyllables*. *Goos* is another term for lament and it often occurs in Homer. According to Alexiou, it is "a shrill cry", "a spontaneous weeping of the kinswomen", always performed by women[26].

1: The compassion of nature is a *topos* of laments from antiquity to modern times. A well-known passage comes from *Prometheus Bound* 88–99:

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ ὦ δῖος αἰθὴρ καὶ ταχύπτεροι πνοαί,
ποταμῶν τε πηγαὶ ποντίων τε κυμάτων
ἀνήριθμον γέλασμα παμμῆτόρ τε γῆ,
καὶ τὸν πανόπτην κύκλον ἡλίου καλῶ,
ἴδεσθέ μ', οἷα πρὸς θεῶν πάσχω θεός.

O you bright sky of heaven, you swift-winged breezes,
you river-waters, and infinite laughter of the waves of ocean,
O universal mother Earth, and you, all-seeing orb of the sun, to you I call!
See what I, a god, endure from the gods[27].

A noteworthy example from the Byzantine period is the *Lament for the death of Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos*, which is preserved in the famous illustrated manuscript of Skylitzes' *Chronicle*, cod. Matritensis Vitr. 26-2 (*Diktyon* 40403) and is attributed to Symeon Metaphrastes[28].

Βουνοὶ καὶ ὄρη, κλαύσατε σὺν ἡμῖν τὸν δεσπότην
...
Ἥλιε τὰς ἀκτῖνάς σου κρῦψον ἐκ τῆς ἡμέρας,
ἐν ᾗ τὸ φέγγος ἔκρυψε τῆς οἰκουμένης τάφος.
...
ναὶ ἄψυχα συνθρηνεῖτε.
Πάλαι μὲν ὕδωρ ἔβλυσαν πέτραι θεοῦ δυνάμει,
νῦν δὲ ῥεύσουσι δάκρυα, νικώμεναι τῷ πάθει[29].

Hills and mountains, cry with us for the emperor
...
Sun, thy glowing rays withhold beginning with the hour
in which the tomb withheld from us the universe's splendor.
...
Inanimate things, mourn with me!
In olden days, springs gushed from stones by God's transcendent power;
Now stones shall shed abundant tears succumbing to their sorrow.

Another later lament in epic style, which contains an invocation to nature, can be found in the manuscript El Escorial, Real Biblioteca, Σ.II.7, f. 255v (15th c.; *Diktyon* 15358). According to Miller, it is dedicated to Elvira, the sister of the duke of Lefkada, Leonardo III Tocco († 1503).

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[26] On *Goos*, see Alexiou, The Ritual Lament 102–103. Cf. E. Papadogiannaki, "Oxytonon goon": Goos and its Performance in Classical Athens, *Classica et Mediaevalia* 62 (2011) 15–32.

[27] Tr. H. Weir Smyth, Aeschylus: Persians, Seven Against Thebes, Suppliants, Prometheus Bound. Cambridge MA 1926, 225.

[28] On the edition and the English translation of the poem, see I. Ševčenko, Poems on the Deaths of Leo VI and Constantine VII in the Madrid Manuscript of Scylitzes. *DOP* 23 (1970) 210–214. The text is also available at DBBE: https://www.dbbe.ugent.be/types/30509 (accessed 15.07.2023).

[29] A similar invocation to the natural elements (sun, moon, stones, etc.) can be found in the Lament for the death of Leo the Wise from the same manuscript, see Ševčenko, Poems 201–203.

Τείρεα παμφανόων καὶ ἠελίου ἀκάμαντον
φῶς, Ἑκάτας θ' ἱερὸν φέγγος ἀπ' οὐρανόθεν,
οὔρεα βουνοί τε σκιόεντες καὶ νάπαι ἱρῶν
σμήνεα νυμφάων ἠδέ τε Νηϊάδων,
ἔθνεα Μουσάων Χαρίτων τε θεαίνων, κλῦτε,
ἔλθετε, θρῆνόν τ' οἰμωγὴν τοῦ θανάτου
στησάμεν' Αἰβιέρας ἕνεκεν πάϊδος βασιλῆος[30].

Stars, all shining and inexhaustible light of sun,
holy light of Hecate from heaven,
mountains, shadowy hills and valleys of holy places
swarms of nymphs and of the Naiads,
hear tribes of the Muses, the Graces and goddesses,
come to set up a lamentation and a wailing
for the death of Aiviera, the daughter of a king[31].

3–4 The child wishes to become a Thracian mourning bird so as to fly away from sufferings. One could wonder why the poet especially refers to a Thracian bird. A possible explanation could be that he is referring to the ancient myth of Tereus, Procne and Philomela, which was often used in Byzantine texts, especially in relation to mourning and death. Tereus, king of Thrace, was married to Procne, but he raped her sister Philomela and cut her tongue in order to hide his crime. When Procne became aware of his terrible actions, she killed their son (called Itys) and she served him as a meal to her husband. While Tereus pursued the two sisters for killing them, the gods turned them into birds: Tereus became a hoopoe, Philomela a swallow and Procne a nightingale, which mourns with its sorrowful song the death of Itys. Aristophanes refers to the same myth in his *Frogs* (680–685), when he compares Cleophon to the Thracian swallow and the mourning song of a nightingale. Perhaps these verses offer an indication that the narrative voice of the poem is a feminine one. According to Alexiou, the speaking voice in most of the Greek laments is feminine[32]. However, since the word παῖς can signify either a boy or a girl, we cannot exclude the possibility that the speaking voice of the lament could also be a boy, for instance, a student or a son of Trikanas.

8 τίς γ' ἐμὸν ἔσβεσε φῶς: The lamenting person expressing sadness for the loss of Trikanas by comparing him to the light of eyes. Similar phraseology occurs in the poem *Digenis Akrites,* the moment when Digenis laments the death of his mother.

Τίς μοι τὴν ῥίζαν ἔκοψεν τοῦδε τοῦ βίου ἄρτι;
Τίς φῶς ἐμὸν κατέσβεσεν, ἤδη οὐ θέλω βλέπειν;
Ἢ σπλάγχνων τίς ἐχώρισεν τῶν μητρικῶν ἀθρόως[33];

Who just cut the root of this <worldly> life?
Who quenched my light, can I already not see?
Or who suddenly separated (me) from the maternal inwards[34]?

11–14 With the use of the metaphor 'οἴμους ἀστερόεντας…Ὀλύμπου', Olympus is indirectly identified with the sky, which is in line with the Homeric tradition[35]. Trikanas was examining the

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[30] Published by E. MILLER, Catalogue des manuscrits grecs de la bibliothèque de l'Escurial. Paris 1848, 84.
[31] Translation is mine.
[32] See ALEXIOU, The Ritual Lament 108. Cf. HUNTER, Greek Epitaphic Poetry 7–8.
[33] Digenis Akrites, version Z, Book 9, lines 4112–4114, ed. E. TRAPP, Digenes Akrites. Synoptische Ausgabe der ältesten Versionen (*WBS* 8). Wien 1971, 345.
[34] Translation is mine.

starry paths of the Olympus sky, although he was a mortal on earth. This might be an allusion to Trikanas' engagement with astronomy. The poet makes another link between the sky and the earth in v. 47.

19 A parallel image of the stones shedding tears can be found in the aforementioned lament for the death of Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos, vv. 34–35:

Πάλαι μὲν ὕδωρ ἔβλυσαν πέτραι θεοῦ δυνάμει,
νῦν δὲ ῥεύσουσι δάκρυα, νικώμεναι τῷ πάθει[36].

In olden days, springs gushed from stones by God□s transcendent power;
Now stones shall shed abundant tears succumbing to their sorrow.

The personification of the stones as mourning women recalls the ancient myth of Niobe and her representation as a weeping stone. The motif of the weeping stone is also attested in other Byzantine texts and still survives in the Modern Greek saying δάκρυσαν και οι πέτρες "even the stones cried", which is especially used for expressing deep sorrow for the sudden loss of a young person[37].

20 The line recalls the Homeric verse Ἠέλιος, ὃς πάντ' ἐφορᾷς καὶ πάντ' ἐπακούεις "sun, you who see and hear everything" (*Il.* 3.277). The same verse occurs in the commentary of Olympiodorus on Plato's Phaedo, a treatise that is included in the manuscript Marc. gr. Z 197[38].

33-35 Death spares nothing, neither the deceased's beauty, nor his wealth, youth nor strength. The motif of the inevitability of death is also expressed in the *Odyssey* in the words of Achilles addressed to Agamemnon, when he meets in Hades his sorrowful spirit: μοῖρ□ὀλοή, τὴν οὔ τις ἀλεύεται ὅς κε γένηται "deadly fate, that none avoids of those born" (*Od.* 24.29).

35 ὥρης ῥοδοπέπλου: The adjective ῥοδόπεπλος appears in TLG only once, in Quintus' *Posthomerica* in a similar expression Γηθείτω ῥοδόπεπλος ἀν' οὐρανὸν Ἠριγένεια "Now Dawn with her robes of rose can rejoice up in heaven" (*Posthom.* 3.608)[39]. The image of the rosy dawn recalls the well-known Homeric verse ῥοδοδάκτυλος ἠὼς "the rosy-fingered day" (*Od.* 2.1). The word ὥρα possibly refers to Trikanas' youth, implying that he died while he was still young[40].

36 A personification of the clouds is implied, as they could grant rainy tears to the mourning woman. In antiquity the *nephelai* were considered Oceanid nymphs of clouds, minor goddesses, who nourished the earth with rain[41]. The Oceanids in *Prometheus Bound* 399–402 lament Prometheus' fate and shed flowing tears:

στένω σε τᾶς οὐλομένας τύχας, Προμηθεῦ,
δακρυσίστακτα δ' ἀπ' ὄσσων
ῥαδινὰν λειβομένα ῥέος παρειὰν
νοτίοις ἔτεγξα παγαῖς.

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[35] See *Il.* 5.750 and 8.394: "Μέγα οὐρανὸς οὔλυμπός τε". The epithet ἀστερόεις is common in Homer and is connected to οὐρανὸς in *Il.* 4.44.

[36] Edition and translation by ŠEVČENKO, Poems 211.

[37] The same motif can, for instance, be found in the mourning words of Michael Psellos for the death of the patriarch Michael Keroullarios: Εἶδον ἐγὼ τηνικαῦτα τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ ἰδὼν ἐδάκρυσα μέν, πῶς γὰρ οὔ; Τὸ γὰρ θέαμα καὶ λίθους εἰς πηγὰς δακρύων ἐρρήγνυεν "Then I saw the man and by seeing <him> I cried, how couldn't I? The spectacle bursts into streams of tears." For the edition of the Greek text, see I. POLEMIS, Michael Psellus Orationes funebres, vol. 1 (Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana). Berlin – Boston 2014, 63.

[38] See Olympiodorus, *Commentary on Plato's Phaedo* 4.9, ed. L.G. WESTERINK, The Greek Commentaries on Plato's Phaedo. Volume I Olympiodorus. Oxford – New York 1976, 85.

[39] Translation by N. HOPKINSON, Quintus Smyrnaeus, Posthomerica (*Loeb Classical Library* 19). Cambridge 2018, 177.

[40] Cf. the word ἥβην in v. 31.

[41] See W.H. ROSCHER, Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie, III. Leipzig 1897–1909, 177–179.

I mourn your unfortunate fate,
Prometheus. Shedding from my eyes a coursing flood of tears
I wet my tender cheeks with their moist streams[42].

37–40 In this passage, the interests of Trikanas are specified. The reference to λόγοι, as well as to the god Hermes, who was associated in Byzantium with rhetoric, support the idea that Trikanas was skilled in rhetoric. One may also compare the references to Trikanas' persuasive rhetorical speech (v. 26) and to his sweet-voiced tongue (v. 33), which allude to the honey metaphor as a means of praising eloquence. The phrase χρυσᾶ ἔπη also refers to Trikanas' eloquence, but it might also recall the *Golden Verses*, a poem of moral and philosophical exhortations in hexameters, which is ascribed to Pythagoras. The poem was popular among the Neoplatonists (e.g. Iamblichus), who used it for their moral teachings, and as its manuscript tradition attests, its popularity was retained in the intellectual circles of the late Byzantium[43]. Pythagoreanism is known for its contribution to philosophy and to geometry, which is clearly mentioned in v. 39 as another field of Trikanas' expertise.

42-45 In Homer the ἐρικυδέα δῶρα "glorious gifts" are of the Gods (*Il*. 3.65; *Il.* 20.265). However in the poem, these are the gifts of the Muses and refer to the learning and culture of Trikanas.

45 After v. 45 there is possibly a lacuna in the poem, because v. 46 is also a hexameter and the elegiac distich is not complete.

46–48 The first two verses form a chiasmus: the shiny stars can reveal the phantom (εἴδωλον) of Trikanas in the sky or the colourful flowers can make it appear on earth. Indirectly, the child wishes to die, because in this case she/he could see the *eidolon*, namely the spirit image of Trikanas in heaven, whereas the appearance of the *eidolon* on earth would signify that the child will remain alive. Odysseus, however, met the *eidolon* of Hercules in Hades while he was alive (*Od*. 11.602). The *eidolon* is the only consolation for the child's pain, in contrast to prayers to God, as the Christian teachings advise.

49-50 These verses bear a resemblance to the tomb epigram which Nikephoros Gregoras—a polymath known for his specialized knowledge in *quadrivium* (arithmetic, geometry, music and astronomy)—dedicated to his teacher, the renowned Byzantine scholar Theodore Metochites[44]. Since Metochites died in 1332 in Constantinople, we assume that this is the date of the epigram below, which was meant to be inscribed on the tomb of Metochites.

Τοῦ Γρηγορᾶ ἐπίγραμμα
ἐπὶ τῷ τάφῳ τοῦ μεγάλου λογοθέτου τοῦ Μετοχίτη

Ὅς πάρος ἐν σοφίῃ μέγα κῦδος ἔην γε θνητῶν,
βαϊὸς ὠδὶ λάας τοῦγε κέκευθε νέκυν.
Δῆμος σεπτῶν Μουσάων ὀλολύξατε πᾶσαι·
ὤλετο κεῖνος ἀνήρ· ὤλετο σοφίη πᾶσα[45].

Epigram of Gregoras
(inscribed) on the tomb of Metochites, the great logothetes

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[42] Translation by WEIR SMYTH, Aeschylus 253.

[43] For the relation of the Neoplatonists to the poem, see J.C. THOM, The Pythagorean Golden Verses: With Introduction and Commentary. Leiden 1995, 13. For its manuscript tradition and its significant transmission during the Palaeologan period, see the *Pinakes* database: https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/

[44] On Gregoras, see *ODB* II 874–875, and on Metochites, see *ODB* II 1357–1358.

[45] On the edition of the poem, see S.G. MERCATI, Sulle poesie die Niceforo Gregora, in: Collectanea Byzantina I, ed. IDEM. Roma 1971, 150–151.

The one who soon became a great glory among mortals with his wisdom,
a small stone covered here his corpse.
Choir of all the revered Muses, cry out loud;
this man perished; all of wisdom perished[46].

In both poems there is an antithesis between the small tomb and the greatness of the deceased man, as well as an emphasis on his wisdom and erudition. The adjective βαιὸς is a common epithet for tombs and it is usually part of an antithetical sentence. An indicative example is the beginning of an anonymous epigram from the *Palatine Anthology* dedicated to Homer's tomb: Εἰ καὶ βαιὸς ὁ τύμβος, ὁδοιπόρε, μή με παρέλθῃς,/ ἀλλὰ κατασπείσας, ἶσα θεοῖσι σέβου ("Wayfarer, though the tomb be small, pass not by, but pour on me a libation, and venerate me as thou dost the gods")[47]. The characterization of Trikanas as "great among Hellenes in wisdom" (μέγας Ἑλλάνων ἐν σοφίῃ) indicates that he was an intellectual trained in classics[48].

EPILOGUE

The poem dedicated to Trikanas Kantzas is rich in metaphors and lyrical expressions of grief. The whole universe is invited to participate in the lamentation, even the phantom of the deceased is called in order to console the child. Although the poem was composed in the Byzantine period, it is of a secular style and full of Homeric vocabulary. It presents Trikanas as the leader of the Muses, a well-educated man who explored nature and the heavens. Trikanas seems to have been acquainted with rhetoric, geometry, philosophy and the natural sciences, and perhaps this is the reason why the poem includes so many invocations to natural elements. The so-called Palaeologan revival in the decades around 1300 was characterized by a renewed interest in classical models, rhetoric, astronomy, philosophy and natural sciences. These fields were particularly cultivated in Constantinople in the intellectual circle of Theodore Metochites (1270–1332) and in Mystras under the direction of Plethon Gemistos (c. 1360–1452). The manuscript's provenance and the education of Trikanas facilitate the hypothesis that he belonged to an intellectual circle, but unfortunately, lack of further evidence prevents us from identifying his historical identity. Trikanas could have been a teacher, most likely from the 14th century, and the youths, who lamented him, could have been his students. It is peculiar that no information is preserved in any other text for this wise and learned man, who still remains an obscure figure. The poem is significant, for it provides evidence not only of the existence of Trikanas, but also of an intellectual circle which was active in the Palaeologan period and had a particular interest in subjects related to ancient philosophy, the natural sciences and ancient poetry.

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[46] Translation is mine.

[47] See *AG* VII.2b, vv. 1–2. On the text and translation, see W. R. PATON, The Greek Anthology, Volume II: Book 7: Sepulchral Epigrams. Book 8: The Epigrams of St. Gregory the Theologian (*Loeb Classical Library* 68). Cambridge MA 1917, 4–5.

[48] Byzantine intellectuals started calling themselves Hellenes in the twelfth century due to the revival of the interest in ancient texts during that time and also to distinguish themselves from the Westerners, see R. MACRIDES – P. MAGDALINO, The Fourth Kingdom and the Rhetoric of Hellenism, in: The Perception of the Past in Twelfth-Century Europe, ed. P. Magdalino. London – Ohio 1992, 139–156. A similar characterization is attributed to Plethon Gemistos by Bessarion in an elegiac tomb epigram he composed in honour of him. On the epigram, see DBBE: https://www.dbbe.ugent.be/types/5175 (accessed: 15.07.2023). Cf. also the tomb epigram dedicated to Bessarion by Andronikos Kallistos: https://www.dbbe.ugent.be/types/5168 (accessed: 15.07.2023).

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Figures

Figure 1: Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, gr. Z 197, f. Iv (© Biblioteca Marciana; su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana. Divieto di riproduzione).

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The Byzantine Summaries of the Lost Books of Ammianus Marcellinus*

ABSTRACT: This paper conjecturally identifies Greek summaries of the lost Books I–XIII of Ammianus Marcellinus' *Res Gestae* in the works of over a dozen Byzantine historians, primarily John Malalas, John of Antioch, John Zonaras, and Theodore Scutariotes. These summaries were evidently transmitted by means of a lost world history compiled in Greek by Eustathius of Epiphania, which summarized Ammianus' Books I–XXV along with other sources. Although the original text of Eustathius' history is lost, it was paraphrased in a distorted form by John Malalas, most of whose history survives, and was copied almost verbatim by John of Antioch, much of whose history survives in the *Historical Excerpts* of Constantine VII and in paraphrases by Zonaras, Scutariotes, and other Byzantine historians. In all, the Greek summaries that can be identified seem to be about a tenth as long as the full text of Ammianus' lost books.

KEYWORDS: Ammianus Marcellinus; John Zonaras; Eustathius of Epiphania; John of Antioch; John Malalas

I. INTRODUCTION

In 1897 Edwin Patzig demonstrated that many passages in the twelfth-century history of John Zonaras summarize Books XIV–XXV of the *Res Gestae* of Ammianus Marcellinus. Patzig conjectured that Zonaras had copied these summaries from the partly preserved history of John of Antioch[1]. For many years Patzig's discovery was mostly ignored, perhaps because the Greek summaries seemed to add little to our knowledge of Ammianus' Latin text. In 1981, however, Michael DiMaio demonstrated that Zonaras could help fill an important lacuna in Ammianus' Book XXIV[2]. Then Bruno Bleckmann, Alan Cameron, and Thomas Banchich and Eugene Lane called attention to the historical importance of the treatment of the late third and early fourth centuries in Zonaras, John of

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[1] E. PATZIG, Über einige Quellen des Zonaras. *BZ* 5 (1896) 24–53 and especially PATZIG, Über einige Quellen des Zonaras II. *BZ* 6 (1897) 322–356. On Ammianus in general, see T. BARNES, Ammianus Marcellinus and the Representation of Historical Reality. Ithaca 1988, W. TREADGOLD, The Early Byzantine Historians. New York 2007, 47–78, and G. KELLY, Ammianus Marcellinus: The Allusive Historian. Cambridge 2008. On Zonaras, see T. BANCHICH – E. LANE, The History of Zonaras from Alexander Severus to the Death of Theodosius the Great. London 2009, TREADGOLD, The Middle Byzantine Historians. New York 2013, 388–399, and T. KAMPIANAKI, John Zonaras' *Epitome of Histories*: A Compendium of Jewish-Roman History and Its Reception. Oxford 2022.

[2] M. DIMAIO, The Antiochene Connection: Zonaras, Ammianus Marcellinus, and John of Antioch on the Reigns of Constantius II and Julian. *Byz* 50 (1980) 158–185, and DIMAIO, *Infaustis Ductoribus Praeviis*: The Antiochene Connection, Part II. *Byz* 51 (1981) 502–510. J. MATTHEWS, The Roman Empire of Ammianus. Baltimore 1989, 503 n. 65 commented, "I would be reluctant to accept DiMaio's view, based on a theory of 1895, that Ammianus' version, mediated by another Greek source (John of Antioch), was known to Zonaras"; but Matthews' dating this "theory" to "1895" seems to show that Matthews had not read PATZIG, Über einige Quellen, which appeared in 1897.

Antioch, and several other Byzantine authors[3]. Bleckmann conjectured in 1992 that this material derived from a lost history in Latin by Nicomachus Flavianus that Ammianus used[4]. In 2011, however, Bleckmann's theory was refuted by Cameron, who showed that Flavianus wrote later than Ammianus; but, realizing that few Byzantines knew Latin by the apparent date of John of Antioch in the early seventh century, Cameron also rejected Patzig's contention that John used Ammianus directly[5]. While acknowledging, "Long before Bleckmann, it had always been obvious that a major lost narrative source lay behind Zonaras," Cameron considered this lost source unidentifiable[6]. Recently I argued that this "major lost narrative source" was the lost Books I–XIII of Ammianus' history[7]. I develop this argument further here.

Strictly speaking, the case that Zonaras, John of Antioch, and other Byzantine authors summarize the lost books of Ammianus can be made without explaining how they gained access to Ammianus' work. The extensive parallels cited by Patzig are enough to show that John of Antioch and the historians dependent on him had at least indirect access to Ammianus' Books XIV–XXV. Nonetheless, in the absence of a clear explanation for this fact, most specialists in Ammianus have failed to make use of the summaries of these books in Zonaras and related texts. For instance, Gavin Kelly, who is preparing a much-needed new edition of Ammianus, has recently discussed Ammianus' text at length while barely referring to the Byzantine tradition. He begins by discussing a corrupt passage in which the text, as supplemented by previous editors, says that when the emperor Julian was fatally wounded by a spear it was "uncertain ‹from where› (*incertum ‹unde›*)" it came. After discussing possible alternative emendations, Kelly observes in passing, "Finally, we may add that the Byzantine historian Zonaras, whose text occasionally offers material parallel to Ammianus, has a striking similarity in this case: ἄδηλον … ὅθεν ['uncertain from where']." For "parallels between Ammianus and Zonaras and the Byzantine tradition," Kelly cites only an article by Bleckmann from 2007, not the much more detailed treatments of Patzig, Bleckmann in 1992, and Cameron in 2011, and seems surprised that Zonaras and other Byzantine authors confirm the reading *incertum unde*[8]. Later Kelly mentions the "significant lacuna in book XXIV, during the account of Julian's Persian campaign" without referring to DiMaio's discovery that this lacuna can largely be filled from Zonaras[9].

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[3] See B. Bleckmann, Die Reichskrise des III. Jahrhunderts in der spätantiken und byzantinischen Geschichtsschreibung: Untersuchungen zu den nachdionischen Quellen der Chronik des Johannes Zonaras. Munich 1992, Banchich and Lane, History, and Alan Cameron, The Last Pagans of Rome. Oxford 2011, especially 627.

[4] Bleckmann, Reichskrise 327–404.

[5] Alan Cameron, The Last Pagans of Rome. Oxford 2011, 627–690.

[6] Cameron, Last Pagans 636 (quoted) and 689 (proposing "to abandon the quest for a single lost fourth-century source for Zonaras").

[7] Treadgold, Byzantine Historiography and the Supposedly Lost Books of Ammianus Marcellinus, in: Armenia between Byzantium and the Orient: Celebrating the Memory of Karen Yuzbashyan, ed. B. Outtier – *et al*. Leiden 2020, 530–579. I have not learned of any response in print to this earlier paper as of August 2023, when the present paper went to press.

[8] G. Kelly, Why We Need a New Edition of Ammianus Marcellinus, in: Ammianus Marcellinus from Soldier to Author, ed. M. Hanaghan – D. Woods, Leiden 2022, 19–22 and n. 9, citing Ammianus XXV 3.6 (ed. C.U. Clark – L. Traube – W. Heraeus, Ammiani Marcellini Rerum Gestarum Libri qui Supersunt, 2 vols. Berlin 1910–1915) and Zonaras XIII 13.20 (ed. M. Pinder – T. Büttner-Wobst, Ioannis Zonarae Epitomae Historiarum [*CSHB* 47–49], 3 vols. Bonn 1841–1897). Parallels in John Malalas and George Cedrenus corroborate Ammianus' professed uncertainty about Julian's wound, which was evidently not shared by other ancient authors. See Malalas XIII 23 (ἐτρώθη ἀδήλως – "was wounded by uncertain means") (ed. J. Thurn, Ioannis Malalae Chronographia [*CFHB* 35]. Berlin 2000) and Cedrenus 323.3 (ἐπλήγη δόρατι ἀφανῶς – "was struck by a spear of uncertain origin") (ed. L. Tartaglia, Georgii Cedreni Historiarum Compendium, 2 vols. Rome 2016). For other ancient accounts of Julian's death, see M. Dodgeon – S. Lieu, eds., The Roman Eastern Frontier and the Persian Wars, AD 226–363: A Documentary History. London 1991, 238–274, supplemented by Banchich and Lane, History 234–236.

[9] Kelly, Why We Need a New Edition 30 and n. 38. For DiMaio's articles, see n. 2 above, and on the lacuna see below, Section X and nn. 209 and 210.

Not even such an accomplished Latinist as Kelly can produce a satisfactory edition of Ammianus' history without making use of the Byzantine tradition. Nor should any editor of Ammianus ignore many passages in John of Antioch, John Malalas, Zonaras, and other Byzantine authors that cover the years from 96 to 353[10]. These passages show clear signs of being translated from a Latin history that shared Ammianus' expansiveness, sophistication, and chronological range, none of which seems to have been characteristic of any other lost Latin historian of the period. Once we realize that John of Antioch had access both to Ammianus' Books XIV–XXV and to a very similar Latin historian who recorded the period of Ammianus' lost Books I–XIII, the conclusion that the similar Latin historian should be identified with Ammianus becomes almost inescapable. Although Cameron stressed "the improbability of a Byzantine writer drawing on a Latin text," some writers in Late Antiquity certainly knew both Greek and Latin well, including Ammianus himself, Claudian, Procopius, and various other lawyers, officials, and writers[11]. Of course, anyone who knew enough Latin to use Ammianus' Books XIV–XXV must have known enough Latin to use Ammianus' Books I–XIII.

The absence of parallels to Ammianus' Books XXVI–XXXI in Zonaras and the other authors dependent on John of Antioch is significant. Ammianus' Books XIV–XXV end with the death of the emperor Jovian in 364 and must have been finished between 389 and 391[12]. Ammianus begins Book XXVI by remarking, "After the course of events up to the limits of fairly recent memory had been narrated [by us] with abundant care, from that time on it seemed best [to us] to hold back from [narrating] better known events, both so that the dangers often associated with [telling] the truth might be avoided, and so that we might not suffer later from intemperate critics of the work to be composed," who would carp that Ammianus had omitted various minor details. Ammianus says that on reflection he had decided to disregard the carping critics, but not that he had decided to ignore the dangers occasioned by veracity[13].

Consequently the decisive change must have been that telling the truth about events from 363 to 378 had become less dangerous by the time Ammianus recorded them in Books XXVI–XXXI. Presumably the reason was that different emperors had come to power. The years from 363 to 378 were the time of the Valentinian dynasty, which ended in the East with the death of Valens in 378 and in the West with the death of Valentinian II in 392. During this period Ammianus would especially have wanted to avoid discussing the treason trials in 372 of the pagans who had plotted against Valens after obtaining a prophecy that the next emperor's name would begin with THEOD. (The selection of Theodosius I in 389 fufilled this prophecy, which had almost certainly led the Western emperor Gratian to choose him.) Ammianus describes in his Book XXIX the terror he felt during those trials, which may well have been the main reason he left the East and settled in Rome for good[14].

Already in 1947, E.A. Thompson concluded that "Book XXV is obviously the end of an installment," so that Books XXVI–XXXI must have appeared after 392, when the orator Libanius wrote Ammianus a letter congratulating him on the success of his history and urging him to contin-

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[10] See TREADGOLD, Early Byzantine Historians, especially 235–256 (on Malalas) and 311–329 (on John of Antioch).

[11] CAMERON, Last Pagans 637. See A. GARCEA – M. ROSELLINI – L. SILVANO, eds., Latin in Byzantium I: Late Antiquity and Beyond. Turnhout 2019, and TREADGOLD, Bilingualism in Late Antiquity. *Classical Review* 71 (2021) 210–212.

[12] Ammianus XXI 10.6 mentions the city prefecture of Aurelius Victor in 389, while Ammianus XXII 16.12 refers to the Serapeum in Alexandria as still standing, though it was destroyed in 391.

[13] Ammianus XXVI 1.1–2.

[14] Ammianus XXIX 1.40–2.20. On the problems Ammianus faced in writing on the years from 363 to 378, including the prophecy, the treason trials, the execution of Theodosius the Elder in 376, and the selection of Theodosius I, see TREADGOLD, Predicting the Accession of Theodosius I. *Mediterraneo Antico* 8 (2005) 767–791 and TREADGOLD, Early Byzantine Historians 56–60 and 73–75.

ue it[15]. While some scholars have doubted this conclusion, the absence of Byzantine parallels to Ammianus' Books XXVI–XXXI is strong evidence that the Byzantine historians depended on an earlier version of Ammianus' history that ended with Book XXV. Moreover, the fact that the parallels stop with Book XXV indicates that the Byzantine summaries derive from a very early manuscript that was independent of our own corrupt manuscripts, which probably represent the second volume of a two-volume set of the whole thirty-one books. The binder seems to have chosen to begin the second volume with Book XIV, which unlike Book XV lacks a preface, not to mark any major historical division at 353 (the death of the rebel Magnentius), but simply to distribute Ammianus' thirty-one books between two volumes of fairly equal size. The twenty-five-book version, if divided at all, would presumably have been divided differently. Thus the early manuscript in twenty-five books used by the Byzantines should have included the lost Books I–XIII[16]. After completing his first edition around 390, Ammianus probably sent a copy of it to a friend or a library at Antioch, where it was preserved until Eustathius found it and summarized it.

II. THE JOHANNESFRAGE

The question of how John of Antioch gained access to Ammianus' history has been complicated by a protracted and bitter dispute known as the *Johannesfrage*: Did John Malalas copy John of Antioch (as Patzig believed) or did John of Antioch copy Malalas (the opinion of Patzig's critic Erich Gleye)? This controversy has raged inconclusively since 1892, culminating in the publication of two rival editions of John of Antioch's history in 2005 and 2008[17]. The histories of Malalas and John of Antioch must be closely related, for several reasons. Both authors include extremely similar treatments of Biblical, Greek, and Roman history beginning with the Creation of the world. Both identified themselves in their titles as natives of Antioch and showed a strong interest in the city's history. Up to the reign of Anastasius (491–518) the two Johns repeatedly described the same events in the same or similar words and cited many of the same sources, which are often very obscure ones.

Our texts of both their histories are incomplete. Most of Malalas' *General History* survives only in a single damaged manuscript that must be an abridgement, as becomes evident when we compare it with the more extensive texts in the extracts from Malalas in Constantine VII's *Historical Excerpts*. Most of John of Antioch's *Chronological History* survives only in Constantine's *Historical Excerpts*, but we also have eight folios of what appears to be John's full text (on the years from 107 to 55 BC) along with many more fragments preserved in other Byzantine historians[18]. For the

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[15] E.A. THOMPSON, The Historical Work of Ammianus Marcellinus. Cambridge 1947, 18; cf. A. MOMIGLIANO, Essays in Ancient and Modern Historiography. Oxford 1977, 131 ("Ammianus seems to imply that there had been an interval before he started to write in Book 26 his account of the reigns of Valentinianus and Valens"). See TREADGOLD, Early Byzantine Historians 52 n. 13 on Libanius' letter (arguing for the usual identification of Libanius' "Marcellinus" as Ammianus) and 56–59 and 73–75 (arguing that Ammianus finished Books XXVI–XXXI between 394 and 397).

[16] On the manuscripts of Ammianus, see KELLY, Why We Need a New Edition, especially 29–35, and TREADGOLD, Byzantine Historiography 531 and 537–538.

[17] Ioannis Antiocheni Fragmenta ex Historia Chronica, ed. U. ROBERTO (*TU* 154). Berlin 2005 (assuming the priority of Malalas) and Ioannis Antiocheni Fragmenta quae supersunt Omnia, ed. S. MARIEV (*CFHB* 47). Berlin 2008 (assuming the priority of John of Antioch). See the review of both editions by TREADGOLD. *Speculum* 85 (2010) 689–691, ROBERTO, Research Prospects on John of Antioch: Notes on the Edition by S. Mariev. *JÖB* 60 (2010) 115–128, and VAN NUFFELEN, John of Antioch, Inflated and Deflated. Or: How (Not) to Collect Fragments of Early Byzantine Historians, *Byz* 82 (2012) 437–450. In the present paper I cite only Roberto's edition, which includes many fragments omitted by Mariev that I consider genuine for reasons that I explain in Section III and n. 40 below. See also BANCHICH – LANE, History 8–11 and B. CROKE, Modern Study of Malalas, in: Studies in John Malalas, ed. E. Jeffreys – B. Croke – R. Scott. Sydney 1990, 325–338.

[18] On the *Historical Excerpts*, see TREADGOLD, Middle Byzantine Historians 153–165 and especially A. NÉMETH, The "Excerpta Constantiniana" and the Byzantine Appropriation of the Past. Cambridge 2018. See also ROBERTO, Ioannis Antioch-

period from the Creation to AD 518, what remains of John of Antioch's history is only about three-quarters as long as what remains of Malalas's. When the texts of both Johns survive for comparison, however, the parallels suggest that their original histories were roughly comparable in length up to 518.

Nevertheless, the histories of the two Johns also differ substantially from each other. Each often includes material that the other does not, and their textual parallels cease with 518. Malalas writes throughout in a "popular" Greek that looks like a blundering attempt to write standard Koine. John of Antioch writes in formal Attic Greek for events up to 518, then puts the rest of his history into a Koine that is less formal than his previous Attic but more formal than Malalas's "popular" Greek. Our version of Malalas' history evidently ended with Justinian's death in 565; but the church historian Evagrius indicates that his version of Malalas ended with 527, the translator of Malalas into Slavonic used a version that ended with 528, and the author of the so-called "*Paschal Chronicle*" apparently used a version of Malalas that ended with 533. We have only two short fragments of John of Antioch concerning events from 518 to 602, then six longer fragments ending with 610, when John evidently concluded his history.

Although many modern scholars have made Malalas appear to be a more or less conventional historian by describing and quoting his text selectively, his history teems with unique and often absurd errors and fictions that he seems to have added himself. For example, he reports that Alexander the Great freed "the Romans" from subjection to the Persians and that Julius Caesar ruled Rome as its monarch for eighteen years[19]. Malalas claims that the emperor Tiberius gave the river at Antioch its name of Orontes, "which means 'Eastern' in the Roman language" (presumably Malalas' mistake for *orientalis*) and that the emperor Carus conquered the province of Caria and founded the city of Carrhae, naming both of them after himself[20]. Malalas calls the epic poet Apollonius Rhodius "the most learned historian Apollonius," refers to Cicero and Sallust as "the most learned Roman poets," and says that the emperor Claudius "founded the city of Brettania by the Ocean," apparently a misunderstanding of Claudius' conquest of Britain[21].

Probably inspired by human sacrifices like that of Iphigenia in the Greek myths, Malalas claims that sacrifices of virgin maidens were made to dedicate cities and buildings in historical times by Alexander the Great, Seleucus I Nicator (twice), Augustus, Tiberius, a senator named Zarbus under Nerva, and Trajan[22]. Malalas also invents physical descriptions of emperors and other historical figures. In one revealing example, Malalas describes Nero as "having completely gray hair," evidently relying on Malalas' own mistake that Nero was assassinated at age 69, though Nero actually committed suicide at age 30[23]. Malalas systematically depicts emperors who reigned as colleagues, including the tetrarchs, as reigning separately one after another. Though in his second edition Malalas acknowledges that some emperors reigned together (perhaps because someone had pointed this out to him in the meantime), he left his earlier text unaltered, seemingly out of mere laziness[24].

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eni Fragmenta xxxi–liii on the *Historical Excerpts* and cxi–cxvi on the eight folios of the Athos codex. It is possible that the eight Athonite folios actually come from a manuscript of Eustathius of Epiphania; but under my hypothesis the text would still be practically identical with that of John of Antioch, as will appear.

19 Malalas VIII 1 and IX 3.

20 Malalas X 10 and XII 34.

21 Malalas IV 9, VIII 32, and X 22.

22 Malalas VIII 1 (Alexander at Alexandria), VIII 14 (Seleucus at Antioch), VIII 17 (Seleucus at Laodicea), IX 13 (Augustus at Ancyra), X 10 (Tiberius at Antioch), X 53 (Nerva's senator at Anazarbus), and XI 9 (Trajan at Antioch); cf. Malalas II 11 (a sacrifice by Perseus) and V 35 (a sacrifice by Iphigenia). B. GARSTAD, The Tyche Sacrifices in John Malalas: Virgin Sacrifice and Fourth-Century Polemical History. *Illinois Classical Studies* 30 (2005) 83–135 attributes these references to the historian B(r)uttius mentioned by Malalas (cf. n. 31 below), but Malalas never assigns them specifically to B(r)uttius; see below, Section V and n. 92 for evidence that Malalas invented them himself.

23 Malalas X 29–30; cf. TREADGOLD, Early Byzantine Historians 249 and 253 and n. 91.

24 See TREADGOLD, Early Byzantine Historians 249–250.

Moreover, Malalas repeatedly cites sources that he seems simply to have invented. In one particularly inept citation, he claims that the otherwise unknown chroniclers Clement, Theophilus, and Timotheus agreed with him that the second consulship of Justinian in 528/29 occurred 6497 years after the Creation and 840 years after Seleucus Nicator, though Eusebius of Caesarea said the number was 6432 years. Malalas thus implies that all three of these otherwise unattested chroniclers and even the fourth-century Eusebius were still writing in 528/29, which appears to be the date when Malalas wrote this passage[25]. Malalas seems almost to be mocking his readers' credulity when he cites the otherwise unknown historians Nestorianus and Eutychianus, whose names mean "the Nestorian" and "the Eutychian" (extreme Monophysite)[26].

These are only a few examples of Malalas' many absurdities. While some of his errors can be blamed on extreme negligence, like his describing the tetrarchs as ruling one after another, Malalas' inventions of sources, physical descriptions, and human sacrifices were clearly intentional, and shamelessly flouted the standards upheld by almost all ancient and Byzantine historians[27]. Expressing the well-justified scholarly consensus that prevailed until recently, Karl Krumbacher referred to Malalas' "lachlichen Irrtümer" and "Kindlichkeiten," J.B. Bury spoke of Malalas' "many blunders," Robert Browning described Malalas' work as "full of absurd errors," Herbert Hunger mentioned Malalas' "Menge von sachlichen Fehlern," and Otto Maenchen-Helfen called Malalas "the most stupid of the Byzantine chroniclers."[28]

Yet the sixty-one papers in the four conference volumes of *Malalas Studien* published between 2016 and 2022 include only brief and dismissive allusions to the abundant evidence of Malalas' silliness, dishonesty, and negligence[29]. Usually even those scanty references to Malalas' glaring defects appear amid attempts at "taking Malalas seriously" or depicting Malalas as "sensible" and "prudent."[30] Defenders of Malalas who point out that he preserves much correct information—including references to two sources that modern scholars have questioned but appear to be genuine—only confirm the general conclusion that Malalas had access to excellent material but deliber-

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[25] Malalas XVIII 8 (at 8.72, for Thurn's †μ΄read <ω>μ΄ = 840 of the Seleucid Era = AD 528/29). P. VAN NUFFELEN, Malalas and the Chronographic Tradition, in: L. Carrara – M. Meier – C. Radki-Jansen, eds. (*Malalas Studien* 2), Stuttgart 2017, 261 and 264–65, while admitting that Malalas' "[m]anifest errors and the fantastic nature of many a story recorded hardly inspire confidence in the eyes of modern scholarship," notes that Malalas' "text seems to say that Clement, Theophilus and Timothy agree on the year 6497 for the second consulship of Justinian (AD 528/29). This does not necessarily mean that they wrote until that date but that their chronicles generate such a date." Yet that they wrote until then is what Malalas plainly says, and is no more ridiculous than many of his other statements.

[26] TREADGOLD, Early Byzantine Historians 251 and n. 88.

[27] See TREADGOLD, The Unwritten Rules for Writing Byzantine History, in: Proceedings of the 23rd International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Belgrade, 22–27 August 2016, Plenary Papers, ed. S. Marjanović-Dušanić. Belgrade 2016, 277–292, with 288–289 on Malalas.

[28] K. KRUMBACHER, Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur von Justinian bis zum Ende des oströmischen Reiches (*Handbuch der klassischen Altertums-Wissenschaft* IX) 2nd ed. Munich 1897. I 327, 328; J.B. BURY, A History of the Later Roman Empire from the Death of Theodosius I to the Death of Justinian (AD 395 to AD 565), 2nd ed. London 1923. II 435; R. BROWNING, Malalas, John, in: The Penguin Companion to Classical, Oriental, and African Literature, ed. D.M. Lang – D.R. Dudley. Harmondsworth 1969, 199; H. HUNGER, Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner (*Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft* XII 5). Munich, 1978. I 322; J.O. MAENCHEN-HELFEN, The World of the Huns. Berkeley 1973, 130.

[29] M. MEIER – C. RADTKI – F. SCHULZ, eds. Die Weltchronik des Johannes Malalas: Autor, Werk, Überlieferung (*Malalas Studien* 1). Stuttgart 2016; L. CARRARA – M. MEIER – C. RADTKI-JANSEN, eds. Die Weltchronik des Johannes Malalas: Quellenfragen (*Malalas Studien* 2). Stuttgart 2017; J. BORSCH – O. GENGLER – M. MEIER, eds. Die Weltchronik des Johannes Malalas im Kontext spätantiker Memorialkultur. (*Malalas Studien* 3). Stuttgart 2019; O. GENGLER – M. MEIER, eds. Johannes Malalas: Der Chronist als Zeithistoriker. (*Malalas Studien* 4). Stuttgart 2022.

[30] VAN NUFFELEN, Malalas 266 (see n. 25 above); R. SCOTT, Malalas' Sources for the Contemporary Books, in: Carrara et al., Weltchronik 230–231. Scott's speculation that Cedrenus used Eustathius directly for the story of Zeno's being buried alive is unfounded, since no other source who used Eustathius transmits the story, including Malalas, who tells many tales that are even sillier than that one.

ately contaminated it with his own mistakes and fabrications[31]. Malalas could only have collected that excellent material for his work himself if he had been an unusually meticulous and perspicacious scholar; but his many errors and fictions show that he was nothing of the kind.

By contrast, none of these absurd errors and fictions appears in what we have of John of Antioch, which includes sections that parallel many passages of Malalas that contain those errors and fictions. Thus John of Antioch cites Apollonius Rhodius without calling him an historian, knows that Sallust was an historian and not a poet, says that Nero committed suicide at age 30, correctly describes the simultaneous reigns of emperors like the tetrarchs, and never mentions Malalas' physical descriptions, human sacrifices, or fabricated sources[32]. Consequently defenders of the priority of Malalas must argue that John of Antioch took as the foundation of his history a work that he realized was riddled with errors and falsehoods, then laboriously but successfully excised or corrected the errors and falsehoods, some of which would have been almost impossible to detect without access to modern reference works. Why John of Antioch should have done such a thing seems inexplicable. Without a much more coherent and credible explanation than has yet been suggested for the absence of these errors and fictions from John of Antioch's work, the theory that John of Antioch copied Malalas appears untenable. Only a sustained effort to understate or overlook Malalas' mistakes and fictions has kept this theory in contention.

On the other side of the controversy, defenders of the priority of John of Antioch must argue that John wrote in Attic Greek before 527, when Malalas produced the first version of his history, but also that the part of John of Antioch's history from 518 to 610 was written in Koine by someone other than John of Antioch, whom the compilers of Constantine's *Historical Excerpts* mistook for John of Antioch. According to this argument, Malalas paraphrased the history of John of Antioch in his own "popular" Greek, adding his own errors and inventions. This argument however seems impossible to reconcile with our evidence for a third historian, Eustathius of Epiphania, who has been almost entirely ignored by the disputants on both sides of the *Johannesfrage*, even though his history must closely have resembled the histories of both John of Antioch and Malalas.

While none of the text of Eustathius' *Chronological Epitome* has reached us under his name, his work is described in considerable detail by three sixth-century historians: Malalas, Hesychius of Miletus, and Evagrius Scholasticus[33]. Like Malalas and John of Antioch, Eustathius wrote a universal history, including Biblical, mythological, secular, and ecclesiastical material beginning with the Creation. Eustathius wrote at length, because his history comprised two volumes, the first on events until the fall of Troy and the second, in nine books, on events until the reign of Anastasius. Evagrius says that Eustathius wrote elegantly, presumably in Attic Greek like Evagrius himself, and cited sources that largely overlapped with those cited by Malalas and John of Antioch, including such obscure authors as Charax of Pergamum, Priscus of Panium, and Pisander of Laranda[34]. Since Eustathius' native city of Epiphania in Syria is unlikely to have had a library that allowed this sort of research, Eustathius probably wrote at Antioch, the metropolis of his region, in which he apparent-

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[31] Malalas' citations of Bottius and Philostratus were questioned by E. JEFFREYS, Malalas' Sources, in: Studies in John Malalas, ed. E. Jeffreys – B. Croke – R. Scott. Sydney 1990, 174 and 190, and TREADGOLD, Early Byzantine Historians 247–251; but Bottius (more correctly, Bruttius) has been shown to be authentic by B. GARSTAD, Euhemerus and the Chronicle of John Malalas. *International History Review* 38 (2016) 900–929, and L. VAN HOOF – P. VAN NUFFELEN, The Fragmentary Latin Histories of Late Antiquity (AD 300–620): Edition, Translation, and Commentary. Cambridge 2020, 250–261, while the citation of Philostratus has been shown to be authentic by L. MECELLA, Malalas und die Quellen für die Zeit der Soldatenkaiser, in: Carrara et al., Weltchronik, 74–76. On the other hand, in TREADGOLD, Byzantine Historiography 547–548, I argue that Magnus of Carrhae, previously thought to be an authentic source, was almost certainly invented by Malalas.

[32] John of Antioch frs. 26.1 (Apollonius), 145.2.269–270 (Sallust), and 174.3 (Nero).

[33] See TREADGOLD, Early Byzantine Historians 270–278 (on Hesychius) and 299–308 (on Evagrius).

[34] On Eustathius and his sources, see TREADGOLD, Early Byzantine Historians 114–120 and 315–317, and TREADGOLD, Byzantine Historiography 533 and n. 14.

ly took an interest that is reflected by John of Antioch and Malalas. Since Malalas observes that "the most learned chronographer Eustathius" left his history incomplete when he died suddenly after describing the fall of Amida in 503, Eustathius evidently died between 503 and 527, the date when Malalas cited him and mentioned his death. Eustathius' sudden death may well have resulted from an earthquake in 526 that reportedly killed a quarter of a million people in and around Antioch, probably including more than half the city's population[35].

Modern scholars who think that Malalas copied John of Antioch must assume that very soon before 527 three very similar universal histories were composed by three different authors: Eustathius, John of Antioch, and Malalas. The histories of John of Antioch and Malalas are so similar that they cannot possibly be independent of each other. Malalas says in his preface that he has summarized "the Hebrew Scriptures of Moses and the historians Africanus, Eusebius Pamphili, Pausanias, Didymus, Theophilus, Clement, Diodorus, Domninus, Eustathius, and many other studious historians, poets, and scholars," though in his text Malalas cites Eustathius only once, for the fall of Amida. The fragment we have of John of Antioch's preface mentions his summarizing "the books of Moses, Africanus, Eusebius Pamphili, Pausanias [?], Didymus, and others." Note that John of Antioch seems not to have included Theophilus, Clement, and Domninus, the only three sources apparently invented by Malalas whom Malalas mentions in his preface[36].

The *Johannesfrage* has remained unresolved for so long because each side has been far more successful in refuting the other's position than in defending its own. Both sides have assumed that the parallels between John Malalas and John of Antioch prove that one copied the other. But that assumption is wrong, because the parallels could also mean that both Johns copied a third author, namely Eustathius. If so, in 527 Malalas paraphrased Eustathius in "popular" Greek, inventing sources and other details to bolster his claims in his preface that before his own times he had consulted more sources than just Eustathius' history. It would follow that around 610 John of Antioch virtually transcribed Eustathius' history in its original Attic before continuing it in Koine. The fact that John wrote his continuation in Koine indicates that he felt unable to write correct Attic himself but was unwilling to alter Eustathius' Attic style. If this explanation is right, Eustathius' history survives in a distorted form in the history of Malalas and in a faithful version in the fragments of John of Antioch. Such is the solution to the *Johannesfrage* that I first proposed in 2007[37].

My solution has been accepted by some scholars and resisted by others. No one, however, has attempted a systematic refutation of it or offered any alternative explanation of the similarities between the two Johns and Eustathius[38]. The main reason for resistance to the Eustathius hypothesis

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[35] Malalas XVI 9; cf. TREADGOLD, Early Byzantine Historians 114–118. I believe that SCOTT, Malalas' Sources 220–222 misinterprets the passage of Malalas that he correctly translates, "The most learned chronicler Eustathius wrote about this battle [the siege of Amida in 503]; however, he died shortly afterwards, before he was able to complete the writing of his narrative." The natural interpretation of Malalas' words is that Eustathius died shortly after he wrote about the siege of Amida, not shortly after the siege occurred, as Scott assumes. Scott supposes anachronistically that Eustathius added new entries to his world chronicle as soon as they happened, like a modern newspaper reporter; if such had been the case, Eustathius' chronicle would actually have been finished, because it ended with the year in which Eustathius wrote. Cf. SCOTT, Malalas' Sources 221 n. 14, where his analysis depends on the baseless assumption that Eustathius wrote in strict chronological order, unlike John of Antioch, Malalas, and almost all other Byzantine historians; see TREADGOLD, Early Byzantine Historians 320–326. Evagrius III 37 (ed. J. BIDEZ – L. PARMENTIER, The Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius with the Scholia. London 1898) did misunderstand Malalas to have said that Eustathius died in 503, probably because Evagrius overlooked Malalas' statement that Eustathius left his history unfinished. This is just one of many instances of Evagrius' usual carelessness; see TREADGOLD, Early Byzantine Historians 306–308.

[36] Cf. Malalas, preface and John of Antioch, fr. 1, apparatus, listing its heading (Ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκθέσεως … καὶ ἑτέρων), which evidently includes a fragment of John's preface; see TREADGOLD, Early Byzantine Historians 312–314 and n. 6 (suggesting emendations to the fragment).

[37] See TREADGOLD, Early Byzantine Historians 314–329, and TREADGOLD, The Byzantine World Histories of John Malalas and Eustathius of Epiphania. *International History Review* 29 (2007) 709–745.

[38] See the essays in Carrara et al., Weltchronik and my review of that book in *Gnomon* 90 (2018) 759–760.

appears to be discomfort with rejecting so much previous scholarship. Yet at least one school of the previous scholarship must be wrong on any possible hypothesis because it disagrees with the other school, and the Eustathius theory answers the objections raised by both schools. Since Eustathius apparently was born around 455, knew Latin well, and served as an official in the diocesan bureaucracy at Antioch, postulating that both Malalas and John of Antioch copied Eustathius also answers Cameron's objection that around 610 John of Antioch would have been highly unlikely to know enough Latin to summarize Ammianus[39]. My hypothesis, like any other hypothesis, should be judged not by whether it can be proven as an undeniable fact but by whether it fits the evidence better than any other possibility. The hypothesis that Eustathius was the source of the parallels between Malalas and John of Antioch until Anastasius' reign presents no serious problems and removes problems with the other two possibilities that 130 years of controversy have failed to solve.

III. IDENTIFYING FRAGMENTS OF AMMIANUS' LOST BOOKS

The most comprehensive edition of John of Antioch compiled to date is that of Umberto Roberto from 2005. Roberto includes all the extracts attributed to John in Constantine's *Historical Excerpts* and some closely related extracts from the tenth-century encyclopedia known as the *Suda*, which drew on parts of the *Historical Excerpts* that are now lost[40]. Roberto also includes the eight folios of the full text from the Athonite manuscript. He acknowledges that John's history was used by several Byzantine historians, including Zonaras, Theophanes Confessor, George the Monk, Symeon the Logothete, and Pseudo-Symeon (most of whose chronicle has so far been published only in a version by George Cedrenus)[41]. Regrettably, however, Roberto's edition omits many passages from these authors that Roberto himself realizes were copied from John of Antioch. Roberto also omits other passages that seem clearly derived from John of Antioch and appear in the chronicle of George Syncellus and the *Chronicle* and *Chronological Synopsis* of Theodore Scutariotes[42]. Malalas is also a witness to the text of Eustathius copied by John of Antioch, if Malalas' many errors and fictions are excluded. The fragmentary history of Peter the Patrician includes still more parallels with the texts derived from John of Antioch, which show that Peter must have consulted

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[39] For a conjectural reconstruction of Eustathius' career, see TREADGOLD, Early Byzantine Historians 116–118 and 326–327, and Byzantine World Histories 741–744.

[40] ROBERTO, Ioannis Antiocheni Fragmenta xxxi–cxxiv. Mariev's edition (see Section II and n. 17 above) is based on the correct assumption that Malalas could not have been a source of John of Antioch, but omits many genuine passages of John of Antioch on the incorrect assumption that John of Antioch was a source of Malalas and must therefore have been earlier.

[41] ROBERTO, Ioannis Antiocheni Fragmenta xlv and clx (Theophanes), clx–clxii (Symeon and George the Monk), clxiii–clxvi (Pseudo-Symeon/Cedrenus) and clxvii–clxviii (Zonaras). See also TREADGOLD, Middle Byzantine Historians 38–77 (Theophanes), 114–120 (George the Monk), 203–217 (Symeon), 217–223 (Pseudo–Symeon), and 339–341 (Cedrenus).

[42] For Syncellus' use of John of Antioch, see TREADGOLD, Early Byzantine Historians 555–556, 558, and 566–570, and further on Syncellus, see TREADGOLD, Middle Byzantine Historians 38–63. For Scutariotes' use of John of Antioch, see K. ZAFEIRIS, The Synopsis Chronike and its Place in the Byzantine Chronicle Tradition: Its Sources (Creation–1081 CE). Diss. St. Andrews 2007, https://research-repository.st-andrews.ac.uk/handle/10023/457 (accessed: 11.01.2024) 226–228. Though Zafeiris disputes the generally accepted attribution to Scutariotes of the anonymously transmitted *Synopsis*, this attribution is affirmed by R. TOCCI, Zu Genese und Kompositionsvorgang der *Synopsis Chronikē* des Theodoros Skutariotes. *BZ* 98 (2005) 551–568, and TOCCI, Theodori Scutariotae Chronica (*CFHB* 46). Berlin 2015, 64*–102* and 102*–115*. Tocci is preparing a new edition of the *Synopsis* that will replace K. SATHAS, Anōnymou Synopsis Chronikē (*Mesaiōnikē Bibliothēkē* VII). Paris 1894. I include a discussion of Scutariotes and his histories in my book on The Later Byzantine Historians (in preparation).

Eustathius directly, since Peter wrote before John of Antioch did[43]. The table at the end of this paper should help to clarify the complex relationships of these texts to each other.

Even when material is securely attributed to Eustathius or to John of Antioch, determining how much of this material Eustathius summarized from Ammianus can be problematic. The part of Eustathius' narrative preserved by Zonaras for the years from 353 to 364 interpolates material from Ammianus with material from the later pagan historian Zosimus, the ultra-Arian historian Philostorgius, and at least one lost orthodox ecclesiastical history dependent on Eusebius of Caesarea, perhaps the chronicle of Panodorus of Alexandria[44]. Ammianus' own references in his surviving books allow some material from Eustathius to be assigned to Ammianus' lost books, which Ammianus says began with the reign of Nerva (96–98)[45]. As a pagan, Ammianus can be excluded as a source of any obviously Christian passages in the Byzantine histories.

Ammianus may also be the source of Eustathius' summaries of earlier Greek historians like Dio and Herodian, since Ammianus could have summarized these authors himself. When he did summarize them, however, his summaries should show signs of having been put into Latin by Ammianus and then put back into Greek by Eustathius. No doubt parallels can have different wording even without being translated and retranslated, and even passages that have been translated and retranslated can have similar wording by coincidence. Yet summaries made in Greek directly from a Greek original should show many fewer verbal differences from the original than summaries made from a Latin version, which should include significant differences in direct quotations and transliterations of names, and perhaps even mistranslations or misunderstandings. Such indications of Ammianus' authorship begin to appear in our Byzantine texts precisely with Nerva's reign[46]. The absence of such indications shows that Zonaras, who often summarized Dio himself, usually preferred to use Dio instead of John of Antioch, who had copied Eustathius' summaries of Ammianus' passages from Dio.

We have another valuable clue for identifying material from Ammianus. In his surviving books Ammianus always includes the ages of emperors and usurpers at their deaths. These ages are not necessarily correct. For instance, our manuscripts of Ammianus say that Constantius II died at the age of "40 years and a few months." Though editors have corrected this to 44 years, Malalas' and Scutariotes' versions of Ammianus show that our manuscripts are accurate here and Ammianus, whose mention of "a few" rather than a specific number of months suggests an imprecise source or his own memory, was simply mistaken[47]. Dio's history also reported the ages of the emperors at their deaths, and before AD 96 Eustathius evidently copied these ages from Dio, whom John of Antioch explicitly cites as a source for Nero[48]. From 96, when Ammianus' history began, to 229, when Dio's history ended, we can compare the ages of twelve emperors that are recorded both by Dio and by authors dependent on Eustathius. Ten of these ages are different, and the remaining two

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[43] On Peter, see BANCHICH, The Lost History of Peter the Patrician: An Account of Rome's Imperial Past from the Age of Justinian. London 2015, especially 6–9 (conclusively identifying Peter with the so-called *Anonymus post Dionem*). For Peter's use of Eustathius, see below, Section VIII and nn. 150–153.

[44] See TREADGOLD, Byzantine Historiography 544–549 (with 539 n. 33 for Panodorus). On Philostorgius, see TREADGOLD, Early Byzantine Historians 126–134, and on Panodorus, see TREADGOLD, Early Byzantine Historians 124–125, and TREADGOLD, Middle Byzantine Historians 59–62.

[45] See Ammianus XXXI 16.9. On all his cross-references, see R.M. FRAKES, Cross-References to the Lost Books of Ammianus Marcellinus. *Phoenix* 49 (1995) 232–246, BARNES, Ammianus 213–217, and J.F. GILLIAM, Ammianus and the Historia Augusta: The Lost Books and the Period 117–285, in: Bonner Historia-Augusta Colloquium, Bonn 1970. Bonn 1972, 125–147.

[46] For cases of Eustathius' misreading Ammianus' Latin, see below, Section V and nn. 86–87 and Section X and nn. 186–187 and 198–199, and TREADGOLD, Byzantine Historiography 541, 557–558, and 560–61.

[47] Cf. Ammianus XXI 15.3 (*anno quadragesimo <quarto> et mensibus paucis*) with Malalas XIII 17.95 (ἐνιαυτῶν μ΄) and Scutariotes, *Synopsis* 56.20 (ἐτῶν τεσσαράκοντα – "40 years") and *Chronicle* II 84 (ἐτῶν μ΄ – "40 years").

[48] John of Antioch fr. 172.86–88.

ages, though compatible with each other, are expressed differently[49]. Eustathius' source for these ages was apparently Ammianus, because the differences with Dio begin with Nerva, who died at the age of 65 according to Dio and Zonaras but at the age of 71 according to Scutariotes and Malalas. Evidently Eustathius copied Ammianus' ages for the emperors from Nerva's death until his copy of Ammianus ended with Book XXV and Jovian's death in 364. Eustathius then copied a source that differed from Ammianus' Book XXX for the age of Valentinian I (364–375)[50].

Ammianus' source for the emperors' ages appears to have been an otherwise unknown short chronicle that for the sake of convenience we may call the "obituary chronicle." This name simply refers to its having included the ages of emperors at their deaths and does not imply that it belonged to any genre of obituary chronicles or that it mentioned only the emperors' ages. It presumably mentioned a few other facts about the emperors, probably including the lengths of their reigns, which in his extant books Ammianus records four times but omits twice[51]. Again, when we compare the emperors' lengths of reign in Scutariotes and Malalas with those in Dio, six of the twelve lengths of reign are incompatible with Dio's[52]. This obituary chronicle probably ended with the death of Constantine I in 337, leaving Ammianus without a reliable source for Constantius II's age in 361[53]. The obituary chronicle was evidently in Greek, because it used the Greek sources' name of Maximus for the ephemeral emperor in 238 whom the Latin sources call Pupienus[54].

Material from Eustathius can often be attributed to Ammianus because it had Latin sources, which scarcely any Greek writers used except Ammianus and Eustathius. Ammianus' surviving books and several other Latin works show many clear verbal parallels with each other. These Latin works include the *Liber de Caesaribus* attributed to Aurelius Victor, the *Epitome de Caesaribus* also attributed to Victor but sometimes called "Pseudo-Aurelius," Eutropius' *Breviarium*, the *Historia Augusta*, and Jerome's *Chronicle*. The consensus of modern scholars has long been that Ammianus, Victor, Eutropius, and the other Latin authors all drew on a lost Latin history of the Roman emperors, which since the nineteenth century has been conventionally called the *Kaisergeschichte*. In 2023, however, Justin Stover and George Woudhuysen published a book arguing convincingly that this lost history was in fact the work of Aurelius Victor himself, and that the *Liber de Caesaribus* and the *Epitome de Caesaribus* are separate epitomes of Victor's lost history, as their titles in manuscripts indicate. The *Liber de Caesaribus*—more properly the *Historia Abbreviata*—epitomized a first edition of Victor's history that was completed in 360, the year with which it concluded. The *Epitome de Caesaribus*—more properly the *Libellus Breviatus*—epitomized a second edition of Victor's history that was completed around 389[55].

As Stover and Woudhuysen observe, "That there is a lost history behind Eutropius, the *HA* [*Historia Augusta*], the *HAb* [*Historia Abbreviata*], the *LB* [*Libellus Breviatus*], and Jerome is not actually controversial. Our innovation lies in showing that the name of Victor should be associated with

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[49] See Appendix, nos. 6, 12, 24, 26, 28, 32, 28 (compatible), 32 (compatible), 34, 36, 38, and 40.

[50] Cf. Ammianus XXX 6.6 (Valentinian died at 55) with Zonaras XIII 15.20 and Scutariotes, *Synopsis* 60.1–2 (Valentianian died at 84). See also TREADGOLD, Byzantine Historiography 540–541.

[51] See TREADGOLD, Byzantine Historiography 540–544. For the lengths of reigns, see Ammianus XIV 11.27 (Gallus), XXI 15.3 (Constantius II), XXX 6.6 (Valentinian I), and XXXI 13.1 (Valens), though Ammianus omits this information for Julian and Jovian.

[52] See Appendix, nos. 5 (compatible), 8 (compatible), 11, 13 (compatible), 20, 23, 25, 27 (compatible), 31 (compatible), 35, 37, and 39 (compatible). Interestingly, for the lengths of reigns Symeon and Cedrenus follow not the tradition of Ammianus and Eustathius but that of Dio and Zonaras.

[53] Ammianus was right about the ages of most emperors up to Constantine I in 337 but wrong that Constantine II was 20 at his death in 340, unless at Malalas XIII 15.72–74 we read κδ΄ (24) for κ΄ (20); see BARNES, The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine. Cambridge, MA, 1982, 44–46, and TREADGOLD, Byzantine Historiography 561–562.

[54] See below, Section VII and n. 120.

[55] See STOVER – WOUDHUYSEN, Lost History 3–192, who note at 36 and n. 119 why the epitome that they usually call the *HAb* or *historiae abbreviatae* might better be called the *Historia Abbreviata*, the form I use here.

that source, and not merely with the *HAb* [*Historia Abbreviata*]."[56] The main advantages of this identification are that it explains why such a widely used source as the *Kaisergeschichte* passed unmentioned in our sources (because it was mentioned as the work of Victor) and why Victor was known as a prominent historian despite the brevity and occasional incoherence of the *Liber de Caesaribus* (because that was merely an epitome of Victor's complete history). Ammianus calls Victor "the writer of history," as if he had already been mentioned in Ammianus' lost Books I-XIII, quite possibly as a source[57]. Stover and Woudhuysen argue persuasively from the surviving epitomes of Victor's lost work that Victor had a substantial influence on Ammianus' prose style and conception of Roman history[58].

Victor's lost history was also the main source of the *Historia Augusta*. This work, actually entitled *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, purports to have been written under Diocletian and Constantine by six authors but is now almost universally agreed to have been written around 395 by a single mendacious author. This author added many fabrications of his own, including his six fictional authors and some fictional sources that they supposedly cited. His treatment of Victor's lost history therefore resembled Malalas' distorted version of Eustathius' lost history, though unlike Malalas the author of the *Historia Augusta* could have claimed credit only for discovering his work, since he attributed its composition to others. (Perhaps he expected some wealthy patron with an interest in history to reward him for discovering detailed and entertaining sources for the obscure second and third centuries.) Stover and Woudhuysen argue plausibly that the *Historia Augusta* contains some otherwise unknown material from Victor's lost history, even if that material is hard to untangle from the author's fabrications[59].

Eutropius' *Breviarium*, a concise history of Rome from its foundation that was composed around 370, includes in its Books VII–X Eutropius' own epitome of the first edition of Victor's lost history[60]. Since both Ammianus and Eutropius used Victor's lost history, most of the parallels between Ammianus and Eutropius should probably be attributed to their common source. Gavin Kelly has however shown that Ammianus also used Eutropius directly—certainly for the death of Jovian in 364, since it occurred after the end of the first edition of Victor's history in 360, which Ammianus consulted before Victor wrote on Jovian in his second edition[61]. Eutropius' work has also been shown to be one of the sources of John of Antioch—that is, of Eustathius. Nevertheless, for the period after AD 96 Eustathius (as copied by John of Antioch) often includes more information than Eutropius does, presumably because Eustathius took it from Ammianus, who sometimes took more material from Victor than Eutropius did[62].

For example, John of Antioch continues a passage that parallels Eutropius' description of Constantius I's frugality by saying, "for which reason he was called *pauper* (παῦπερ)," a phrase not in Eutropius but evidently taken by Eustathius from another Latin source without translating the Latin word[63]. Again, after a passage that parallels Eutropius' description of how at a triumph in 303 Diocletian and Galerius displayed the Persian king's captured relatives, Zonaras continues, "and [they also displayed] all the wealth that they had plundered from the Persians," a phrase not in Eutropius

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[56] Stover – Woudhuysen, Lost History 419.

[57] Ammianus XXI 10.6 (*Victorem … scriptorem historicum*).

[58] Stover – Woudhuysen, Lost History 337–352.

[59] Stover – Woudhuysen, Lost History 265–334, concluding, "In the mountain of misunderstanding, obfuscation, and fantasy that is the *HA* [*Historia Augusta*], a deal, perhaps a great deal, of Victor's *Historia* survives, still waiting to be quarried."

[60] Stover – Woudhuysen, Lost History 228–232.

[61] Kelly, Ammianus 240–253.

[62] See Roberto, Ioannis Antiocheni Fragmenta cxxxi–cxxxiv, and Cameron, Last Pagans 665–668.

[63] Cf. John of Antioch fr. 252 with Eutropius X 1.2. Somewhat strangely, Eustathius seems to have expected his Greek readers to know the Latin word *pauper*.

but in Jerome's *Chronicle*[64]. In each case Eutropius appears to have abbreviated his source at the end, omitting material from Victor's lost history that Eustathius and John of Antioch included. Such examples led Cameron to suggest that John of Antioch consulted not Eutropius but a Greek translation of the *Kaisergeschichte*, which has now been identified as Victor's lost history[65]. Yet in the absence of any other evidence for a Greek translation of Victor's lost history, the probable solution is that Eustathius took these passages from Ammianus, who had in turn taken them from Victor. Eustathius seems to have stopped consulting Eutropius for the period after 96, after finding that Ammianus covered these years in much greater detail than Eutropius did.

Without considering the possibility that the Greek historians drew on Ammianus by way of Eustathius and John of Antioch, Stover and Woudhuysen further suggest that Victor's lost history was "the common source of Ammianus and the later Greek tradition."[66] While they believe that Victor included some subtle allusions to Greek literature, none of their rather inconclusive citations suggests that Victor made much use of Greek sources for historical events[67]. Although they observe that Zonaras' account of the death of Gallienus in 268 "combines material known elsewhere only in Latin or only in Greek into a seamless and coherent narrative" and attribute it to Victor, that combination of Greek and Latin material can be attributed much more plausibly to Ammianus, as we shall see[68]. They argue correctly "that Victor's *Historia* was used—through one route or another—by later Greek authors" but incorrectly that "no historian writing in Greek" before 360 covered the years after 270. We shall see that a major Greek historian (the "secular Eusebius") included the years from 270 to 285, was used in Latin by Ammianus and put back into Greek by Eustathius, and was also used in the Greek history of Eunapius of Sardis[69]. Stover and Woudhuysen cite a parallel between Eunapius and Eutropius on the reign of Carinus (284–285) as evidence that Eunapius made use of Victor. Since, however, Eunapius appears to have known almost no Latin, this parallel can be explained more easily by supposing that Eunapius combined material from the surviving Greek translation of Eutropius with material from the secular Eusebius that was also used by Ammianus[70].

The evidence appears conclusive that John of Antioch, Malalas, Zonaras, Scutariotes, and other Byzantine historians summarize a major lost history that was written in Latin, used a set of imperial obituaries corresponding to the dates and practices of Ammianus, showed many similarities with Ammianus' surviving books, included the same period as Ammianus' Books I–XIII, and after 353 can be positively identified with Ammianus' Books XIV–XXV. Thus the probability is overwhelming that this lost source was Ammianus' Books I–XIII. The main purpose of the present paper is to identify the passages that apparently survive from those books. A list of such passages, including many not discussed in the text of this paper, appears with full references in the Appendix. Even if a few of these passages might possibly come from another source, the probability remains that the great majority derive from Ammianus' lost Books I–XIII. This theory is no more speculative than the hypothesis of the lost Latin history formerly known as the *Kaisergeschichte* and now

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[64] Cf. Zonaras XII 32 p. 612 with Eutropius IX 27.2 and Jerome, *Chronicle* 227–228m.

[65] CAMERON, Last Pagans 666–668.

[66] STOVER – WOUDHUYSEN, Lost History 352–357, concluding "that the common source of Ammianus and the later Greek tradition was … Victor's *Historia*," and 395–397, concluding that "we ought probably to envisage Victor's *Historia* being read by several Greek historians, who both drew on it directly and used the work of predecessors who had done the same."

[67] STOVER – WOUDHUYSEN, Lost History 98–103, 112–16.

[68] STOVER – WOUDHUYSEN, Lost History 368–372 (quotation from p. 368); see below, Section IX and nn. 168–169.

[69] STOVER – WOUDHUYSEN, Lost History 375; cf. below, Section IV and nn. 72–80 (on the secular Eusebius).

[70] STOVER – WOUDHUYSEN, Lost History 390–397; see below, Section IX and nn. 178–183. STOVER – WOUDHUYSEN, Lost History 380–383, 383–385, and 404–405, also cite three possible but inconclusive parallels between Zosimus and the epitomes of Victor and suggest on pp. 389–395 that these may show transmission to Eunapius by someone who knew Latin and had read Victor. While conceivable, their suggestion would not affect the arguments made here about Ammianus, Eustathius, and John of Antioch.

identified as Aurelius Victor's *History*. The existence of that lost history is now almost unanimously accepted because it explains many otherwise inexplicable parallels in extant texts. The theory that the lost books of Ammianus were a source of Eustathius, and in the form of Eustathius' summaries became a source of John of Antioch, Malalas, Zonaras, Scutariotes, and other Byzantine historians, similarly explains many otherwise inexplicable parallels in their texts.

IV. AMMIANUS' GENERAL PREFACE

Since Ammianus wrote prefaces for his Books XV, XVI, and XXVI, and an epilogue for his Book XXXI, he presumably wrote a preface for his whole history, as the great majority of ancient Greek and Roman historians did. Since, as we have seen, Malalas' preface closely resembles a fragment of John of Antioch's preface, John of Antioch and Malalas must both have imitated Eustathius' preface. All three of these prefaces listed their authors' sources, because the fragment of the preface that John of Antioch evidently copied from Eustathius lists five sources "and others," while Malalas' preface lists ten sources (including sources he apparently invented) "and others."[71] Probably Ammianus' lost general preface also mentioned sources, among other comments about his history and its methods. Although his surviving three prefaces mention only oral sources and his own experience, those prefaces refer to books that covered Ammianus' lifetime, when he evidently made only limited use of written sources. While he did use Victor's lost history and Eutropius for this period, if Ammianus mentioned them he would probably have done so when he first used them, in his lost books. He could hardly have expected his readers to think that he had mainly oral sources for the earlier part of a history that began almost three centuries before he wrote it.

In repeating Eustathius of Epiphania's list of sources, Evagrius includes thirteen historians of Rome along with the periods that they covered: Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Polybius, Appian, Diodorus, Dio, Herodian, Nicostratus of Trapezus, Dexippus, "Eusebius," Arrian, Asinius Quadratus, Zosimus, and Priscus. This list is restricted to secular Greek historians of Rome, since Evagrius lists Christian, Jewish, and universal historians separately in the previous paragraph. Evagrius' list of secular Greek historians of Rome is quite comprehensive up to "Eusebius," who must be not the ecclesiastical historian Eusebius of Caesarea but another, secular and apparently pagan historian of a somewhat earlier date. Evagrius distinguishes this Eusebius not only by including Eusebius of Caesarea among the Christian historians but by saying of the secular Eusebius, "Eusebius too, having taken up his story from Octavian and Trajan and Marcus, reached the death of Carus."[72]

For the secular Eusebius to have ended his history with Carus' death in 283 would have been a strange choice, because Carus' sons and colleagues Numerian and Carinus continued to rule until 284 and 285 respectively. Even if Eusebius had finished writing precisely in 283, he would have found it prudent to end his history with Carus' accession in 282, so as to avoid discussing the suspicious and inauspicious circumstances of Carus' death while his sons were still reigning. Since the death of Carinus in 285 would make a much more logical conclusion for a history than 283, we should probably make the emendation of "Carus" to "Carinus," which is easy in either Latin or Greek, unless we understand "the death of Carus" to be only an approximate indicator[73]. In any case, the secular Eusebius presumably wrote soon after 285. He seems to be otherwise unattested,

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[71] See above, Section II and n. 36.

[72] Evagrius V 24. On the secular Eusebius, see P. JANISZEWSKI, The Missing Link: Greek Pagan Historiography in the Second Half of the Third Century and in the Fourth Century AD. Warsaw 2006, 54–77, and B. BLECKMANN – J. GROSS, Historiker der Reichskrise des 3. Jahrhunderts. Paderborn 2016, 111–141. For the other historians, see BLECKMANN – GROSS, Historiker 3–65 (Asinius Quadratus) and 68–73 (Nicostratus), and JANISZEWSKI, Missing Link 27–39 and 85–91 (Quadratus), 92–96 (Nicostratus), and 39–54 and 109–113 (Dexippus).

[73] On Eusebius' account of the reigns of Carus, Numerian, and Carinus, see also below, Section IX and nn. 178–183.

unless he was the sophist Eusebius from the province of Arabia who taught at Antioch in the early fourth century and has an entry in the *Suda*[74]. The other historians on Evagrius' list include Dio's contemporaries Arrian and Asinius Quadratus and Nicostratus of Trapezus, whose otherwise unattested history ended with 260 according to Evagrius.

After the secular Eusebius, Evagrius begins a new section of his list of Greek historians of Rome with the words, "And concerning subsequent times (Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἑξῆς χρόνων) …" Yet this continuation of the list is much less comprehensive than the preceding list. It includes only Zosimus (c.435–c.501) and Priscus (c.410–after 476), who were older contemporaries of Eustathius himself (c.455–526?), along with unspecified "others," before concluding, "All these [histories] have been excellently epitomized (ἐπιτέτμηται) by Eustathius of Epiphania …" This continuation of the list of Greek historians of Rome after the secular Eusebius omits several notable names: Eunapius of Sardis (347?–c.408), Olympiodorus of Thebes (c.370–after c.427), Malchus of Philadelphia (c.435–after c.495), and Candidus of Isauria (c.435–after c.491)[75]. Similarly, Evagrius' list of Greeks who wrote Greek history, which precedes his list of Greeks who wrote Roman histories and was also presumably taken from Eustathius, mentions only "Charax, Ephorus, Theopompus, and countless others," not even including the names of Herodotus or Thucydides.

Even though Evagrius says that Eustathius "epitomized" all the historians of Rome named in the list that Evagrius copied from him, Eustathius is very unlikely to have consulted them all directly. Eustathius' usual practice seems to have been to name the sources cited by his sources but not the sources that he used directly, including Ammianus and Philostorgius, neither of whom appears among the many citations known from Malalas and John of Antioch. The gap in Evagrius' list of Roman historians that begins with his reference to "subsequent times" amounts to more than two centuries between the end of the secular Eusebius' history and the time when Zosimus wrote. This seems to show that the list originally ended with Eusebius and was supplemented by Eustathius by adding Zosimus and Priscus. As the latest historian in the earlier and more comprehensive part of the list, the secular Eusebius is the probable source of that part.

Zonaras, John of Antioch, and the other sources dependent on Eustathius show clear parallels of content with Zosimus' *New History* for the years from 238 to 285, demonstrating that Eustathius and Zosimus shared a source for that period. Yet their common source cannot have been a direct source, because Zosimus consistently uses different wording from Eustathius' derivatives, including over a dozen different transliterations of names[76]. This lack of verbal parallels seems explicable only if Zosimus summarized a Greek source that John of Antioch and Zonaras copied after Ammianus had put it into Latin and Eustathius had put it back into Greek. Zosimus and Ammianus seem not to have used Dexippus' history directly, because a citation of Dexippus that George Syncellus apparently copied from John of Antioch is erroneous and clearly indirect[77]. Besides, Dexippus' history ended with 270, and the parallels between Zosimus and the chroniclers dependent on Ammianus continue for the period from 270 to 285. Ammianus' and Zosimus' common source from 238 to 285 cannot have been Eunapius, Zosimus' main source, both because Eunapius' history began only where Dexippus' history ended in 270 and because the first installment of Eunapius'

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[74] Cf. *PLRE* I Eusebius 1 (the historian) with *PLRE* Eusebius 5 and *Suda* E 3738 (the sophist). JANISZEWSKI, Missing Link 76–77, tentatively identifies Eusebius the historian with Eusebius of Thessalonica (*PLRE* I Eusebius 40), consul for 359; but, like BLECKMANN – GROSS, Historiker 112 n. 3, I find this identification chronologically implausible.

[75] See TREADGOLD, Early Byzantine Historians 81–89 (Eunapius), 89–96 (Olympiodorus), 96–102 (Priscus), 103–107 (Candidus and Malchus), and 107–114 (Zosimus).

[76] See below, Section VII and nn. 118 and 135 and Section VIII and nn. 149 and 151–153.

[77] See below, Section VIII and n. 167.

history evidently appeared around 397, later than Ammianus' Books I–XXV appeared around 390[78].

The likely explanation is that for the period from 238 to 285 Ammianus shared a source with Zosimus that incorporated, cited, and continued Dexippus, and that this source was the secular Eusebius. Two fragments, probably from the Constantinian *Historical Excerpts*, survive from Eusebius' history, one on a "Scythian" siege of Thessalonica assigned to "Book IX" and the other on a siege of a city in Gaul[79]. Both Zonaras and Zosimus mention two "Scythian" sieges of Thessalonica, the first under Valerian (253–259) and the second under Claudius II (268–270), though which siege Eusebius' fragment describes is uncertain[80]. If Eusebius' Book IX reached the reigns of either Valerian or Claudius, it was probably Eusebius' final book, particularly because Eusebius, who appears from his fragments to have been an imitator of Herodotus writing in the Ionic dialect, might well have divided his history into nine books like those of Herodotus. Nine books on over 300 years from Octavian to Carus or Carinus imply relatively concise treatment, though Eusebius could of course have given more extensive coverage to the later years of his narrative, which would have been within living memory when he wrote.

Thus the secular Eusebius seems to have compiled the first part of Eustathius' list of Greek historians of Rome. Apparenlty Eusebius' list was copied, with the addition of Eusebius' own name and the period he covered, by an author who consulted Eusebius' history. That author presumably wrote after Eusebius concluded his history soon after 285 and before Eunapius finished the first edition of his history around 397, since the list omits Eunapius. Those dates fit Ammianus, who completed Books I–XXV of his history, which Eustathius used, around 390. The likely explanation is that Ammianus was the source of Evagrius' whole passage beginning, "The events concerning the Romans, which include in themselves the whole history of the world—or whatever else happened either in regard to their divisions among themselves or in regard to their actions toward others—have been treated in the first place by Dionysius the Halicarnassian, who extended his history from the so-called Aborigines to Pyrrhus the Epirote."[81] The distinction between civil and foreign wars and the opinion that Roman history included "the whole history of the world" are both characteristic of Ammianus' views on history[82]. Evagrius' awkward subordinate clauses in this passage may even reflect Ammianus' contorted Latin by way of Eustathius' translation.

Given the absence of any other plausible source that Eustathius might have used for this catalogue of Roman historians from Dionysius of Halicarnassus to the secular Eusebius, Ammianus' authorship of this passage appears highly probable. Though the passage could possibly come from a digression elsewhere in Ammianus' lost books, his general preface seems much the likeliest place for it. In this preface Ammianus may also have referred to Latin historians like Tacitus, Suetonius, Aurelius Victor, and Eutropius, whom Eustathius or Evagrius, writing for a readership with little knowledge of Latin, saw no reason to include. As with Eustathius and Evagrius, we should not

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[78] For the dates, see TREADGOLD, Early Byzantine Historians 58–59 (Ammianus) and 81–83 (Eunapius). Eunapius seems however to have used the secular Eusebius for the years from 270 to 285; see below, Section IX and nn. 178–183.

[79] Edited in JACOBY, *FrGrHist* IIA, no. 101. That these excerpts belong to the Constantinian collection is demonstrated by NÉMETH, "Excerpta Constantiniana" 115–117 (though at n. 103 he evidently errs in referring to Eusebius as "Eusebius of Nantes," whom some scholars had proposed as the author of the *Kaisergeschichte*; see STOVER – WOUDHUYSEN, Lost History 212, 217, and 224–225).

[80] Cf. Zonaras XII 23 p. 593.4–6 and XII 26 pp. 604.20–605.2 with Zosimus I 29.2 and I 43.1 (ed. F. PASCHOUD, Zosime: Histoire nouvelle, 3 vols. [vol. I 2nd ed.]. Paris 1979–2000). Eusebius' description of a siege in Gaul may refer to Gallienus' siege of "a certain city of Gaul" held by Postumus according to Zonaras XII 24 p. 598.14–18.

[81] The passage that I attribute to Ammianus is therefore Evagrius V 24, pp. 218.17–219.10.

[82] See Ammianus XIV 6.6 and XVI 10.13 (the importance of Rome) and XIV 10.16 and XXI 16.15 (the distinction between civil and foreign wars).

assume that Ammianus had actually read most of the historians whom he mentioned by name, though we shall see that he did read and use not just the secular Eusebius but Dio and Herodian.

V. AMMIANUS ON NERVA

Zonaras is of limited use as a source of material from Ammianus before 229, when Dio's history ended. Although Zonaras summarized John of Antioch as a source for the church history of this period, for secular history as a rule Zonaras understandably preferred to summarize Dio directly rather than summarize John of Antioch's summary of Dio by way of Eustathius and Ammianus[83]. Eustathius himself consulted Dio directly for his narrative up to Domitian's assassination in 96, as is evident from the account of the plot against Domitian in a Constantinian excerpt from John of Antioch also found in the *Suda*, which shows many verbal parallels with the surviving epitome of Dio by John Xiphilinus[84]. These parallels include the same transliterations of the plotters' names and a direct quotation from the seer Apollonius of Tyana, who supposedly announced at Ephesus immediately after Domitian's assassination at Rome that the emperor had been killed. All eleven Greek words in Dio's quotation from Apollonius are repeated by John of Antioch, though Zonaras alters the word order slightly and changes one word[85]. These examples illustrate how close to the original such quotations normally are.

John of Antioch's account of Nerva's reign is preserved in passages from Constantine's *Historical Excerpts*, Symeon the Logothete, and George Cedrenus that closely follow Dio. Yet these passages show a striking lack of verbal parallels with Dio, except in a quotation from the *Iliad*. John of Antioch transliterates Nerva's name (Νέρβας) differently from Dio (Νέρουας). In addition, and surprisingly, Dio's quotation of Nerva's official adoption of Trajan, "I adopt Marcus Ulpius Nerva Trajan (Μάρκον Οὔλπιον Νέρουαν Τραϊανὸν ποιοῦμαι)," becomes in Symeon's version, "I, Marcus Nerva, adopt Trajan as my son (Μάρκος Νέρβας Τραϊανὸν υἱοποιοῦμαι)."[86] (The quotation is not preserved in our excerpts from John of Antioch and is abbreviated by Cedrenus.) Evidently Symeon, presumably following Eustathius and John of Antioch, failed to realize that Marcus Nerva adopted Marcus Ulpius Trajan under the emperor's own *cognomen* of Nerva.

Both the misunderstanding and the difference in transliteration show that Eustathius took this passage not directly from Dio but from a Latin version of Dio, which could only be Ammianus' summary. Rather than copying Nerva's name from Dio's Greek, Eustathius transliterated it from Ammianus' Latin, reflecting the change in pronunciation of *beta* from *B* to *V*. Ammianus must have translated and slightly simplified Dio's Greek quotation to make it *M. Nervam Traianum adopto*. In a fourth-century manuscript of Ammianus, which would have been written in uncial letters without word divisions or punctuation, this sentence would appear as MNERVAMTRAIANVMADOPTO. Knowing that Nerva's *praenomen* (like Trajan's) was Marcus, Eustathius must have misunderstood *M.* as *M(arcus)* instead of *M(arcum)* and *Nervam* as *Nerva M(arcum)*. Reading *M(arcus) Nerva M(arcum) Traianum adopto*, Eustathius omitted the *M* that he thought abbreviated Trajan's *praenomen* Marcus but actually served to render *Nervam* accusative. Such mistakes were impossible in Greek, which lacked the Latin system of standard abbreviations for common *praenomina*. Unless another plausible explanation for these errors can be found, the passages demon-

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[83] See TREADGOLD, Middle Byzantine Historians 393–395, and TREADGOLD, Byzantine Historiography 539–40 and 562–563.

[84] On John Xiphilinus, see TREADGOLD, Middle Byzantine Historians 310–312, and M. KRUSE, The Epitomator Ioannes Xiphilinos and the Eleventh-Century Xiphilinoi. *JÖB* 69 (2019) 257–274.

[85] Cf. John of Antioch fr. 190.1.27–28 and Zonaras XI 19 p. 503.9–10 with Dio LXVII 15–18.18.1 (ed. U.P. BOISSEVAIN, Cassii Dionis Cocceiani Historiarum Romanarum quae Supersunt, 2nd ed., 4 vols. Berlin 1955).

[86] Cf. John of Antioch frs. 191 and 192, Symeon 61.2 (ed. S. WAHLGREN, Symeonis Magistri et Logothetae Chronicon I [*CFHB* 44.1]. Berlin 2006), and Cedrenus 261.1 with Dio LXVIII 3.1–3.

strate both that Eustathius used Ammianus and that Ammianus used Dio[87]. John of Antioch's Homeric quotation is accurate only because Ammianus habitually left his quotations of Greek verse in their original language, as appears repeatedly in his surviving books[88].

Malalas' account of Nerva's reign, after Malalas' usual fictional description of the emperor's appearance, records that Nerva sent a senator named Zarbus to rebuild Diocaesarea in Cilicia after its destruction in an earthquake. Malalas says that originally Zarbus renamed the city Nerva, but when the emperor died before its completion the citizens renamed it Anazarbus after Zarbus, who also sacrificed a maiden and erected a statue of her as the city's *tyche*[89]. In fact, Anazarbus was the original name of the city that was later called Caesarea (not Diocaesarea, another city in Cilicia), and the human sacrifice is manifestly fictional[90]. Yet Malalas cannot have invented the whole story, because the *Suda* includes an article on Anazarbus that parallels Malalas but omits the human sacrifice and calls the senator not Zarbus but Anazarbus[91]. This article in the *Suda* must be one of its many extracts from John of Antioch that is missing from our incomplete copies of the *Historical Excerpts*.

As often, Malalas distorted the material that he took from Eustathius, altering the senator's name and adding the sacrificial maiden, an outlandish invention that he certainly added here and presumably fabricated in the other cases already mentioned[92]. We may be reluctant to attribute this erroneous and idiosyncratic account of the naming of Anazarbus to Ammianus rather than to Eustathius or to one of Eustathius' other sources; but Ammianus explicitly confirms that he accepted the derivation by referring in his surviving Book XIV to "Anazarbus, *which recalls its founder's name*."[93] Ammianus' allusion again indicates that the parallels between Ammianus and the Byzantine texts associated with John of Antioch go all the way back to the reign of Nerva, when Ammianus' lost books began. The story of the senator Anazarbus, which was wrong but not patently absurd, probably came from an oral tradition or simple hearsay that Ammianus failed to investigate.

Excluding some obviously Christian material from the lost ecclesiastical history used by Eustathius, three more items concerning Nerva probably come from Ammianus by way of Eustathius. They record that Nerva was "just and moderate" (Symeon and Cedrenus), that he replaced gladiatorial games with hunting games (Malalas, John of Antioch, and Scutariotes), and that he outlawed castration (Symeon and Cedrenus). These notices, together with the emperor's age at his death, appear to come from an obituary of Nerva like the obituaries of all the emperors in Ammianus' surviving books. Dio mentions Nerva's prohibition of castration but uses entirely different Greek words from those of Symeon and Cedrenus, which must reflect Ammianus' translating Dio into Latin and Eustathius' translating Ammianus back into Greek[94]. Eustathius also consulted Dio directly about Nerva, because a fragment of John of Antioch includes a quotation from the emperor that cannot have been translated and retranslated because it is virtually identical with Dio's version[95]. For the rest of Nerva's reign, Eustathius' use of Ammianus seems evident.

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[87] I was therefore mistaken when I said in TREADGOLD, Byzantine Historiography 563, "We seem to be left with no clear evidence that Ammianus used Dio."

[88] Ammianus XV 8.17, XXI 2.2, XXI 14.4, XXV 4.17, XXIX 1.33, XXXI 1.5, and XXXI 14.8.

[89] Malalas X 53.32–52. Malalas fails to explain why the city was called Anazarbus instead of Zarbus.

[90] Cf. Pliny, *Natural History* V 22: *Anazarbeni qui nunc Caesarea*.

[91] *Suda* A 1866 (ed. A. ADLER, Suidae Lexicon [*Lexicographi Graeci* I] 5 vols. Leipzig 1928–1938).

[92] See above, Section II and n. 22.

[93] Ammianus XIV 8.3: *Anazarbus auctoris vocabulum referens*.

[94] Cf. Symeon 61.3 and Cedrenus 261.2 (ἀπηγόρευσε τοῦ ἐκτέμνειν τινῶν τὰ αἰδοῖα – "he forbade cutting off anyone's genitals") with Dio LXVIII 2.4 (ἐνομοθέτησε … περὶ τοῦ μὴ εὐνουχίζεσθαί τινα – "he decreed that no one should be castrated").

[95] Cf. John of Antioch fr. 191 with Dio LXVIII 3.1–2.

VI. AMMIANUS, DIO, AND HERODIAN

For the years from 98 to 176, our incomplete texts of Dio and John of Antioch show many verbal parallels, including four quotations so similar that they cannot have been translated into Latin by Ammianus and translated back into Greek by Eustathius[96]. Apparently Eustathius, after summarizing Ammianus' preface and account of Nerva, used only Ammianus' lengths of reigns and ages of emperors and returned to using Dio as his main source. While Eustathius may well have used Ammianus to supplement Dio in some other places, we have no obvious means of identifying these, especially because our text of Dio is defective and Ammianus appears to have followed Dio closely. When Ammianus refers in his Book XXV to his earlier account of how the armies of Trajan and Severus were almost destroyed in their failed attempts to take the Parthian city of Hatra, his information presumably came from Dio, since it appears in Xiphilinus' epitome[97]. Ammianus also refers in his surviving books to his earlier descriptions of the capture of Mesopotamian Seleucia by Verus' generals and of Marcus' defeat of the Quadi, events described in Xiphilinus' epitome of Dio[98]. For Ammianus, as for us, Dio was evidently the standard source for these years. That for most of the period Eustathius summarized Dio rather than Ammianus suggests that aside from consulting the obituary chronicle Ammianus mostly summarized Dio and added little or no information that interested Eustathius, even though he plainly was interested in Ammianus' peculiar story of the refoundation of Anazarbus.

Beginning with the year 176, the history of Herodian, which has reached us intact, became another major source that Ammianus and Eustathius (but apparently not Zonaras) used directly along with Dio. Eustathius seems to have preferred Herodian to Dio, whom he used only to supplement Herodian. Eustathius' dependence on Herodian appears from many verbal parallels, including four mostly identical quotations from John of Antioch[99]. Eustathius, as copied by Symeon and Cedrenus, also added a close quotation from Dio[100]. Although Malalas' account of the years from 212 to 253 has been lost in a lacuna, the seventh-century *Paschal Chronicle*, which usually copies Malalas for the emperors' lengths of reign and ages at death, preserves these data for those years[101]. From 98 to 222, the only material clearly attributable to Ammianus from Eustathius appears to be the emperors' lengths of reign and ages and probably the name "Antoninus Heliogabalus" used for Elagabalus (218–222) by Ammianus and Victor, but not by Dio or Herodian[102].

Surprisingly, Scutariotes, whose two short histories usually depend on John of Antioch, has a different account of Elagabalus, whom he praises, while adding a little material on the emperor

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[96] Cf. Dio LXVIII 15.3[2].6 (Trajan on Licinius Sura) with John of Antioch fr. 194.9; cf. Dio LXVIII 16.1[2] (Trajan to his Praetorian Prefect) with Scutariotes, *Synopsis* 30.30–31.1 and *Chronicle* II 30, Symeon 62, Cedrenus 262.1, and George the Monk p. 450.10–11 (ed. C. DEBOOR, Georgius Monachus: Chronicon, 2 vols. Leipzig 1904); cf. Dio LXIX 19.2 (epitaph of Similis) with John of Antioch fr. 196, Symeon 63.3, and Cedrenus 263.3; and cf. Dio LXXII 30.2 (Marcus to the senate) with John of Antioch fr. 201.23–24.

[97] Cf. Ammianus XXV 8.5 with Dio LXVIII 31.1–32.1.

[98] Cf. Ammianus XXIII 6.24 with Dio LXXI 2.3–4, and cf. Ammianus XXIX 6.1 with Dio LXXI 8.1–4 and LXXI 10.1–5.

[99] Cf. John of Antioch fr. 204.15 with Herodian I 17.6 (Marcia to Eclectus) (ed. C.M. LUCARINI, Herodianus: Regnum post Marcum. Munich 2005); cf. John of Antioch fr. 204.46–53 with Herodian II 8–10 (Laetus' conversation with Pertinax); cf. John of Antioch fr.213.14–17 with Herodian III 11.5 (Saturninus to Severus); and cf. John of Antioch fr. 213.68–71 with Herodian IV 3.8 (Julia Domna to Caracalla and Geta).

[100] Cf. John of Antioch fr. 215.2, Symeon 70.2, and Cedrenus 271.2 with Dio LXXIX 7.1 (Severus to Caracalla, in a dream).

[101] See Thurn's apparatus at Malalas XII 25, pp. 225–227. On the *Paschal Chronicle*, see TREADGOLD, Early Byzantine Historians 340–348. MECELLA, Malalas, rightly criticizes Thurn's confusing treatment of the lacuna in Malalas but reaches different conclusions from mine; see also below, Section VII and nn. 136 and 137.

[102] Cf. Ammianus XXVI 6.20 and *Historia Abbreviata* ("Aurelius Victor") 23.1 (ed. P. DUFRAIGNE, Aurelius Victor: Livre des Césars. Paris 1975) with Malalas (from *Paschal Chronicle* 498.13 and 499.9, ed. L. DINDORF, Chronicon Paschale [*CSHB* 11] 2 vols. Bonn 1832), Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 39 and *Synopsis* 33–34, and Cedrenus 273 (also mentioning Dio's preferred form "Pseudo-Antoninus").

from Herodian, who like Dio thought Elagabalus was deranged and a disgrace to Rome[103]. Because John of Antioch, Symeon, and Cedrenus all condemn Elagabalus, Scutariotes must have taken this favorable treatment from some other source than John of Antioch or blundered in some way[104]. Since Malalas, as preserved in the *Paschal Chronicle*, agrees with Scutariotes that Elagabalus died aged 36, this age must go back to Ammianus by way of Eustathius and John of Antioch, because it differs from the presumably correct age of 18 recorded by Dio[105]. Zonaras continued consulting Dio's history directly until it ended with 229, copying many quotations that cannot have been translated and retranslated because they follow their originals too closely[106].

Thus from 97 to 229 Eustathius evidently used Dio and Herodian as his main sources, consulting Ammianus mainly for the lengths of the emperors' reigns and their ages at their deaths. Once Dio's history ended with 229, Herodian remained Eustathius' main source until Herodian's history ended with 238. Eustathius consulted Herodian directly, since Zonaras and John of Antioch show verbal parallels with Herodian with no signs of being translated into Latin and translated back into Greek[107]. After 229 Zonaras, who seems to have had no direct access to Herodian's text, began using John of Antioch almost exclusively, including Eustathius' version of Herodian and Ammianus' ages for emperors[108]. George the Monk, Symeon, Cedrenus, and Scutariotes also show parallels with Zonaras that must derive from Ammianus by way of Eustathius and John of Antioch[109].

Eustathius made several additions to Herodian's account of the reign of Alexander Severus (222–235). After summarizing Herodian's report of a Persian invasion of Mesopotamia and Syria, Zonaras adds that the Persians raided Cappadocia and besieged Nisibis around the year 230[110]. Apparently summarizing a part of John of Antioch's account not included by Zonaras, George Syncellus reports, "A certain Uranius, having been proclaimed emperor in Edessa of Osrhoëne and having rebelled against Alexander, was killed by him when Alexander expelled the Persians who had raided Cappadocia and besieged Nisibis." Then Syncellus records the murder of Alexander and his mother at Mogontiacum (Mainz) in 235[111]. Malalas similarly located the murders at Mainz[112]. None of this information is in Herodian's history. Because Zosimus also refers to "a certain Uranius" who rebelled but was brought before Alexander and presumably executed, here Eustathius must have summarized Ammianus, who shared a source with Zosimus that was evidently the secular Eusebius[113]. These probably reliable reports about Alexander's execution of the rebel Uranius and

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[103] Cf. Scutariotes, *Synopsis* 33.29–34.31 and *Chronicle* II 40 with Herodian V 7–8.

[104] John of Antioch fr. 217 (calling him Antoninus the Younger), Symeon 72 (calling him Avitus), and Cedrenus 273.

[105] Cf. *Paschal Chronicle* (from Malalas) 499.9–10 with Scutariotes, *Synopsis* 34.31 and *Chronicle* II 40 and Dio LXXX 20.2.

[106] Cf. Zonaras XII 8 pp. 547.21–548.7 with Dio LXXV 9.1–3 (Cassius Clemens to Severus); cf. Zonaras XII 9 p. 549.21–22 with Dio LXVI 4.5 (spectators at races); cf. Zonaras XII 10 p. 553.16–17 with Dio LXXVII 10.5 (Bulla to a centurion); cf. Zonaras XII 10 p. 12–15 with Dio LXXVI 5–6 (Severus to Caracalla); cf. Zonaras XII 12 pp. 560.17–561.3 with Dio LXVIII 3.1–3 (Caracalla to the army and senate); cf. Zonaras XII 12 p. 561.12–15 with Dio LXXVIII 10.4 (Julia's conversation with Caracalla); cf. Zonaras XII 12 p. 562.11–12 with Dio LXXVIII 15.5 (the spirit of Commodus to Caracalla); cf. Zonaras XII 12 p. 563.2–4 with Dio LXXVIII 20.2 (Caracalla to the senate); cf. Zonaras XII 12 p. 564.7 with Dio LXXIX 7.1 (Severus to Caracalla); cf. Zonaras XII 13 p. 566.21–22 with Dio LXXIX 40.4 (the oracle of Zeus Belus to Macrinus); and cf. Zonaras XII 14 p. 569.10–13 with Dio LXXX 16.4 (Aurelius' conversation with Elagabalus). Zonaras XII 15 p. 571.3–20 closely summarizes Dio LXXX 1.1 and 2.2–3.1 with additions presumably from Dio's full text.

[107] For a direct quotation, cf. Zonaras XII 15 p. 573.8–11 with Herodian VI 4.5 (Persian ambassadors to Alexander Severus).

[108] Zonaras XII 15 pp. 572.1–574.15 summarizes John of Antioch frs. 218, 219, and 220 (with additions presumably from John's full text), which in turn summarize Herodian V 7.5–VI 9.8.

[109] On these parallels, see BANCHICH – LANE, History 73–74.

[110] Cf. Herodian VI 2.1–2 with Zonaras XII 15 pp. 572–573.

[111] George Syncellus A.M. 5710 p. 437.19–22 and A.M. 5715 p. 439.7–9 (ed. A.A. MOSSHAMMER, Georgius Syncellus: Ecloga Chronographica. Leipzig 1984).

[112] *Paschal Chronicle* (from Malalas) 500.11–13.

[113] Zosimus I 12.2. On Uranius, see F. PASCHOUD, Zosime I, new ed. Paris 2000, 140 n. 35.

the Persians' raiding Cappadocia and besieging Nisibis seem to have reached us only by way of Ammianus' lost books.

Zonaras' account of the reign of Alexander's successor Maximinus (235–238), much of which also appears in our excerpts from John of Antioch, begins by summarizing Herodian and the lost ecclesiastical history used by Eustathius[114]. For secular history Zonaras and George Syncellus include an item not in Herodian, that Maximinus killed his own wife[115]. Ammianus refers in his Book XIV to having mentioned earlier that Maximinus' wife tried to restrain the emperor from his crimes[116]. Since this was presumably Maximinus' reason for killing her, the source of Eustathius' additions to Herodian was probably Ammianus, drawing on the secular Eusebius or perhaps the lost history of Victor. Next Eustathius must have made a long summary directly from Herodian, which was copied by John of Antioch but omitted by Zonaras. This summary from Herodian describes the complicated events of 238, the year of the six emperors: the abortive rebellion of Gordian I and Gordian II, the fall of Maximinus, the assassinations of Maximinus' successors Maximus and Balbinus, and the accession of Gordian III as sole emperor (238–244)[117]. Herodian concluded his history with Gordian III's accession in 238.

VII. AMMIANUS ON THE YEARS FROM 238 TO 244

After summarizing the end of Herodian's history, Eustathius evidently included a detailed discussion of the conflicting sources for the year 238 that was then copied by Zonaras. The sources described in Zonaras' discussion can be identified as Herodian, the secular Eusebius, the obituary chronicle, and the lost history of Aurelius Victor. Eustathius must have taken this discussion of the sources for 238 from Ammianus, because Ammianus was the only historian who consulted all four of these sources. That Zonaras' discussion was derived from Ammianus' Latin by way of Eustathius' Greek is also evident because its material from Herodian shows scarcely any verbal parallels with Herodian's text and two different transliterations[118]. In his surviving books Ammianus includes several variant accounts of historical events, which he does not attribute to a named source but designates by such phrases as "it is said," "some thought," "we are told," and "others say."[119] The discussion of the sources for the year 238 includes similar citations of anonymous sources, which are usually mentioned in the plural ("some record," "others say") even when only a single source appears to be meant. Ammianus seems himself to have become confused in his discussion of the confusing year 238, and his confusion seems to have further confused Eustathius, as appears in Zonaras' summary.

The problem starts with the name of the ephemeral emperor Maximus Pupienus. While the Greek sources (Herodian and Zosimus) refer to Maximus Pupienus only as Maximus, the Latin sources dependent on Victor refer to him only as Pupienus. Zonaras and Scutariotes, the two sources that mention Pupienus' age at his death, call him Maximus, indicating that the obituary chronicle was written in Greek[120]. Since Zonaras, Malalas, Symeon, Cedrenus, and Scutariotes all assume that Maximus and Pupienus were two different emperors, Eustathius must have made the

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114 Cf. Zonaras XII 16 pp. 575.8–578.21 with John of Antioch frs. 221, 222, 223, and 224.1–15 and Herodian VII 1–3.

115 Zonaras XII 16 p. 576.11–12; George Syncellus A.M. 5728 p. 442.10.

116 Ammianus XIV 1.8.

117 John of Antioch fr. 224.16–190, summarizing Herodian VII 4–8.8.

118 Cf. especially Zonaras XII 16 p. 577.9 (Αὔγουστον, Καρθαγένη – *Augoustos*, *Karthagenē*) with Herodian VII 5.7 (Σεβαστὸν – *Sebastos*) and VII 6.1 (Καρχηδόνα – *Karchēdōn*).

119 Cf. Ammianus XXV 10.12–13 (*fertur*), XXVI 2.4 (*non nulli existimarunt*), and XXXI 13.12–17 (*accepimus … alii dicunt*). Ammianus also cites rumors at XVI 11.12–13, XX 7.9, and XXVI 4.4.

120 Zonaras XII 17 p. 579.2–5 and Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 42 and *Synopsis* 36.10–11 ("Maximinus," an error for "Maximus"), all assigning Maximus/Maximinus an age of 74.

same mistake and must have found it in Ammianus' text. Both Zonaras and Malalas usually spell Pupienus "Pompeianus" and Balbinus "Albinus"; Zonaras mentions another emperor named "Puplius Balbinus"; Malalas has another emperor named "Puplius"; Scutariotes has two emperors named "Pompianus" and "Puplius Balbinus"; and George the Monk and Cedrenus have another emperor named "Puplianus."

Since "Pompeianus," "Albinus," and "Puplius Balbinus" are forms shared by Zonaras and Malalas, who used Eustathius independently, they must go back to Eustathius. The name "Puplius," which was the Greek form of Publius now that Greek had no letter sounded *B*, was presumably substituted by a Greek source for the unfamilar name Pupienus. The other erroneous names seem to have resulted from confusing the emperors Pupienus and Balbinus with the Pompeianus who was consul for 241 as the colleague of Gordian III and the "Albinus" (a mistake for "Sabinus") who appears as consul for 240 in the *Paschal Chronicle*[121]. Seemingly Eustathius, in trying to unscramble the different names for emperors he found in Ammianus and Herodian, compared them to a consular list like that of the *Paschal Chronicle*. Eustathius probably assumed, not unreasonably, that emperors usually became consuls, that his consular list's spelling was reliable, and that therefore "Balbinus" was a mistake for "Albinus," while "Pupienus" was a mistake for "Pompeianus." These mistaken assumptions are unlikely to have been made by Ammianus, who would not have needed a consular list to verify the names of Pupienus and Balbinus because Ammianus was able to use the lost history of Victor, the secular Eusebius, and the obituary chronicle, none of which was available to Eustathius. Eustathius, however, having determined from the consular list what he considered to be the correct names of "Pompeianus" and "Albinus," and not realizing that "Pompeianus" (Pupienus) and Maximus were the same emperor, became even more confused than Ammianus had been and transmitted his confusion to Zonaras and the other chroniclers.

Apparently following John of Antioch, Eustathius, and Ammianus, Zonaras' account of the events of 238 begins with a narrative compatible with Herodian's. According to Zonaras, the army in Africa proclaimed Gordian I emperor. At Rome, Zonaras continues, the senate proclaimed two senators, Maximus (Pupienus) and "Albinus" (Balbinus). Maximinus besieged Maximus' forces in Aquileia but was killed by his own men. Yet when Maximus returned to Rome, the soldiers there killed him along with "Albinus."[122] Zonaras observes that "some record" that the senate chose Maximus and "Albinus" before learning of the proclamation of Gordian I. Ammianus probably took this otherwise unknown variant from the obituary chronicle, since Herodian says that the senate proclaimed Maximus and Balbinus only after learning of Gordian I's death[123]. Zonaras adds, still presumably following Ammianus, that "some" say Maximus and "Albinus" reigned for 22 days but "others" say it was "not quite three months." Apparently "not quite three months" was right, taken by Ammianus from the obituary chronicle, while "22 days" was the length of the reign of their predecessor Gordian I, which is also reported by Zonaras[124].

Zonaras continues as follows, evidently following Eustathius' version of Ammianus by way of John of Antioch and giving three variant accounts of subsequent events:

> But after these men [Maximus and "Albinus"], some record that a certain Pompeianus held the empire of the Romans but was very quickly deprived of it, having enjoyed his power as if in a dream; for [they say] that two months had not yet gone by when he was deprived at the same

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[121] The list's mistake of "Albinus" for Sabinus may show confusion with the Albinus who was a consul for 246. See *Paschal Chronicle* 501.1 ("Albinus"), 501.8–9 (Pompeianus), and 502.1 (Albinus).

[122] Cf. Zonaras XII 16 pp. 576.21–579.4 with John of Antioch frs. 222 and 224 and Herodian VII 4.1–6.2, VII 10.1–10, and VIII 1.1–8.8. Zonaras XII 16 p. 578.2.3, mistakenly identifying Aquileia with "the present Venice," must be an addition by Zonaras himself.

[123] Cf. Zonaras XII 16 p. 577.18–20 with Herodian VII 10.1–3.

[124] Cf. Zonaras XII 17 p. 579.5–7 with Zonaras XII 17 p. 579.18–22.

time of his rule and of his life, being killed, though by what persons and for what reason I too have omitted, not having discovered this. Yet others say that along with him ["Pompeianus"] a certain other man, Puplius Balbinus, was put in office; and he too, having tasted very little of imperial power (for they assign him a reign of around three months), was killed, as soon as Gordian [I] arrived from Libya, having been proclaimed there, as I have already said. But [they say] that Gordian was ill when he disembarked at Rome, both because he was extremely old (for he had lived 79 years) and because he suffered severely while delayed at sea on his voyage; and from this affliction he died, having spent only 22 days in [power]. And [they say] that he had as successor to his reign his own son, who was also called Gordian and had the same name as his own father. While some have recorded that these things happened in this way, others say that certain people rose up against old Gordian when he was proclaimed in Libya, and when a battle broke out the forces of Gordian were defeated, and many of them were killed, actually including his son [Gordian II], and that he [old Gordian], being exceedingly distressed, hanged himself and thus departed this life[125].

Although Zonaras, Eustathius, and Ammianus all thought that these three variant accounts belonged after the deaths of Maximus and "Albinus"/Balbinus, they are in fact distorted accounts of the reigns of those same emperors, Maximus Pupienus and Balbinus. Zonaras and Eustathius failed to identify Maximus with "Pompeianus," "Albinus" with Balbinus, or Pupienus and Balbinus with "Puplius Balbinus." In the first version given by Zonaras, the "some" who "record that a certain Pompeianus held the empire" after Maximus and "Albinus" should apparently be identified with Victor's lost history, which said that Pupienus (whose name Eustathius changed to "Pompeianus") ruled briefly before he was killed. Zonaras appears to say that he had followed his source (John of Antioch) in omitting the unknown circumstances of the murder of "Pompeianus": "by what persons and for what reason ['Pompeianus' was killed] I *too* [like John of Antioch] have omitted (παρασιώπησα καὶ αὐτός), not having discovered this." Although Ammianus presumably described the circumstances of Pupienus' murder by the army at Rome, Eustathius' summary of Ammianus copied by John of Antioch apparently did not.

In the second version given by Zonaras, the "others" who "say that along with him [Pupienus] a certain other man, Puplius Balbinus, was put in office" should apparently be identified with the secular Eusebius. Eusebius seems therefore to be the source who misinterpreted "Pupienus" as a misspelling of "Puplius" (Publius). Zonaras errs by making Pupienus ("Pompeianus") reign alone for two months, but Zonaras' next variant correctly gives Pupienus ("Pompeianus") and Balbinus ("Puplius Balbinus") a joint reign of about three months, while mistakenly assuming that Gordian I was still alive when the two later emperors were proclaimed and killed. That mistake however agrees with the variant that Zonaras cites earlier and that Zosimus presumably repeated from the secular Eusebius: that the senate proclaimed Pupienus and Balbinus before learning of the proclamation of Gordian I[126]. Zosimus also includes Zonaras' erroneous variant that Gordians I and II, "dying because of the violence of a storm on their sea voyage" from Africa, were succeeded by Gordian III, "the son of one of these" Gordians[127]. (Gordian III was actually Gordian I's grandson by his daughter.) Here Zosimus and Zonaras are similarly confused about the identity of Gordian III and differ from Herodian, who says Gordians I and II were already dead by this time. Yet Zonaras' and Zosimus' lack of verbal parallels with each other reveals Eustathius' summarizing in Greek of Ammianus' Latin summary of Eusebius.

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[125] Zonaras XII 17 pp. 579.8–580.6; at p. 579.13–14, I emend ἕτερόν τινα. μεθ' ὃν Πούπλιον το ἕτερόν τινα μεθ' οὗ Πούπλιον.
[126] Cf. Zonaras XII 16 p. 577.18–20 with Zosimus I 14.1–2.
[127] Cf. Zonaras XII 17 p. 579.18–22 with Zosimus I 16.1.

In the third version given by Zonaras, Herodian should apparently be identified with the "others" who say that before Gordian I could leave Africa, rebels defeated him there and killed his son Gordian II, causing Gordian I to hang himself[128]. This is Herodian's version, which Ammianus accepted, because he says in his Book XXVI that Gordian I hanged himself in despair[129]. Yet Ammianus must have accepted Herodian's version only after describing and rejecting Eusebius' version, which had apparently been circulated by partisans of Gordian III to conceal the inglorious deaths of his relatives Gordian I, who hanged himself in despair, and Gordian II, who was defeated and killed in battle. Note that neither these two versions nor Ammianus shared the mistake of Eutropius that Gordians II and III were the same emperor. Stover and Woudhuysen have plausibly argued that this error, which many scholars had attributed to the *Kaisergeschichte*, was not in Victor's lost history but resulted from Eutropius' misunderstanding Victor[130]. While Ammianus' surviving books refer to Gordian I as *superior Gordianus* and Gordian III as *iunior Gordianus*, Ammianus' lost books apparently referred to Gordian II as *senior Gordianus* (transliterated by Eustathius as Γορδιανὸς Σενίωρ)[131].

Thus Ammianus' digression on the sources for the year 238 can be reconstructed from Zonaras approximately as follows. Ammianus summarized and endorsed Herodian's version: Gordian I was proclaimed in Africa but hanged himself when his son Gordian II died in battle; then the senate proclaimed Maximus and Balbinus at Rome; Maximinus was killed while besieging Maximus in Aquileia; but then Maximus and Balbinus were killed at Rome. Yet Ammianus also reported the version of Victor's lost history: Pupienus ruled next, either by himself or with Balbinus. Ammianus further reported the version of the secular Eusebius: the senate chose Maximus and Balbinus before learning of the proclamation of Gordian I; Maximus and Balbinus were killed when Gordian I arrived from Africa; then Gordians I and II died after their sea voyage (from seasickness?) and were succeeded by Gordian III. Finally Ammianus briefly repeated Herodian's version, which he accepted.

Eustathius distorted Ammianus' digression by changing Pupienus to "Pompeianus" and Balbinus to "Albinus." In summarizing John of Antioch, Zonaras included Ammianus' discussion of the differences among the sources but not Eustathius' summary of Herodian, probably because Zonaras, as he explains in his own general preface, omitted variants that he considered superfluous[132]. Yet Zonaras was interested in the historical problems discussed by Ammianus in his digression and thought that his readers should know about the variant accounts. Zonaras goes on to say, "those who attribute the rule of the Romans to [Gordian I's] son the young Gordian after the death of the elder Gordian from illness" (evidently meaning the secular Eusebius and his sources) also say that Gordian (II) reigned six years and died after falling from his horse while fighting the Persians[133].

Later Zonaras says that "after the young Gordian [II]" died, "another Gordian" related to him (his nephew Gordian III) took the throne and defeated the Persians, retaking Nisibis and Carrhae, which had been lost under Maximinus; but after reigning for six years, Gordian III was killed because of a plot by his successor Philip the Arab (244–249). This account of Gordian III clearly parallels George Syncellus, who mentions Gordian III's retaking Nisibis and Carrhae before his murder. It also parallels Ammianus' Book XXIII, John of Antioch, Scutariotes, and Zosimus in reporting Gordian III's victorious Persian campaign and murder; Zosimus adds that Philip told the senate

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[128] Cf. Zonaras XII 17 p. 580.1–6 with John of Antioch fr. 224.44–67 and Herodian VII 9.1–10.

[129] Ammianus XXVI 6.20.

[130] Stover – Woudhuysen, Lost History 297–300, referring to Eutropius IX 2 (ed. J. Hellegouarc'h, Eutrope: Abrégé d'histoire romaine. Paris 1999) and *Historia Abbreviata* ("Aurelius Victor") 27.1–7.

[131] See Ammianus XXIII 5.17 (*superior Gordianus*) and XXVI 6.20 (*iunior Gordianus*) and *Paschal Chronicle* 501.6 and 502.2 (Γορδιανὸς Σενίωρ).

[132] See Zonaras, preface 2 p. 8.20–23.

[133] Zonaras XII 17 p. 580.7–14.

his victim had died "from an affliction (νόσῳ)," which could mean the accident of falling from his horse, presumably the story that Philip told to conceal his responsibility for Gordian's death[134]. Again Zosimus must have shared a source with Ammianus, presumably the secular Eusebius, because Zosimus spells the name of Gordian's father-in-law differently from Zonaras and Scutariotes, showing the name's transliteration into Latin by Ammianus and back into Greek by Eustathius[135]. Apparently Zonaras, who is the only source to attribute Gordian III's six-year reign and Persian war to both Gordians, tried to reconcile the variant accounts of Gordian III's death—an accident and a plot—by assigning the first account to Gordian II and the second to Gordian III. Since Zonaras seems not to have taken this mistaken conjecture from John of Antioch, it appears not to have gone back to Eustathius or Ammianus.

While Ammianus, Eustathius, John of Antioch, and Zonaras all realized that they were summarizing variant accounts, Malalas tried to convert the variants into a single narrative. The material that the *Historical Excerpts* and *Paschal Chronicle* preserve from Malalas' lacuna seems to show that Malalas simply included as emperors all the variant names mentioned by Eustathius: Maximinus, "Albinus," "Pompeianus," Balbinus, "Puplius," "Gordian Senior," and "Philip Junior."[136] Malalas followed Eustathius' digression on sources negligently, added fanciful details, confused Maximinus with Maximus Pupienus, interpreted "Senior" and "Junior" as family names, combined Gordian II, Gordian III, and Philip into "Philip Junior," and absurdly explained that senior and junior army regiments (*seniores* and *iuniores*) had been named after Gordian "Senior" and Philip "Junior."[137] Probably Eustathius had assumed that his readers would understand such elementary Latin words as *iunior* and *senior*; but Malalas managed to misunderstand them anyway. George the Monk followed Malalas, including even more misinformation that George presumably took from Malalas' full text. The accounts of George Syncellus, Symeon, Cedrenus, and Scutariotes all look like blundering attempts to reconcile the variants in Ammianus' digression on sources as it was copied by Eustathius and John of Antioch.

VIII. AMMIANUS ON THE YEARS FROM 244 TO 253

Presumably following Ammianus, Zonaras reports that at the news of Gordian III's death in 244 the senate chose another emperor, Marcus "the philosopher," who immediately died, and then still another emperor, "Severus Hostilianus," who also promptly died after being bled for a disease[138]. The other chroniclers who used John of Antioch corroborate Zonaras' short notices on the ephemeral emperors Marcus and Hostilianus. Since Scutariotes says that Marcus died at age 43 and Hostilianus at age 46, Ammianus must have taken their names from the obituary chronicle[139]. Modern

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[134] Cf. Zonaras XII 17 p. 580.7–14 and XII 18 pp. 581.17–582.13, Scutariotes, *Synopsis* 36.20–31, George Syncellus A.M. 5731 p. 443.4–8, Ammianus XXIII 5.7 and 5.17, and John of Antioch fr. 225 with Zosimus I 18.2–19.1.

[135] Cf. Zosimus I 18.2 (Τιμησικλῆς) with Zonaras XII 18 p. 582.5 (Τιμησοκλέους) and Scutariotes, *Synopsis* 36.20 (Τιμισοκλέα) and 25 (Τιμισοκλέους).

[136] Malalas' order for these emperors can only be conjectured, since among the sources for his lacuna the *Paschal Chronicle* omits "Pompeianus" and "Albinus," the *Historical Excerpts* omits Balbinus, "Puplius," and Gordian, and George the Monk, pp. 460–465 lists Maximinus, Balbinus, "Puplianus," "Junor (*sic*)," Gordian, "Unior (*sic*)," Marcus, "Justillianus," and Philip. The order I adopt follows the appearance of these names in Zonaras XII 17–18 pp. 579.4 (Maximus), 579.5 ("Albinus"), 579.8 ("Pompeianus"), 579.13–14 ("Puplius Balbinus"), 579.17 (Gordian), and 582.1 (Philip). Note that in Thurn's edition of Malalas XII 24–25, pp. 226–227, Va–IXf, the presentation of fragments from the lacuna mistakenly includes passages from Scutariotes, who depended not on Malalas but on Eustathius via John of Antioch.

[137] See *Paschal Chronicle* 501.6 (Γορδιανὸς Σενίωρ), 501.13–17 (Σενιώρων), and 502.2–3 (Γορδιανὸς Σενίωρ) and pp. 502.5–6 (Φίλιππος ὁ Ἰουνίωρ), 502.14–19 (Ἰουνιώρων), and 503.2–5 (Φίλιππος ὁ Ἰουνίωρ), and cf. above, n. 131.

[138] Zonaras XII 18 pp. 581.17–582.21.

[139] See Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 46 and *Synopsis* 36.31–37.2 (Marcus died aged 43) and *Synopsis* 37.2–4 ("Ustillianus" died aged 46).

historians have either ignored the emperors "Marcus" and "Severus Hostilianus" or dismissed them as misunderstood variants of the names of sons of Philip and his successor Decius[140]. Ammianus however appears to have regarded them as ephemeral and inconsequential but not spurious or junior emperors, and perhaps we should entertain the possibility that he was right.

Ammianus evidently took the story of Philip's murder of Gordian III from the secular Eusebius (who was also followed by Zosimus) and from Victor's lost history (as preserved in the *Historia Abbreviata* and Eutropius)[141]. Zonaras, while repeating from the lost ecclesiastical history used by Eustathius that Philip was a pious Christian, otherwise adopts an account hostile to Philip, which was presumably derived from the propaganda of Philip's successor Decius: Philip, returning to Rome after fighting the "Scythians" (Carpi), sent Decius to fight the rebel Marinus in Moesia; then the army proclaimed Decius against his will; and, despite Decius' protestations of loyalty, Philip attacked Decius before dying in battle along with his son. Here Zonaras must have followed Ammianus, who again followed the secular Eusebius, because the same story is told by Zosimus[142]. Although George Syncellus and Symeon agree that Philip died fighting Decius, Scutariotes says that after his defeat Philip fled to Rome and died there[143]. Symeon and Cedrenus add that Philip died "fighting for the Christians against Decius."[144]

Strangely, an entry attributed by the *Historical Excerpts* to John of Antioch says that after defeating the Scythians Philip marched toward Byzantium, heard at Perinthus (near Byzantium) about a rebellion at Rome by Decius, and sent envoys to Rome, where they were bribed to support Decius; then Philip fled to Beroea (presumably in Macedonia), where assassins treacherously killed him[145]. This "excerpt" from John of Antioch is corroborated by no other source—neither Zonaras, Syncellus, Symeon, nor Scutariotes, all of whom usually summarize John of Antioch, nor the Latin chroniclers, nor Zosimus, who usually shared Ammianus' main source for this period, the secular Eusebius[146]. Seemingly one of the Constantinian excerptors, who sometimes took liberties with their texts, rewrote John of Antioch's account to make it more favorable to the supposedly Christian Philip and less favorable to the notorious persecutor Decius[147]. Probably the Byzantine excerptor substituted "Bero(e)a (Βερόη)," a city familiar to him, for John of Antioch's Verona (Βερόνη), the actual site of the battle between Philip and Decius according to Eutropius, Victor's lost history, Ammianus, and Eustathius[148]. Instead of having Philip return to Rome, the excerptor had Philip march toward Byzantium, probably because in the tenth century a victorious Byzantine emperor would naturally have returned there—that is, to Constantinople. This anachronistic fabrication turned Decius into an aggressive rebel against Philip rather than the reluctant emperor of the authentic texts of Ammianus, Eustathius, and John of Antioch.

For the later third century, even though Zonaras and John of Antioch often follow Zosimus sentence by sentence, they display practically no verbal parallels with Zosimus, including many differ-

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[140] See BANCHICH – LANE, History 91 nn. 32 and 33 and pp. 100–101 n. 50.

[141] Zonaras XII 18 pp. 581.19–582.14; John of Antioch fr. 225; George Syncellus A.M. 5731 p. 443.4–9; Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 46 and *Synopsis* 36.20–32; cf. Ammianus XXIII 5.7 and 5.17, Zosimus I 18–19, Eutropius IX 2, and *Historia Abbreviata* ("Aurelius Victor") 27.8.

[142] Cf. Zonaras XII 19 p. 584.1–21 with Zosimus I 20–22 (naming the Carpi).

[143] George Syncellus A.M. 5737, p. 444.16–18, Symeon 76.3, Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 48 and *Synopsis* 37.5–10.

[144] Symeon 76.3 (for ὑπὸ Δεκίου read κατὰ Δεκίου with manuscript C and Cedrenus 277).

[145] John of Antioch fr. 226.

[146] An inability to explain why the dependents of John of Antioch have accounts different from this supposed "excerpt" invalidates such attempts to defend it as C. PRICKARTZ, La chute de Philippe l'Arabe. *Études Classiques* 61 (1993) 51–64.

[147] See BANCHICH – LANE, History 9 on the occasional unreliability of the *Historical Excerpts*, though this invention about Philip and Decius is admittedly a more serious distortion than any of those they mention.

[148] Eutropius IX 3 and *Historia Abbreviata* ("Aurelius Victor") 28.10.

ent spellings of names[149]. Again, the only plausible explanation is that Eustathius, copied by John of Antioch and the chroniclers dependent on him, used material from the secular Eusebius that had been summarized from Greek into Latin by Ammianus and summarized back into Greek by Eustathius. Similarly, for this period the Constantinian *Historical Excerpts* from the history of Peter the Patrician show clear parallels of both content and wording with passages from Zonaras, Symeon, and Cedrenus[150]. Like them, Peter's excerpts also show striking differences in wording and spelling of names with passages from Zosimus and Dexippus, demonstrating that Peter was using Eustathius' version of Ammianus' Latin and not the original Greek of Dexippus—or its summary by the secular Eusebius, who was presumably the source that Zosimus and Ammianus shared[151].

Since Peter the Patrician wrote before John of Antioch did, here Peter must have directly consulted Eustathius, John's source, who summarized Ammianus' version of the secular Eusebius. On the other hand, Peter, who directly consulted Dio, Herodian, and several other sources, must also have directly consulted the secular Eusebius in some instances, because another excerpt from Peter's history shows clear parallels of content but clear differences in wording with Zonaras, including four different spellings of names in just four lines[152]. Evidently in this case Zonaras followed Eustathius' version of Ammianus but Peter consulted Eusebius directly, as is apparent from Peter's using a form of the name of Emesa similar to one in Zosimus[153]. Thus we can only be sure that material in Peter's excerpts derives from Eustathius' version of Ammianus rather than directly from the secular Eusebius when Peter's excerpts show verbal parallels with the texts dependent on Eustathius.

After Philip's death in 249 Scutariotes says that the army "proclaimed a certain Marius, surnamed 'the unworthy (εὐτελῆ).'"[154] Malalas also mentions Marius as an emperor proclaimed by the army in a passage found in the *Historical Excerpts* in a chronologically impossible position after Gallus (251–53) but *before* Gallus' predecessor Decius (249–51)[155]. Marius, "an unworthy man (ἀνὴρ εὐτελής)," reappears in the excerpts from John of Antioch during the reign of Gallienus

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[149] See Zonaras XII 21 p. 589.16 (Βολουσιανὸν; cf. John of Antioch fr. 229.1, Βουλουσιανοῦ, and George Syncellus A.M. 5746 p. 459.14, Βουλουσιανῷ), XII 23, p. 592.20 (Γαλιήνῳ), XII 24 p. 596.19 (τὰ Μεδιόλανα), XII 24 p. 596.20 (Αἰρούλοις; cf. George Syncellus A.M. 5748 p. 467.15, Αἴλουροι), XII 24 p. 597.18 (Ἀλβανὸν, an error for Σιλβανὸν), XII 26 p. 605.17 (Κυντιλιανὸν; cf. John of Antioch fr. 234.1, Κυντίλιος, and George Syncellus A.M. 5763, p. 469.21–22, Κεντίλλιος), and XII 29 p. 609.10 (Σατορνίνου); and contrast these names with Zosimus I 24.1 (Οὐολουσιανὸν), I 30.1 (Γαλλιηνὸν), I 38.2 (Σιλβανὸν), I 40.1 (Μεδιολάνῳ), I 42.1 (Ἐρούλους), I 47.1 (Κυντίλλου), and I 66.1 (Σατουρνῖνος). Contrast also George Syncellus A.M. 5746 p. 459.9 (Φιλιππόπολιν, an obviously Latinized form) and John of Antioch frs. 230.3 (Ποστούμιος) and 231.1 (Ὀδενάθος) with Zosimus I 24.2 (Φιλιππουπόλεως), I 39.2 (Ὀδαίναθος), and I 40.1 (Ποστούμου). In Scutariotes, *Synopsis* 38.22 the city of Salona (Σάλονα) is a misunderstanding of the name of Gallienus' son Saloninus (see Zosimus I 38.2, Σαλωνῖνος), while Zonaras XII 24 p. 597 misunderstood that Gallienus' son had the same name as his father (ὁμώνυμον).

[150] Cf. Zonaras XII 22 p. 591.9–13 with Peter, *Historical Excerpts* IV (*On Proverbs*), p. 264.7–13 (with a quotation; ed. U.P. Boissevain – C. de Boor, T. Büttner-Wobst, Excerpta historica iussu Constantini Porphyrogeniti confecta, 4 vols. Berlin 1903–1906); cf. Zonaras XII 26 pp. 604.20–605.6 (with a quotation), Symeon 81.2, and Cedrenus 283 with Peter, *Historical Excerpts* IV (*On Proverbs*), p. 267.7–13; cf. Zonaras XII 27 p. 606.7–13 (with a quotation) with Peter, *Historical Excerpts* IV (*On Proverbs*), p. 268.5–12; and cf. Zonaras XIII 7.18–28 (with a quotation) with Peter, *Historical Excerpts* I 2 (*On Foreign Embassies*), p. 395.1–32 (where the misspelling Βρεττανίων for Βετρανίων is apparently Peter's own). For Banchich's conclusive identification of Peter as the *Anonymus post Dionem*, see above, Section III and n. 43.

[151] Cf. Peter, *Historical Excerpts* I 1 (*On Roman Embassies*), p. 1.1–10 (Βαλλεριανός) with Zosimus I 36.2 (Οὐαλεριανοῦ); and cf. Peter, *Historical Excerpts* I 2 (*On Foreign Embassies*), p. 393.7–9 (Οὐανδαλοί) with Dexippus, *Historical Excerpts* I 2 (*On Foreign Embassies*), pp. 385.21–386.4 (Βανδῆλοι).

[152] Cf. Zonaras XII 24 pp. 599.23–600.9 (Κύϊντος, Μακρίνου, Ἐμέσῃ, Ὠδέναθον) with Peter, *Historical Excerpts* IV (*On Proverbs*), p. 266.25–29 (Κύντος, Μακριανοῦ, Ἐμίσῃ, Ὀδέναθος).

[153] Cf. Zosimus I 39.2, I 51.2, I 52.1, I 54.2, and I 56.2 (all Ἐμίσαν).

[154] Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 49 and *Synopsis* 37.10–11 (where the senate proclaims Marius).

[155] Malalas from *Historical Excerpts* III (*On Plots*), p. 159.30–33.

(253–68) as the successor of the usurper "Postumius," obviously a misspelling of the Gallic emperor Postumus, who according to both Zosimus and Zonaras died after Gallienus did[156]. Marius' surname might be translated "the frugal" had not Eutropius, presumably copying Victor's lost history, named *Marius vilissimus* ("Marius the most unworthy") as the emperor proclaimed by the army to succeed Postumus, again under Gallienus[157]. Eutropius and John of Antioch assign Marius a reign of two days, though Scutariotes gives him a reign of five months[158]. Marius cannot have reigned for only two days, because some of his coins survive[159]. Since Victor (as epitomized in the *Historia Abbreviata*) records that Marius' successor was chosen two days after his death, using language that could be misread to mean that Marius reigned two days, Eutropius must have misunderstood Victor[160]. Ammianus' source for Marius' reign of two days must have been Eutropius, apparently because Ammianus wanted to record the length of Marius' reign and no other source mentioned it[161].

Evidently Victor and Eutropius said that Marius succeeded Postumus under Gallienus, while the secular Eusebius (like Zosimus), without mentioning Marius, said that Postumus survived Gallienus. Ammianus would therefore have found in Eusebius' history that Postumus survived Gallienus but in Victor and Eutropius that Marius succeeded Postumus under Gallienus. Faced with this contradictory evidence, Ammianus seems to have professed his inability to date Marius. While Zonaras and Symeon simply omitted Marius, Malalas fitted Marius into his work at random, perhaps distorting his chronology in the process. Scutariotes tried to date Marius "the unworthy" by identifying him with the similarly-named rebel Marinus, who was proclaimed by the army as a rival to Philip and was considered by Decius to be "unworthy of the imperial office."[162] The reign of five months reported by Scutariotes for Marius was probably attributed by Ammianus and Eustathius not to Marius but to Marinus.

Besides Decius' persecution of Christians, which Eustathius presumably summarized from the lost ecclesiastical history that he consulted, Zonaras describes Decius' war with the "barbarians" (Goths), his betrayal by Gallus, and his death in a swamp in Thrace, all of which evidently appeared in Ammianus' summary of the secular Eusebius and are paralleled in Zosimus[163]. Note that Ammianus alludes in his surviving Book XXXI to Decius' death in a swamp while fighting the "barbarians."[164] Turning to Gallus, Zonaras expresses doubt as to whether Gallus was the same as Volusianus or Volusianus was Gallus' son (as he actually was). Both alternatives must go back to Eustathius and probably to Ammianus, because the chroniclers dependent on John of Antioch chose either one of them or the other: Scutariotes refers to "Gallus Olusianus," Symeon distinguishes Gallus from Volusianus, and Cedrenus, probably following Malalas, says Volusianus was Gallus' son[165]. Zosimus (following the secular Eusebius) and Victor and Eutropius agree that

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156 Cf. Zosimus I 40 and Zonaras XII 26 p. 604.12–19 with John of Antioch fr. 230, in line 1 reading ‹ἐπὶ› Γαλλίων ‹Ποστούμι›ος ("in Gaul, Postumius") with Eutropius IX 9.1 (*Postumus in Gallia*) for the editors' ‹ἐπὶ Γαλλιηνοῦ Ποστούμιος› ("under Gallienus, Postumius") and the manuscripts' Γαλλιηνὸς; note that the events described actually occurred under Claudius II, not under Gallienus.

157 Eutropius IX 9.1–2; cf. *Historia Abbreviata* ("Aurelius Victor") 33.8–12 and *Historia Augusta* XXIV 8 (ed. E. HOHL, Scriptores Historiae Augustae, rev. ed., 2 vols. Stuttgart 1997).

158 Eutropius IX 9.2, John of Antioch fr. 230, and Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 49 (*Synopsis* 37.10–11 has a lacuna for the number of months).

159 D. KIENAST, Römische Kaisertabelle. Darmstadt 1996, 245.

160 See STOVER – WOUDHUYSEN, Lost History 303, citing *Historia Abbreviata* ("Aurelius Victor") 33.12.

161 For evidence that Ammianus sometimes used Eutropius directly, see above, Section III and n. 61.

162 Zonaras XII 19 p. 584.2–8. On Marinus (Pacatianus), see KIENAST, Römische Kaisertabelle 201.

163 Cf. Zonaras XII 19 pp. 583.1–9 and 584.1–24 and Scutariotes, *Synopsis* 37.26–30 with Zosimus I 23.

164 Ammianus XXXI 5.16 and XXXI 13.13.

165 Cedrenus 279.3.

Volusianus was Gallus' son[166]. By process of elimination, the mistake that Volusianus was another name for Gallus probably appeared in the obituary chronicle.

In a revealing passage, George Syncellus says that Gallus and his colleagues "according to Dexippus reigned for eighteen months, having done nothing remarkable." Although Syncellus thought Dexippus was the source for both the length of Gallus' reign and the disparaging comment about Gallus, the comment appears without the length of the reign in Eutropius, who depended on Victor's lost history and surely had no access to Dexippus[167]. Both the length of reign and the comment evidently reached Syncellus through Ammianus, because only Ammianus consulted both Victor's lost history and Eusebius' summary of Dexippus. Eustathius' summary of Ammianus (though not necessarily Ammianus' original text) must have cited Dexippus for the length of Gallus' reign in a way that misled Syncellus to think that Dexippus was also the source of the disparaging comment. Only the length of the reign of Gallus and his colleagues, not the comment on them, should be attributed to Dexippus.

IX. AMMIANUS ON THE YEARS FROM 253 TO 284

While the lacuna in Malalas' text ends with the year 253, his treatment of the reigns of Valerian (253–259) and Gallienus (253–268) consists mostly of Malalas' own fabrications. Apparently Valerian's age at his death passed unrecorded in the obituary chronicle because Valerian died in Persian captivity at a date unknown to the Romans. Zonaras gives an extensive account of the reign of Valerian's son Gallienus, including what looks like a summary of an obituary by Ammianus that parallels references to Gallienus in Ammianus' surviving Books XIV and XXI[168]. Zonaras records that after the "barbarians" captured Athens under Gallienus they were about to burn all the books they found there, when one of their wise men dissuaded them by commenting that "the Greeks, occupying themselves with these things, neglect military matters and thus become easy to defeat." In this passage Zonaras must have substituted "the Greeks" for "the Romans," because "the Romans" is the reading in the same story as told by Peter the Patrician, Symeon, Cedrenus, and presumably Eustathius and Ammianus[169].

Zonaras, Symeon, Cedrenus, and Eutropius all report that Claudius II (268–270) was the grandfather of Constantius I and so the great-grandfather of Constantine I, an item of Constantinian propaganda evidently recorded by Victor's lost history, Ammianus, and Eustathius[170]. Although for some reason Zonaras calls Constantine's father "Constans," John of Antioch, Malalas, and Symeon correctly call him Constantius, as Ammianus and Eustathius presumably did. Zonaras includes a favorable judgment on Claudius II like the one Ammianus expresses in his Book XXXI[171]. Zonaras also mentions that "historians do not agree among themselves about the length of Claudius' reign," with some saying that he ruled one year and others two years[172]. Here, as before, Zonaras evidently reports variants recorded by Ammianus, Eustathius, and John of Antioch, while the other chroni-

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166 Cf. Zosimus I 24.1, Eutropius IX 5, and *Historia Abbreviata* ("Aurelius Victor") 30.1.

167 Cf. George Syncellus A.M. 5746 p. 459.15–16 (βασιλεύουσι κατὰ Δέξιππον μῆνας ιη΄, πράξαντες οὐδὲν ἀξιόλογον) with Eutropius IX 5 (*nihil omnino clarum gesserunt*); cf. John of Antioch fr. 229.6 (οὐδέ τι λαμπρὸν ἢ βασιλείας ἄξιον κατειργασμένοι).

168 Cf. Zonaras XII 25 p. 602.15–18 (Gallienus' leniency to plotters and desire for popularity) with Ammianus XIV 1.9 (Gallienus' inquiring about his popularity) and XXI 16.9–10 (Gallienus' leniency to plotters).

169 Cf. Zonaras XII 26 pp. 604.23–605.6 with Peter, *Historical Excerpts* IV (*On Proverbs*), p. 267.7–13, Symeon 81.2, and Cedrenus 283.

170 Cf. Eutropius IX 22.1 with Zonaras XII 26 p. 606.5–6, Symeon 81.1–3, and Cedrenus 283.

171 Ammianus XXXI 5.17.

172 Zonaras XII 26 p. 606.2–4. The words "among whom is also Eusebius," referring to those who record a reign of two years, were probably added by Eustathius, meaning not the secular Eusebius but Eusebius of Caesarea, *Ecclesiastical History* VII 28.4 (ed. E. SCHWARTZ, Eusebius: Kirchengeschichte, 2nd ed. Leipzig 1908).

clers chose between the variants: George Syncellus and Symeon selected one year and Malalas, George the Monk, Scutariotes, and Cedrenus selected two years.

Zonaras and the other chroniclers express ambivalence about the emperor Aurelian (270–275), especially in a fragment of John of Antioch that looks like one of Ammianus' obituaries and agrees with the somewhat unfavorable judgment of Aurelian that Ammianus expresses in his Book XXX[173]. Frequent parallels with Zosimus indicate that Ammianus' main source for this period remained the secular Eusebius, whose work continued after Dexippus' history ended with 270. Ammianus' Book XXII refers to rioting in Alexandria under Aurelian that is also recorded by Zosimus, presumably from Eusebius[174]. Ammianus seems to have been the source of the Byzantine chroniclers' favorable treatment of the emperors Tacitus (275–276) and Probus (276–282).

Still presumably following Ammianus and Eustathius, Zonaras considers the reigns of Carus and his sons Numerian and Carinus from 282 to 285 as a single reign, which Zonaras says lasted "not three years," while George Syncellus, Symeon, and Cedrenus say two years. Malalas and Scutariotes, who suppose that these three emperors reigned in sequence rather than as colleagues, assign each of them a reign of two years. In considering these reigns as a unit Ammianus probably followed the narrative of the secular Eusebius, who concluded his history with them. The observation of Symeon and Cedrenus that Carus was the fourth emperor to capture Ctesiphon after Trajan, Verus, and Severus probably copies a cross-reference made by Ammianus that resembled those in his surviving books[175].

Again presumably following Ammianus and Eustathius, Zonaras observes that different sources recorded two versions of Carus' death. In the first version, after defeating the Persians, Carus died campaigning against the "Huns" (Sarmatians); in the second version, after defeating the Sarmatians, Carus was struck by lightning near the Tigris while campaigning against the Persians. Next Zonaras says that different sources recorded two versions of Numerian's death. In the first, Numerian was captured by the Persians and flayed alive; in the second, Numerian was murdered on his return from the Persian campaign by his praetorian prefect (later identified as Aper) and succeeded by Diocletian, who then killed Carinus at Rome[176]. Here Ammianus appears to have combined the first version of Carus' death and the first version of Numerian's death into a single narrative that he then rejected, and to have combined the alternative versions of Carus' and Numerian's deaths into an alternative narrative that he preferred.

Ammianus' rejected narrative, the one chosen by Scutariotes, Malalas, Symeon, and Cedrenus, was that Carus died (according to Symeon and Cedrenus from the plague) while campaigning against the Sarmatians; Numerian then campaigned against the Persians and was captured and flayed; Carinus avenged Numerian by defeating the Persians; and Carinus was then killed by Diocletian. Ammianus' preferred narrative, the one chosen by Eutropius, Victor, and Syncellus, was that Carus first defeated the Sarmatians and then, accompanied on his campaign by Numerian, defeated the Persians and was killed by lightning; Numerian, while returning from this campaign, was killed by Aper; Aper was executed by Diocletian; and finally Diocletian killed Carinus in the West.

Ammianus' preferred narrative, most of which has been accepted by modern historians, was that of Victor's lost history, which said that Diocletian killed Carinus in a battle on the Margus River, though Zonaras and George Syncellus say that he was killed at Rome. The narrative that Ammianus rejected was badly muddled, assigning to Carus a death from the plague that had actually happened to Claudius II and assigning to Numerian a capture by the Persians that had actually happened to Valerian. This rejected version probably came from the obituary chronicle that was com-

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[173] Cf. John of Antioch fr. 235 with Ammianus XXX 8.8.
[174] Cf. Ammianus XXII 16.15 with Zosimus I 61.1.
[175] Cf. Symeon 85 and Cedrenus 296 with Ammianus XXIII 6.24 and XXV 8.5.
[176] Zonaras XII 30 pp. 611.9–612.2.

piled after 337, since its errors seem too blatant to attribute to the secular Eusebius writing soon after 285. Eusebius' version, most of which has disappeared in a lacuna in Zosimus' text, probably resembled that of Victor's lost history, except that Eusebius, who was apparently less well informed about events in the West than in the East, probably said that Diocletian killed Carinus at Rome, as is recorded by Zonaras and George Syncellus[177].

For the reign of Carinus, which is missing from our text of Zosimus because of the lacuna, we can compare an excerpt from Eunapius with an excerpt from John of Antioch that is evidently derived from Ammianus by way of Eustathius[178]. Although the full excerpt from Eunapius is not attributed to him by the *Suda* in its article on Carinus, in other articles the *Suda* attributes four different passages within it to Eunapius, showing that Eunapius was the source of the whole excerpt[179]. As Stover and Woudhuysen have pointed out, part of this excerpt from Eunapius shows clear parallels of content to Eutropius' *Breviarium*, which they take as evidence that Eunapius somehow consulted Victor, Eutropius' source, although we have no grounds to suppose that Eunapius knew Latin[180]. Yet Eunapius' excerpt also shows verbal parallels with Paeanius' Greek translation of Eutropius[181]. Since Paeanius' translation can be dated before 380, and Eunapius completed the first edition of his history around 397, the obvious explanation for these parallels is that Eunapius found and consulted Paeanius' translation of Eutropius[182]. Eunapius then combined this material from Paeanius with material from the secular Eusebius, the Greek source that Eunapius shared with Ammianus[183]. The combined accounts of the reigns of Carus, Numerian, and Carinus in all the Byzantine sources for fragments of Ammianus support the conjecture that the secular Eusebius concluded his history with the death of Carinus in 285 rather than the death of Carus in 283.

Ammianus naturally needed to rely on written sources for the years up to 285, some 45 years before he was born and around a century before he composed the first installment of his history. His main sources after Herodian's history ended with 238 were evidently Victor's lost history, the secular Eusebius, and the obituary chronicle. When these sources disagreed, as they often did, Ammianus seems to have recorded their different accounts, expressing a preference for one of them in some cases and perhaps in all cases, since his text has reached us only in incomplete summaries. Eustathius, copied by John of Antioch, apparently preserved most of Ammianus' different versions in his summary of Ammianus. George Syncellus, Symeon, Cedrenus, Zonaras, and Scutariotes usually recorded only whichever one of John of Antioch's versions they preferred and omitted the remaining material that they rejected.

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177 As usual, see the Appendix for full references, and on the secular Eusebius' account of these years see above, Section IV and n. 73. The possibly correct report of George Syncellus A.M. 5776 p. 472.14 that Numerian reigned alone for just 30 days may derive from either the secular Eusebius or Victor's lost history but probably not from the obituary chronicle, which apparently recorded only the length of the combined reigns of Carus, Numerian, and Carinus.

178 Cf. John of Antioch fr. 246 with Eunapius of Sardis fr. I 5.1 (ed. and trans. R.C. BLOCKLEY, The Fragmentary Classicising Historians of the Later Roman Empire: Eunapius, Olympiodorus, Priscus and Malchus II 2–150. Liverpool 1983).

179 See PASCHOUD, Zosime I 188–189 n. 102 and STOVER – WOUDHUYSEN, Lost History 395 n. 118.

180 STOVER – WOUDHUYSEN, Lost History 395–396.

181 Cf. Eunapius fr. I 5.1 (ὕβρεις … ὕβρεις … ἐγκλήματά τε ἀνέπλαττε) with Paeanius IX 19.1 (πλάττων ἐγκλήματα … ὕβριζεν) (ed. H. DROYSEN, Eutropius Breviarium cum versionibus graecis et Pauli Landolfique additamentis [*Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi* II], new ed. Berlin 1961).

182 For the date of Paeanius' translation, see DROYSEN, Eutropius Breviarium p. xxi, and for the date of Eunapius' first edition, see TREADGOLD, Early Byzantine Historians 81–83.

183 It follows that Blockley's Eunapius fr. I 5.2 is not a fragment of Eunapius and Paschoud's Zosimus I 73 is not a fragment of Zosimus, though since Zosimus followed Eunapius closely Paschoud is doubtless right that his Zosimus I 72, which he correctly attributes to Eunapius, must have been very similar to the relevant passage of Zosimus.

X. AMMIANUS ON THE YEARS FROM 284 TO 353

Besides Zonaras, our best source for Ammianus' narrative of Diocletian's reign is Theophanes Confessor. Theophanes presumably inherited George's copy of John of Antioch, since on his deathbed Syncellus had begged Theophanes to continue the work George had left unfinished and left him "the materials to complete what was lacking."[184] Among the otherwise unattested facts evidently transmitted by Zonaras and Theophanes from John of Antioch and Ammianus are that Diocletian had been Duke of Moesia before becoming emperor and visited Rome at the beginning of his reign[185]. In a particularly clear case, John, copied by Zonaras and Theophanes, repeats a misinterpretation of Ammianus' Latin by Eustathius. Following Eutropius and Victor, Ammianus mentioned the Quinquegentiani ("men of the five tribes"), Moors who raided Roman Africa under Maximian. Eustathius, however, misread QVINQVEGENTIANI as "five Gentiani" (*quinque Gentiani*) as if Gentianus were a family name[186]. This mistake was so natural for someone unfamiliar with the Quinquegentiani that Paeanius made it independently in his Greek translation of Eutropius[187].

In describing the triumph that Diocletian and Maximian celebrated before they abdicated in 305, Ammianus evidently included a digression on triumphs, which unlike most of his digressions was summarized by Eustathius and copied by Malalas, John of Antioch, Theophanes, Symeon, Cedrenus, and Zonaras[188]. Even though Diocletian's persecution of Christians was notorious, both John of Antioch and George Syncellus praise Diocletian for his virtue, intelligence, and diligence, crticizing only his absolutism[189]. The apparent reason for their praise is that they were copying Ammianus' obituary of Diocletian, which was itself based on Victor's lost history. To judge from Malalas, John of Antioch, Symeon, and Cedrenus, Ammianus recorded, probably correctly, that Diocletian died at age 72 after twelve years of retirement, having been born in 244 and dying in 316[190]. Malalas says that Maximian (whom Malalas wrongly describes as Diocletian's successor, not his colleague) was 57 when he died in 310, which may also be correct and depend on Ammianus[191]. Malalas is in fact our best source for the birthdates of the tetrarchs, which he copied fairly accurately from Eustathius' version of Ammianus, who had in turn relied on the obituary chronicle[192]. John of Antioch's laudatory account of Constantius I, copied by Theophanes, Zonaras,

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184 Theophanes, preface pp. 3–4 (ed. C. DE BOOR, Theophanis Chronographia, 2 vols. Leipzig 1883–1885) . On Theophanes' use of John of Antioch, see TREADGOLD, Middle Byzantine Historians 70–73.

185 On Ammianus' treatment of the years from 285 to 337, see also TREADGOLD, Byzantine Historiography 555–562.

186 Cf. John of Antioch fr. 247.12–13 (ε΄ ἀνδρῶν Γεντιανῶν), Zonaras XII 31 p. 615.12 (πέντε τινῶν Γεντιανῶν), and Theophanes A.M. 5788 p. 8.1–2 (πέντε Γεντιανοὶ) with Eutropius IX 22.1 (*Quinquegentiani*) and *Historia Abbreviata* ("Aurelius Victor") 39.22 (*nationes Quinquegentanae*, presumably not the form used by Ammianus, because it was clear enough that Eustathius should have understood it).

187 Cf. Paeanius IX 22.1 (Γειτιανοί, πέντε δὲ ἦσαν οὗτοι), where the independence of the error is apparent from Paeanius' misspelling "Geitiani" (not noticed by ROBERTO, Ioannis Antiocheni Fragmenta cxxxiii, who believes John of Antioch used Paeanius' translation).

188 John of Antioch fr. 250; Theophanes A.M. 5796 p. 10.14–17, Symeon 86.2, Cedrenus 299.1, Zonaras XII 32 pp. 618.14–619.9; cf. Malalas XII 45.

189 Cf. John of Antioch fr. 251.1 and George Syncellus A.M. 5776 p. 472.25–26 with Eutropius IX 26 and *Historia Abbreviata* ("Aurelius Victor") 39.26–29 and 48.

190 See the discussion of the evidence in BARNES, New Empire 30–32. The texts dependent on Ammianus indicate that Diocletian, who abdicated on 1 May 305, was born on 22 December 244 and died on 3 December 316. John of Antioch frs. 251.1 and 251.2 contradict each other, the first saying that Diocletian lived three years after abdicating and the second saying twelve years; but the first fragment, from the *Suda*, was probably altered because of a misreading of Zosimus II 7.2–8.1, who says that Diocletian died three years after the third consulship of Constantine and Licinius in 313 (i.e., in 316).

191 See BARNES, New Empire 32–35 and 46.

192 The obituary chronicle included ages for Constantius I, Galerius, Licinius, and Constantine, but apparently not for Severus, Maxentius, and Maximinus, though Malalas, our only source for all the ages but Constantine's, may possibly have omitted

and Scutariotes, is closely paralleled in Eutropius, evidently because it came from Victor's lost history by way of Ammianus, Eustathius, and John of Antioch[193].

Eustathius' treatment of Constantine, as it appears from John of Antioch and the chroniclers who consulted him, owed more to Christian sources than to Ammianus[194]. Yet even for Constantine's reign Eustathius did consult Ammianus, including Ammianus' obituary of Constantine, based on Victor's lost history, which Eustathius apparently modified to make it less critical of Constantine's extravagance[195]. Symeon and Cedrenus also record how a "philosopher" named Metrodorus caused a war with Persia by giving Constantine jewels but falsely claiming that the Persian King Sapor II had stolen other jewels from Metrodorus that the emperor then demanded from Sapor. This incident is mentioned both by Victor (as epitomized in the *Libellus Breviatus*) and by Ammianus himself, who says in Book XXV that he had described earlier how Constantine provoked the war when he "greedily accepted the lies of Metrodorus." Presumably Ammianus took this story from Victor, and Symeon and Cedrenus took it from John of Antioch[196]. A report that Constantine insulted previous emperors, recorded by Victor (in the *Libellus Breviatus*) and repeated by Peter the Patrician, seems also to derive from Ammianus, whose Book XXVII refers to one of the insults they mention, Constantine's calling Trajan "wall-weed" because his inscriptions appeared on so many walls[197].

Another criticism preserved by John of Antioch reveals its transmission by Ammianus through a misunderstanding by Eustathius: that Constantine "killed the son of his sister Commoda by treachery (τῆς ἀδελφῆς τὸν υἱὸν Κομμόδης διαφθείρει δόλῳ)." A passage that Eutropius evidently copied from Victor's lost history says that Constantine "killed his sister's son, a youth of agreeable character (*sororis filium commodae indolis iuvenem interfecit*)."[198] Here Eutropius may well have been Ammianus' direct source, because in Eustathius' manuscript Ammianus' wording must have been either the same or almost the same as that of Eutropius: SORORISFILIVMCOMMODAEINDOLISIVVENEMINTERFECIT[199]. Eustathius evidently misunderstood "agreeable (*commodae*)" as the sister's name "Commoda (*Commodae*)" and "character (*indolis*)" as "amid deceits (*in dolis*)," omitting "youth (*iuvenem*)" as an unnecessary detail. Like Eustathius' mistake about Nerva's adoption of Hadrian, this was a misreading rather than a true mistranslation, and need not mean that Eustathius' Latin was defective. Eustathius may have relied mostly on Christian sources for Constantine's reign not so much because Ammianus criticized Constantine, since Eustathius and Zonaras repeated several of Ammianus' criticisms, as because Ammianus had less to say about

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some of them. Most of Malalas' ages seem plausible, as noted by Barnes, New Empire 46 (where the "implied birth date" for Galerius should be 258 instead of "249").

193 Cf. Eutropius X 1.2–3 with John of Antioch fr. 194, Theophanes A.M. 5796 pp. 10.17–11.2, Zonaras XII 33 p. 622.15–22, and Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 64 and *Synopsis* 41.20–23.

194 See Banchich – Lane, History 189–210. The question is complicated by parallels between Zonaras' *Epitome* and a hagiographical text on Pope St. Sylvester attributed to Zonaras himself; see Kampianaki, John Zonaras' *Epitome* 19 and 56. In any case, this Christian material must be independent of Ammianus.

195 Cf. Zonaras XIII 4.29–34, John of Antioch frs. 254 and 255, and Cedrenus 300.3 and 314.1 with Eutropius X 6.3–8.1 and *Libellus Breviatus* ("*Epitome de Caesaribus*") 41.14 and 41.16 (ed. M. Festy, Pseudo-Aurélius Victor: Abrégé des Césars. Paris 1999). Ammianus seems therefore to be the pagan source identified by Bleckmann, Die Chronik des Johannes Zonaras und eine pagane Quelle zur Geschichte Konstantins. *Historia* 40 (1991) 343–365.

196 Cf. Symeon 88.4, Cedrenus 314.1, and John of Antioch fr. 255 with *Libellus Breviatus* ("*Epitome de Caesaribus*") 41.14 and Ammianus XXV 4.23.

197 Cf. *Libellus Breviatus* ("*Epitome de Caesaribus*") 41.13 with Peter, *Historical Excerpts* IV (*On Proverbs*), p. 271.4–8 and Ammianus XXVII 3.7. While Stover – Woudhuysen, Lost History 355–357 conclude that this passage "gives us good reason to think that the common source of Ammianus and the later Greek tradition was indeed Victor's *Historia*," it can be interpreted at least as well as evidence that Victor was the source of Ammianus and Ammianus was the source of "the later Greek tradition."

198 Cf. John of Antioch fr. 254.1–2 with Eutropius X 6.3; cf. also DiMaio, Antiochene Connection 167–168.

199 Again, for evidence that Ammianus sometimes used Eutropius directly, see above, Section III and n. 61.

Constantine than Eustathius' Christian sources did, since Ammianus took most of his information from Victor's lost history, which was shorter than his own[200].

Beginning with the succession of Constantine's sons in 337, Ammianus' treatment must have become much more comprehensive and was probably introduced by a new preface. Now that Ammianus was writing about events that had occurred within his own lifetime, he should have had reasonably good written and oral sources. The other Byzantine historians apparently found John of Antioch's treatment of this period too lengthy to include in their concise chronicles, but Zonaras includes thorough descriptions of the wars of Constans and Constantine II, Constantius II's war with the Persians, the usurper Magnentius' murder of Constans, and Constantius' war against Magnentius. Cameron identified John of Antioch as "almost certainly" the direct source of Zonaras' extensive narrative of the early reign of Constantius II, including the usurpation of Magnentius ("by far the fullest account that has come down to us")[201]. Zonaras gives prominence to Magnentius' brother Desiderius, who appears to be an entirely historical figure, though his existence has been doubted because it is attested only by Zonaras and the fifth-century church historian Socrates[202].

In Zonaras' account of the reigns of Constantine's sons, a detailed description of the flight of the Persian prince Hormisdas to the Romans parallels an excerpt from John of Antioch and corresponds to a cross-reference in Ammianus' Book XVI[203]. Zonaras' account of Magnentius' usurpation similarly parallels four excerpts from John of Antioch and an extract from Peter the Patrician[204]. In one of these excerpts, John of Antioch observes that Constans was successful in foreign wars but not in domestic affairs, while Constantius II was successful in domestic affairs but not in foreign wars; Ammianus' surviving books repeat this questionable judgment of Constantius[205]. The death of Magnentius in 353 should have immediately preceded the beginning of Ammianus' surviving Book XIV, where the parallels between Ammianus and Zonaras begin at once[206].

Zonaras, who sometimes rearranges material in his sources, includes in his account of Julian's reign a report that before Julian's birth his mother had dreamed that she would bear Achilles[207]. Since this story must come from a pagan source, Zonaras probably took it from Ammianus' lost books, perhaps from Ammianus' account of how as a child Julian escaped being killed along with his father Julius Constantius in 337[208]. Even after our text of Ammianus' Book XIV begins with 353, Zonaras' summary of Ammianus' surviving books remains useful, not only to illustrate Zonaras' methods of summarizing but also to correct corruptions in Ammianus' text and to help fill the lacuna in Ammianus' Book XXIV[209]. As DiMaio was the first to demonstrate, this lacuna in Ammianus' description of Julian's Persian expedition corresponds to a story preserved by Zonaras and Malalas that two Persians posing as deserters persuaded Julian to burn his ships in preparation for an invasion of Persian lands that turned out to be a desert[210]. This story provides a crucial explana-

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200 On the length of Victor's history, see below, Section XI and n. 219.

201 Cameron, Last Pagans 688; see also Treadgold, Byzantine Historiography 549–555.

202 Cf. Treadgold, Byzantine Historiography 550–553 with *PLRE* I *!Desiderius!* ("He does not appear in earlier accounts and is probably fictitious").

203 Cf. Zonaras XIII 5.17–34 and John of Antioch fr. 266 with Ammianus XVI 10.16.

204 Cf. Zonaras XIII 6.1–19 and XIII 7.15–9.8 with John of Antioch frs. 257–60 and Peter, *Historical Excerpts* I 2 (*On Foreign Embassies*), p. 395.1–32.

205 Cf. John of Antioch fr. 258 with Ammianus XIV 10.16 and XXI 16.15.

206 For the references, see Treadgold, Byzantine Historiography, 544–549.

207 Cf. Zonaras XIII 10.2–4.

208 Cf. Theophanes A.M. 5830 p. 35.12–16, which is probably also derived from Ammianus by way of John of Antioch.

209 See the discussion in Treadgold, Byzantine Historiography 544–549 and above, Section I and n. 8 and Section III and n. 47.

210 DiMaio, *Infaustis Ductoribus Praeviis*. Cf. the lacuna after Ammianus XXIV 7.2 with Zonaras XIII 13.4–7 and XIII 13.9 and Malalas XIII 22.

tion for the failure of Julian's expedition that is missing from Ammianus' account in our manuscripts.

XI. CONCLUSIONS

If, as seems likely, the part of Ammianus' history preserved in our Latin manuscripts represents the second of two volumes of roughly equal length, the Byzantine summaries of the lost books, excluding many overlapping passages, would amount to about ten per cent of their original extent. Alternatively, if each of the thirteen lost books was on average about as long as each of the eighteen surviving books, the Byzantine summaries would amount to some fifteen per cent of the lost books' original length. Those scholars who think that Ammianus' books are misnumbered in our manuscripts would naturally assume that the summaries preserve a smaller percentage[211]. In either case, the Byzantine summaries represent a significant portion of the content of Ammianus' lost books.

Although some of the information in these summaries has been distorted in the complicated process of its transmission, we have seen that the distortions can often be detected and corrected once we realize how they occurred. While the summaries hardly ever reveal Ammianus' exact Latin wording, Ammianus' history has usually been appreciated more for its informative content than for its mannered style. Although the Byzantine summaries omit most of Ammianus' digressions, the digressions in Ammianus' surviving books are of limited historical value. The summaries also omit most of the material that Ammianus took from Dio and Herodian; but much of Dio's text and all of Herodian's survive independently. Because Eustathius and Zonaras seem both to have been conscientious and intelligent summarizers, and John of Antioch appears to have copied Eustathius faithfully, these Byzantine summaries probably preserve most of the information that the full text of Ammianus' Books I–XIII could have contributed to our historical knowledge.

The importance of identifying many previously unidentified fragments of a major Latin author should be obvious, especially when those fragments can serve as a major source for a long period that is otherwise known from particularly scanty sources. The fragments of Ammianus' lost books listed in the Appendix below include fragments of another major source for this period, the secular Eusebius, and of Eusebius' own source, Dexippus. Identifying these summaries of Ammianus' history supports the reliability of much information found in several Byzantine sources that has previously been considered dubious because of its late date. This material adds to our knowledge of such matters as the Persian invasion of Syria and the revolt of Uranius around 230, the emperor Maximinus' murder of his wife, the vexed history of the year of the six emperors in 238, and the ephemeral but not necessarily spurious emperors Marcus and Hostilianus. Ammianus' fragments, especially those derived from the secular Eusebius, also inform us about the false but contemporary propaganda with which partisans of the emperors Gordian III, Philip, and Decius tried to strengthen those emperors' weak claims to legitimacy. Subsequent fragments add many details to our knowledge of the reigns of Diocletian, Constantine, and Constantine's sons and the usurpation of Magnentius. A thorough discussion of the historical implications of these summaries of Ammianus' Books I–XIII would require a separate study or studies.

These newly identified fragments also enhance our knowledge of Ammianus as an historian. The apparent fragment from his preface indicates that even though he wrote in Latin he saw himself primarily in the tradition of historians writing in Greek, whom he considered more important

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[211] Cf. BARNES, Ammianus 20–31 (arguing for 18 lost books) with the objections in TREADGOLD, Early Byzantine Historians 60–61 and n. 65. CAMERON, Last Pagans 749–750 discusses various hypotheses about the number of lost books.

than Latin historians[212]. Admittedly, our Byzantine sources may have omitted references in Ammianus' lost books to Latin sources like Tacitus and Suetonius, both of whom Ammianus continued, and to Victor's lost history and Eutropius' *Breviarium*, both of which Ammianus used. Yet Ammianus' sources, apart from Victor and sometimes Eutropius, were almost all in Greek: Dio, Herodian, the secular Eusebius, and the obituary chronicle. To a much greater extent than the preserved books, which covered Ammianus' own times, the fragments of the lost books show Ammianus grappling with the problems of discordant sources, including those for the year 238, for the Gallic usurper Marius, and for the reigns of Carus, Numerian, and Carinus. Although the Byzantine summaries generally show that Ammianus was a trustworthy historian, they also show that he made some mistakes, like misreporting Constantius II's age, giving a confused account of the year 238, and accepting the legend that Anazarbus was restored by a senator named Anazarbus.

The Byzantine fragments are also relevant to the question of determining the number of Ammianus' lost books. Those who believe that the books are misnumbered in our manuscripts of Ammianus have postulated not thirteen but eighteen or even twenty-three lost books[213]. No doubt the material in Ammianus' identifiable sources—especially Dio's Books LXVIII–LXXX and Herodian's Books I–VIII—could have supplied enough material to fill as many as twenty-three lost books. Yet Ammianus' main sources for the period after 238 were only the apparently skeletal obituary chronicle and the histories of Victor and the secular Eusebius, both of which were substantially shorter than Ammianus' own work[214]. Copying Dio and Herodian at length would have produced a history with expansive treatment of the period from 98 to 238 but disproportionately brief treatment of the period from 238 at least to 285 and probably to 337, followed by much more detailed treatment of Ammianus' own times. The result would have been an oddly proportioned history and would contradict Ammianus' implication in Book XV that he began to write at length only with the reign of Constantius II[215]. In any event, we should be extremely reluctant to disregard the book numbers in all our manuscripts, which are confirmed by Priscian's explicit and accurate citation from "[Book] XIV of the *Res Gestae* (*rerum gestarum xiiii*)" in the sixth century[216].

Stover and Woudhuysen's identification of Aurelius Victor's lost history helps to illuminate the circumstances in which Ammianus wrote his *Res Gestae*. Ammianus seems to have arrived at Rome from Antioch around 372 when, terrified by Valens' treason trials of learned pagans like himself, he took refuge in the Western territory ruled by Valentinian I[217]. The first edition of Victor's *History* had appeared in 360, and had been epitomized as part of Eutropius' *Breviarium* around 370. If Ammianus had not already thought of writing a history before he arrived in the West, he must have decided to do so not long afterwards. In deciding to undertake this ambitious project, he must have believed that he could improve upon Victor's history. Although Ammianus treated Victor's *History* with respect and made ample use of it, the fact remains that he tried to supersede most of it[218].

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[212] Cf. A. Ross, Ammianus and the Written Past, in: Sources et modèles des historiens anciens, ed. O. Devillers – B. Sebastiani. Bordeaux 2018, 326–328, with his suggestion that "Ammianus apparently conceives of the writing of history as an overwhelmingly Greek pursuit" (p. 327).

[213] See above, n. 211.

[214] See above, Section III and nn. 51–54 (the obituary chronicle) and Section IV and nn. 71–79 (the secular Eusebius) and below, n. 219 (Victor).

[215] Ammianus XV 1.1.

[216] On Priscian's reference, see Thompson, Historical Work 19 and n. 2.

[217] See Treadgold, Early Byzantine Historians 56–58.

[218] Somewhat more favorably to Victor, Stover – Woudhuysen, Lost History 351–352 suggest that Ammianus' history was "a sort of riposte to Victor's view of Roman history," being more military and less political. "This would mean that Victor's work had some impact on the nature of Ammianus' historical project—that what he set out to do in the *Res gestae* was shaped by what Victor had already done."

Stover and Woudhuysen estimate that Victor's full history included six books and was about ten times as long as each of its epitomes, which would have been about half as long as Ammianus' complete history. They however concede that Victor's history might have been a good deal shorter, perhaps about six times as long as its epitomes and about thirty per cent as long as Ammianus' thirty-one books[219]. Their latter estimate seems more probable, especially because Victor, who made little or no use of the histories of Dio, Herodian, or the secular Eusebius, cannot have had very abundant sources[220]. Ammianus' longer history also covered a period about a third shorter than Victor's history did: 282 years (AD 96–378) to Victor's 419 years (31 BC–AD 389)[221]. Thus Ammianus' treatment of the period he covered was substantially more detailed than Victor's. Ammianus also differed from Victor by beginning his narrative with Nerva, thereby continuing rather than competing with Tacitus and Suetonius. Besides making use of extensive material from Dio, Herodian, and the secular Eusebius that Victor had not used, Ammianus presumably thought that as a military man he understood military history better than Victor did. Ammianus was not deterred from his task when Victor brought his history up to date around 379 and 388[222].

Around 390 Books I–XXV of Ammianus' *Res Gestae* appeared, and he added his Books XXVI–XXXI around 395. To judge from Libanius' letter to him in 392, at first his work enjoyed a certain measure of success[223]. The appearance of Victor's *History* may even have stimulated interest in Roman history among the small circle of well-educated people at Rome, who may well have been curious to see how Ammianus handled the same subjects that Victor had treated[224]. Nonetheless, both Ammianus' *Res Gestae* and Victor's *History* seem to have been rather longer and more difficult to read than most Western readers wanted, because Victor's work was eventually lost except for its three epitomes, while only about half of Ammianus' work eventually survived in a single manuscript. At least through its epitomes, Victor's history undoubtedly had much more impact in the Latin West than Ammianus' history did. Ammianus' notorious lack of influence was definitely the rule during the Latin Middle Ages, much like the exiguous influence of Ammianus' predecessor Tacitus, whose work was also only partly preserved and almost entirely neglected.

In the Greek East, a small part of the contents of Victor's *History* entered the historical tradition through two Greek translations of Eutropius, but otherwise Victor's work was known almost exclusively because Ammianus had used it[225]. By contrast, the Byzantine summaries of Ammianus' *Res Gestae* show his influence on almost every significant Byzantine historian of the Roman Empire. To be sure, Ammianus' influence was anonymous and indirect, mediated by Eustathius of Epiphania, John of Antioch, and to a lesser extent John Malalas, but it was pervasive. No surviving Byzantine text mentions Ammianus by name, though our material from Eustathius and John of Antioch

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219 STOVER – WOUDHUYSEN, Lost History 414–418, estimating Victor's full history at c.120,000 words but admitting that it might have been as short as 70,000 words. (They add that "it is unlikely that it exceeded 150,000 words.") Ammianus' surviving text is c.120,000 words, so that if it represents one of two original volumes of roughly equal size the full text would have been c.240,000 words.

220 See above, Section III and nn. 66–70.

221 For the span of Victor's history, see STOVER – WOUDHUYSEN, Lost History 85–86 and 99 (beginning with the Battle of Actium) and 416–418 (ending with 388).

222 For these dates, see STOVER – WOUDHUYSEN, Lost History 416–418.

223 See above, Section I and n. 15.

224 Cf. STOVER – WOUDHUYSEN, Lost History 420: "Ammianus may have had scant regard for the history being written in his own day—but he was living at a time when more history was being written in Latin than at any point in the previous quarter millennium."

225 STOVER – WOUDHUYSEN, Lost History 353 appear to overstate Eutropius' importance when they write, "Eutropius' *breviarium* clearly had an enormous impact on Greek historiography: translated by Paeanius and Capito, used by John of Antioch, Theophanes, and others." The passages from Eutropius that entered the Greek tradition were few and brief, and John of Antioch, Theophanes, and most other Byzantine historians knew of Eutropius' work only as it was transmitted by Ammianus and Eustathius.

is so fragmentary that we cannot be sure that Ammianus' name never appeared in their full texts. Yet Byzantine historians, like all ancient historians, habitually left out the names of their sources, and most of the users of Eustathius and John of Antioch also failed to mention those historians' names. A major part of the Byzantine historians' account of the whole period covered by Ammianus' history can be attributed to Ammianus himself. Unless a plausible alternative explanation can be found for the material that has been discussed in this paper and appears in the Appendix below, we should conclude that Ammianus played an important role in transmitting Roman history to posterity through the works of more than a dozen Byzantine historians.

APPENDIX: PROPOSED LIST OF FRAGMENTS OF THE LOST BOOKS OF AMMIANUS' RES GESTAE

{} denotes a passage seriously distorted by the summarizer.

1. Preface (?) listing sources for Roman history: Evagrius V 24, pp. 218.17–219.10 (at p. 219.9, for Κάρου probably read Καρ<ίν>ου).

2. Nerva adopted Trajan: John of Antioch frs. 191 and 192; Symeon 61.2; Cedrenus 261.1.

3. Nerva refounded Anazarbus: John of Antioch from *Suda* A 1866; {Malalas X 53.32–52}; cf. Ammianus XIV 8.3.

4. Nerva forbade gladiatorial games and castration: Malalas X 54.56–58; John of Antioch fr. 191.4; Scutariotes, *Synopsis* 30.19–21 and *Chronicle* II 9; Symeon 61.3; Cedrenus 261.2.

5. Nerva reigned 1 year, 4 months, 9 days: Malalas X 53.30–31 (1 year, 1 month); Scutariotes, *Synopsis* 30.17 (1 year) and *Chronicle* II 29 (1 year, 4 months)[226].

6. Nerva died aged 71: Malalas X 54.59; Scutariotes, *Synopsis* 30.22–23 and *Chronicle* II 29[227].

7. Trajan (and Severus) failed to take Hatra, suffering heavy losses: Ammianus XXV 8.5[228].

8. Trajan reigned 19 years, 6 months, 15 days: Malalas XI 1.4–5 (19 years, 6 months); Scutariotes, *Synopsis* 30.23 and *Chronicle* II 30 (same)[229].

9. Trajan died aged 66: Malalas XI 12.

10. Digression (?) on Egypt (under Trajan): Ammianus XXV 15.1[230].

11. Hadrian reigned 22 years, 10 months: Malalas XI 13.73–75 (22 years, 5 months); Scutariotes, *Synopsis* 31.3–4 (22 years, 10 months) and *Chronicle* II 30 (same)[231].

12. Hadrian died aged 65: Malalas XI 20.29–30; Scutariotes, *Synopsis* 31.14 and *Chronicle* II 31[232].

13. Antoninus Pius reigned 24 years: Malalas XI 21.31–32 (23 years); Scutariotes, *Synopsis* 31.15 (24 years) and *Chronicle* II 32 (same)[233].

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[226] Cf. Dio LXVIII 4.2 (1 year, 4 months, 9 days); Zonaras XI 20 p. 507.13 (1 year, 4 months); Symeon 61.1 (same); Cedrenus 261.1 (1 year, 4 months, 9 days).

[227] Cf. Dio LXVIII 4.2 (65 years, 10 months, 10 days).

[228] Cf. Dio LXVIII 31.1–32.1.

[229] Cf. Dio LXVIII 33.3 (19 years, 6 months, 15 days); Zonaras XI 22 p. 513.18–19 (19 years, 6 months); Symeon 62.1 (same); Cedrenus 262.1 (19 years, 6 months, 15 days).

[230] Cf. Dio LXIX 11.1–4.

[231] Cf. Dio LXIX 3.1 (20 years, 11 months); Zonaras XI 24 p. 521.17–18 (21 years less 1 month); Symeon 63.1 (20 years, 11 months); Cedrenus 263.1 (24 years [confused with Antoninus Pius?]).

[232] Cf. Dio LXIX 3.1 (62 years, 5 months, 19 days); Zonaras XI 24 p. 521.16–17 (same).

[233] Cf. Dio LXX 4.2 (24 years); Zonaras XII 1 p. 525.18–19 (same); Symeon 64.1 (same); Cedrenus 264.1 (same).

14. Antoninus died aged 72: Malalas XI 27 (77 years); Scutariotes, *Synopsis* 31.22 (72 years) and *Chronicle* II 32 (same).

15. Verus' generals captured Seleucia: Ammianus XXIII 6.24[234].

16. Verus reigned 8 years: Malalas XI 32.79–80.

17. Verus was killed aged 39: Malalas XI 33.83–84.

18. Marcus defeated the Quadi near Aquileia: Ammianus XXIX 6.1[235].

19. Digression on the customs of the Saracens (under Marcus): Ammianus XIV 4.2.

20. Marcus reigned 19 years, 9 months: Malalas XI 28.63–64 (18 years, 9 months); Scutariotes, *Synopsis* 31.23 (19 years, 9 months) and *Chronicle* II 33.7 (same)[236].

21. Marcus died (age not specified): Malalas XI 31.78[237].

22. Digression on the statue of Magna Mater (under Commodus): Ammianus XXII 9.6.

23. Commodus reigned 14 years, 8 months: Malalas XII 1.4–5 (22 years, 8 months); Scutariotes, *Synopsis* 32.18 (14 years, 8 months) and *Chronicle* II 34 (18 years, 8 months)[238].

24. Commodus died aged 41: Scutariotes, *Synopsis* 32.23–24 (41 years) and *Chronicle* II 34 (same)[239].

25. Pertinax reigned 2 months, 18 days: Malalas XII 14.34–35; Scutariotes, *Synopsis* 32.24 (3 months) and *Chronicle* II 35 (same)[240].

26. Pertinax was killed aged 80: Malalas XII 14.36–38; Scutariotes, *Synopsis* 32.24–26 (same) and *Chronicle* II 35 (lacuna)[241].

27. Didius Julianus reigned 2 months: Malalas XII 15.39–40 (7 months); Scutariotes, *Synopsis* 32.27 (2 months) and *Chronicle* II 36 (same)[242].

28. Didius Julianus was killed aged 60: Malalas XII 17; Scutariotes, *Synopsis* 28–29 (same) and *Chronicle* II 36 (same)[243].

29. Severus failed to take Hatra, suffering heavy losses: Ammianus XXV 8.5[244].

30. Digression on Egypt (under Severus): Ammianus XXII 15.1[245].

31. Severus reigned 17 years, 8 ½ (?) months: Malalas XII 18.51–54 (17 years, 9 ½ months); Scutariotes, *Synopsis* 32.30 (17 years, 9 months) and *Chronicle* II 37 (17 years, 8 months)[246].

32. Severus died aged 65: Malalas XII 22.38–39[247].

33. Geta reigned 1 year: {Malalas XII 23.40–41 (before Caracalla)}; Scutariotes, *Synopsis* 33.15–16 (1 year with Caracalla) and *Chronicle* II 38 (same).

34. Geta was killed aged 51: {Malalas XII 23.42–43}[248].

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234 Cf. Dio LXXI 2.3–4.

235 Cf. Dio LXXI 8.1–4 and 10.11–5.

236 Cf. Dio LXXII 34.5 (19 years, 11 days); Zonaras XII 3 p. 531.15–16 (same); Symeon 65.1 (19 years); Cedrenus 265.1 (19 years, with Verus 10 years, 9 months).

237 Cf. Dio LXXII 34.5 (58 years, 10 months, 22 days); Zonaras XII 3 p. 531.14–15 (59 years less 38 days).

238 Cf. Dio LXXIII 22.6 (12 years, 9 months, 14 days); Zonaras XII 5 p. 538.11–12 (same); Symeon 66.1 (12 years, 5 months); Cedrenus 266.1 (12 years, 9 months).

239 Cf. Dio LXXIII 22.6 (31 years, 4 months); Zonaras XII 5 p. 538.12–13 (same).

240 Cf. Dio LXXIV 10.3 (87 days); Zonaras XII 6 p. 542.14 (same); Symeon 67.1 (same); Cedrenus 267.1 (same).

241 Cf. Dio LXXIV 10.3 (67 years less 4 months, 3 days); Zonaras XII 6 p. 542.13 (67 years less 4 months).

242 Cf. Dio LXXIV 17.5 (66 days); Zonaras XII 7 p. 545.23–24 (60 days); Symeon 68 (66 days); Cedrenus 268 (same).

243 Cf. Dio LXXIV 17.5 (60 years, 4 months, 4 days); Zonaras XII 7 p. 545.22–23 (same).

244 Cf. Herodian III 9.3–8 and Dio LXXVI 10.1–13.1.

245 Cf. Dio LXXVI 13.1–5.

246 Cf. Dio LXXVII 17.4 (17 years, 8 months, 3 days); Zonaras XII 10 p. 555.21 (same); Symeon 69.1 (17 years, 8 months); Cedrenus 269.1 (same).

247 Cf. Dio LXXVII 17.4 (65 years, 9 months, 25 days); Zonaras XII 10 pp. 555.21–556.2 (65 years, 9 months, 29 days [read 25?]).

248 Cf. Dio LXXVIII 2.5 (aged 22 years, 9 months); Zonaras XII 12 p. 560.15 (same).

35. Caracalla reigned 6 years, 22 days: {Malalas XII 24.44–45 (as the successor of Geta)}; Scutariotes, *Synopsis* 33.14–15 (6 years with Geta) and *Chronicle* II 38 (same)[249].

36. Caracalla was killed aged 60: {Malalas from *Paschal Chronicle* 498.7–9}; Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 38[250].

37. Macrinus reigned 1 year, 8 months: Scutariotes, *Synopsis* 33.21–22 and *Chronicle* II 39 (same); Malalas from *Paschal Chronicle* 498.10 (1 year)[251].

38. Macrinus was killed aged 52: Malalas from *Paschal Chronicle* 498.12; Scutariotes, *Synopsis* 33.27–28 and *Chronicle* II 39[252].

39. Elagabalus ("Heliogabalus") reigned 3 years, 9 months: Scutariotes, *Synopsis* 33.29 and *Chronicle* II 39; Cedrenus 273; Malalas from *Paschal Chronicle* 498.13 (4 years): cf. Ammianus XXVI 6.20[253].

40. Elagabalus was killed aged 36: Malalas from *Historical Excerpts* III (*On Plots*) p. 159.3–4 and from *Paschal Chronicle* 499.9–10; Scutariotes, *Synopsis* 34.31 and *Chronicle* II 40[254].

41. The Persians raided Cappadocia and besieged Nisibis but were expelled by Alexander: Zonaras XII 15, pp. 572.22–573.2; George Syncellus A.M. 5710 p. 437.21–22.

42. Uranius rebelled at Edessa but was killed by Alexander: George Syncellus A.M. 5710 p. 437.19–20 and A.M. 5715 p. 439.7–8.

43. Severus Alexander reigned 13 years 8 months: Symeon 73.1 (same); Cedrenus 274.1 (same); John of Antioch fr. 220.63–64 (14 years); Malalas from *Paschal Chronicle* 499.10 (13 years); Zonaras XII 16 p. 575.8–9 (10 years); Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 41 (12 years) and *Synopsis* 35.1–2 (same)[255].

44. Alexander was killed at Mogontiacum: George Syncellus A.M. 5715 p. 439.7–9; Malalas from *Paschal Chronicle* 500.11–13.

45. Alexander was killed aged 30 (?): Malalas from *Paschal Chronicle* 500.11–13 (30); Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 41 (39) and *Synopsis* 35.16 (same)[256].

46. Maximinus killed his own wife: Zonaras XII 16 p. 576.11–12; George Syncellus A.M. 5728 p. 442.10; cf. Ammianus XIV 1.8.

47. Differing accounts of the reigns of Maximinus, Pupienus, Balbinus, Gordian I, Gordian II, and Gordian III: Zonaras XII 16 p. 576.5–578.13, XII 17 pp. 578.14–580.14 (at p. 579.13–14, for ἕτερόν τινα. μεθ' ὃν Πούπλιον read ἕτερόν τινα μεθ' οὗ Πούπλιον), and XII 18 pp. 581.17–582.21.

48. Gordian I reigned 22 days: Zonaras XII 17 p. 579.18–22; Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 44 and *Synopsis* 36.13–15 ("Gordian the Old")[257].

49. Gordian II died aged 50: Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 45 and *Synopsis* 36.17–19.

50. Gordian I hanged himself aged 79: Zonaras XII 17 p. 580.1–6; Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 44 (no cause of death) and *Synopsis* 36.15–16 (died of illness); Malalas from *Paschal Chronicle* 502.3–4 ("Gordian Senior," died of illness); cf. Ammianus XXVI 6.20 (hanged himself).

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[249] Cf. Dio LXXIX 6.5 (6 years, 2 months, 2 days); Zonaras XII 12 p. 564.4–5 (same); Symeon 70.1 (6 years, 2 months); Cedrenus 271.1 (2 months with Geta, then 6 years).

[250] Cf. Dio LXXIX 6.5 (29 years, 4 days); Zonaras XII 12 p. 564.3–4 (29 years).

[251] Cf. Dio LXXIX 41.4 (1 year, 2 months less 3 days); Zonaras XII 13 p. 566.17–18 (same); Symeon 71.1 (1 year, 2 months); Cedrenus 272.1 (4 years)

[252] Cf. Dio LXXIX 40.3 (55 years less 3 months); Zonaras XII 13 p. 566.16–17 (54 years).

[253] Cf. Dio LXXX (c.4 years), p. 452.8–9 Boissevain; Zonaras XII 14 p. 570.17–18 (3 years, 9 months, 4 days [presumably from the full text of Dio]); Symeon 72.1 ("Avitus" ruled 3 years, 9 months); Cedrenus 273 ("Avitus" or "Pseudo-Antoninus" ruled 3 years, 9 months, 4 days).

[254] Cf. Dio LXXX 20.2 (18 years).

[255] Cf. Herodian VI 9.8 (14 years).

[256] Herodian V 3.3 says Alexander (then called Alexianus) was 9 in 218, thus about 26 at his death in 235.

[257] Cf. Malalas from *Paschal Chronicle* 501.6 ("Gordian Senior," 6 years).

51. Maximinus reigned 3 years: Malalas from *Paschal Chronicle* 500.15–16; John of Antioch fr. 224.127–29 (same); Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 42 and *Synopsis* 35.19 (same); Zonaras XII 16 p. 578.9–10 (6 years); Symeon 74.1 (6 years); Cedrenus 275.1 (6 years).

52. Maximinus was killed aged 65: Zonaras XII 16 p. 578.9–10: Malalas from *Historical Excerpts* III (*On Plots*), p. 159.15–17 and from *Paschal Chronicle* 501.2–3; Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 42 (60 years) and *Synopsis* 36.11 (same).

53. "Puplius" Maximus [Pupienus] reigned either 3 months or 22 days: Zonaras XII 17 p. 579.5–7 ("Maximus," some say 22 days, others "not quite 3 months"); Malalas from *Paschal Chronicle* 501.4–5 ("Puplius," 100 days); George the Monk, p. 461.5–6 ("Puplianus," 3 months); Symeon 75.1 ("Maximus and Balbinus," 22 days); Cedrenus 276.1 ("Maximus Balbinus and Gordian," 2 months) and 276.2 ("Puplianus," 2 months)[258].

54. Balbinus reigned either 3 months or 22 days: Zonaras XII 17 p. 579.5–7 (some say 22 days, others "not quite 3 months"); Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 44 (3 months) and *Synopsis* 36.13 ("Galbinus," 3 months); Malalas from *Paschal Chronicle* 501.3–4 (3 months).

55. Maximus [Pupienus] was killed aged 60: Zonaras XII 17 p. 579.2–5 ("Maximus"); Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 42 ("Maximus") and *Synopsis* 36.10–11 ("Maximinus")[259].

56. Balbinus was killed aged 74: Zonaras XII 17 p. 579.2–5 ("Albinus"); Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 44 (79)[260].

57. Gordian III defeated the Persians, recovered Nisibis and Carrhae, taken under Maximinus by the Persians, and was killed because of a plot by Philip: Zonaras XII 18 pp. 581.19–582.14; John of Antioch fr. 225; George Syncellus A.M. 5731 p. 443.4–9; Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 46 and *Synopsis* 36.20–32; cf. Ammianus XXIII 5.7 and 5.17[261].

58. Gordian III reigned 6 years: Zonaras XII 18 p. 582.11–13; Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 46 and *Synopsis* 36.20; George Syncellus A.M. 5731 p. 443.8–9 (5 or 7 years).

59. Gordian III was killed aged 28: Scutariotes, *Synopsis* 36.29–31[262].

60. Marcus the Philosopher was chosen by the senate but died "at once," aged 43: Zonaras XII 18 p.582.14–18 (no age given); Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 46 and *Synopsis* 36.31–37.2; Cedrenus 276.6 ("Marcus," 3 years).

61. Hostilianus Severus became emperor but died aged 46 of disease after being bled: Zonaras XII 18 p. 582.18–21 (no age given); Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 47 ("Stillianus," no age given) and *Synopsis* 37.2–4 ("Ustillianus," 46); Cedrenus 276.7 ("Iustilianus," 2 years).

62. Account of the reign of Philip: Zonaras XII 19 pp. 583.1–9 and 584.1–23; {John of Antioch fr. 226}; George Syncellus A.M. 5737 p. 444.16–18; Scutariotes, *Synopsis* 37.5–7 and 37.17–19.

63. Philip reigned 5 years, 6 months: Zonaras XII 19.21–22 (5 years, or "according to others" 5 years, 6 months); John of Antioch fr. 226.9–10 (in his 5th year); Malalas from *Paschal Chronicle* 502.5–6 ("Philip Junior," 6 years); Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 48 and *Synopsis* 37.5 (6 years, 6 months); Symeon 76.1 (5 years); Cedrenus 277 (7 years).

64. Philip was killed aged 63: Malalas from *Historical Excerpts* III (*On Plots*) p. 159.27–28; Scutariotes, *Synopsis* 37.5–10 and 16–17.

65. Account of the reign of Decius: Zonaras XII 20 pp. 585.1–5 and 589.1–14; George Syncellus A.M. 5746 p. 459.5–13; Symeon 77.1; Scutariotes, *Synopsis* 37.26–30.

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[258] Cf. Zonaras XII 17 p. 579.8–13 ("Pompeianus," under 2 months); Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 43 ("Pompianus," 2 months) and *Synopsis* 36.12 ("Pompianus," same).

[259] Cf. Malalas from *Historical Excerpts* III (*On Plots*), p. 159.20–21 ("Pompeianus," 52, "killed in battle in Parthia").

[260] Malalas from *Historical Excerpts* III (*On Plots*), p. 159.18–19 ("Albinus," 60, "killed by his own relatives").

[261] Cf. Zosimus I 18–19, Eutropius IX 2, and *Historia Abbreviata* ("Aurelius Victor") 27.8.

[262] Cf. Herodian VIII 8.8, who says that Gordian III was "around 13" at the beginning of his reign, making him about 19 six years later.

66. Decius reigned 1 year 9 months: Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 50 and *Synopsis* 37.23; Zonaras XII 20 p. 589.1–3 (less than 2 years); Malalas from *Paschal Chronicle* 503.6 (1 year); George Syncellus, A.M. 5744 p. 445.3 (2 years); Symeon 77.1 (2 years); Cedrenus 280.1 (2 years).

67. Decius was killed aged 60: Malalas from *Historical Excerpts* III (*On Plots*) p. 159.34–36 and from *Paschal Chronicle* 505.4–6; Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 50 and *Synopsis* 37.30; cf. Ammianus XXXI 5.16 and XXXI 13.13.

68. Account of the reign of Gallus: Zonaras XII 21 pp. 589.15–22 and 589.24–591.8; John of Antioch frs. 228 and 229; George Syncellus A.M. 5746 p. 459.13–17; Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 51 and *Synopsis* 37.31–38.8; Symeon 78.1; {Cedrenus 279.1–3}.

69. Gallus reigned 2 years 8 months: Zonaras XII 21 p. 591.6; Malalas from *Paschal Chronicle* 505.8 (3 years); John of Antioch fr. 229.5–6 (less than 3 years); George Syncellus A.M. 5746 p. 459.15–16 (Dexippus says 18 months, others say 2 or 3 years); Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 51 (2 years 3 months) and *Synopsis* 37.31 (same); Symeon 78.1 (2 years 8 months); Cedrenus 279.1 (2 years 8 months).

70. Gallus died aged 62: Malalas from *Paschal Chronicle* 505.13 (same) and from *Historical Excerpts* III (*On Plots*) p. 159.29–30 (60).

71. Account of the reign of Aemilianus: Zonaras XII 22 pp. 591.9–592.5; John of Antioch fr. 229.7–9; Peter the Patrician, *Historical Excerpts* IV (*On Proverbs*), p. 264.10–12; Symeon 79.1–2.

72. Aemilianus reigned 4 months: Zonaras XII 22 p. 592.2–3 (not yet 4 months); John of Antioch fr. 229.7–9; Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 52 and *Synopsis* 38.9; Symeon 79.1.

73. Aemilianus was killed aged 40: Zonaras XII 22 p. 592.2–4; Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 52 and *Synopsis* 9–14; Malalas XII 25 (37).

74. Account of the reign of Valerian: Zonaras XII 23 pp. 592.20–21 and 593.3–596.10; George Syncellus A.M. 5748 p. 466.1–23; Symeon 80.1–2; Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 53 and *Synopsis* 38.15–19.

75. Valerian reigned 6 years and was captured by the Persians: Malalas XII 26.52; Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 53 (16 years) and *Synopsis* 38.15 (same); Symeon 80.1 ("Valerian and Galenus," 15 years); Cedrenus 282.1 ("Valerian and Gallienus," 15 years).

76. Account of the reign of Gallienus: Zonaras XII 24 pp. 596.15–600.23 and XII 25 pp. 601.1–603.6; George Syncellus A.M. 5748 pp. 466.23–467.28; John of Antioch frs. 231–233; Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 54 and *Synopsis* 38.20–29; Symeon 80.3; cf. Ammianus XIV 1.9 and 21.16.9–10.

77. Marius "the Unworthy" was proclaimed emperor but was soon killed: John of Antioch fr. 230.4–6 (for ‹ἐπὶ Γαλλιηνοῦ Ποστούμιος› and the manuscripts' Γαλλιηνὸς read ‹ἐπὶ› Γαλλίων ‹Ποστούμι›ος with Eutropius IX 9.1 (*Postumus in Gallia*)); {Malalas from *Historical Excerpts* III (*On Plots*) p. 159.30–33}; {Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 49 and *Synopsis* 37.10–11}[263].

78. Gallienus reigned 15 years with his father: Zonaras XII 26 p. 602.12–15; Malalas XII 27 ("Gallienus Licinianus," 14 years); Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 54 (9 years [by himself]) and *Synopsis* 38.20 (same).

79. Gallienus died aged 50: Malalas XII 27.5–6; Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 54 and *Synopsis* 39.28–29.

80. Account of the reign of Claudius II: Zonaras XII 26 pp. 603.22–606.6; George Syncellus A.M. 5763 p. 469.16–22; Peter, *Historical Excerpts* IV (*On Proverbs*), p. 267.7–13; Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 55 and *Synopsis* 38.30–39.3; Symeon 81.1–3; Cedrenus 283; cf. Ammianus XXXI 5.17.

81. Claudius reigned 1 or 2 years: Zonaras XII 26 p. 606.2–3 (some say 1 year, some 2 years); George Syncellus A.M. 5763 p. 469.16–17 (1 year); Malalas XII 28.17–18 (2 years, reading β´ for

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[263] Cf. Eutropius IX 1–2, *Historia Abbreviata* ("Aurelius Victor") 33.8–12, and *Historia Augusta*, XXIV 8.

θ′ with *Paschal Chronicle* 508.3); Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 55 (2 years, reading β′ for η′ with manuscripts V and A) and *Synopsis* 38.30 (same); George the Monk p. 467.15 (1 year); Symeon 81.1 (1 year); Cedrenus 283 (2 years).

82. Claudius died aged 56: Malalas XII 28.28–30; Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 55 and *Synopsis* 38.30–39.3.

83. Quintilianus reigned 17 days: Zonaras XII 27 pp. 605.16–606.1 ("some say"); George Syncellus A.M. 5763 p. 469.21–22; Malalas XII 29.31–32; Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 56 and *Synopsis* 39.3–7 (17 days, reading ιζ′ for ζ′ with *Chronicle*); Cedrenus 284 (7 days); John of Antioch fr. 234 (no length of reign given).

84. Quintilianus died aged 41: Malalas XII 29.34–35; Scutariotes, *Synopsis* 39.7–8.

85. Account of the reign of Aurelian: Zonaras XII 27 pp. 606.7–13 and 607.1–608.4; John of Antioch frs. 235–238; Peter, *Historical Excerpts* IV (*On Proverbs*), p. 268.5–12; {Malalas XII 30}; George Syncellus A.M. 5764 pp. 469.25–470.15; Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 57 and *Synopsis* 39.9–16; Symeon 82.1–2; Cedrenus 285.1; cf. Ammianus XXII 16.15 and XXX 8.8.

86. Aurelian reigned 6 years: Zonaras XII 27 p. 608.1–4 (6 years less a few months); John of Antioch fr. 238; Malalas XII 30; George Syncellus A.M. 5764 p. 469.25; Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 57 and *Synopsis* 39.9; Symeon 82.1; Cedrenus 285.1.

87. Aurelian was killed aged 65: Malalas XII 30.70 (65, reading ξε′ for ξα′ with *Historical Excerpts* III [*On Plots*] p. 160.3–4 and *Paschal Chronicle* 509.1); Scutariotes, *Synopsis* 39.12–16 (60).

88. Account of the reign of Tacitus: Zonaras XII 28 p. 608.5–20; John of Antioch fr. 239; {Malalas XII 31}; Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 58 and *Synopsis* 39.18–20; Symeon 83; Cedrenus 294.

89. Tacitus reigned either 7 months or 2 years: Zonaras XII 28 p. 608.17–20 (not yet 7 months or not yet 2 years); George Syncellus A.M. 5765 p. 471.1 (6 months); John of Antioch fr. 239 (6 full months); Malalas XII 31.71–72 (7 months); Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 58 (7 months) and *Synopsis* 39.18 (7 months); Symeon 83 (2 years); Cedrenus 294 (2 years).

90. Tacitus was killed aged 75: Zonaras XII 28 p. 608.5–6 (75 at accession); Malalas XII 31.76–77 (75); Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 58 (same) and *Synopsis* 39.18–20 (same).

91. Account of the reign of Florianus: Zonaras XII 29 pp. 608.21–609.5; John of Antioch fr. 240.

92. Florianus reigned 2 months 20 days: John of Antioch fr. 240; Zonaras XII 29 p. 609.2–5 (not quite 3 months); George Syncellus A.M. 5765 p. 471.2 (88 days); Malalas XII 32.78–79 (2 months).

93. Florianus was killed aged 65: Malalas XII 32.82.

94. Account of the reign of Probus: Zonaras XII 29 pp. 608.21–610.19; John of Antioch frs. 240–243; George Syncellus A.M. 5770 p. 471.11–13; Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 59 and *Synopsis* 39.21–40.5; Symeon 84.1–2; Cedrenus 295.1–4.

95. Probus reigned 6 years 4 months: John of Antioch fr. 243; George Syncellus A. M. 5765 p. 471.3; Zonaras XII 29 p. 610.18–19 (not quite 6 years); Malalas XII 33.83–84 (6 years 3 months, reading ἔτη ς′ for ἔτη γ′ with *Paschal Chronicle* 509.5); Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 59 (2 years, a mistake for 2 emperors?) and *Synopsis* 39.21 (same); Symeon 84.1 (Probus and Florianus, 2 years); Cedrenus 295.1 (Probus and Florianus, 2 years, 4 months).

96. Probus was killed aged 50: Malalas XII 33.93–94; Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 59 and *Synopsis* 40.4–5.

97. Account of the reign of Carus: Zonaras XII 30 pp. 610.20–611.14; George Syncellus A.M. 5776 p. 472.10–26; Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 60 and *Synopsis* 40.6–8; Symeon 85.1 (at 85.1.5 for Κάρου καὶ Καρίνου read Κάρου ὑπὸ λοιμικῆς καὶ Νουμεριανοῦ with manuscripts PHK and Cedrenus 296); Cedrenus 296; {Malalas XII 34}; cf. Ammianus XXIV 5.3.

98. Carus reigned 2 years, including the reigns of Numerian and Carinus: George Syncellus A.M. 5770 p. 471.14–15; Symeon 85.1–2; 296; Zonaras XII 30 p. 612.6–7 ("not 3 years"); Malalas XII 34.95–96 (2 years, Carus alone); Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 60 (2 years, Carus alone) and *Synopsis* 40.6 (2 years, "Sarus" alone).

99. Carus was killed aged 60½: Malalas XII 34.8–9; Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 60 (60 years) and *Synopsis* 40.6 ("Sarus," 60 years).

100. Account of the reign of Numerian: Zonaras XII 30 pp. 611.15–612.2; John of Antioch fr. 244; George Syncellus A.M. 5776 p. 472.14–20; Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 61 and *Synopsis* 409.13; Symeon 85.1–2; {Malalas XII 35}; Cedrenus 296.

101. Numerian reigned 30 days: George Syncellus A.M. 5776 p. 472.14[264].

102. Numerian died aged 36: Malalas XII 35.30; Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 61 and *Synopsis* 40.11–13.

103. Account of the reign of Carinus: Zonaras XII 30 p. 612.3–7; John of Antioch frs. 245–246; George Syncellus A.M. 5776 p. 472.20–25; Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 62 and *Synopsis* 40.14, 16–20, and 26; {Malalas XII 36}.

104. Carinus reigned 2 years with Carus and Numerian: George Syncellus A.M. 5770 p. 471.14–15; Symeon 85.1–2; Cedrenus 296; Zonaras XII 30 p. 612.6–7 ("not 3 years"); Malalas XII 36 (Carinus alone); Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 62 (Carinus alone) and *Synopsis* 40.14 (same).

105. Carinus died aged 32: Malalas XII 36.72–73.

106. Account of the First Tetrarchy: John of Antioch frs. 247–249[265]; Zonaras XII 31 pp. 613.14–614.7 and 614.16–617.14; George Syncellus A.M. 5715 p. 441.1–10 (at 441.9, for ἄλλος δ΄ read ἄλλως δ΄ <μῆνας>) and A.M. 5776 p. 472.22–26; Theophanes A.M. 5777–5786, 5788, and 5793 pp. 6.4–7.13, 7.30–8.15, 9.1–20; {Malalas XII 38–41}; Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 63 and *Synopsis* 40.27–41.12; Symeon 86.1–2; Cedrenus 297.1–298.2, 298.4, and 299.1.

107. Retirements of Diocletian and Maximian, with digression on triumphs: Zonaras XII 32 pp. 618.4–7 and 618.10–619.14; John of Antioch frs. 250 and 251.1–2; Theophanes A.M. 5796 p. 10.11–19; Symeon 86.2–3; Cedrenus 299.1; {Malalas XII 44–45}.

108. Diocletian reigned 20 years: Malalas XII 37.74–75 (20 years 9 months); Zonaras XII 32 p. 618.4–6 (after completing his 20th year); George Syncellus A.M. 5776 p. 472.22–26 (20 years); Theophanes A.M. 5777 p. 6.4–7 (same); Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 63 (same) and *Synopsis* 40.27 and 41.10–11 (same); Symeon 86.1 (same); Cedrenus 297.1 (22 years).

109. Diocletian died after his abdication aged 72: Malalas XII 44.75–76; John of Antioch fr. 251.2 (no age given, but died 12 years after his abdication); Symeon 86.3 (same); Cedrenus 300.1 (same).

110. Maximian died after his abdication aged 57: Malalas XII 46.3–4.

111. Breakdown of the Second Tetrarchy: Zonaras XII 33, pp. 621.24–623.2; John of Antioch frs. 252 and 253; Theophanes A.M. 5796 pp. 10.17–11.13; Scutariotes, *Synopsis* 41.15–42.4.

112. Constantius I reigned 11 years: Zonaras XII 33 p. 622.15–22 ("Constans"); Theophanes A.M. 5796 p. 10.26–27.

113. Constantius I died aged 60: Malalas XII 48.37–38.

114. Reign of Constantine I: Zonaras XIII 1.4, 13.1.21–29, and 13.4.29–34; John of Antioch frs. 254 and 255; Symeon 88.2–5 and 88.7–8; Cedrenus 314.1; Peter the Patrician, *Historical Excerpts* IV (*On Proverbs*), p. 271.4–8; cf. Ammianus XXVII 3.7 and XXV 4.23).

115. Galerius died aged 53: Malalas XII 47.21–22 ("Maxentius Galerius").

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[264] Cf. Malalas XII 35.10–11 (2 years, evidently confusing Numerian's sole reign with that of his colleagues); Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 61 (same) and *Synopsis* 40.9 (same).

[265] Note that "Carausius" in John of Antioch fr. 247.1 (Καραύσιός τις) was miscopied as "Crassus" in the text of John used by Zonaras XII 31 p. 615.10 (Κράσσον) and Theophanes A.M. 5788 p. 8.1 (Κράσος).

116. Licinius died aged 46; Malalas XII 50.68–69.

117. Constantine I reigned 32 years less 2 months: Zonaras XIII 4.27; Symeon 88.1 (31 years); Malalas XIII 1.6 (32 years); Theophanes A.M. 5797 p. 11.25–26 (32 years); Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 68 (32 years) and *Synopsis* 43.9–10 (same); Cedrenus 315 (32 years 10 months).

118. Constantine I died aged 65: Malalas XIII 14.65 (65 years 3 months; for ξ΄ read ξ<ε>΄); Zonaras XIII 4.27; Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 68 and *Synopsis* 43.10–11; Theophanes A.M. 5828, p. 33.22–23; Symeon 88.1; Cedrenus 315.

119. Constantine's sons divided the empire: Zonaras XIII 5.1–4; Symeon 88.8; Theophanes A.M. 5829 pp. 34.16–18 and 35.7–10; Scutariotes, *Synopsis* 53.18–23; Cedrenus 315.

120. Birth and education of Julian: Zonaras XIII 10.2–4; Theophanes A.M. 5830 p. 35.12–16.

121. Constantine II fought Constans: Zonaras XIII 5.7–16; Theophanes A.M. 5831 p. 35.30–33; Scutariotes, *Synopsis* 53.24–54.3; Symeon 89.1 (confusing Constans with Constantius); Cedrenus 316.1 (same); cf. Ammianus XX 1.1, XXVII 8.4, and XXVIII 3.8.

122. Constantine II reigned 12 (22?) years: Malalas XIII 15.71–72 (for ιβ΄ perhaps read κβ΄).

123. Constantine II was killed aged 20 (24?): Malalas XIII 15.72–74 (for κ΄ perhaps read κ<δ>΄).

124. Constantius II fought the Persians, and Hormisdas fled Persia: Zonaras XIII 5.5–6 and 5.17–34; John of Antioch fr. 266; cf. Ammianus XVI 10.16, XVIII 9.3, XX 6.5, and XX 11.32.

125. Magnentius killed Constans and took his place: Zonaras XIII 6.1–19; Symeon 89.2; John of Antioch frs. 257 and 258; cf. Ammianus XIV 10.16 and XXI 16.15.

126. Constans reigned 17 years: Zonaras XIII 6.12; Symeon 89.2; Malalas XIII 16.75–76 (16 years).

127. Constans was killed aged 30: Zonaras XIII 6.12; {Malalas XIII 16.76–77 (27)}: cf. Ammianus XV 5.16.

128. The Persians besieged Nisibis: Zonaras XIII 7.1–14; Cedrenus 317.8.

129. Constantius II fought Magnentius: Zonaras XIII 7.15–8.31; John of Antioch fr. 259; Peter the Patrician, *Historical Excerpts* I 2 (*On Foreign Embassies*), p. 395.1–32; cf. Ammianus XV 6.4, XVI 6.2, XXI 8.1, and XXII 13.3.

130. Constantius defeated Magnentius: Zonaras XIII 9.1–8; John of Antioch fr. 260.1–15.

(Note also, for the lacuna after Ammianus XXIV 7.2 on Julian's Persian expedition: Zonaras XIII 13.4–7 and XIII 13.9; Malalas XIII 22).

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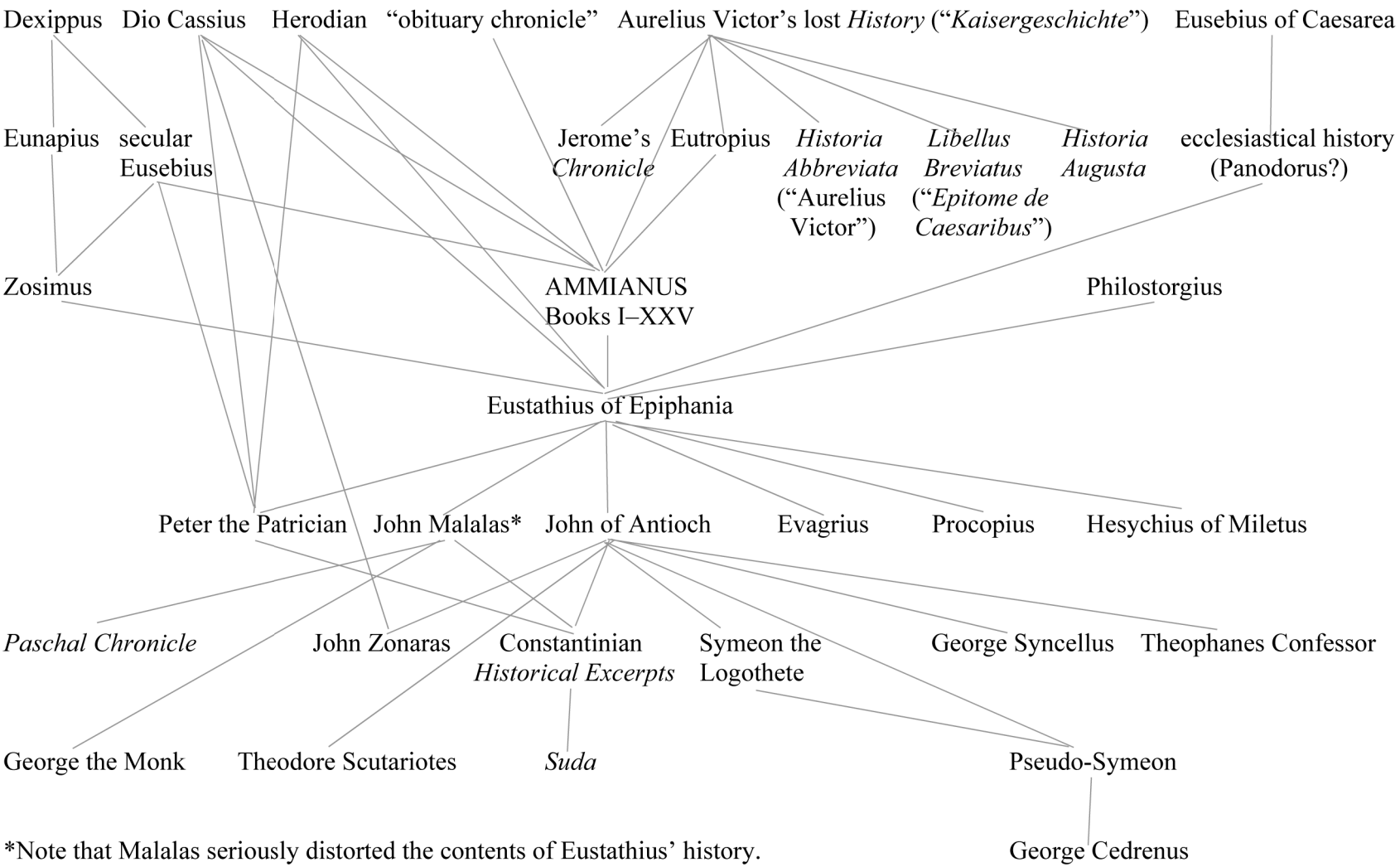
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TABLE OF SOURCES AND USERS OF AMMIANUS, BOOKS I–XXV

This table omits connections that have no bearing on the Byzantine summaries of Ammianus.



*Note that Malalas seriously distorted the contents of Eustathius' history.

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George Synkellos' Palestinian Connection and the Greek Chronicle Tradition

ABSTRACT: The hypothesis about George Synkellos' Syro-Palestinian origins relates in a confused way to that of the lost Eastern source of Theophanes, to the hypothesis that the chronicle attributed to Theophanes was in fact written by Synkellos, and to the hypothesis about Syriac mediation in the transmission of the Greek chronicle tradition throughout the so-called Dark Ages. The current state of research calls for a new look at this situation and invites us to reexamine from a different perspective the history of the Greek chronicle tradition in Byzantium.

KEYWORDS: George Synkellos; Theophanes Confessor; Byzantine Chronography; Byzantine Chronicle

There is no doubt that the chronicle attributed to Theophanes the Confessor is one of the most conspicuous literary works of the Byzantine millennium. In addition to many other issues, modern scholarship has tended to focus on its chronology, distinguishing it from its predecessors and successors in Greek, and thus establishing a link with the chronicle of Eusebius of Caesarea, which unfortunately has only reached us indirectly, through Latin and Armenian translations, Syriac epitomes and quotes in Greek works[1]. Since this relationship between the works of Eusebius and Theophanes was somewhat difficult to explain after a break of nearly five hundred years without clear evidence of chronicles of Eusebian style in Greek, in a very influential article Cyril Mango hypothesized that Theophanes received the Eusebian legacy through his friend George Synkellos. Synkellos allegedly had a good knowledge of the Syriac chronicle tradition, which had apparently faithfully preserved the Eusebian legacy during the so-called Dark Ages[2]. Of Mango's prolific and important research on Theophanes, this is the aspect that I would like to address.

To highlight Theophanes' uniqueness, Mango characterized his work by the breadth of its scope and its chronological structure[3]. He sought in vain Greek models of this chronological structure in Malalas, the Paschal Chronicle and other fragmentary works transmitted indirectly, and even in hypothetical works, like those of Trajan the Patrician, the so-called Great Chronographer and the common source of Theophanes and the patriarch Nikephoros for the years 668–769. He also denied

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[1] For Eusebius, see A. A. MOSSHAMMER, The *Chronicle* of Eusebius and the Greek Chronographic Tradition. Lewisburg – London 1979; B. CROKE, The Originality of Eusebius' Chronicle. *American Journal of Philology* 103 (1982) 195–200; R. W. BURGESS, Studies in Eusebian and Post-Eusebian Chronography. Stuttgart 1999; W. WITAKOWSKI, The Chronicle of Eusebius: Its Type and Continuation in Syriac Historiography. *Aram* 12 (2000) 419–437; A. HILKENS, Eusebius of Caesarea (d. AD 340), in: The Anonymous Syriac Chronicle of 1234 and its Sources (*Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 272). Leuven 2018, 113–128. For Jerome's Latin translation see Die Chronik des Hieronymus, Teil 1: Text (ed. R. Helm [*GCS* 47]. Berlin 1956); for the Armenian version of the chronography see Eusebius Caesariensis. Werke. Band 5: Die Chronik (ed. J. KARST [*GCS* 20], Leipzig 1911); Eusèbe de Césarée. Chronique I (ed. A. COHEN-SKALLI. Paris 2020, 47–49).

[2] C. MANGO, The Tradition of Byzantine Chronography. *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 12/13 (1988/89) 360–72; The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor: Byzantine and Near Eastern History AD 284–813 (transl. C. MANGO – R. SCOTT. Oxford 1997, liv–lv).

[3] MANGO, Tradition 368–69. I. ŠEVČENKO, The Search for the Past in Byzantium around the Year 800. *DOP* 46 (1992) 279–93, 288 and 293, also considers the breadth of scope of Synkellos' chronography as a unique element within the panorama of the Byzantine chronicles.

the possibility that Synkellos might have consulted Eusebius directly[4]. Mango therefore deduced that Theophanes must have been almost a "renaissance man", although he concluded that Theophanes' biographies completely ruled out the idea that he had an exceptional education and level of culture. More importantly, given his shortcomings in this respect, Theophanes could not even claim—according to Mango—to have been the one to bring back Greek chronicle tradition through Syriac intermediation. Rather, his chronicle should be attributed to his friend George Synkellos, whose privileged contacts with the Syro-Palestinian area would have allowed him to imbibe the "Syriac tradition" that would have kept the Greek chronicle alive during the Dark Ages[5].

Mango's approach was firmly grounded in his belief that the Byzantine chronicle was a "cut and paste" genre of an unavoidable and frustrating usefulness as a historical source. He also highlighted this feature of the genre, which in no way is specific to Theophanes or to any other Greek language chronicler, marking a clear path for future research: "Granted that the Chronicle [of Theophanes] is a file, its study is in a very real sense the study of its sources."[6] While Synkellos' work has been primarily seen as a most valuable anthology of citations of the first Christian chroniclers, Julius Africanus and Eusebius[7], Theophanes' work has received considerable attention as a historical source of first order on the events it deals with, in particular dating back to the 7th–9th centuries, and it has been thoroughly scrutinized from this point of view. In fact, Theophanes had long been analysed from this perspective before Mango. Thus, the hypothesis of the "Palestinian connection" arose from an old Quellenforschung problem—the so-called theory of the "Eastern source" or "lost Oriental chronicle" as formulated by Brooks in 1906—which was reinterpreted by Mango as a problem relating to literary models[8]. The way in which scholars had approached Theophanes' work was totally conditioned by the study of its sources.

We can go back even further to trace the bases of this hypothesis to the belief held by Gelzer (who looked down on Synkellos and the cultural climate of 9th-century Constantinople) that Synkellos had travelled through Palestina and was even of Palestinian origin[9]. From the perspective of Byzantine studies, Gelzer's hypothesis was the basis for a much needed re-evaluation of the information on the region contained in Theophanes' chronicle, which might be understood as based on Synkellos' own experiences. The shortage of Greek sources for the 7th–8th centuries, a key component of the "Eastern source" theory, led to the belief that Synkellos and Theophanes must have used Syriac sources. There has been a considerable effort amongst scholars to identify these sources in recent decades[10]. This belief also led Mango to assume that Synkellos' and Theophanes'

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[4] Adler and Tuffin do not dismiss it point blank: "Since the Greek text of the chronicle is now known only in scattered excerpts preserved by Synkellos and a few other Byzantine chronicles, the Greek transmission of the work in the ninth century is a matter of legitimate doubt", The Chronography of George Synkellos: A Byzantine Chronicle of Universal History from the Creation (transl. W. ADLER – P. TUFFIN. Oxford 2002, lxviii). Mosshammer concluded that the Eusebian fragments of Synkellos and the Armenian translation of Eusebius depended on a very similar or identical Greek original, *Georgii Syncelli Ecloga chronographica* (ed. A. A. MOSSHAMMER. Leipzig 1984, xxvi); W. ADLER, Time Immemorial: Archaic History and Its Sources in Christian Chronography from Julius Africanus to George Syncellus. Washington DC 1989, suggested that Synkellos consulted these sources in compilations of *excerpta*. An example can be found in the Eklogē historiōn (ed. J. A. CRAMER, Anecdota Graeca II. Oxford 1839, 114–63).

[5] C. MANGO, Who Wrote the Chronicle of Theophanes? *ZRVI* 18 (1978) 9–17.

[6] The Chronicle of Theophanes (transl. C. MANGO – R. SCOTT, lxxiv).

[7] Synkellos, the Paschal Chronicle and the so-called Anonymus Matritensis (9th century) are in fact the main Greek witnesses to Eusebius' chronicle.

[8] MANGO, Tradition.

[9] H. GELZER, Sextus Julius Africanus und die byzantinische Chronographie II.1. Leipzig 1885, 179–82.

[10] Since the proposal by E. W. BROOKS, The sources of Theophanes and the Syriac Chroniclers. *BZ* 15 (1906) 578–87, the most significant contributions to note are: L. I. CONRAD, Theophanes and the Arabic Historical Tradition. *BF* 15 (1990) 1–44, The Conquest of Arwād: a Source-Critical Study in the Historiography of the Early Medieval Near East, in: The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East, Volume 1: Problems in the Literary Source Material, ed. A. Cameron – L. I. Conrad. Princeton, NJ 1992, and R. G. HOYLAND, Seeing Islam as others saw it: a survey and evaluation of Christian, Jewish and

chronicle models must have been Syriac. This misunderstanding has led to an accumulation of serious inconsistencies.

The influence of this paradigm is so profound that in 2008 an important reference work claimed that "the Syriac tradition probably contributed to the re-emergence of Greek historiography, since George, a monk from Palestine, brought to Constantinople in the late eighth century a translation of a contemporary eastern chronicle"[11]. George Synkellos' Palestinian origins are fully assumed by the author of the only recent survey of middle Byzantine historiography[12], his Syrio-Palestinian connections are welcomed by the translators of his chronography[13], and due to Mango's reputation as a leading scholar, these assumptions have had a significant impact outside of Byzantine studies. This is evident in the most important 21st-century contribution to the history of the chronicle genre in antiquity and the Middle Ages[14]. Quite recently, Torgerson writes that "what we can state with confidence is that the text (Synkellos-Theophanes work) was written in a way that strongly encouraged an attentive reader to think that its author had close ties to Syria-Palestina to the degree as saw those Christians as part of the Byzantine οἰκουμένη (…) the *Chronographia* associates its author with Syria-Palestine, indicating the author spent time within that region either as a traveller, a resident, or a native-born person"[15]. It is remarkable that, more than a century later and with a lot of specialized literature in between, we are at the same point as Gelzer. This perhaps justifies us revisiting the issue in search of something we may be doing wrong.

THE MANGO HYPOTHESIS IN CONTEXT: ORIGIN, CONTENT, AND IMPLICATIONS

Mango's theory that Synkellos wrote the chronicle attributed to Theophanes was based on what he deemed to be discrepancies between biographies of Theophanes and the information contained in the chronicle itself, in particular its preface[16]. He was firmly convinced that Gelzer was right in

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Zoroastrian writings on early Islam. Princeton 1997, 631–71. Their conclusions have been accepted by most Byzantinists. See, for example, W. Brandes, Der frühe Islam in der byzantinischen Historiographie. Anmerkungen zur Quellenproblematik der Chronographia des Theophanes, in: Jenseits der Grenzen. Beiträge zur spätantiken und frühmittelalterlichen Geschichtsschreibung, ed. H. Leppin – H. Schlange-Schöningen – A. Goltz. Berlin 2009, 313–44; J. Howard-Johnston, Witnesses to a World Crisis. Historians and Histories of the Middle East in the Seventh Century. Oxford 2010, 192–236; W. T. Treadgold, The Middle Byzantine Historians. Basingstoke 2013, 50–63, not to mention the plethora of articles and reference works that echo this view, inside and outside of Byzantine studies.

[11] M. Angold – M. Whitby, Historiography, in: The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies, ed. E. Jeffreys et al. Oxford 2008, 838–52, 842. See also M. Jankowiak, Framing Universal History: Syncellus' Canon and Theophanes' Rubrics, in: Studies in Theophanes, ed. M. Jankowiak – F. Montinaro (*TM* 19). Paris 2015, 53–72, 54–55: "George Syncellus, who was a Palestinian monk before moving to Constantinople … ."

[12] Although Treadgold, Middle Byzantine Historians, is not focused on literary forms and models, but on biographical data, historical content, and sources. See also Treadgold, The Life and Wider Significance of George Syncellus, in: Studies in Theophanes, ed. Jankowiak – Montinaro, Studies 9–30. The only survey of Byzantine historiography that critically addresses the hypothetical Palestinian origin (or sojourn) of Synkellos is, to my knowledge, that of A. Karpozilos, Byzantinoi historikoi kai chronographoi. Tomos B (8os–10os ai.). Athens 2002, 100–107.

[13] The Chronography of George Synkellos (transl. W. Adler – P. Tuffin, lxviii–lxix).

[14] R. W. Burgess – M. Kulikowski, Mosaics of Time. The Latin Chronicle Traditions from the First Century BC to the Sixth Century AD. Vol. I. A Historical Introduction to the Chronicle Genre from its Origins to the High Middle Ages (*Studies in the Early Middle Ages*). Turnhout 2013, 30–31, 227; Burgess, The Origin and Evolution of Early Christian and Byzantine Universal Historiography. *Millennium* 18 (2021) 53–154, 64 and n. 25. See also S. Mariev, Byzantinische Chronistik, in: Handbuch Chroniken des Mittelalters, ed. G. Wolf – N.H. Ott. Berlin 2016, 837–864, 853.

[15] J. W. Torgerson, The Chronographia of George the Synkellos and Theophanes. The Ends of Time in Ninth-Century Constantinople. Leiden – Boston 2022, 79. Even though Torgerson is not interested in the biographical question *per se*, it is not clear why he would ask what the references to Syria-Palestina would have indicated to a contemporary reader in terms of authorial identity if he had not thought that these references exist for some reason and are important for the study of the work.

[16] Mango, Who Wrote? 1978. The hypothesis has been followed by Treadgold, Middle Byzantine Historians 38–77; against it, among others, see I. Čičurov, Feofan Ispovednik: publikator, redactor, avtor? *VV* 42 (1981) 78–86; J. N.

concluding that Synkellos had used only three written sources (Panodorus, Annianus and the Bible) because anything else seemed inconceivable for 9th-century Constantinople. He was also convinced that Gelzer was right in suggesting that Synkellos had spent time in Palestina before his appointment as synkellos. Shortly after Gelzer, Krumbacher stated that Synkellos must have spent a long time in Palestina because of his position as synkellos[17]. Krumbacher's and Gelzer's opinions in turn influenced the article by Laqueur, which is perhaps the foundation for independent study of Synkellos. For Laqueur, however, the possibility that Synkellos had visited the Holy Land was part of his rehabilitation, as it could disprove his reputation as a parlour scholar and a mere copyist of his sources[18]. And so we come to Mango.

Let us now revisit Mango's arguments one by one. Firstly, Theophanes himself claims in his preface to have received from Synkellos ἀφρομαί [aphormai] to complete the work, which Mango interprets as the "materials". Secondly, George could have been alive for a few more years after 810, when we know he was still writing; the chronicle must have been completed before December 814, because it presents a favourable picture of Leo V; Theophanes' hagiography tells us that he was affected by a serious illness from 810 onwards; Theophanes was not a man of much culture. However, all this would not be enough to presume Synkellos' authorship were it not for the fact that "*he resided for a considerable time in Palestina*" (italics are mine), for he claims to have seen Rachel's tomb with his own eyes. Mango cites other "Palestinian reminiscences" in support of his theory: the duration of Israel's journey through the desert in Moses' time, the harvest in Jericho before Passover, and the manna from Parthia[19]. All these passages have already been identified by Gelzer[20]. According to Mango, this suggested that Synkellos was a monk there (most probably in St Chariton), that he may have been a Palestinian or a Syrian, and that he knew some Arabic and/or Syriac. All of this led Mango to conclude that "Synkellos would have shown particular interest in the events of Syria-Palestina." As Theophanes' chronicle includes a good deal of information about the East, to the extent that a lost Oriental chronicle written in Greek had been postulated as a source of this information by Brooks, Synkellos was an ideal candidate for having brought it from there to Constantinople. He could even have translated it into Greek. Finally, Mango added further details to reinforce his hypothesis: in describing the crisis that followed the death of Harun al-Raschid a "slaughter against *us*" (italics are mine) is mentioned, and this passage and a later one mention St Chariton's monastery before St Sabas'[21]; George would have had more reasons to hate Emperor Nikephoros than Theophanes, because of his appointment by Irene and his likely involvement in Arsaber's conspiracy. In a concluding remark, Mango tells us that this issue is important for the

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Ljubarskij, Feofan Ispovednik i istochniki yego "Khronografii" (k voprosy o metodakh ikh osvoeniya). *VV* 45 (1984) 72–85; A. Kazhdan, A History of Byzantine Literature (650–850). Athens 1999, 215–24; I. Rochow, Byzanz im 8. Jahrhundert in der Sicht des Theophanes. Quellenkritisch-historischer Kommentar zu den Jahren 715–813 (*BBA* 57). Berlin 1991, 40; P. Yannopoulos, Théophane de Sigriani le Confesseur (759–818): Un héros orthodoxe du second iconoclasme. Brussels 2013, 269–73, whose work aims to rescue Theophanes from the accusation of ignorance. See also the comments of Ševčenko, Search for the Past 287–88. C. Zuckerman, Theophanes the Confessor and Theophanes the Chronicler, or, A Story of Square Brackets, in: Studies in Theophanes, ed. Jankowiak – Montinaro, Studies 31–52, has proposed to distinguish between the orthodox confessor and the chronicler, developing a suggestion of P. Speck, Der "zweite" Theophanes: eine These zur Chronographie des Theophanes (*Poikila Byzantina* 13). Bonn 1994. In contrast, see the recent publication by P. Yannopoulos, Un fantôme historique: « l'autre Theophane ». *BZ* 113 (2020) 189–218. There are many medieval historians whose secular works are not included in their biographies.

17 K. Krumbacher, Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur. Munich 1897 (2nd ed.), 340.

18 In any case, he makes this suggestion with the utmost caution. R. Laqueur, Synkellos, RE IV 2 (1932) cols. 1388–1410, here 1389, 16–42.

19 Mango, Who wrote? 12–13 and n. 16.

20 Gelzer, Sextus Julius 179–80 (Rachel's tomb), 181 (desert journey), 182 (Jericho harvest), 181–82 (manna). In the latter case, Gelzer states that the tone of the passage speaks against Africanus' authorship, and points towards Panodoros.

21 Theophanes AM 6301 (De Boor 484, 14–19); Theophanes AM 6305 (De Boor 499, 15–25). Mango, Who wrote? 14. The latter is also mentioned by Gelzer, Sextus Julius 181.

history of Byzantine civilization because it gives some insight into the intellectual climate and bibliographical resources of Constantinople at the beginning of the 9th century. This is the precise origin of the whole hypothesis and also the cause of its greatest impact.

As far as Synkellos' biography is concerned, Mango's hypothesis has been taken to its limits. Huxley thought that Synkellos lived in Palestina and may have been a monk at St Chariton, and Treadgold took all the above references to Palestina as autobiographical experiences (Rachel's tomb and Jericho's harvest, adding the stones placed by Joshua in the Jordan), becoming convinced that George was synkellos of the patriarch of Jerusalem[22]. The *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit* begins his biography by stating that George "stammt entweder aus Syrien/Palëstina oder hat sich vor 787 dort möglicherweise längere Zeit aufgehalten"[23].

COUNTER-ARGUMENTS AGAINST MANGO'S HYPOTHESIS

With the remarkable exceptions of the contributions of Mango and Treadgold, all the studies on Synkellos have agreed on one point: that hardly anything is known about his biography beyond his name and the fact that he held the position of synkellos. As can be seen, the hypothesis that Synkellos resided in Palestina for a long time allowed Mango to connect him with Brooks' hypothesis about Theophanes's Eastern source, and make Synkellos the transmitter or even possible translator of this source. In fact, the ἀφορμαί may not have been exactly "materials", but rather guidelines, starting points or motifs[24]. George could not have been alive for more than a couple of years after 810. The chronicle could have been completed after 814[25], and Theophanes, although truly ill, may have had assistants to finish it. But what if Synkellos never lived in Palestina? Not even Gelzer claims that he certainly did, but he wonders about it: "Ist am Ende Synkellos selbst ein Palästinenser? Die Orientalen machten damals wegen ihrer Bilderfreundlichkeit in Konstantinopel schnell Carrière."[26] Mango's hypothesis about Georges' Palestinian connection is not a problem; the problem is to base a hypothesis on another hypothesis and so on.

In an article forgotten by many later scholars, Grecu had wondered whether Synkellos took his passages about Mount Ararat, Rachel's tomb, Israel's journey through the desert, the manna, the Passover at Jericho, the remains of the flood in the mountains, and the tree where Jacob buried the idols from Africanus and Eusebius. Grecu queries this on account of the subject matter and character of Synkellos' work as a compilation, as well as the proven connections of both authorities of Christian chronography with the region of Syria-Palestina[27]. However, Grecu held the fathers of the Christian chronicle in far greater esteem than Synkellos, who was only a mere monk who lived in Constantinople[28]. In this way, his hypotheses may have been dismissed as biased, because he openly states that the proper thing for a monk was to spend his life locked up in his monastery. However

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[22] G. L. HUXLEY, On the Erudition of George the Synkellos. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 81 (1981) 207–217, 215–216; W. TREADGOLD, The Life and Wider Significance.

[23] PmbZ # 2180, in: R.-J. LILIE [et al.], Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit. Erste Abteilung (641–867), Zweite Abteilung (867–1025). Berlin 1999–2013.

[24] See P. VARONA, Chronographical Polemics in Ninth-Century Constantinople. George Synkellos, Iconoclasm and the Greek Chronicle Tradition. *Eranos* 108 (2017) 117–36, 125 and n. 39.

[25] For this, see recently TORGERSON, Chronographia 317–61.

[26] GELZER, Sextus Julius 182.

[27] V. GRECU, Hat Georgios Synkellos weitere Reise unternommen? *Bulletin de la section historique de l'Académie Roumaine* 28 (1947) 241–45. It is, however, quoted by Adler and Tuffin, The Chronography of George Synkellos lxxxi; A. KARPOZILOS, The Palestinian Connection of Georgios Synkellos, in: Prosopon Rhomaikon: Ergänzende Studien zur Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit, ed. A. Beihammer – B. Krönung – C. Ludwig, Berlin – Boston 2017, 85–92, 85, n. 5; and L. NEVILLE, Guide to Byzantine Historical Writing. Cambridge 2018, 57, n. 9.

[28] For Grecu it was not important at all that George was a high-rank ecclesiastic who held an office very close to the patriarch.

wrong Grecu was in this respect, it makes sense to examine his objections with the help of Mosshammer's, Adler's and Tuffin's invaluable contributions to the edition and translation of the text.

From the relevant passages from Synkellos, Grecu mentions only one with a non-Palestinian theme, but which could also be interpreted as reminiscent. Concerning the exploits of Dionysos, Synkellos writes that "if interested, one can see his burial-place in Delphi near the golden statue of Apollo… ."[29] Karpozilos critically analysed "the so-called autobiographical references" in Synkellos' work and claimed that "there are other numerous instances in which he describes monuments, ruins of cities and names as if they were still surviving in his time, although it is clear that he was simply reproducing his sources"[30]. He also observed that some of these passages can be found in later works such as that attributed to Pseudo-Symeon, and that these later works often do not include the personal remarks attributed to Synkellos. In my opinion, these works do not include the personal remarks because they adapt the information provided to a different historical genre. Synkellos wrote an annotated chronography, a genre which is based on compiling excerpts from earlier chronographers to discuss them as a first step before proposing one's own chronological theses. It would be difficult and meaningless to eliminate the personal remarks from those excerpts, and, on the contrary, it makes perfect sense to transcribe them literally in most cases. However, this does not imply that they are verbatim pieces of the "original" works, because their source can be (and very often really was) an earlier chronography or other kind of compilation.

Let us review Mango's arguments for Synkellos' residence in Palestina (or Palestinian provenance): Rachel's tomb, distances in the desert, the harvest in Jericho, and the manna from Parthia. These are exactly the same pieces of evidence presented by Gelzer and probably the most important of these deals with Rachel's tomb[31].

Rachel's tomb

> Ῥαχὴλ ἐν τῷ τίκτειν τὸν Βενιαμὶν ἐτελεύτησε, καὶ ἐτάφη μεταξὺ Βηθλεὲμ καὶ Ἱερουσαλὴμ εἰς τὸν ἱππόδρομον. ἦν δὲ τοῦ Λευὶ ἔτος κα΄, τοῦ δὲ κόσμου ἦν ἔτος ͵γφοε΄. ταύτης ἐγὼ τὴν λάρνακα τῆς γῆς ὑπερκειμένην πολλάκις ἐκεῖσε παροδεύων ἐπὶ Βηθλεὲμ καὶ τὴν παλαιὰν λεγομένην λαύραν τοῦ ὁσίου Χαρίτωνος ἑώρακα.[32]
>
> "Rachel died in giving birth to Benjamin, and she was buried between Bethlehem and Jerusalem in the hippodrome. This was the 21st year of Levi, AM 3575. In my journeys to Bethlehem and what is known as the Old Lavra of blessed Chariton, I personally have passed by there frequently and seen her coffin lying on the ground."

This passage probably led Gelzer to conclude that Synkellos lived in Palestina because it is difficult to refute or dismiss as much[33]. Treadgold, who relies on Mango, concludes that Synkellos was a representative of his monastery to the patriarchate of Jerusalem, for otherwise he finds it difficult to explain that he frequented this route[34]. The whole passage belongs to an excerpt from

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[29] Synkellos 190, 18–19 (Mosshammer): τῷ δὲ βουλομένῳ πάρεστιν ἰδεῖν αὐτοῦ τὴν ταφὴν ἐν Δελφοῖς παρὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα τὸν χρυσοῦν. Translations of Synkellos are taken from The Chronography of George Synkellos (transl. Adler – Tuffin).

[30] Karpozilos, Palestinian Connection 86.

[31] Gelzer also mentions the reference to Χαρρὰν τῇ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν κατειδώλῳ as a possible remark of Synkellos (or Panodoros), Synkellos 107, 29–31 (Mosshammer): ἐν Χαρρὰν δὲ ἐλθόντας τῇ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν κατειδώλῳ κατοικῆσαι ἐκεῖ δι' αἰσχροκερδίαν καὶ εἰδωλομανίαν, "but when they arrived in Charran, which is idolatrous even to this day, they settled there because of greed and a depraved obsession with idols."

[32] Synkellos 122, 18–22 (Mosshammer); Gelzer, Sextus Julius 182.

[33] Karpozilos, Palestinian Connection 90.

[34] Treadgold, Middle Byzantine Historians 40.

Africanus[35]. The tomb is mentioned in the Septuagint, where it is stated that the pillar (stēlē) built upon it by Jacob is still there "to this day"[36]. The oldest evidence of the location of the tomb (mnēma) near Bethlehem dates back to the 4th century[37], but there is barely any mention of it between the 5th and 7th centuries. The first detailed description of the monument comes from a Gallic peregrine which makes it clear that in 670 it was surrounded by a pyramid, in the Hellenistic-Roman style, and there is no evidence that it changed until the 12th century. The only description of the tomb that bears any resemblance to that of Synkellos (larnax) was made by an Italian peregrine from 570, who writes that *ad tertium miliarium de Hierosolima iacet Rachel corpore*[38]. The mention of the Old Lavra of St Chariton, which was known by that name at least from the 6th century[39], may provide an approximate *terminus post quem*, but the mention of a well-known monastery and a well-known pilgrimage route should not entice us to draw many more conclusions. Chariton's tomb was also a pilgrimage site, as a memorial of the founder of Judean monasticism[40]. The interpretation of the passage is more difficult than it might appear, and it is not entirely clear that it comes from an eyewitness.

Distances in the desert

καίτοι τῆς ὅλης ὁδοῦ ἀπὸ Κάδης Βαρνὴ ἕως φάραγγος Ζαρὲθ μὴ οὔσης ε΄ ἡμερῶν, ὡς ἡμεῖς ἐπειράθημεν, ἥτις αὐτοῖς καταρεμβευομένοις ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν λ΄ καὶ η΄ χρόνοις διήνυσται.[41]

"But although the whole trip from Kades Barne up to the valley of Zareth is not even five days, as we know from our own experience, it took them thirty-eight years to accomplish the journey, since God was making them roam hither and thither."

Synkellos highlights divine providence by showing that Israel's journey through the desert would have taken no more than five days if God had not decreed that it should take Moses' people thirty-eight years. He is commenting on a biblical verse in the context of a detailed reading of Deuteronomy[42]. The knowledge of the route may have originated in pilgrimage, because it is difficult to find another reason to travel between the valley of the Zered and Kadesh-Barnea other than cover-

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35 Synkellos 122, 1–123, 21 (Mosshammer).

36 Gn 35:20.

37 Eusebios, Onomastikon 82, 10–13 (ed. E. Klostermann, Das Onomastikon der biblischen Ortsnamen. Eusebius Werke 3.1 [*GCS* 2.1], Leipzig 1904). Adler and Tuffin observe that Synkellos' passage reflects the Septuagint's (wrong) rendering of Jacob's words (Gn 48:7), because the Hebrew Bible does not mention any hippodrome (The Chronography of George Synkellos 152, n. 7).

38 For the sources, see F. Strickert, Rachel Weeping. Jews, Christians, and Muslims at the Fortress Tomb. Collegeville, MN 2007, 71–84. He thinks that Synkellos' description might be explained because the earthquake of 746 affected the tomb, but that does not explain why later sources mention the pyramid.

39 D. Neary, Constantinople and the Desert City: Imperial Patronage of the Judaean Desert Monasteries, 451–565, in: From Constantinople to the Frontier. The City and the Cities, ed. N. S. M. Matheou – Th. Kampiakai – L. M. Bondioli. Leiden 2016, 142–58, 145.

40 He is credited with it in his biography, summarized in the Metaphrastic Menologion, Vitae Sanctorum, Mensis September: Vita et conversatio et certamen Sancti Patris nostri et confessoris Charitonis (*PG* 115, 899–918).

41 Synkellos 165, 16–19 (Mosshammer).

42 Synkellos 165, 9–166, 20 (Mosshammer); Dt 2:14: καὶ αἱ ἡμέραι, ἃς παρεπορεύθημεν ἀπὸ Καδης Βαρνη ἕως οὗ παρήλθομεν τὴν φάραγγα Ζαρετ, τριάκοντα καὶ ὀκτὼ ἔτη, ἕως οὗ διέπεσεν πᾶσα γενεὰ ἀνδρῶν πολεμιστῶν ἀποθνήσκοντες ἐκ τῆς παρεμβολῆς, καθότι ὤμοσεν αὐτοῖς ὁ θεός, "and the days which we had gone alongside from Kades Barne until we passed along the ravine of Zared were thirty-eight years until the entire generation of the men, warriors of the camp, has fallen away, as the Lord has sworn to them." Translations of the Septuagint are taken from A New English Translation of the Septuagint. Oxford 2009.

ing the exodus route or visiting Miriam's (or Aaron's) tomb[43]. It is important to highlight that this passage and the two following ones about the harvest in Jericho and the manna are concentrated in a single excerpt from Synkellos' work which covers the history between the exodus and the death of Joshua according to the Septuagint[44].

Harvest in Jericho

ὅπερ μέχρι νῦν ἔστιν ἰδεῖν ἐν Ἰεριχὼ κατὰ τὴν ἐαρινὴν ἰσημερίαν γενόμενον θερισμὸν σίτου νέου κατὰ τοὺς θερμοτέρους τόπους συμφθάζοντα. ἐξ οὗ καὶ ἡ κατὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα ἁγιωτάτη ἐκκλησία συνήθως προφέρει τὴν ἀναίμακτον θυσίαν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς ζωηφόρου ἀναστάσεως Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν.[45]

"Hence, even to this day one can see in Jericho at the vernal equinox new grain being harvested early in the warmer locations. From this grain, the most holy church in Jerusalem customarily offers the bloodless offering during the anniversary of the life-bringing Resurrection of Christ our God."

A comment on the biblical account of the first Passover in the Promised Land states that new grain is harvested early in Jericho until today and that the church of Jerusalem makes use of it on Easter Sunday[46]. If this comment is Synkellos' own, it could be interpreted as knowledge gained from a pilgrimage on the well-attested Jericho-Jerusalem route following Jesus' steps. However, this passage and the previous two are related to important pilgrimage sites and routes that had been well known since ancient times. In this way, Synkellos could have taken this information from an earlier source of any genre[47]. The preservation of this custom also seems strange for the late 8th–early 9th century.

The manna from Parthia

τοῦτο μὲν οὖν τὸ μάννα κομισθὲν ἐκ τῆς Παρθικῆς εἶδον ἐγὼ καὶ μετέσχον αὐτοῦ.[48]

"Now when manna was brought back from Parthia, I myself saw it and partook it."

The biblical manna has been identified with a nutritive lichen (*Lecanora esculenta*) whose use as food and medicine is likely very old but is only referred to starting in the ninth century by Arab authors[49]. The Andalusian Muhammad al-Ghafiqi (c. 1160) states that it was usually exported from Barca (Cyrenaica) and Khorasan (ancient Parthia), with the latter being of the best quality[50]. However, this lichen was exported all over the world (as far as the other side of the Mediterranean) from

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[43] On Kadesh-Barnea, Eusebius writes that it is the desert extending to Petra in Arabia and that Miriam was buried there, which can be seen until today (Eusebius, Onomastikon 112, 8–12 [Klostermann]).

[44] Synkellos 147, 1–171, 11 (Mosshammer).

[45] Synkellos 168, 12–16 (Mosshammer).

[46] Josh 5:8–11

[47] See, for example, P. Maraval, Lieux saints et pèlegringes d'Orient. Histoire et géographie des origins à la conquête arabe. Paris 1985, 272 (Rachel's tomb), 277–80 (route Jericho-Jerusalem, at least from the 4th century).

[48] Synkellos 150,17–18 (Mosshammer).

[49] Initially, Gelzer expressed the opinion that it was attributable to Africanus (Sextus Julius Africanus und die byzantinische Chronographie I. Leipzig 1880, 10), but after that he changed his mind and attributed it to Synkellos (Sextus Julius 181–82).

[50] R. A. Donkin, Manna, an Historical Geography (*Biogeographica* 17). Dordrecht 1980, 44–45. According to Karpozilos, Palestinian Connection 87, the mention of Parthia made no sense in Synkellos' time.

the east of ancient Persia, so Synkellos could have tasted it elsewhere, not necessarily in Palestina, and he certainly could have done so in Constantinople.

Other passages added to the debate[51]

1. Mount Ararat[52]. The comment belongs to an excerpt from Africanus which Africanus' latest editors recognize as his[53]. After concluding Africanus' excerpt about the flood, Synkellos moves on with his own chronology and he states that Mount Ararat is in Armenia, without any doubt (or mention of personal experience whatsoever)[54].
2. Remains of the flood in the mountains[55]. The passage belongs to an excerpt from Eusebius which can also be found verbatim in the Eklogē historiōn of the Parisinus Gr. 854 and in the Armenian version of Eusebius' chronography[56]. A slightly different version is preserved by George the Monk, who rightly quotes Josephus[57]. Malalas mentions Josephus, Eusebius and an unknown Pergamos as sources for this. According to Pergamos, "its timbers (of the ark) are there to the present day" (ἔστιν τὰ ξύλα αὐτῆς ἐκεὶ ἕως τῆς νῦν)[58]. Judging from Josephus' version, Berossos may have been the source of the fish motif[59].
3. Tree where Jacob buried the idols (Gn 35:2)[60]. The passage belongs to an excerpt from Africanus which Africanus' latest editors recognize as his[61].
4. Dead Sea[62]. The passage belongs to an excerpt from Africanus which Africanus' latest editors recognize as his[63].

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[51] Passages 1–4 are mentioned by Grecu, Hat Georgios Synkellos?

[52] Synkellos 22, 6–8 (Mosshammer): ὡς δὲ ἔληξε τὸ ὕδωρ, ἡ κιβωτὸς ἱδρύθη ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη Ἀραράτ, ἅτινα ἴσμεν ἐν Παρθίᾳ, τινὲς δὲ ἐν Κελαιναῖς τῆς Φρυγίας εἶναί φασιν· εἶδον δὲ τὸν τόπον ἑκάτερον, "but when the water receded, the ark came to rest on the mountains of Ararat, which we know to be in Parthia, but some say is in Kelainai of Phrygia."

[53] Julius Africanus, F23 (ed. M. Wallraff, Iulius Africanus Chronographiae [*GCS N.F* 15]. Berlin – New York 2007, 50, 18–20).

[54] Synkellos 23, 11–12 (Mosshammer): ἐκάθισεν ἡ κιβωτὸς ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη τὰ Ἀραράτ, τοῦτ' ἔστι τῆς Ἀρμενίας, "the ark came to rest on the mountains of Ararat, that is, of Armenia."

[55] Synkellos 96, 4–12 (Mosshammer): τοῦ δὲ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν ἀρθῆναι ὑπὲρ τὰ ὑψηλότατα τῶν ὀρέων καὶ ἡμῖν τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα γράφουσιν ἀλήθειαν ἐπιστώσατο αὐτοψία τισὶν ἰχθύων καθ' ἡμᾶς εὑρημένων ἄνω πρὸς αὐταῖς τοῦ Λιβάνου ταῖς ὑψηλοτάταις ἀκρωρείαις. λίθους γὰρ ἐνθένδε εἰς οἰκοδομάς τινες ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρῶν ἐκτέμνοντες θαλαττίων ἰχθύων εὖρον διάφορα γένη, ἃ δὴ ἐπὶ τῶν κατὰ τὰ ὄρη κοιλωμάτων συναποπαγῆναι τῇ ἰλύι καὶ τεταριχευμένων δίκην εἰς δεῦρο διαμεῖναι συνέβη, ὥσθ' ἡμῖν καὶ δι' αὐτῆς τῆς ὄψεως τὴν τοῦ παλαιοῦ λόγου πιστωθῆναι μαρτυρίαν, "and as to the Flood-waters' cresting above the highest of the mountains, we who are writing after the fact also have confirmation for its veracity from some people in our time who have personally examined fish discovered high up on the tallest peaks of Mount Libanos. For as some were cutting away stones there out of the mountains for their homes, they discovered various species of sea fish, which, it turned out, were congealed in mud cavities in the mountains and remained up to this day in a kind of embalmed state. Therefore, the witness of the ancient tradition is confirmed by us, and with our own eyes at that."

[56] Eklogē historiōn (Cramer 170, 6–15); Eusebius, Chronographia 41, 19–29 (Karst).

[57] George the Monk I 48, 25–49, 1–7 (ed. C. de Boor, Georgii Monachi Chronicon [*BSGRT*], Leipzig 1904). Karpozilos, Palestinian Connection 89, adds the version preserved by Eustathius of Antioch (*PG* 18, 761). The motif of the remnants of the flood in the mountains is a topic of flood narratives. See C. Westermann, Genesis 1–11. A Commentary. Minneapolis 1984, 443.

[58] Malalas I 4 (ed. H. Thurn, Ioannis Malalae Chronographia [*CFHB* 35] Berlin – New York 2000, 7, 86–92). Translations of Malalas are taken from The Chronicle of John Malalas (trans. E. Jeffreys – M. Jeffreys – R. Scott. Melbourne 1986).

[59] Josephus, Antiquitates Iudaicae I 93, 1–6 (ed. B. Niese, Flavii Iosephi opera I. Berlin 1887).

[60] Synkellos 123, 13–16 (Mosshammer): Ἰακὼβ ἀπαρεσθεὶς τοῖς ὑπὸ Συμεὼν καὶ Λευὶ πραχθεῖσιν ἐν Σικίμοις διὰ τὴν τῆς ἀδελφῆς φθορὰν εἰς τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους, θάψας ἐν Σικίμοις οὓς ἐφέρετο θεοὺς παρὰ τὴν πέτραν ὑπὸ τὴν θαυμασίαν τερέβινθον, ἥτις μέχρι νῦν εἰς τιμὴν τῶν πατριαρχῶν ὑπὸ τῶν πλησιοχώρων τιμᾶται, "Jacob was displeased by what Symeon and Levi had done in Shechem against the inhabitants there in retaliation for their sister's defilement. And he buried in Shechem the gods that he brought with him by the rock underneath the wonderful terebinth tree, which is even to this day venerated by the neighbouring peoples in honour of the patriarchs."

[61] Julius Africanus, F30 (66 Wallraff, which also includes the parallel text of Eustathius' commentary on the hexaemeron).

5. Gilgal's twelve stones memorial set up by Joshua to commemorate the miraculous crossing of the Jordan river, added by Treadgold[64]. On this occasion, Synkellos does no more than reproduce the information from the Septuagint[65].
6. Manuscript borrowed from the library at Caesarea[66]. Torgerson adds this piece of evidence as a "self-referential statement", but Synkellos clearly says that the manuscript "came to him from the library of Caesarea", so he was not there[67].
7. Treadgold interprets the reference to "our people" (τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν) in his description of the threat represented by the "covenant" against Christ made by Islam at the beginning of the chronography as evidence of Synkellos' Syrian origin[68]. He interprets this general description of this threat as a reference to the information about the attacks on Palestinian Christian establishments at the end of Theophanes. However, both "among themselves and *against us*" (κατ' ἀλλήλων καὶ ἡμῶν, Theophanes) and "*our people*" (τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν, Synkellos) could be interpreted as a simple reference to Christians, and not necessarily the Christian population in Palestina[69].

THE PALESTINIAN CONNECTION AND THE GREEK CHRONICLE GENRE

As seen above, Synkellos' supposed first-hand knowledge of the Syriac chronicle tradition was interpreted by Mango to be the missing link between the Eusebian chronicle tradition and Theophanes' chronicle throughout the so-called "Dark Ages". This period represents a gap that has been often identified with the lack of secular literature, in particular historiography, and whose end has been considered as marked by a renewed interest in the past[70]. Mango's assumption has not yet been seriously questioned and no alternative has been proposed. However, is this missing link nec-

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[62] Synkellos 114, 12–13 (MOSSHAMMER): συνέβαλλον δὲ παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν ἁλικήν, ἣ καλεῖται νῦν θάλαττα νεκρά· ἐν ταύτῃ πλεῖστα τῶν θαυμασίων τεθέαμαι, "they met by the Salt Sea, which is now called the Dead Sea. In this sea, I have witnessed a great many marvellous things."

[63] Julius Africanus, F26 (58–60 WALLRAFF).

[64] Synkellos 167,18–19 (MOSSHAMMER): Ἔστησέ τε ἄλλους ιβ΄ λίθους Ἰησοῦς ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ, οὗ ἔστησαν οἱ πόδες τῶν αἱρόντων τὴν κιβωτὸν ἱερέων, καὶ εἰσὶν ἐκεῖ ἕως σήμερον, "Joshua set another twelve stones in the Jordan, where the feet of the priests carrying the ark had stood, and they are there until this day"; TREADGOLD, Middle Byzantine Historians 41; TREADGOLD, Life and Wider Significance 11.

[65] Josh 4:9: ἔστησεν δὲ Ἰησοῦς καὶ ἄλλους δώδεκα λίθους ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ Ιορδάνῃ ἐν τῷ γενομένῳ τόπῳ ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας τῶν ἱερέων τῶν αἱρόντων τὴν κιβωτὸν τῆς διαθήκης κυρίου, καὶ εἰσιν ἐκεῖ ἕως τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας, "now Iesous also set up another twelve stones in the Jordan itself, in the place that was under the feet of the priests who bore the ark of the covenant of the Lord, and they are there until this very day."

[66] Synkellos 240, 12–15 (MOSSHAMMER): Ἐν ἑνὶ δὲ ἀντιγράφῳ λίαν ἠκριβωμένῳ κατά τε στιγμὴν καὶ προσῳδίαν ἐκ τῆς ἐν Καισαρείᾳ τῆς Καππαδοκίας ἐλθόντι εἰς ἐμὲ βιβλιοθήκης, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἐπεγέγραπτο ὡς ὁ μέγας καὶ θεῖος Βασίλειος τὰ ἐξ ὧν ἐκεῖνο ἀπεγράφη ἀντιβαλὼν διωρθώσατο βιβλία, "this manuscript, very precisely marked for both punctuation and pronunciation, came to me from the library of Caesarea in Cappadocia. It bears an inscription that the great and divine Basil collated and corrected the biblical exemplar from which that copy was made."

[67] TORGERSON, Chronographia 83, n. 16.

[68] Synkellos 6, 7–9 (MOSSHAMMER): τὴν κατὰ Χριστοῦ καὶ τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν θεοβδέλυκτον διαθήκην, ἣν διέθετο τὰ σκηνώματα τῶν Ἰδουμαίων καὶ οἱ Ἰσμαηλῖται διώκοντες τὸν κατὰ τὸ πνεῦμα λαόν, "the covenant, abominable to God, that has been made against Christ and our nation both by 'the tents of the Idumaeans and by the Ishmaelites'"; TREADGOLD, Middle Byzantine Historians 40; TREADGOLD, Life and Wider Significance 11.

[69] As Treadgold does following MANGO, Who wrote? 14. See above n. 22.

[70] ŠEVČENKO, Search for the Past. For a critic of the identification of the so-called "Dark Ages" with the lack of secular literature, see J. F. HALDON, Byzantium in the Seventh Century: The Transformation of a Culture. Cambridge 1990, 425–26; A. M. CAMERON, New Themes and Styles in Greek Literature: Seventh-Eighth Centuries, in: The Byzantine and Islamic Near East I. Problems in the Literary Source Material, ed. A. CAMERON – L.I. CONRAD (*Studies in Late Antiquity and Early Islam* 1). Princeton, NJ 1992, 81–105; R.-J. LILIE, Wie dunkel sind die "Dunklen Jahrhunderte"? Zur Quellensituation in der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit und ihren Auswirkungen auf die Forschung. *JÖB* 43 (1993) 37–44.

essary to explain the development of the Greek chronicle in the Middle Ages? There are four aspects that we can tackle in this question.

The first of these four aspects is theoretical. Sources and models are not the same, but they are often confused when historians get involved in literary criticism. Thus, in this article the aim is not to question the existence of an "Eastern source" for Theophanes, much less to demarcate its characteristics in any way. Rather, I would like to suggest that this has nothing to do with Theophanes' models as a chronicler, which must be investigated independently on different bases. Despite Mango's assertion that "granted that the Chronicle [of Theophanes] is a file, its study is in a very real sense the study of its sources", today it is widely recognized that compilatory works should be the object of specific studies different from the study of their sources[71].

The second aspect to discuss here is cultural and historical in perspective. All that we know of Syriac chronicles suggests that they were strongly influenced by the Greek tradition and there is not the slightest bit of evidence to the contrary[72]. Recent studies from different approaches and with different aims unanimously rule that the transmission from Greek to Syriac and from there back to Greek until reaching Theophanes is unlikely[73]. These studies also show that almost nothing can be argued with certainty about the "Eastern source", neither in terms of language, nor of content or structure[74], or that it be should be better conceived as a multiplicity of sources[75]. However, the Syriac chronicles have traditionally been considered to be of great significance for the study of early Christian chronicles because the strong influence that Eusebius had on them allowed for the possibility of tracing the lost Greek original by means of Quellenforschung. Indeed, for more than a century the Armenian translation of Eusebius' chronicle was considered to be derived to some extent from the Syriac versions[76]. Gelzer was a pioneer in the study of the *testimonia Eusebiana* and we have seen that his work influenced Mango's[77]. There is also a cultural prejudice that may have influenced the identification between Syriac sources and Syriac literary models, that is, the assumption that medieval readers used to read, analyse, and process a text in the same way as we do.

The third aspect to our question is methodological. Was there ever really a gap in Byzantine historiography? Can it be claimed that the 9th-century chroniclers had no trace of the Eusebian tradition to rely on? Byzantine historical culture is being increasingly recognized as more than a handful

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71 A. Meeus, Compilation or tradition? Some Thoughts on the Methods of Historians and Other Scholars in Antiquity. *Sacris Erudiri* 56 (2017) 395–413; P. Odorico, Cadre d'exposition / cadre de pensée: la culture du recueil, in: Encyclopedic Trends in Byzantium? ed. P. Van Deun – C. Macé (*Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 212). Leuven 2011, 89–108.

72 Witakowski, The Chronicle of Eusebius; M. Debié, L'écriture de l'histoire en syriaque: transmissions interculturelles et constructions identitaires entre hellénisme et islam : avec des répertoires des textes historiographiques en annexe. Leuven 2015, 478–79.

73 Debié, Theophanes' "Oriental source"; M. Conterno, Theophilos, "the More Likely Candidate"? Towards a Reappraisal of the Question of Theophanes' "Oriental Source(s)," in: Studies in Theophanes, ed. Jankowiak – Montinaro, Studies 383–400; Hilkens, Before the Eastern Source: Theophanes and the Late Syriac Orthodox Chronicles, 4th–6th Centuries, in: Studies in Theophanes, ed. Jankowiak – Montinaro, Studies 401–13.

74 As stated by R. G. Hoyland, Agapius, Theophilus and Muslim Sources, in: Studies in Theophanes, ed. Jankowiak – Montinaro, Studies 355–364, and providing the basis for Debié, Theophanes' "Oriental Source", and Conterno, Theophilos, "the More Likely Candidate"? By way of example, Howard-Johnston, Witnesses 198, describes the work of Theophilus of Edessa as narrative in character and lacking chronological precision, following Hoyland, Seeing Islam 406–07, and he states shortly afterwards that Theophanes modelled his analytical organization of the material on it (ibid. 273, n. 12 and 279). See the review of Howard-Johnston's book by M. Conterno, Processo ai testimoni: un'inchiesta storiografica sulle fonti per il VII secolo, *JRA* 24 (2011) 897–912, 905. See also M. Conterno, La "descrizione dei tempi" all' alba dell' espansione islamica. Un' indagine sulla storiografia greca, siriaca e araba fra VII e VIII secolo. Berlin – Boston 2014.

75 Debié, L'écriture de l'histoire en syriaque 387–402.

76 Mainly since Karst's translation (1911), see above n. 1; see Mosshammer, The *Chronicle* of Eusebius 74; see now Eusèbe de Césarée. Chronique I (47–49 A. Cohen-Skalli).

77 In 1884 Gelzer co-edited and translated into Latin the version of the *Canons* preserved in Vat. Syr. 162: Eusebii Canonum epitome ex Dionysii Telmaharensis Chronica petita (ed. K. Siegfried – H. Gelzer. Leipzig 1884).

of conspicuous names[78] and it is not clear why, in assessing the gap, "the starting point must be the comparative vitality of Greek historiography through the late 6th century"[79], that is, once more the classical tradition. Emphasis on transmission, essential for the study of historical writing in the Middle Ages, is beginning to be called for, and a better understanding of the methodological problems of the so-called "living texts" so very characteristic of the Middle Ages, is beginning to appear[80]. There is certainly no proof that the original version of Eusebius' chronicle was preserved at the time of Synkellos, but there is abundant indirect evidence of the reworking of Eusebius in Greek[81]. Both the sources of 9th-century Greek historiography and those of the Syriac one (also Greek) suggest the continuity of a tradition[82]. For Mango, however, the last representative of the Eusebian tradition in Greek had been Panodoros—reflecting the influence of Gelzer's paradigm, whose work also did not reach 9th-century Constantinople. As for Annianus, his preservation in Syriac and not in Greek should not be considered as evidence of the continuity of the Eusebian tradition in Syriac, but as the result of criticism in the Greek tradition, because the Greeks had a far lower opinion of the use he had made of extra-biblical sources than the Syrians did[83]. In sum, the same can be said about Theophanes as what Van Nuffelen has masterfully expressed about Malalas: "The hermeneutics of suspicion has failed to recognise that the chronographic tradition in Greek after Eusebius is by and large lost, as is local historiography. *By situating Malalas simply against the background of preserved traditions, we fail to understand not only his use of sources but also where he positions himself within the history of Greek chronography*" (italics are mine)[84]. Perhaps we should ask not how Theophanes' chronicle was possible, but rather why only two proper Greek chronicles (the Paschal Chronicle and Theophanes') are preserved between the 4th and 9th centuries. It appears that other types of historiographical texts were far more copied, and that this is not simply a question of textual forms, but of textual culture in a wider sense.

The fourth and final aspect to the question is literary. What is so Eusebian in Theophanes' chronicle that cannot be explained by its own literary context? The reception of Eusebius in Byzantium is a much more complex matter than it might seem, involving aspects of historical content, chronology, format, structure, etc. Despite this, Mango only focuses on the "chronological structure", defining it as follows:

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[78] S. Papaioannou, Byzantine historia, in: K.A. Raaflaub (ed.), Thinking, Recording, and Writing History in the Ancient World. Oxford 2013, 297–313, 305: "The most common form of historiographical texts in Byzantine book culture were brief chronicle-type accounts or historiographical fragments and excerpts, a large number of which remain unpublished as such." See also P. Varona, Chronology and History in Byzantium. *GRBS* 58 (2018) 389–422.

[79] M. Whitby, Greek Historical Writing after Procopius: Variety and Vitality, in: The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East I 25–80, 67.

[80] P. Varona, Why Another Greek Chronicle? Form and Function in Middle Byzantine Historical Writing. *The Medieval Chronicle* 12 (2019) 164–91, 164–77. For a case study, see P. Odorico, Dans le cahier des chroniqueurs. Le cas d'Eustathe d'Antioche, in: Textual Transmission in Byzantium: Between Textual Criticism and Quellenforschung, ed. J. Signes Codoñer – I. Pérez Martín (*Lectio* 2). Turnhout 2014, 373–89; for Theophanes, see Jankowiak, Framing Universal History; J. W. Torgerson, From the Many, One? The Shared Manuscripts of the Chronicle of Theophanes and the Chronography of Synkellos, in: Jankowiak – Montinaro, Studies 93–117.

[81] Most evidence can be found in compilatory texts that are not appreciated much by historians, such as the so-called "Vatican Chronicle" (Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, gr. 2210 [*Diktyon* 68841]) or the Eklogē historiōn (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 854 [*Diktyon* 50441]). See P. Varona, Eusebius' Four Tempora: a Brief Survey of Christian Chronological Traditions through their Reception in Byzantine *supputationes*. JECS 31/3 (2023) 357–87. For a recently discovered 9th/10th-century Greek palimpsest, see J. Grusková, Zur Textgeschichte der Chronik des Eusebios zwischen Okzident und Orient („Eusebii Chronici fragmentum Vindobonense" – ein neues griechisches Handschriftenfragment), in: Byzanz und das Abenland I. Begegnungen zwischen Ost und West, ed. Erika Juhász (*Bibliotheca Byzantina* 1). Budapest 2013, 43–51.

[82] Debié, L'écriture de l'histoire en syriaque 373–74.

[83] Adler, Time Immemorial 104; Debié, L'écriture de l'histoire en syriaque 344.

[84] P. Van Nuffelen, Malalas and the Chronographic Tradition, in: Die Weltchronik Des Johannes Malalas. Quellenfragen, eds. L. Carrara – M. Meier – Ch. Radtki-Jansen (*Malalas Studien* 2). Stuttgart 2017, 261–72, 267.

"Each annual entry is preceded by a rubric written horizontally across the page. It consists of the *annus mundi*, occasionally the *annus Domini*, the regnal year of the Roman emperor, of the king of Persia, and of the five patriarchs, those of Rome (…) The succession of the two great temporal rulers and of the five leaders of the Christian church establish the universal framework (…) The question now arises of the origin of this particular structure. Broadly speaking, it goes back to *the Chronicle of Eusebius*, *which was arranged in vertical columns of rulers intersected by a horizontal grid of dates*, namely, Olympiads and years from Abraham." (italics are mine)[85]

The more I read this description of Eusebius' Chronici canones, the more I doubt that it applies to Theophanes' chronicle. Significantly, Mango does not focus on the annalistic arrangement, which is the main characteristic of a chronicle, and he does not consider as important this resemblance with the Paschal chronicle, which he described as "a very strange work"[86]. In his famous preface, Theophanes writes the following:

τόδε τὸ χρονογραφεῖον ἀπὸ Διοκλητιανοῦ μέχρι τῆς βασιλείας Μιχαὴλ καὶ Θεοφυλάκτου, τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, τάς τε βασιλείας καὶ τοὺς πατριάρχας καὶ τὰς τούτων πράξεις σὺν τοῖς χρόνοις κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν ἡμῖν ἀκριβῶς συνεγραψάμεθα[87].

"I (…) have written down accurately (…) this chronicle from Diocletian down to the reign of Michael and his son Theophylaktos, *namely the reigns [of the emperors] and the patriarchs and their deeds, together with their dates.*" (italics are mine)

Recent research has shown the absence or discontinuity of the rubrics in the manuscript transmission of Theophanes' chronicle. Thus, its oldest witnesses—Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France gr. 1710 (*Diktyon* 51334) and the Latin translation by Anastasius Bibliothecarius—are completely lacking in rubrics. In the mid-9th-century Parisinus gr. 1710 most of the annual entries begin with an indication of the type "in this year" (ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει), without reference to any chronological system except for the name of a newly proclaimed emperor when applicable, while Anastasius systematically refers to the regnal years[88]. These two witnesses (to which Wake Greek 5 and Vat Gr. 155 have been added[89]) only occasionally resort to the *annus mundi*. In the later transmission, the inclusion of the *annus mundi* in the Parisinus gr. 1710 and in Anastasius coincides with the presence of complete rubrics[90], which seems to suggest that these years were marked in a distinctive way in the archetype. In subsequent manuscripts, the complete rubrics, which include the *annus mundi*, are scarce in relation to the abbreviated rubrics relating to the regnal years, of which only a few examples include the *annus mundi* and the year of the incarnation. Thus, it seems

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[85] MANGO, Tradition 369. See also: "The Eusebian vision of a universal history, both sacred and secular, flowing in parallel columns over a horizontal grid of years …", The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor (transl. C. MANGO – R. SCOTT, liii).

[86] MANGO, Tradition 362–63.

[87] Theophanes, preface (4, 9–13 DE BOOR; The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor, transl. C. MANGO – R. SCOTT 2).

[88] M. JANKOWIAK, Framing universal history, and recently TORGERSON, Chronographia. KAZHDAN, History of Byzantine Literature 224, noticed that similar indications are found in Malalas or in the Paschal Chronicle, but understood that Theophanes could have taken from these works the chronological principle of composition. However, these indications can be interpreted as vestiges of the chronicle sources used by *breviaria* like those of Malalas and a good part of the Paschal Chronicle, and in turn, breviaria used as sources by Theophanes. For the Malalas work as a historical breviarium, see the recently published R. W. BURGESS – M. KULIKOWSKI, The Historiographical Position of John Malalas. Genre in Late Antiquity and the Byzantine Middle Ages, in: Die Weltchronik des Johannes Malalas. Author – Werk – Überlieferung, ed. M. Meier – C. Radtki – F. Schulz. Stuttgart 2016, 93–117. The Paschal Chronicle is a considerably complex work that unites computistic with elements characteristic of chronicles and brevaries.

[89] TORGERSON, Chronographia.

[90] That include the following dating elements: year of the creation, year of the incarnation (not always), year of the Roman emperor, year of the Persian king—who would be replaced by the caliph of Baghdad—Pope of Rome, Patriarch of Constantinople, Patriarch of Jerusalem, Patriarch of Alexandria and Patriarch of Antioch.

that Theophanes' chronicle made relatively little use of the *annus mundi* as a structural or chronological marker. In this sense, its modern edition and translation gives a slightly misleading impression[91]. There has even been doubt that the rubrics were part of the original edition of the chronicle[92], and their gradual disappearance in the manuscript transmission has also been documented[93]. Mango and Scott already observed that very often the dates of the rubrics did not coincide with the content of the *lemmata*[94]. In the manuscript transmission, Theophanes differs from Synkellos in that he places the complete rubrics in tabular (i. e. horizontal) format, while Synkellos displays them in a list format, (although we do not know to what extent this is due to the authors' intentions or to the later copying, because we do not have the original manuscripts).

One wonders how it can be possible to deprive a text of its main structural feature without distorting it in a radical way, as occured in the transmission of Theophanes' chronicle. This may be explained by the fact that it was not in any essential sense a Eusebian chronicle, brief and chronologically structured, but a narratively structured text which can be read and fully understood as such, as first evidenced by its copyists. Although influenced by Mango's approach to Theophanes, Burgess and Kulikowski do not fail to notice this important singularity of Theophanes' work which distances it from the prototype of the Eusebian chronicle, the narrative development of the lemmata[95]. If we compare Theophanes' chronicle with Eusebius' chronicle, with the Latin chronicles that follow that of Jerome—Prosper, Hydatius, Marcellinus or Victor of Tunnuna, from the 5th–6th centuries—, with the chronicle of Isidore (c. 625), with the Mozarab chronicles (c. 741–54), with the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*—from the end of the 9th century in its oldest preserved version—and with the Asturian chronicles of the late 9th century, we find that it is radically different in its extension of the lemmata. To cite a striking example, the entry of AM 6026 (AD 533/34), the longest in Theophanes' entire work, narrating the Vandal Wars waged by Justinian, almost three hundred years before the time of the chronicler, covers a total of no less than twenty pages in the translation by Mango and Scott and twenty-eight in the edition by De Boor[96]. This particularity of some chronicles has at times been awarded the label "developed chronicles"[97]. The convergence between chronicle elements and narrative genres was already present in the Paschal Chronicle and there is nothing in it that cannot be explained in terms of the internal development of Greek historiography.

In sum, it is doubtful that the rubrics should be considered as the basic structural unit of Theophanes' chronicle. However, Mango states that "The ultimate source *of Theophanes' scheme* was the Chronicle of Eusebius" (italics are mine), in allusion to the rubrics that head up the annual en-

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[91] As JANKOWIAK, Framing Universal History, shows by close examination of the Parisinus gr. 1710, Oxford Christ Church, Wake 5, Vaticanus gr. 155 and Vaticanus gr. 154.

[92] J. SIGNES, Theophanes at the Time of Leo VI, in: Jankowiak – Montinaro, Studies 159–76.

[93] JANKOWIAK, Framing Universal History.

[94] The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor (transl. C. MANGO – R. SCOTT, lxii).

[95] R. W. BURGESS – M. KULIKOWSKI, Mosaics of Time 231–32.

[96] The importance of the narrative element in Theophanes has been highlighted by I. ČIČUROV, Mesto "Khronographii" Feofana v rannevizantijskoj istoriografičeskoj traditsii (IV–načalo IX v.), in: Drevnejšie Gosudarstva na territorii SSSR. Materialy i issledovaniya 1981. Moscow 1983, 5–146; R. MAISANO, Il "sistema" compositivo della Cronaca di Teofane, in: SYNDESMOS. Studi in onore Rosario Anastasi. Catania 1994, 54–71; J. LJUBARSKIJ, Concerning the Literary Technique of Theophanes the Confessor. *BSl* 56 (1995) 317–22.

[97] A label that WITAKOWSKI, The Chronicle of Eusebius 429, applies to the Chronicle of the Pseudo-Dionysius (or Zuqnin Chronicle) and to that of Michael the Syrian. See also A. PALMER et al., The Seventh Century in the West-Syrian Chronicles (*Translated Texts for Historians* 15). Liverpool 1993, xxviii–xxix, who distinguishes between chronicles in which the "factual reporting (usually brief)" predominates and chronicles in which the "story telling (often long)" predominates, the latter style represented mainly by the historians of the Church. He attributes to the former an eminently controversial function and to the latter, a hortatory one. More than the examples cited above, Theophanes' chronicle resembles some parts of Pseudo-Fredegar's chronicle (*c*. 660), which is a universal history compiled from extracts of chronicle sources of different kinds. See, for example, The Fourth Book of the Chronicle of Fredegar, with its Continuations (ed. and trans. by J. M. WALLACE-HADRILL. London 1960, IV. 36, pp. 23–29 [a. 609]).

tries, which he understands unnecessarily as derived from a synchronic chronology in tabular format like that of the Eusebian *Chronici canones*[98]. In fact, the basic structural unit of the chronicle is rather the reign—and the years of reign head up the abbreviated rubrics—, as this is inherent to the reorganization of the historical material carried out by Theophanes and derives from Syncellus' chronographic sources, made up of regnal (and episcopal) lists. This has been pointed out on occasion and is increasingly emphasized, but it has had little impact on the conception of Theophanes' work in modern scholarship and on the historiographical conception of the Greek chronicle tradition[99]. In other words, if we agree that it is so, we should also agree that it has many implications. Moreover, the reign is also the structural principle that Theophanes mostly found in his sources[100]. In fact, this reorganization is what allows Theophanes to recount his historical vision based on the polarity between orthodoxy and heresy, the theological outline of punishment and reward, and the rise and decline of the empire since the time of Constantine, all articulated around the successive emperors and organized under a particular selection and arrangement of the sources[101].

The structure and format of Theophanes differs both from his predecessor Synkellos and from the Syriac chroniclers[102]. In any case, if we consider the rubrics to be original, Theophanes would have needed only the series regum to introduce them, because he did not question the chronological framework adopted by Synkellos and only had to solve problems of relative chronology, largely dictated by the nature of his (narrative) sources. For the series regum, he undoubtedly had all the chronographical material compiled by Synkellos. By only marking the years of accession in his lemmata, Synkellos himself reveals this prominence of the reign as a structural principle[103]. However, Synkellos undertook genuine chronological research for essentially ideological and doctrinal reasons, which led him to formulate his own hypotheses on absolute chronology. Without elements for a synchronic dating, he would not have been able to challenge Eusebius' main chronological thesis, as was his goal[104]. To understand this, it is necessary to properly relate the various chronicle subgenres and to analyse all aspects of Eusebian reception. In any case, it seems clear that Synkellos' role as predecessor and inspiration of Theophanes did not reduce to his supposed knowledge of the Syriac chronicles, and that this supposed knowledge does not contribute towards explaining the particular features of Synkellos' work or those of Theophanes'[105]. Instead of the result of external influence, it would be more logical to consider Synkellos and Theophanes' joint work as an archaism and a return to the past. Is it not much more typical of the Greek literary tradition?

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98 MANGO, Tradition 369, and The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor (transl. MANGO – SCOTT, lii).

99 J. N. LJUBARSKIJ, Concerning the Literary Technique 317–22; JANKOWIAK, Framing Universal History. As R. SCOTT, The Classical Tradition in Byzantine Historiography, has already claimed, in: Byzantium and the Classical Tradition. University of Birmingham Thirteenth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, ed. M. E. Mullett – R. Scott. Birmingham 1981, 61–74, 69.

100 Not only in his continuators, as TORGERSON, Chronographia, points out.

101 For some of these aspects, see, for example, KAZHDAN, History of Byzantine Literature 220–21, 229; R. MAISANO, Il "sistema" compositivo 283–86 or R. SCOTT, The image of Constantine the Great in Malalas and Theophanes, in: New Constantines. The Rhythm of Imperial Renewal in Byzantium, 4th–13th Centuries. Papers from the Twenty-Sixth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, St Andrews, March 1992, ed. P. Magdalino. Aldershot 1994, 57–71.

102 See DEBIÉ, Theophanes' "Oriental Source" 376–77.

103 See, for example, the comments of BURGESS – KULIKOWSKI, Mosaics of Time 30.

104 VARONA, Chronographical Polemics.

105 The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor (transl. MANGO – SCOTT, lv). Against this view, see recently TORGERSON, Chronographia.

CONCLUSIONS

The study of Synkellos and Theophanes has been severely influenced by prejudices about the cultural development of early 9th-century Constantinople, and it has been subordinated to this premise almost from its beginnings, rather than to the study of this joint work in its own right. The evidence for George Synkellos' Palestinian origin (or long sojourn) is very weak and should be disassociated from that of the Eastern source of Theophanes. This is because they are independent hypotheses, with independent arguments, which should not have been linked until they had been sufficiently tested. The hypothesis of Theophanes' Eastern source should be disassociated from any connection with the history of Greek chronicle tradition, or should be devoid of any literary content, because there is no evidence whatsoever that an Eastern chronicle tradition decisively influenced the composition of the work of Synkellos and Theophanes in technical or structural terms.

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Besprechungen

The Tale of Livistros and Rodamne. A Byzantine Love Romance of the 13th Century. Translated with an introduction by Panagiotis A. Agapitos (*Translated Texts for Byzantinists* 10). Liverpool: Liverpool University Press 2021. 194 S. ISBN: 978-1789622164.

Die hier anzuzeigende Übersetzung krönt die über 30jährige Beschäftigung von P. Agapitos (im Folgenden = A.) mit einem byzantinischen Text aus den letzten Jahrhunderten von Byzanz, der zu Recht Anspruch auf eine breitere Leserschaft erheben darf: Die Liebesgeschichte vom König Libistros und Prinzessin Rodamne erfreute sich auch über die Zeit ihrer Abfassung hinaus großer Beliebtheit, diente als Vorbild für andere Werke und wurde bis mindestens ins 16. Jahrhundert geschätzt und abgeschrieben. Dafür legen die Vielfalt der Fassungen, die für einen Text in der Volkssprache erhebliche Anzahl an handschriftlichen Zeugnissen sowie die autonome Überlieferung ausgewählter Textpassagen Zeugnis ab.

Hatte die vom A. erstellte kritische Textedition dem Fachpublikum die älteste Fassung (bezeichnet als α) von *Libistros und Rodamne* (= L&R) erstmalig zugänglich gemacht (Ἀφήγησις Λιβίστρου καὶ Ροδάμνης. Κριτικὴ ἔκδοση τῆς διασκευῆς α. [Aphēgēsis Libistrou kai Rodamnēs. Kritikē ekdosē tēs diaskeyēs a.] Athen 2006), eröffnet nun die englische Übersetzung einem breiteren Publikum den Zugang zu diesem bislang verkannten Juwel byzantinischer Erzählkunst in der Volkssprache.

Der Übersetzung geht eine umfangreiche Einleitung voraus (S. 1–53), in der philologische Fragen (Textgeschichte, handschriftliche Überlieferung, Zeit und Ort der Abfassung) knapp erörtert und vor allem eine Vielfalt an literarischen Aspekten des Textes behandelt werden, etwa die Beziehungen zu den antiken und den hochsprachlichen byzantinischen Romanen des 12. Jahrhunderts sowie zu den zeitgenössischen Rittergeschichten des Westens, ebenso die spezifische, am Ariadnefaden metaliterarischer Äußerungen und Metaphern rekonstruierbare Poetik des Autors, Erzählstruktur, Erzählzeit und -raum, ideologischer Hintergrund und schließlich poetischer Stil und Sprache. Dabei stützt sich A. auf die Ergebnisse seiner verdienstvollen, langjährigen Forschungen, welche nun in geballter, straff durchstrukturierter Form resümiert werden. Wiewohl die entsprechenden Quellenbelege ausgespart bleiben, ja notwendigerweise bleiben müssen, sind Anspielungen an und Vergleiche mit anderen Werken trotz knapper Formulierung durchwegs auch für Nichtspezialisten nachvollziehbar und zutreffend. Der Rezensentin ist diesbezüglich nur eine einzige Ausnahme aufgefallen.

Auf S. 15 stellt A. zu Recht fest, dass L&R als einziger der volkssprachlichen Romane dem Protagonisten-Paar ein zweites Liebespaar (Kleitovon und Myrtane) zur Seite stellt, deren Geschichte einen Kontrapunkt zu der der Helden bildet. Dies ist ein traditionelles Erzählelement des antiken Romans, das die Romanschriftsteller der Komnenenzeit, etwa Theodoros Prodromos und Niketas Eugenianos, beibehalten haben. Das erotische Verhalten dieser Nebenhelden in den byzantinischen Werken des 12. Jahrhunderts ist laut A. durch eine lockere Einstellung zur sexuellen Liebe geprägt, was zur Aufgabe der keuschen Haltung des Heldenpaares und zum vorehelichen Sex führt. Das ist jedoch eine Verzerrung der tatsächlichen Verhältnisse. Sexuelle Liebe bleibt im Roman der Komnenenzeit stets auf das Reich des Träumens und Begehrens beschränkt, wodurch eine eindringliche erotische Spannung erzeugt wird (vgl. dazu jetzt C. Cupane, Impigliato nelle reti intricate di Eros. Amore e sessualità nella letteratura bizantina di finzione, in: La sessualità nel Basso Medioevo. Spoleto 2021, 405–457). Wie schon ein flüchtiger Blick auf die Werke von Theodoros Prodromos (ThProd) und Niketas Eugenianos (NEug) zeigt (beide in Folgendem nach der Ausgabe von F. Conca, Il Romanzo bizantino del XII secolo. Turin 1994, zitiert), reflektieren die erotischen Beziehungen der Nebenhelden spiegelbildlich jene der Hauptelden. Die geliebten Mädchen werden zwar von den jeweiligen Freiern heftig umworben, das Werben beschränkt sich jedoch auf Liebesworte und -lieder: über Küsse und Umarmungen geht es nie hinaus. Das schon alte Motiv der gemeinsamen Flucht wird zwar in all seinen möglichen Varianten durchdekliniert, in allen Fällen aber ist und bleibt die Keuschheit aller involvierten Personen, gleich ob sie in der Handlung die Haupt- oder die Nebenrolle spielen, das oberste Prinzip, das nie angetastet wird.

Haupt- und Nebengeschichten unterscheiden sich trotzdem radikal voneinander, freilich nicht in der Art und Weise, wie Erotik umgesetzt wird, sondern in der Art, wie die Geschichten selbst ausgehen. Mündet die keusche Liebe der Hauptelden in die ersehnte Ehe (und deren Vollzug, wie Eugenianos in seiner *conclusio* wohlweislich betont: NEug IX 299–300), ist dieses Glück den Nebenhelden und -heldinnen nicht beschieden. Chrysochroe wird in einem Handgemenge versehentlich getötet, noch bevor Kratandros zu ihr vordringen kann (ThProd I 193–201), Kalligone stirbt und Kleandros folgt ihr aus Verzweiflung in den Tod (NEug VIII 185–239, 311–320). Beide Mädchen behalten, wie die Autoren ausdrücklich betonen, ihre Jungfräulichkeit, und als Jungfrauen werden sie nach dem Tod beweint (NEug VIII 311; ThProd I 277, 281). Die Liebesgeschichte von Kleitovon und Myrtane hingegen, die eine zweifellos sexuelle und noch dazu ehebrecherische Beziehung unterhalten, die dem Liebhaber Gefängnisstrafe und Mordandrohung beschert

(L&R 2758–2793), ist ein klar neuartiger Ansatz, der nur im Kontext der unterschiedlichen Einstellung zur Erotik und Sexualität in der vulgärsprachlichen Dichtung verstanden werden kann.

Die Stichhaltigkeit der literarischen Textinterpretation insgesamt wird durch diese Ungenauigkeit nicht beeinträchtigt. Ihre große Stärke liegt einerseits in der Tiefe und zugleich Subtilität der Analyse, andererseits in der respektvollen Herangehensweise an den Text. Hier wird ein Werk der sogenannten „Volksliteratur" – die noch heute als minderwertiges, nicht wirklich zum eigentlichen literarischen *Corpus* von Byzanz gehörendes Beiprodukt gesehen wird – als literarisches Werk in eigenem Recht betrachtet und als solches ernst genommen. Trotz einiger Mängel erlaubt gerade die verdichtete Form der Darstellung dem Leser einen Gesamtblick auf das Werk zu gewinnen, aus dem die virtuose Komplexität der Erzählstruktur und das Spiel mit verschiedenen literarischen Traditionen klar zu Tage treten. Sie erlaubt zudem (S. 22–25) die in passenden Metaphern gekleidete Poetik eines gebildeten, für ein gebildetes, aristokratisches Publikum schreibenden Autors zu erkennen, dessen poetischer Stil ein Musterbeispiel vulgärsprachlicher Rhetorik darstellt.

Wenig geglückt halte ich freilich den Versuch, die sehr anregende literarische Analyse durch eine „ideologische" Lektüre des Romans zu ergänzen. A. vergleicht dabei ein kleines politisches Traktat aus der Feder von Kaiser Theodoros II. Laskaris (reg. 1254–1258; ed. L. TARTAGLIA. München 2000) über das korrekte Verhalten von Dienern dem Herrscher gegenüber mit der langen Gerichtszene am Eroshof (L&R 204–685), in der die Unterwerfung des Helden und seine Verwandlung in einen treuen Untertan geschildert wird (S. 44–49), und behauptet, etliche „major political concepts and certain aspects of the exercise of sovereign power" (S. 45) seien identisch. Besondere Bedeutung schreibt er darüber hinaus dem Umstand zu, dass in beiden Texten die furchterregende, paradoxale Erscheinung des idealen Herrschers ein Kunstwerk ist bzw. als solches erscheint. Leider fehlt die diesbezügliche Dokumentation der Kürze wegen, sodass die Stichhaltigkeit des Vergleiches (der letztlich die in anderen Studien behauptete Annahme einer chronologischen Nähe beider Texte und somit die Chronologie des Romans stützen soll) weder nachvollzogen noch nachgeprüft werden kann. Ebenso unklar bleibt für den interessierten Nicht-Fach-Leser der aus dem Bereich der postkolonialen Studien entnommenen Begriff der hybriden Macht („hybrid power"). Spätestens hier stößt eben die stark komprimierte Art der Darstellung an ihre Grenzen, da sie nicht erlaubt die angenommenen Zusammenhänge ausreichend zu beleuchten. Nur die Kenntnis eines rezenten, diesem Thema gewidmeten Aufsatzes von A. (zusammen mit A. ANDREOU, Of Masters and Servants. Hybrid Power in Theodore Laskaris' *Response to Mouzalon* and in the *Tale of Libistros and Rhodamnes*. *Interfaces* 6 [2019] 96–129) macht seine Argumentation für den Leser nachvollziehbar.

Davon abgesehen, scheint mir die Gleichsetzung des Diskurses über Liebe/Eros und seiner Allmacht (ein uralter Topos der griechischen Liebesdichtung), wie ihn der Dichter von L&R entwickelt, mit der ideologischen Reflexion über das Wesen politischer Macht im Traktat des Theodoros II. Laskaris aus methodologischen Gründen problematisch. Andere, gattungsgeschichtlich näherstehende Texte kommen nämlich m. E. vorrangig als Dialogpartner für den gegenständlichen Themenkreis in Frage.

Gemeint ist konkret der Roman von Eustathios Makrembolites, *Hysmine und Hysminias*, den A. bloß in einem Nebensatz (S. 45 mit A. 175) erwähnt und der sich doch als Hypotext von L&R gerade bei der Aufdeckung eventueller ideologischen Hintergründe am ehesten anbietet. Es ist in Wirklichkeit Makrembolites, der als erster eine beeindruckende Darstellung der universellen Macht des Eros entworfen hat, indem er ihm die Attribute imperialer Macht verliehen und ihm gleich Gott dem Schöpfer auch Gewalt über die Zeit gewährt hat. Auf einem Fresko (oder einem Relief?) an der Umfassungsmauer eines Palastgartens umgegeben Heerscharen, Könige und Völker seinen Thron. Tag und Nacht rechts und links davon verbeugen sich vor ihm, und die Gestalten der zwölf Monate auf einem benachbarten Gemälde/Relief versinnbildlichen seine absolute Machtfülle (EustMakr II 7–10; IV 5–18, und die Exegese ibid. IV 20, 4–5).

Die gemalte Figur des Eros wird später im Traum lebendig, dringt in Hysminias' Schlafgemach ein, zwingt ihn dazu, sich dem universellen Gesetz der Liebe zu beugen, und übergibt ihm dann die Jungfrau Hysmine, die er ihm als Ehefrau beschieden hat. Nur ein einziges Mal greift der Liebesgott in die fiktionale Realität ein, als er die Heldin den Fluten entreißt und sie somit vor dem Ertrinken rettet (ibid. XI 14, 1–2), eine Tat, die Hysminias jedoch als trügerischen Traum zunächst missversteht, die sich aber später als wahr erweist, wie der Leser erst am Schluss aus dem Bericht von Hysmine selbst erfahren wird.

Die Schilderung in L&R variiert gekonnt das Modell, dramatisiert es und kehrt es um: Makrembolites führt den Liebesgott in des Helden Zimmer, in L&R ist es Libistros, der in das Reich des Eros kommt. Hier meint der Held die furchterregende Figur des Herrschers sei ein Gemälde, in Makrembolites ist es tatsächlich ein solches. Beiden gemeinsam ist die rein oneirische Realität des Eros, der ausschließlich in Träumen und durch Träume lebt: sein Reich öffnet nur Träumenden seine Tore, ist aber deswegen für die Betroffenen in der literarischen Fiktion nicht weniger furchterregend. Die oneirische Dimension relativiert keineswegs des Eros absolute Machtfülle (so A., S. 45–46), weder in Makrembolites noch in L&R. Ganz im Gegenteil: Für beide sind Träume ein wesentliches, ja unentbehrliches Element der Szenerie, das erst die Epiphanie des Herrschers ermöglicht. Dies hindert freilich beide Dichter nicht daran, eine gewisse Skepsis Träumen gegenüber ihren Helden in den Mund zu legen: Träume sind Spiele der Phantasie, wie Hysminias häufig wiederholt (EustMakr III 5, 2; III 6; V 1; VI 9), oder Spiegelung alltäglicher Sorgen (ibid. V 5, 4). Libistros unterscheidet sich diesbezüglich nicht von Hysminias. Auch er bezeichnet seine Träume mehrmals als Fiktionen (628: ὀνειροπλασία [oneiroplasia]), Erfindungen des Eros (ibid. 684: πλάσμα [plasma]), die doch letztlich Ergebnis von tagsüber Erlebtem sind (ibid. 201–202).

Die gleiche Ambivalenz prägt die Einstellung der Helden zu Eros. Zwar versetzt beide die majestätische Erscheinung in Angst und Schrecken und zwingt sie zur Unterwerfung, seine Glaubwürdigkeit wird jedoch in ähnlicher Weise ange-

zweifelt: Wie Hysminias zuvor bezichtigt auch Libistros Eros der Lüge (ibid. 1565–1586), weil er ihn für wortbrüchig hält – zu Unrecht, wie der Leser weiß (ibid. 1411–1424).

Bei aller Ähnlichkeit sind aber auch Unterschiede, vor allem in der Gestaltung des Raums und dessen Funktionalisierung unübersehbar. In L&R ist die von Makrembolites begonnene „Byzantinisierung" des klassischen Eros endgültig vollzogen. Sein Herrschaftsraum und die rituelle Handlungen, die darin durchgeführt werden, gleichen der Realität des byzantinischen Hofes in viel stärkerem Maß als der Hofstaat bei Makrembolites. Der Dichter fühlt sich offensichtlich unbefangen dem mythologischen Rahmen gegenüber, der für den Autor des 12. Jahrhunderts verpflichtend war, und kombiniert ihn in verschiedenen Variationen mit Realitäten seiner Zeit, so die Verhandlung vorm kaiserlichen Gericht, die Bürgschaft von Mittlern und das Ritual der Unterwerfung.

Trägt der Eros des Makrembolites stets die Züge des hellenistischen nackten und beflügelten Jüngling, bewaffnet mit Feuer, Pfeil und Bogen, erscheint er in L&R im wörtlichen Sinne mit mehreren Gesichtern. Die inthronisierte, dreigesichtige Gestalt ergänzt die bekannte Erscheinung des alexandrinischen beflügelten Putto durch die Züge eines reifen Mannes und eines Greises, ein neuartiger Einfall, der vielleicht auf bildliche, nicht näher zu bestimmende Quellen zurückgeht und des Eros Macht über die gesamte Lebenspanne des Menschen versinnbildlicht.

Die Ikonographie bei Makrembolites beruft sich ausschließlich auf die literarische Tradition der Antike, kombiniert mit der Realität römisch-byzantinischer Kaisermacht, und bezieht aus beiden ihre autoritative Kraft. Die Schöpfung von L&R ist vielschichtiger und wandlungsfähiger: Als richterliche und zugleich kaiserliche Instanz erscheint Eros wie in seinem Vorgänger als inthronisierter Herrscher, dessen allumfassende Machtfülle durch die drei Gesichter symbolisiert ist. Als unmittelbare Ursache der Liebe sowie auf den figürlichen Darstellungen, die seinen Palast schmücken, zeigt sich er hingegen in der hellenistischen Gestalt, als nacktes, geflügeltes Kleinkind mit Pfeil und Bogen, etwa als er Libistros im Traum die versprochene Geliebte zeigt (700–703) oder als er sie mit seinem Pfeil trifft (1411–1424). Seine verschiedenen Gesichter sind den jeweiligen Erzählsituationen angepasst: als Helfer und Komplize des zum treuen Sklaven mutierten Helden lässt der Dichter Eros seine furchterregende Hypostase ablegen und sein freundliches, traditionell verspieltes Gesicht zeigen. Seine Hybridität, wenn sie denn eine ist, ist aber nicht eine ideologische, sondern eine literarische. Beim gelehrten Autor der Komnenenzeit stand die literarische Tradition der Antike im Vordergrund. Des Eros imperiale Erscheinung, worin vielleicht eine Anspielung auf den damals regierenden, jugendlichen Kaiser Manuel I. Komnenos (1143–1180) zu erkennen ist (vgl. P. MAGDALINO, Eros the King and the King of Amours: Some Observations on Hysmine and Hysminias. *DOP* 46 [1992] 197–204), überdeckt nie sein mythologisches Wesen.

Der Dichter von L&R war hingegen vielfältigen, widersprüchlichen Einflüssen ausgesetzt, sein kultureller Horizont war bunter und komplexer zugleich. Sein Eros resultiert aus einer vielschichtigen kulturellen Realität, in der die klassische Antike nicht mehr das einzige, tonangebende Element, sondern nur eines von vielen ist. Man könnte ja sogar die unwahrscheinliche Figur des Liebesgottes mit seinen verschiedenen Gesichtern und den drei Mündern, die mit einer einzigen Stimme sprechen, als eine Verkörperung der Pluralität von literarischen Traditionen sehen, die der Dichter hier zur Konvergenz gebracht hat (dazu C. CUPANE, Byzantinisches Erotikon: Ansichten und Einsichten. *JÖB* 37 [1987] 221–248, bes. 233).

Die englische Übersetzung des Romans, der ich mich nun noch kurz zuwenden möchte, ist als Glanzleistung zu bezeichnen. A. hat sich dafür entschieden, die Versstruktur des griechischen Originals beizubehalten, zugleich aber auf eine gereimte Wiedergabe zu verzichten, eine kluge Entscheidung, die sowohl dem auffallend lyrischen Charakter des Textes gerecht wird als auch die Absenz des Reims berücksichtigt. Der Verzicht auf eine durchgehende Kommentierung gewährleistet zwar einen, wie A. betont (S. 52), von Gelehrsamkeit freien und ungestörten Lesegenuss, verleiht aber dem Text eine Eindeutigkeit, die er nicht besitzt. Dies gilt insbesondere für die *realia*, wie noch zu zeigen sein wird.

Besonders glückliche Hand zeigt A bei der äußerst schwierigen Widergabe der poetischen Liebessprache, vor allem der Komposita; ich erwähne als ein Beispiel diejenigen mit ποθο- (potho-) oder ἐρωτο- (erōto-), welche im ersten Teil besonders häufig vorkommen, etwa 245: ποθοπαραγγέλλει (pothoparangellei, „gives amorous council"), 253: ἐρωτουπόληψις (erōtoupolēpsis, „amorous confidence"), 257: ἐρωτοδουλεία (erōtodouleia, „amorous servitude"), 293: ποθοακατάκριτος (pothoakatakritos, „not judged by desire"), 524: ἐρωτοεξηρηγμένη (erōtoexērēgmenē, „amorously exquisite"); 580: ἐρωτοταξία (erōtotaxia, „amorous enlistment"), 601: ποθοορκωμοσία (pothoorkōmosia, „amorous ritual oath"), 613: ἐρωτικοπόθος (erōtikopothos, „amorously desirable"), 893: ἐρωτοποθοκράτωρ (erōtopothokratōr, „sovereign of love and desire") (für weiter Beispiele S. 52, A. 206).

Nicht überall treffend scheint mir, wie bereits angedeutet, hingegen die Übersetzung, wenn es um die Beschreibung von Gebäuden oder Teilen davon geht, die *realia* byzantinischer Prachtarchitektur und insbesondere Wanddekoration in die fiktive Welt des Romans transponieren (vgl. dazu C. CUPANE, Traumpaläste von Byzanz. Νέα Ῥώμη 6 [2009] [= Ἔξεμπλον. Studi in onore di I. Hutter] 407–439). Ein einziges Beispiel mag hierfür genügen: der figürliche Schmuck von Flächen (Böden, Wände, Gewölben) ist im Text stets als ἱστορία (istoria), ἱστορογραφία (istorographia) – oder verbal ἱστορισμένος/ἱστορισθός (istorismenos/istoristhos) (so 312, 434, 572, 573, 602, 1244) – bezeichnet und wird stets mit „painting" übersetzt. Eine solche Festlegung ist jedoch unvorsichtig, da die benutzten griechische Termini in der Literatur meistens in der allgemeinen Bedeutung „Darstellung" verwendet werden und nur kontextuell (wenn sie etwa zusammen mit Maler/ζωγράφος [zographos] vorkommen) als gemalte Figuren zu deuten sind. Nirgends ist mit Sicherheit feststellbar, ob es um Gemälde oder Fresken, gar Reliefs auf Stein geht, da über Ausführungsart oder Material nur ausnahmsweise (L&R 323–327: Darstellung der Geburt von Eros geschnitzt auf einer grünen Marmorplatte [μάρμαρον πράσινον λελατομημένον/marmaron prasinon lelatomēmenon]) etwas mitgeteilt wird. In den meisten Fällen könnte es sich ebenfalls um Mosaiken erotisch-mythologischen Inhalts

handeln – so etwa bei Boden und Decke des Torbaus (317–318, 328–330) –, oder gar um Reliefs. Letzteres ist höchstwahrscheinlich der Fall bei den ζωδία (zōdia), ἐρωτιδόπωλα ἔμμορφα (erōtidopōla emmorpha) und den kleinen Tierfiguren (ζῶα μικρά/zōa mikra) (435), welche die von schlanken, ziselierten Marmorsäulen umfassten Marmorplatten der Balustrade (436: στηθαῖον/stēthaion) einer Terrasse schmücken, und die A. als Malereien auffasst (S. 67, ad l: „ finely chiselled balusters; each one had painted on its frontside statues of cupids…“), obwohl das Wort ganz allgemein „Darstellung von Lebewesen“ meint, gleich ob Menschen oder Tiere, die genauso gut gemalt, behauen oder geschnitzt sein können (s. KRIARAS, Lexiko VII 38, s.v.). Dasselbe gilt ebenfalls bei der Darstellung des nackten Eros mit Schwert und Fackel und einer darunter angebrachten Inschrift an einer Doppeltür (L&R 572–574), die A. als ein direkt auf der Tür angebrachtes Gemälde (s. 70: „Eros was painted nacked on the wooden panels … learn now what was written below the painting) interpretiert. Ein Vergleich mit dem mit L&R eng verwandten *Logos Paregoretikos* macht jedoch plausibel, dass der Dichter viel eher an einer figürlichen Dekoration, ob gemalt oder geschnitzt, oberhalb des Architravs des Eingangstores dachte. So zumindest hat der Autor des Logos die Passage verstanden, die er als Vorlage für seine Beschreibung der Tore zu den Schlössern von Chronos und von Dystychia benutzt hat, in denen der detailliert beschriebene figürliche Schmuck stets oberhalb des Tores (εἰς τὸ κοσμίδιν της [sc. τῆς πόρτας] ἔπάνω ἱστορισμένον/eis to kosmidin tēs [sc. tēs portas] epanō istorismenon) angebracht ist (Log. Par. 423–427; 518–531, ed. C. CUPANE, Romanzi cavallereschi bizantini. Torino 1995). In beiden Fällen wäre eine neutralere Übersetzung (etwa „depiction, representation“), zu empfehlen gewesen, die besser der (absichtlichen?) Unbestimmtheit des griechischen Textes entsprochen hätte.

Vorstehende Anmerkungen wollen und sollen die Leistung von A. auf keinem Fall schmälern. Sie verstehen sich vielmehr als ergänzenden Beitrag zu seiner exzellenten Arbeit, sind Teil des anregenden wissenschaftlichen Dialogs über einen wichtigen, aber zu Unrecht von Byzantinisten wenig geschätzten Zweig der byzantinischen Literatur, den Autor und Rezensentin nun schon über 30 Jahren führen, zu verfolgen anhand der umfangreichen Liste angeführter Sekundärliteratur. Eine Fortsetzung kann man sich nur wünschen.

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Guillaume BIDAUT, Le partage des eaux. Sociétés, territoires et environnements du Strymon (XIIIe – XVIe siècle) (*Dossiers Byzantins* 20). Paris: École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales 2022. 288 S. ISBN: 979-1094824061.

Im Jahr 2018 begann Guillaume Bidaut als junger Student der École Normale Supérieure unter der Betreuung von Paolo Odorico ein Masterstudium; sein Interesse galt der historischen Geographie und dem südosteuropäischen Mittelalter, konkret dem griechischen Raum. Paolo Odorico schlug ihm in der Forschungstradition der École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales und seiner eigenen Forschungen eine Studie zur Region Serrai als Thema für die Mémoire de Master vor. Bidaut vertiefte sich mit außergewöhnlichem Enthusiasmus in diese Thematik mit dem Fokus auf den Fluss Strymon, der dieses Gebiet nicht nur in seinem Unterlauf durchfließt, sondern auch prägt. Welche Rolle der Strymon für die an seinen Ufern lebenden Menschen durch die Jahrhunderte spielte, war das zentrale Interesse des jungen Forschers. Das Ergebnis der wissenschaftlichen Arbeit Bidauts ist ein großer Wurf. Es zeigt einen Forscher mit originellen Ideen, einer Genauigkeit, die eines erfahrenen Experten würdig ist, außergewöhnlichen analytischen Fähigkeiten und eindrucksvoller Formulierungskunst.

Die französische Monographie mit dem (auf Deutsch übersetzten) Titel „Die Teilung der Wasser. Gemeinschaften, Territorien und Umwelt“ beginnt mit einer mehrteiligen Einführung (S. 11–35). Den Hauptteil des Buches bilden 6 Kapitel (S. 37–219), gefolgt von „Conclusions“ (S. 221–241). Daran schließen drei Annexe zu Binnenmigration im Strymontal, Steuereinnahmen vieler Dörfer auf Basis byzantinischer und osmanischer Register und zu palynologischen Daten an; außerdem enthält der Band 25 zu einem großen Teil vom Autor gestaltete Karten und zwei Fotos.

Introduction I. Les cygnes et les lacs: Thema der Studie ist der Unterlauf des etwa 415 km langen Flusses Strymon vom Rupel-Passes (an der heutigen Grenze Griechenlands mit Bulgarien) bis zu seinem Mündungsdelta (etwa die letzten 100 Stromkilometer). Der Strymon ist dort nicht nur Fluss, sondern er bildete oberhalb von Amphipolis einen von Sümpfen umgebenen See (bezeichnet als Strymon oder benannt nach Orten an seinen Ufern bzw. einfach nur *balta* [„Sumpf“] genannt) und ist ein vielfältiges, sich mit den Jahreszeiten periodisch wandelndes Ökosystem.

Introduction II. Bornes et horizons: Das Kernland, die Ebene des unteren Strymontales (etwa 80 km Länge, 30 km Breite) ist nahezu allseits von Gebirgen umschlossen. Der zeitliche Rahmen der Untersuchung beginnt mit den Wirren am Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts und endet mit der Stabilisierung der Osmanenherrschaft in der 1. Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts, inkludiert also den Beginn der sog. „Kleine Eiszeit“ und den demographischen Aufschwung auf der Basis einer Weiterentwicklung der Nutzung von Boden und Wasser unter den Osmanen.

Introduction III. Un travail à la croisée de plusiers traditions historiographiques: Hier geht es um Fragen der Methodologie für Zugänge zu von Flüssen geprägten Landschaften und deren Bewohner. Diskutiert werden Ansätze von F.

Braudel, E.P. Odum, I. Backouche und vielen anderen mehr. Bidaut kann besonders im Rahmen der französischen Forschung auf reichlich Material zur byzantinischen Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte, zur Geoarchäologie und Klimaforschung zurückgreifen.

Introduction IV. Comment faire parler le fleuve? Les sources et comment les utiliser: Reichhaltiges Urkundenmaterial für das Strymontal ist dem im Forschungsgebiet gelegenen Ioannes-Prodromos-Kloster (Editionen von A. Guillou, P. Odorico, L. Benou) und den durch ihren Besitz ebenso mit der Region eng verbundenen Athos-Klöstern (Editionen der Reihe *Archives de l'Athos*) zu verdanken. Die osmanische Verwaltung hat sehr präzise Aufzeichnungen zur sozialen und wirtschaftlichen Organisation ihrer Territorien hinterlassen (Studien von N. Beldiceanu und É. Balta).

Kapitel I: Les Paléo-environnements du Strymon (S. 37–53). Die stärksten Veränderungen der Landschaft seit Antike und Mittelalter waren im Jahr 1932 die Trockenlegung des vom untersten Teil des Strymon durchflossenen großen Sees (antik Kerkinites) und die Verwandlung des weitgehend sumpfigen und verschilften Kerkine-Sees (südwestlich des Rupel-Passes) zu einem als Wasserreservoir dienenden künstlichen See, der allerdings das humide Landschaftsbild der Vergangenheit bewahrt hat. Der große See wurde u. a. *balta* („Sumpf“) und die Ortschaften seiner Umgebung *paralimnia* genannt. Weite Gebiete des Flachlands nordwestlich des Sees waren regelmäßig jahreszeitenbedingt unter Wasser, und die Wasser des Sees bedeuteten für die Anrainer stets ein Risiko (S. 41–48). Der Fluss war also nicht nur *potamos*, sondern auch *limne* und *baltos*. Mit besonderer Akribie hat Bidaut – ausgehend von den Untersuchungen Archibald Dunns – das Delta des Strymon, ein eigenes Ökosystem, untersucht (Kapitel I 42f., VI 193–219). Vom südlichen Ende des großen Sees an umfließt der Strymon den Hügel, auf dem die Stadt Amphipolis thront, westlich, an Chantax und Marmarion vorbei, und erreicht das offene Meer durch zwei Arme: einen westlichen (byz. *tu potamu*) und einen östlichen, der tiefer und damit für die Schifffahrt besser geeignet war und zu dem Hafen (*skala*) von Chrysupolis führte. Die Hafenstadt Chrysupolis hatte eine problematische Lage: flach, ohne eine für Befestigung geeignete Anhöhe und an einer Lagune mit der Tendenz zur Verlandung.

Kapitel II: Unitées, identités, limites du Strymon et sa vallée (S. 55–87). Im 9. Jahrhundert wurde Strymon auch Bezeichnung eines Themas (im Sinne der byzantinischen militärischen und zivilen Verwaltungseinheit), und später wurde dieses Gebiet auch nach dem Namen der Stadt Serrai benannt. Ausgehend vom Thema Strymon in mittelbyzantinischer Zeit wurde Strymon in spätbyzantinischer Zeit zur Bezeichnung des Landes um den gleichnamigen See. In der Nomenklatur der osmanischen Verwaltung hat die Bezeichnung Strymon hingegen keinen Platz gefunden. Die treffende osmanische Bezeichnung wurde Vilayet-i Keşişlik „Provinz der Mönche (sc. des Athos bzw. des Prodromos-Klosters)“. Bidaut bezieht in seine Darstellung auch benachbarte Regionen ein, insbesondere die östlich anschließende Ebene von Drama, aus der mit dem Angites, byzantinisch Panax (von *panakes* [„alles heilend“?], S. 157), ein nicht unbedeutendes Gewässer dem Strymon zufließt. In der östlichen Nachbarregion löste in dieser Epoche Drama die alte Metropolis Philippoi als bedeutsames Zentrum ab. Im Norden grenzt die Region Melnik an das untere Strymontal, eine Übergangszone zum Inneren des Balkan. Die befestigte Stadt Melnik war von großer strategischer Bedeutung für die Kontrolle des unteren Strymontals. Noch bevor der Strymon die Enge von Rupelion passiert, nimmt er von Westen die Wasser der Strumica / Strumitza auf, deren Name das Deminutiv seines eigenen Namens ist. Das Gebiet um die gleichnamige Stadt Strumitza und den Fluss gehörte kirchlich zum Erzbistum Ochrid.

Kapitel III: Naviguer l’Archipel. Le fleuve come frontière et axe de circulation (S. 89–126). Der Strymon bildete im 9. Jahrhundert die Grenze zwischen den Themen Thessalonike und Strymon. Im Laufe der Zeit wurde diese Grenze immer durchlässiger und verlor an Bedeutung, eine Entwicklung, die über die Bezeichnung Strymon für das Gebiet um den See mit Nahiye oder Vilayet-i Keşişlik zum Abschluss kam, als die Klöster des Athos und das Prodromos-Kloster ihre Güter behielten. Die zwei bedeutendsten Flussübergänge befanden sich im Bereich von Marmarion (*poros eis to Marmarion*) bei Amphipolis und somit an der Via Egnatia. Weitere Übergänge sind im Verlauf der Route von Thessalonike nach Serrai und südlich des Rupel-Passes anzunehmen. Schiffbar war der Strymon vom Delta bis zum oberen Ende des Sees bis ins 16. Jahrhundert (weiter stromaufwärts mit Einschränkungen) und bildete die Grundlage für regen Handel in einem Netzwerk, in das zahlreiche Ortschaften des Umlandes einbezogen waren (z. B. Doxompus nahe dem Angites als Besitz des Laura-Klosters oder Melintziane als Besitz des Klosters Iberon); bezeugt sind Märkte zu Feiertagen von Heiligen. Bidaut schreibt metaphorisch von vielen Inseln, zwischen denen ab dem 13. Jahrhundert der Verkehr intensiver wurde und die – von außen gesehen – gleichsam ein Archipel bildeten; eine Ortschaft mit Namen Nesion / Nisi „Insel“ lag unweit von Amphipolis. Vorteilhaft waren Lagen am See, die auch Verbindung zum Vorland der das Strymontal umgebenden Gebirge (Menoikion, Kerdylion, Pangaion) hatten. Interessant sind Bidauts Überlegungen zu den Landverkehrsverbindungen in Nordwest-Südost-Richtung zu beiden Seiten des Sees, wobei er eine mit dem 15. Jahrhundert beginnende allmähliche Bedeutungsverschiebung von der nordöstlichen zur südwestlichen Variante konstatiert (S. 99f.)

Kapitel IV: Conquérir l’abondance. Le fleuve comme milieu à aménager et ressource à mettre en valuer (S. 127–164): Im Mittelpunkt steht der Fluss als Ressource für landwirtschaftliche Erträge. Das Wasser war notwendig und daher begehrt für die Bewässerung von Obstgärten und den Betrieb von Mühlen. Dass es dabei zu Konflikten kam, ist verständlich. Für die Betreuung von Obstkulturen für Nüsse, Maulbeeren, Kirschen, Mandeln, Birnen, Feigen, Quitten etc. war es erforderlich, Wasser von den umliegenden Bergen zu kanalisieren und den Bäumen zuzuleiten. Das Bewässerungsmanagement gewann an Bedeutung im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert, als nach dem Beginn der osmanischen Herrschaft unter Evrenos Bey der Reisanbau (S. 139–141) eingeführt wurde. Tumba südöstlich von Serrai und Elsiane nahe dem Kerkine-See waren frühe Zentren dieser neuen Nutzung humider Gebiete als *rizotopia.* Dem Grundbesitzer Georgios Phokopulos gelang es, mit dem Anlegen von Drainagen und

Kanälen in unmittelbarer Nähe zur damals demographisch aufblühenden Stadt Serrai sumpfiges Gelände zu einem für Reisanbau bestens geeigneten Stück Land zu machen. Die große Bedeutung des Fischfanges (S. 141–156) in den vielfältigen Gewässern des Strymon-Tales ist alles andere als überraschend. Die Bewohner der humiden Zonen waren erfinderisch im Bau von Hilfsmitteln für die Fischerei (Boote mit verschiedenen Bezeichnungen wie *monoxyla, sandalia* etc.; Netze, künstlich angelegte Gräben, genannt *aulakia*, Schilfbeete, *gripobolia,* Einzäunungen, *madragues*). Der Kerkine-See sowie der Strymon zwischen See und Delta waren besonders gut für den Fang von Aalen geeignet; am Kerkine-See und bei Ostrova gab es reichlich Salz zur Konservierung. Das Angebot an Fischen war vielfältig. Der Stör (*berzitikion*) war möglicherweise Namensgeber des Dorfes Verzani (jetzt Psychikon, am nördlichen Seeufer, S. 148). Verdienstvoll ist Bidauts akribische statistische Auswertung byzantinischer und osmanischer Register, denen zu entnehmen ist, dass Dörfer, deren Bewohner humides Milieu bewirtschafteten (Fischfang, Schilfschnitt, Flachsrösten, *linobrocheia*), größeren Ertrag erzielten als jene, wo das nicht der Fall war (S. 159–164).

Kapitel V: Le fleuve et la montagne. Éleveurs, pasteurs et troupeaux dans la vallé du Strymon (S. 165–192). Viehzucht war neben Ackerbau und Fischfang die dritte Säule der sozialen und ökonomischen Organisation des Strymontales. Es waren die feuchte Niederung und das nahe Bergland, zwischen denen Viehzüchter im Zyklus der Jahreszeiten zwischen Sommerweiden (*planinai*) und Winterweiden (*libadia*) umherzogen und so die Vorzüge beider Bereiche nutzten (siehe unten Transhumanz). Nachrichten über den Besitz (Johannes Kantakuzenos) gewaltiger Mengen an Rindern, Pferden, Eseln, Mulis, Schweinen und Schafen, die im Strymontal gehalten wurden, mögen stark übertrieben sein, verweisen aber auf eine Realität. Die flussnahen Zonen grüner Wiesen, die alljährlich im Winter unter Wasser standen, waren zwar für Ackerbau unbrauchbar, lieferten jedoch eine Basis für die Ernährung großer Viehbestände. Bidaut analysiert die Viehhaltung auf den verschiedenen sozialen Ebenen ihrer Träger, wie Dörfer, Händler, Soldaten, Kleriker, Honoratioren, Klöster, Metropolen bis zu Aristokraten aus dem Umfeld der Herrscher. Auf diese Weise kam es zu einer Verbindung zwischen der Niederung des Strymontales mit ihrer gebirgigen Peripherie. Weiden im Tal hatten auch Bedeutung für den Staat, insofern als dort die Pferdezucht für das Militär von großem Interesse war. Eine große kaiserliche Domäne befand sich nahe Tumba am nördlichen Fluss- bzw. Seeufer. In der hier eingehend untersuchten Region am unteren Strymon ist auch Transhumanz, das jahreszeitbedingte Wandern von Schafhirten mit ihren Tieren zu anderen Weideplätzen (*poroi, diabata*), ein wichtiges Thema, dem sich Bidaut mit großer Sorgfalt widmet (S. 177–191). Dieses System wurde in vielen Gebieten der Balkanhalbinsel und der griechischen Halbinsel von den Vlachen (Armāni, Aromunen) getragen. Das Strymontal war zumeist nicht Ziel von Schafherden der Athos-Metochia in den Halbinseln Sithonia / Longos und Kassandra, sondern eine Etappe auf dem Weg zu den Bergen im Norden. In vielen Fällen wurde der Strymon bei Marmarion überquert. Weideland in der Niederung wurde unter den Osmanen auch von den eingewanderten Yürüken beansprucht.

Kapitel VI: Où les eaux se mélent. Le delta du Strymon, lieu de pouvoir et d'échanges entre terre et mer (S. 193–219). Das Delta ist Übergangszone zwischen zwei Ökosystemen, zwischen Binnenland und Meer, und reich an Biodiversität. Dazu kommt die Lage an der bedeutungsvollen Hauptlandverkehrsverbindung zwischen Ost und West. Kreuzungspunkte waren Marmarion und Chantax. Charakteristika einer Stadt hatte der Handelshafen Chrysupolis, die Lagunen um die Hafenstadt ermöglichten umfangreiche Salzproduktion. Bidaut unterscheidet drei miteinander verbundene Systeme des Warenverkehrs: Für venezianische und genuesische Händler bedeutete das Delta den Zugang zu makedonischen Märkten, die vor allem Weizen sowie Keramik aus Serrai boten und gegen Textilien und Fertigprodukte eintauschten. Für die Athosklöster bedeutete das Delta einen Sammelplatz für die von ihren Metochia gelieferten Lebensmittel, und schließlich war das Delta für den Fiskus ein Ort der Steuereintreibung (Salzmonopol, Weizen für das Militär und für Konstantinopel). Mit dem Beginn der Osmanenherrschaft endete das Gleichgewicht zwischen dem Flusshafen Chantax und dem Seehafen Chrysupolis. Während der Letztgenannte infolge von Piraterie und Verlandung des Hafens verfiel, blühte das am Fuß des Kerdylion-Gebirges besser geschützte Chantax u. a. durch seine Verbindung mit dem Hagios Demetrios-Markt auf. Es verschwand erst im 18. Jahrhundert.

Conclusions (S. 221–241). Die Schlussfolgerungen sind ausführlich und reich an guten Beobachtungen, sie bieten eine Synthese zu dem Werk, in dessen Fokus die Komplexität und die Veränderlichkeit der Beziehungen der Menschen zu ihrem Umfeld am Strymon stehen.

Guillaume Bidauts *Le partage des eaux* ist ein bedeutender Beitrag für die ganzheitliche Erforschung und Kenntnis der Region um den unteren Strymon in all ihren Facetten von den physischen (Lebens)Grundlagen über Klima, Flora und Fauna und sowie Wirtschaft, Verkehrswesen bis zu historischen Zusammenhängen. Das Werk basiert auf solider Verarbeitung vor allem byzantinischer und osmanischer Quellen sowie der Reiseliteratur. Als Verfasser des Bandes 11 der Reihe *Tabula Imperii Byzantini* „Makedonien, südlicher Teil" kann ich nur bedauern, dass ich Bidauts Werk noch nicht für *TIB* 11 verwerten konnte.

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Glen W. BOWERSOCK, Die Wiege des Islam. Mohammed, der Koran und die antiken Kulturen. Aus dem Englischen von Rita SEUß. München: C.H. Beck 2019. 160 S., zwei Landkarten und fünf Abbildungen. ISBN 978-3406734014.

Glen W. Bowersock publizierte das vorliegende Buch 2017 in englischer Sprache unter dem Titel „The Crucible of Islam" (Cambridge, Mass.). Bereits der Prolog lässt erkennen, dass im englischen Titel „crucible" („Schmelztiegel") dem Anliegen des Autors eher gerecht wird als „Wiege" in der deutschen Version. Als „klassischer Philologe und Althistoriker" (S. 15) unternimmt er es, unter Einbeziehung und in Diskussion thematisch verwandter Untersuchungen (vor allem F. DONNER, Muhammad and the Believers: At the Origins of Islam. Cambridge, Mass. – London 2010; A. AL-AZMEH, The Emergence of Islam in Late Antiquity: Allah and His People. Cambridge 2014; M. CONTERNO, La "descrizione dei tempi" all'alba dell'espansione islamica. Un'indagine sulla storiografia greca, siriaca e araba fra VII e VIII secolo [*Millennium-Studien* 47]. Berlin – Boston 2014; R.G. HOYLAND, In God's Path: The Arab Conquests and the Creation of an Islamic Empire. Oxford 2014, siehe die sehr kurze „Auswahlbibliographie" auf S. 154.) „das komplexe kulturelle und soziale Milieu zu beschreiben, das die Entstehung einer neuen Religion ausgerechnet [sic, umgangssprachlich; richtig wäre „just"] in dem Raum begünstigte, wo Judentum, Christentum und alte heidnische Kulte jahrhundertelang überdauert hatten" (S. 16).

Im Mittelpunkt der knappen Darstellung stehen geographisch im Wesentlichen zwei Bereiche, die Küste des südlichen Teiles der Arabischen Halbinsel am Roten Meer und die Ostküste des Mittelmeers, jeweils mit dem zugehörigen Hinterland. Chronologisch behandelt Bowersock die ausgehende Spätantike vom 3. Jahrhundert bis zum Tod des Umayyaden-Kalifen ʿAbd al-Malik im Jahr 705. Unabhängig davon sind die neun Kapitel des Buches nach vage umrissenen Themen gegliedert. Bowersock schließt damit methodisch in vieler Hinsicht an eine ähnliche Publikation an, in der er 2012 eine inhaltlich zusammengehörige Vortragsreihe verkürzt wiedergab (G.W. BOWERSOCK, Empires in Collision in Late Antiquity. Waltham, Mass. 2012; vgl. die ausführliche Rezension von K.M. KLEIN, in: *Plekos* 15 [2013] 135–150).

Die vorliegende Publikation fasst offensichtlich weitgehend den Inhalt folgender Werke des Verfassers zusammen, die zwischen 1983 und 2013 erschienen (vgl. S. 34, Fn. 1 und 2; es wäre sinnvoll gewesen, die genannten Werke sämtlich in der „Auswahlbibliographie" anzuführen): Roman Arabia. Cambridge, Mass. 1983; mit P. BROWN und O. GRABAR, Late Antiquity: A Guide to the Postclassical World. Cambridge, Mass. 1999; Interpreting Late Antiquity. Cambridge, Mass. 2001; Mosaics as History: The Near East from Late Antiquity to Islam. Cambridge, Mass. 2006; The Throne of Adulis: Red Sea Wars on the Eve of Islam. Oxford 2013.

Vorislamischer Ausgangspunkt ist (Kap. 1) die um 525 datierte Eroberung von Himyar (Jemen im Südwesten der arabischen Halbinsel) durch ein Heer des Königs (Negus) des jenseits des Roten Meeres gelegenen christlichen Aksum (im heutigen Nord-Äthiopien und Eritrea), da die jemenitischen Christen damals Verfolgungen durch die Herrscher und die Bevölkerungsmehrheit ausgesetzt waren, die der jüdischen Religion angehörten. Der vom aksumitischen König eingesetzte Gouverneur wurde jedoch nach wenigen Jahren von einem Rivalen namens Abraha vertrieben, der ein kurzlebiges unabhängiges Reich von Sanaa gründete, das 575/576 von den Sasaniden erobert wurde.

Das anschließende Kap. 2 behandelt, chronologisch weiter ausgreifend, den Zeitraum seit der Vorherrschaft monotheistischer Religionen (der jüdischen und der christlich-monotheletischen) im Südwesten Arabiens zwischen „etwa 380 und 560", neben denen noch stetig zurückgehende heidnische Kulte existierten, die kurz beschrieben werden (der unklare Überblick über die Begriffe „Paganismus", „pagan", „heidnisch", „ethnikos", „hellen" und „Polytheismus" auf S. 34f. ist vermutlich eine nicht geglückte Zusammenfassung der Vorlage; ähnlich auch terminologische Erklärungen wie S. 40–44 zu *muschrik* [sic], *hanīf*, *mal'ak* und *rasūl*, S. 45 zu *dschibāl* [sic] *al-sirawāt* bzw. *sirat*, S. 50 zu *rabb*, S. 50f. zu *mukarram*, S. 57 zu *al-kadhdhāb* [sic] usw. Auf S. 35 sollte die Feststellung ein „ausgeprägt syrischer" Grundriss [scil. einer Kirche] präzisiert werden. Auf S. 39, 2. Z. von unten bleibt die Unterscheidung zwischen „scheinbar" oder „anscheinend" unklar).

Kap. 3 stellt das „Das spätantike Mekka" als wirtschaftliches und religiöses Zentrum vor, im Wesentlichen in vorislamischer Zeit; Kap. 4 greift wieder die Beziehungen zwischen „Äthiopien und Arabien" auf und behandelt zunächst die (um 222 n. Chr. datierte) Inschrift von Adulis (an der eritreischen Küste des Roten Meeres gelegen) und anschließend im Wesentlichen erneut die bereits in Kap. 1 behandelten Entwicklungen des 5. und 6. Jahrhunderts sowie die Herkunft des Propheten Mohammed und die Anfänge des Islam bis in das frühe 7. Jahrhundert.

Kap. 5 („Die Perser in Jerusalem") untersucht die Eroberung der Stadt im Jahr 614, ihre Ursachen (Sturz des Kaisers Maurikios durch Phokas und Sturz des Phokas durch Herakleios) und Folgen. Die schriftlichen Zeugnisse von Strategios und Sophronios zur Rolle der Juden im Kontext der Eroberung stellt Bowersock dem topographischen Befund (etwa) zeitgleicher christlicher Massengräber und zerstörter Kirchen in der Stadt und ihrem Umland gegenüber. Es folgt ein Hinweis auf die Bedeutung der anschließenden persischen (619) und der späteren (642) muslimischen Eroberung Ägyptens.

Kap. 6, „Mohammed in Medina" behandelt im Wesentlichen die Jahre 622 bis 630 bzw. 632 und wiederholt vieles aus Kap. 1; ergänzend wird die *ʾUmma* und die „Verfassung" (das Gründungsdokument) der Gemeinde der Gläubigen behandelt (und für die Begründung des Vorganges auf weitere Literatur verwiesen).

Kap. 7 behandelt detailreich (aber manchmal in zu knapper Zusammenfassung der Vorgängerpublikationen) „Das Interregnum der vier Kalifen"; eine terminologische Anmerkung zu „Interregnum", hier konkret das „Interregnum" der vier rechtgeleiteten Kalifen Abū Bakr, ʿUmar bin al-Ḫaṭṭāb, Uṯmān ibn ʿAffān und Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī bin Abī Ṭālib von 632 bis 661: „interregnum" bedeutet im Englischen nicht nur „herrscherlose Zeit", sondern auch allgemeiner „Unterbre-

chung“, „Pause“ u. ä. – „Unterbrechung“ wäre in diesem und ähnlichen Kontexten wohl am ehesten zutreffend (vgl. aber A. HÖFERT, Königtum und imperiale Legitimation. Die facettenreiche Beziehung zwischen „mulk“ und „Kalifat“, in: Macht und Herrschaft transkulturell [*Vormoderne Konfigurationen und Perspektiven der Forschung* 1], hrsg. M. Bechert – St. Conermann – L. Dohmen. Bonn 2018, 163–198, hier 191f.: „In der Opposition gegen die Umaiyaden und der anschließenden Usurpation des Kalifats durch die Abbasiden wurden die Umaiyadenkalifen nachhaltig als *mulūk* disqualifiziert. Die Herrschaft der Umaiyadenkalifen wurde damit als *mulk* zum heterodoxen Interregnum zwischen dem Kalifat der ›vier rechtgeleiteten Kalifen‹ und seiner Restauration durch die Abbasiden herabgestuft“).

Kap. 8 behandelt „Eine neue Ordnung“, die von Muʿāwiya I. (Kalif 661–680, zuvor seit 639 Statthalter in Syrien), dem Gründer der Umayyaden-Dynastie, initiiert wurde (bei der Feststellung auf S. 113, dass das politische Zentrum des Islam seit 661 „bis heute stets außerhalb Arabiens“ lag, ist mit „Arabien“ die arabische Halbinsel [661 konkret Medina] gemeint). Der Überschrift entsprechend legt der Verfasser hier den Schwerpunkt auf die umfassenden und nachhaltigen Reformen in vielen Bereichen der staatlichen (und implizit der religiösen) Verwaltung.

Am Ende des Bandes steht symbolträchtig „Der Felsendom in Jerusalem“, dessen Bau auf dem Tempelberg in den ersten Jahren des Kalifats von ʿAbd al-Malik (685–705) abgeschlossen wurde. Die Baugeschichte eines der hervorragendsten Sakralbauten in der islamischen Welt, die historischen Berichte darüber und die religiöse und politische Bedeutung des Denkmals werden ausführlich dargestellt.

Das Werk hinterlässt einen zwiespältigen Eindruck: Einerseits bietet Bowersock, ein bedeutender Althistoriker, auf der Basis seiner eigenen Werke und zusätzlich herangezogener neuerer Literatur eine interessante Einführung in die Frühzeit des Islam im Umfeld der spätantiken und frühmittelalterlichen Religionsgeschichte, andererseits sind manche Kapitel unübersichtlich und zu sehr verkürzend formuliert. Unklar erscheint mir schließlich (wie auch schon bei der Publikation von 2012), an welches Publikum sich das Buch richtet: An Altertumswissenschaftler (vgl. die zahlreichen Verweise auf antike und byzantinische Autoren, leider sämtlich ohne genaue Zitate) oder an Orientalisten (an sie richten sich vermutlich die oben aufgezählten Worterklärungen, sowie weitere, beispielsweise auf S. 22 *ʾely*, S. 24 *byt* [vgl. *bait*?] und *qalis*, usw.)? Allgemeiner an Historiker oder überhaupt an ein interessiertes Bildungspublikum?

An relevanter Literatur wäre abschließend und ergänzend zu Bowersock noch zu nennen: Th. BAUER, Warum es kein islamisches Mittelalter gab. Das Erbe der Antike und der Orient. München ^{2}2019; G. FOWDEN, Before and After Muhammad, The First Millennium Refocused. Princeton 2013; O. HEILO, Eastern Rome and the Rise of Islam: History and Prophecy (*Culture and Civilization in the Middle East* 51). Abingdon 2015; Von Zeitenwenden und Zeitenenden: Reflexion und Konstruktion von Endzeiten und Epochenwenden im Spannungsfeld von Antike und Christentum (*Palingenesia* 103), hrsg. St. Freund. Stuttgart 2015; Bedeutung und Rolle des Islam beim Übergang vom Altertum zum Mittelalter, hrsg. P.E. Hübinger. Darmstadt 1968; St. ORTH, Die Anfänge des Islam. *Herder Korrespondenz* 8 (2019), https://www.herder.de/hk/hefte/archiv/2019/8-2019/die-anfaenge-des-islam-kulturgeschichte/.

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The Syriac World, ed. Daniel KING. Abingdon: Routledge 2019. XXXIII + 14 maps + 842 pp. ISBN: 978-1-138-89901-8.

In the past two decades scholars working in various fields of the humanities have witnessed a pivotal change in the perception of, and appreciation for Syriac Studies. Once upon a time only (or mainly) a domain of Biblical scholars, over the time the field of Syriac Studies has gradually and steadily made its way first among students of late antique history and, in more recent years, among all scholars interested into understanding the interconnectedness of the history and civilizations of the Near East from the end of Antiquity until contemporary times. The volume that is here reviewed—a monumental collection of essays on the state of the art of nearly all things Syriac—bears clear testament to this significant shift in the humanities.

Edited by Daniel King, *The Syriac World* is a lengthy volume of nearly 900 pages, whose declared aim is offering “the first complete survey of Syriac culture” and filling “a significant gap in modern scholarship” (back cover). Published within the series *Routledge Worlds*, the volume covers nearly two millennia of Syriac culture, from the second century CE to the diaspora of the 21st century. The variety of topics and approaches that are showcased in the volume is matched by a variety of studies, which include: a prefatory and explicatory essay by David A. Michelson and Ian Mladjov to 14 maps with attached bibliography, “Diachronic Maps of Syriac Cultures and their Geographic Contexts” (pp. XXVII–XXXIII); the editor’s introduction (pp. 1–8); 39 chapters, each with endnotes and individual bibliography, distributed into five parts of unequal length (pp. 9–796); three “Appendices” (pp. 797–823); an “Index of Maps” (pp. 824–834); and a “Subject Index” (pp. 835–842). For the completion of this outstanding tour the force, 42 international specialists, of which 13 are women, have been called to contribute.

Daniel King’s “Introduction” sets forward the plan of the book. Interestingly, instead of describing the matter treated in the volume chapter by chapter, the author groups single chapters thematically, i.e. within macro-clusters, under the labels “Late Antiquity”, “Islamic Studies”, “Semitics”, “Biblical Studies”, “Classics”, “The Written and Visual Arts in Society”, and “The Histories of Central Asia, China, and India”.

Part I (“Backgrounds”) contains two chapters that set Mesopotamia and Edessa in their historical settings. Ch. 1 (“The Eastern Provinces of the Roman Empire in Late Antiquity”, pp. 11–32) is written by Muriel Debié and focuses on the eastern provinces of the Roman empire, moving from Hellenistic times and through the process of Romanization up to the 7th century. The ensuing ch. 2 (pp. 33–43), by Touraj Daryaee, discusses the eastern side adjacent to the same region, i.e. the Sasanian empire.

Part II (“The Syriac World in Late Antiquity”) consists of ten chapters. Ch. 3 (“The Pre-Christian Religions of the Syriac-Speaking Regions”, pp. 47–67) is written by John F. Healey, who discusses Judaism as well as various ancient pagan deities and religious systems by means of both literary and archaeological evidence. David G.K. Taylor is the author of ch. 4 (“The Coming of Christianity to Mesopotamia”, pp. 68–87), which explore the issue of the origins of Syriac Christianity against the background of Roman and Iranian Mesopotamia. In ch. 5 (“Forms of the Religious Life and Syriac Monasticism”, pp. 88–104) Florence Jullien focuses on the origins, typologies, and development of Syriac monasticism, while Volker Menze problematises the impact of the early Church Council on the ramifications of the various Syriac Churches during Late Antiquity in ch. 6 (“The Establishment of the Syriac Churches”, pp. 105–118). The same topic is analysed again but from a different angle by Dietmar W. Winkler in ch. 7 (“The Syriac Church Denominations: An Overview”, pp. 119–133), which brings the discussion on the Syriac Churches beyond Mesopotamia and up to present times. Ch. 8 (“The Syriac World in the Persian Empire”, pp. 134–145) is by Geoffrey Herman and concentrates on the development of Christianity in the Persian empire and the consequent clash with Zoroastrianism. In the short ch. 9 (“Judaism and Syriac Christianity”, pp. 146–156) Michal Bar-Asher Siegal disentangles the correlation between Syriac Christianity and Judaism, while in ch. 10 (“Syriac and Syrians in the Later Roman Empire: Questions of Identity”, pp. 157–174) Nathanael Andrade dwells upon the role and standing of Syrians and Syriac in Roman late antique Syria. Ch. 11 (“Early Syriac Reactions to the Rise of Islam”, pp. 175–188) is by Michael Penn, who discusses the reactions of the various Syriac communities to the Islamic conquest in written sources from the 7th to the 9th centuries. Finally, in ch. 12 (“The Church of the East in the ʿAbbasid Era”, pp. 189–201) David Wilmshurst provides an overview of monasticism, church organization, and Syriac literature during the Abbasid period.

Part III is titled “The Syriac language” and groups together four chapters that can easily stand both in isolation or be read in succession. Ch. 13 (“The Syriac Language in the Context of the Semitic Languages”, pp. 205–221) is by Holger Gzella, who discusses the ancient linguistic context from which the Syriac language emerged, its evolution from a regional variety of Aramaic to literary language, down to its affirmation as a classical language within a distinct Christian context (see also now H. GZELLA, Aramäisch. Weltsprache des Altertums. Eine Kulturgeschichte von den neuassyrischen Königen bis zur Entstehung des Islams. Munich 2023). This latter topic is then expanded by Aaron M. Butts in Ch. 14 (“The Classical Syriac Language”, pp. 222–242), where Syriac is described against the background of all other Semitic languages and periodised into “Old”, “Early”, “Classical”, and “Post-Classical”, together with a few further notes on linguistic particularities and a micro-history of the study of the Syriac language. Ch. 15 (“Writing Syriac: Manuscripts and Inscriptions”, pp. 243–265) is by Françoise Briquel-Chatonnet, who, contrary to the title, begins first with the earliest extant inscriptions (from Mesopotamia to Cyprus, Egypt, India, and China) and then moves to manuscript culture: methods of production, colophons, and dating systems. The chapter continues with some notions of Syriac palaeography down to a succinct outline of the history of Syriac in printing. Part III of the volume is concluded by ch. 16 by Geoffrey Khan (“The Neo-Aramaic Dialects and their Historical Background”, pp. 266–289), which provides a welcome and clear profile of the contemporary extant Aramaic dialects whose roots can be traced back to classical Syriac.

Part IV is the bulkiest of the volume and contains 14 chapters dedicated to the “Syriac Literary, Artistic, and Material Culture in Late Antiquity”. It begins with ch. 17 (“The Syriac Language”, pp. 293–308) by Jonathan Loopstra, who surveys the development of the Syriac Bible and Syriac Biblical interpretation from the beginning to the 13th century. Ute Possekel is the author of ch. 18 (“The Emergence of Syriac Literature to AD 400”, pp. 309–326), which concentrates on some of the best-known authors and writings of classical Syriac literature: the *Odes of Solomon*, the *Acts of Thomas*, Bardaisan and the *Book of the Laws*, Aphrahat, and Ephrem. Writers of later Syriac poetry and Syriac translations from Greek are dealt with by Sebastian Brock in ch. 19 (“Later Syriac Poetry”), while Jeanne-Nicole Mellon Saint-Laurent gives a comprehensive overview of “Syriac Hagiographic Literature” in ch. 20 (pp. 339–354). Ch. 21 (“The Mysticism of the Church of the East”, pp. 355–376) is by Adrian Pirtea, who presents the state of the art of the mystical tradition of the Church of the East from the early period in the 5th/6th centuries down to the modern times, with further sub-sections dedicated to sources and major themes of Syriac mysticism, followed by a bibliographical guide on the main author and writings. Theresia Hainthaler is the author of ch. 22 (“Theological Doctrines and Debates within Syriac Christianity”, pp. 377–390), that concentrates on the development of Syriac Christology from the beginning, through Chalcedon, down to the 7th century. In ch. 23 (“The Liturgies of the Syriac Churches”, pp. 391–404) Fr. Baby Varghese describes the origins of the Syriac liturgies and the specificities of the Eastern and Western rites. The ties with Greek historiography, the development of Syriac historical writings down to the 9th century, and the Arabic compilations of the 10th and 11th centuries are dealt with by Philip Wood in ch. 24 (“Historiography in the Syriac-Speaking World, 300–1000”, pp. 405–421), while in ch. 25 John W. Watt expands on “Syriac Philosophy” (pp. 422–437) down to the 13th century. Ch. 26 is dedicated to “Syriac Medicine” (pp. 438–459), of which Grigory Kessel discusses the state of the art of current scholarship, the literary production, the Syriac translations from Greek, and the original works, as well as medical theory, hospitals, and pharmacology. Ch. 27 (“The Material Culture of the Syrian Peoples in Late Antiquity and the Evidence for Syrian Wall Paintings”, pp. 460–475) marks a shift towards

material culture, with Emma Loosley raising such questions as what constitutes "Syrian Art History", before turning to the extant wall-paintings of Syrian churches. In the richly illustrated ch. 28 ("Churches in Syriac Space: Architectural and Liturgical Context and Development", pp. 476–553) Widad Khoury moves from wall-paintings to the study of Syriac liturgy in its material space: churches and their development, from house church to basilicas. In ch. 29 ("Women and Children in Syriac Christianity: Sounding Voices", pp. 554–566) Susan Ashbrook Harvey puts together the scanty evidence on women and children in late antique Syriac communities, while in ch. 30 ("Syriac Agriculture 350–1250", pp. 554–580) Michael J. Decker discussed the close and interdependent connection between Syriac communities, their lands, and the surrounding territory.

Part V ("Syriac Christianity Beyond the Ancient World") contains nine chapters that bring the discussion on the Syriac world far beyond the chronological and spatial confines of Late Antiquity and Mesopotamia. Ch. 31 ("Syriac Christianity in Central Asia", pp. 583–624) is by Mark Dickens, who outlines the expansion of Syriac Christianity from Mesopotamia to Bactria, Sogdiana, and Anatolia, under Muslim, non-Arab polities, and the Mongols. Written by Hidemi Takahashi, ch. 32 ("Syriac Christianity in China", pp. 625–652) is entirely devoted to the spread of Syriac Christianity in China from the Tang to the Mongol periods, while ch. 33 ("Syriac Christianity in India", pp. 653–697), by Istvan Perczel, concentrates on the various denomination of Syriac Christians in India and their history from the Persian missions to the Portuguese period. Dorothea Weltecke and Helen Younansardaroud are the authors of ch. 34 ("The Renaissance of Syriac Literature in the Twelfth-Thirteenth Centuries", pp. 698–717), which outlines the flourishing of Syriac grammar, philosophy, sciences, theology, law, historiography, and secular literature in a particularly favouring period in the development of Syriac literature. In ch. 35 ("Syriac in a Diverse Middle East: From the Mongol Ilkhanate to Ottoman Dominance, 1286–1517", pp. 718–730) Thomas A. Carlson expands on the fate of Syriac Christians, their religious, political, and literary history in the late medieval period between Mongols and Ottomans. Ch. 36 ("The Maronite Church", pp. 731–750) is by Shafiq Abouzayd, who offers a clear overview on the Maronite Patriarchate, Church, and liturgy, as well as the relations between the Maronite and the Roman Catholic Churches and the impact of the Maronites for the modern and contemporary dissemination of Syriac culture. In ch. 37 ("The Early Study of Syriac in Europe", pp. 751–769) Robert J. Wilkinson explores the history of Syriac studies in early modern Catholic and Protestant Europe, while in ch. 38 ("Syriac Identity in the Modern Era", pp. 770–782) Heleen Murre-van den Berg brings the discourse on the history of the Syriac Christian communities to the last two centuries, dwelling on the rise of nationalisms, identity building, oppression of minorities, and the genocide of Syriac Christians. As a natural sequel, in ch. 39 ("Changing Demography: Christians in Iraq since 1991", pp. 783–797) Erica C.D. Hunter offers a lucid analysis of the fate of Syriac Christians in Iraq during the past thirty years.

The first two of the three "Appendices" are by David Wilmshurst and deal, respectively, with (I) "The Patriarchs of the Church of the East" (pp. 799–805), and (II) the "West Syrian Patriarchs and Maphrians" (pp. 806–813). Combined together, they provide useful and clear regnal dates of the patriarchs and maphrians of the various denominations of the Syriac speaking Churches, from the earliest recorded year to present. Appendix III, by Daniel King and David A. Michelson, offers an in-depth presentation of the "Online Resources for the Study of the Syriac World" (pp. 814–823), including those specific to the field of Syriac Studies as well as those of aligned fields (Patristics, Manuscript Studies, Lexica, Church History, etc).

The volume is concluded by an "Index of Maps" (pp. 824–834, by William L. Potter and David A. Michelson), which, in spite of its name, is in fact a list of places and their occurrences in the maps given at pp. XXXIV–LIII, and a "Subject Index" (pp. 835–842), which combines places, persons, peoples, and topics.

The Syriac World is a massive and impressive companion that satisfies both students who wish to acquaint themselves with the rudiments of various aspects of Syriac culture as well as specialists of various disciplines that need to have quick and easy access to the state of the art of a given topic within the field of Syriac studies at large. The scope and depth of each chapter varies within the volume, reflecting the advancement of knowledge of each given topic but also the variety of views and approaches of the various contributors.

Thanks to the structure of the volume, the chapters of each part can be read both sequentially and independently. One inevitable consequence of this editorial choice is that the contents of certain chapters (including their bibliographies) at times overlap with those of others. Furthermore, throughout the volume variation in standardization of names can be sensibly noted.

One of the main strengths of the volume is the complete chronological and spatial coverage of anything related to the Syriac world, from antiquity to present, from Mesopotamia to China and to the diaspora in the Americas. The volume contains nearly 200 illustrations in black and white and exhaustive bibliographies in languages that are beyond the usual European ones (for instance: Japanese). The indexes regrettably lack dedicated lists of manuscripts and inscriptions and, considering the size of the volume, the 'Subject Index' could have contained subsections on peoples, things, places, and offer a more substantial list of topics. To make just one example, such index does not contain an entry for 'manuscript'.

In spite of these minor shortcomings, *The Syriac World* is an excellent tool for Syriac scholars, representing a very welcome and solid contribution to, and advancement in, the field of Syriac Studies and aligned areas of research, making this a volume that should be kept in every humanities library, regardless of whether Syriac is actually taught or not. Particularly worth of praise are the maps as well as the chapters on mysticism, women and children, and online resources, even if these latter will probably need an update fairly quickly. Chapters and chapter-sections dedicated to the modern and contemporary world – as for instance those on neo-Aramaic, the Syriac genocide, diaspora, and the Maronite Church – are particularly commendable and will help establishing the discipline of Syriac Studies well beyond the

realms of Late Antiquity and the Middles Ages, anchoring the field in the place that it truly deserves, which his that of Near Eastern Studies and Global History, from antiquity to present.

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Kostas N. KONSTANTINIDES, Κυπριακὰ ἁγιολογικὰ καὶ μοναστηριολογικὰ μελετήματα (Kypriaka hagiologika kai monastēriologika meletēmata) (*Hiera Metropolis Konstantias – Ammochostu, Politistike Akademia „Hagios Epiphanios“*, *Autoteleis Ekdoseis* 3). Agia Napa 2021. XX + 490 S. ISBN 978-9963987726.

Kostas K(onstantinides), *professor emeritus* der Universität Ioannina, hat verschiedene wissenschaftliche Interessen, zu denen die byzantinische Geistesgeschichte ebenso zählt wie die Handschriftenkunde. Ein weiterer Schwerpunkt ist die Hagiographie, auch die Kirchengeschichte zählt dazu. Der vorliegende Band widmet sich schwerpunktmäßig letzteren Themenbereichen, wobei die regionale Fokussierung auf der Insel Zypern liegt, mit welcher der Autor trotz seiner beruflichen Tätigkeit im Ausland stets verbunden blieb. Die 14 Beiträge sind teilweise bereits anderenorts publiziert, allerdings nicht immer in gängigen Publikationsreihen; dass sie nun an einem Ort versammelt sind, ermöglicht ihre Zugänglichkeit. Der älteste bereits publizierte Beitrag stammt aus dem Jahr 1984, der jüngste aus dem Jahr 2015. Fünf Beiträge jedoch, die allesamt aus Vorträgen bei regionalen Konferenzen hervorgegangen sind, werden hier erstmals publiziert. Obwohl alle Texte bis auf eine Ausnahme auf Neugriechisch verfasst sind, können sie auch von dieser Sprache Unkundigen mit Gewinn herangezogen werden, da sie mit durchaus substantiellen (englischen) Abstracts versehen sind. Beitrag Nr. I (Ἡ παιδεία καὶ τὰ γράμματα στὴ Βυζαντινὴ Κύπρο [Hē paideia kai ta grammata stē Byzantinē Kypro]), ursprünglich in einem Handbuch zur zypriotischen Geschichte publiziert, gibt einen Überblick über die Geistesgeschichte der Insel vom 4. Jahrhundert bis in das Jahr 1191. Darin beschreibt K. das Schulwesen im Spiegel der Jahrhunderte, die reiche handschriftliche Produktion und die schriftstellerischen Aktivitäten bekannter Gelehrter wie z.B. des Neophytos, jenes zypriotischen Mönchs aus dem Kloster in der Nähe von Paphos, der auch in anderen Beiträgen im Band eine tragende Rolle spielt. In Beitrag Nr. II (Τὸ *Συναξάριον* τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Κωνσταντινουπόλεως καὶ ἡ Κυπριακὴ Ἁγιολογία [To *Synaxarion* tēs Ekklēsias Kōnstantinoupoleōs kai hē Kypriakē Hagiologia]) hält K. fest, dass drei bedeutende Handschriften, die für die Edition des *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* herangezogen wurden, aus Zypern stammen, womit auch das stets enge Verhältnis der Insel mit der Hauptstadt des Reiches dokumentiert ist; dies liegt nicht zuletzt auch daran, dass nicht wenige im *Synaxarium* erwähnte Heilige aus Zypern stammen. Nr. III (Cypro-Ephesena) ist der einzige nicht auf Neugriechisch abgefasste Beitrag im Band. Der kurze englische Artikel führt uns in die frühbyzantinische Zeit und in die Zeit des Konzils von Ephesos im Jahr 431, das für die kirchenpolitische Entwicklung der Insel von großer Bedeutung war. Die Beiträge Nr. IV (Ὁ *Βίος* τοῦ Ἁγίου Σπυρίδωνος Τριμιθοῦντος: οἱ πηγές [O *Bios* tou Hagiou Spyridōnos Trimithountos: hoi pēges]) und V (Ὁ *Βίος* τοῦ Ἁγίου Σπυρίδωνος Τριμιθοῦντος ἀπὸ τὸν ἐπίσκοπο Πάφου Θεόδωρο (*BHG* 1647, *CPG* 7987) [Ho *Bios* tou Hagiou Spyridōnos Trimithountos apo ton episkopo Paphou Theodōro (BHG 1647, CPG 7987)]), die beide hier erstmals veröffentlicht werden, bilden eine Einheit. Die *Vita Spyridonis* aus der Feder des Schülers Triphyllios ist heute nicht erhalten, da sie offenbar nicht von Majuskel- auf Minuskelschrift übertragen wurde, was daran liegen könnte, dass sie in schon damals schwer verständlichen homerischen Hexametern abgefasst war. In Beitrag Nr. V geht K. genauer auf die *Vita Spyridonis* des Theodoros von Paphos ein; sie bietet eine Fülle von prosopographischen und historischen Informationen, und war wohl auch deshalb populär, da sie in einer einfacheren Sprache abgefasst ist und darüber hinaus an die bekannten erbaulichen Geschichten der Spätantike erinnert. Beitrag Nr. VI (Ὁ *Βίος* καὶ τὰ συγγράμματα τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἐπιφανίου Κωνσταντίας [Ho *Bios* kai ta syngrammata tou Hagiou Epiphaniou Kōnstantias]) berichtet über den berühmten heiligen Bischof Epiphanios von Salamis, der sich auch als Autor hervortat; Zeugnis für seine Popularität legen auch die Übersetzungen seiner Werke ins Lateinische, Syrische, Koptische, Georgische und Armenische ab. Einem weiteren berühmten Heiligen ist Beitrag Nr. VII (Ἡ τιμὴ τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἰωάννου Χρυσοστόμου στὴν Κύπρο [Hē timē tou Hagiou Iōannou Chrysostomou stēn Kypro]) gewidmet, der ebenfalls hier zum ersten Mal publiziert wird. Die Verehrung des Johannes Chrysostomos auf Zypern ist insbesondere durch folgende Punkte evident: eine *Vita* des Theodoros von Tremithous, ein *Enkomion* aus der Feder des Neophytos Enkleistos, ein ihm gestiftete Kloster in Koutsovendis; in dieses Kloster trat der berühmte Neophytos in der Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts ein. Eine kritische Textedition hat Beitrag Nr. VIII (Ὁ Ἅγιος Νικόλαος ὁ στρατιώτης (*BHG* 2311) [Ho Hagios Nikolaos ho stratiōtēs (BHG 2311)]) zum Inhalt. Dabei handelt es sich um einen volkssprachlich stilisierten *Logos* auf den Heiligen, der in dem aus dem 16. Jahrhundert stammenden Codex. BML Add. 34.554 überliefert ist; ein von K. erstelltes Stemma dokumentiert die Abhängigkeit des *Logos* vom Eintrag im *Synaxarium* von Konstantinopel. Im Codex befinden sich auch andere Texte, die mit Zypern in Verbindung stehen. Der hier erstmals veröffentlichte Beitrag Nr. IX (Ἡ μορφὴ καὶ ἡ πνευματικὴ παραγωγὴ τοῦ Ἁγίου Νεοφύτου Ἐγκλείστου [Hē morphē kai hē pneumatikē paragōgē tou Hagiou Neophytou Enkleistou]) steht an der Spitze von drei weiteren Beiträgen (Nr. X–XII), die Aspekte zu dem bereits erwähnten bedeutenden heiligen Neophytos Enkleistos zum Inhalt haben. In Beitrag Nr. IX skizziert K. basierend auf der Neu- bzw. Gesamtausgabe der Werke des Reklusen dessen Persönlichkeit, Spiritualität und schriftstel-

lerisches Oeuvre; im Vergleich zu früheren Studien schafft es K., die Biographie des Heiligen genauer zu rekonstruieren. Beitrag Nr. X (Ἁγίου Νεοφύτου Λόγοι ἐκ τοῦ κώδικος 13 τῆς Μονῆς Ἁγίας, Ἄνδρου [Hagiou Neophytou Logoi ek tou kōdikos 13 tēs Monēs Hagias, Androu]), welcher der rezenten Gesamtausgabe der Werke des Neophytos entnommen ist, widmet sich der Überlieferung von drei Reden des Neophytos in der im Titel genannten Handschrift, die einen *codex unicus* darstellt. K. geht in diesem Beitrag auch auf die Quellen der Reden ein, wobei er die entsprechenden Textpassagen synoptisch anordnet. Am Ende des Beitrages sind alle drei Reden auch kritisch ediert. Die berühmte Klosterordnung des Neophytos steht im Zentrum von Beitrag Nr. XI (Ἡ Τυπικὴ Διαθήκη τῆς Ἐγκλείστρας τοῦ Ἁγίου Νεοφύτου. Μία ἱστορικὴ ἀνάγνωση [Hē Typikē Diathēkē tēs Enkleistras tou Hagiou Neophytou. Mia historikē anagnōsē]). In diesem Text erfährt man viele Details, z.B. zur Biographie des Neophytos selbst und zur Geschichte des Klosters in der Nähe von Paphos. Eine „historische" Analyse erfährt ein Werk des Neophytos auch in Beitrag Nr. XII (Τὸ *Περὶ τῶν κατὰ χώραν Κύπρον σκαιῶν* ἔργο τοῦ Ἁγίου Νεοφύτου Ἐγκλείστου. Μία ἱστορικὴ ἀνάγνωση [To *Peri tōn kata chōran Kypron skaiōn* ergo tou Hagiou Neophytou Enkleistou. Mia historikē anagnōsē]). K. untersucht darin den im Titel des Beitrages genannten relativ kurzen Text aus dem Jahr 1196, der das (traurige) Schicksal der Insel nach der Machtübernahme des Separatisten Isaak Komnenos im Jahr 1184 beleuchtet. Der äußerst populäre Text inspirierte Jahrhunderte später sogar den berühmten griechischen Dichter Giorgos Seferis, der 1953 die *Enkleistra* des Neophytos besuchte. In Beitrag Nr. XIII (Πρόσφυγες ἀπὸ τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολη στὴν Κύπρο μετὰ τὴν ἅλωση τοῦ 1453 [Prosphyges apo tēn Kōnstantinoupolē stēn Kypro meta tēn halōsē tou 1453]) erfahren wir, dass erste Fluchtbewegungen aus Konstantinopel nach Zypern bereits während der Belagerung der Hauptstadt unter Sultan Bayezit I. (zwischen 1394 und 1402) einsetzten. Die Flüchtlinge stärkten nicht nur die orthodoxe Position auf der lateinisch dominierten Insel, sondern brachten auch Handschriften mit. Der abschließende Beitrag Nr. XIV (Ἡ *Διήγησις* τῆς θαυματουργοῦ εἰκόνος τῆς Θεοτόκου τοῦ Κύκκου: Ἀπὸ τὴν προφορικὴ ἀφήγηση, στὴ χειρόγραφη παράδοση καὶ τὴν ἔντυπη μορφή [Hē *Diēgēsis* tēs thaumatourgou eikonos tēs Theotokou tou Kykkou: Apo tēn prosphorikē aphēgēsē, stē cheirographē paradosē kai tēn entypē morphē]) ist ebenfalls im vorliegenden Band erstmals publiziert. K. analysiert darin basierend auf der *Diegesis* genannten Erzählung die Geschichte des für die Insel bedeutenden Kykkos-Klosters, ebenso der für die zypriotische Kultur wichtigen Ikone der *Theotokos Eleusa* von Kykkos. K. bezieht sich in diesem Beitrag auf den Text einer fünften Handschrift zur *Diegesis*, der publiziert wurde, nachdem er im Jahr 2002 eine Edition basierend auf vier Handschriften vorgelegt hatte. Darüber hinaus geht K. auch auf eine Edition des Textes durch Ephraim von Athen aus der Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts ein, der die Popularität des Werkes verdeutlicht.

Der Band schließt mit einer Gesamtbibliographie und detaillierten Indices, welche die Benützung des Buches auch für Fachfremde erleichtern. Es ist K. zu danken, dass er mit diesem Band seiner gesammelten Werke zu Aspekten der mittelalterlichen zypriotischen Kultur die Bedeutung der Insel in der Geschichte von Byzanz und darüber hinaus unterstreicht.

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The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Literature, ed. Stratis PAPAIOANNOU. Oxford: Oxford University Press 2021. 848 pp. ISBN: 978-0199351763.

This book is a must-read for anyone interested in Byzantine culture and literature—a concise, witty, and inspiring introduction to major aspects of Medieval Greek literary culture. It provides the first comprehensive treatment of Byzantine literature since the surveys published several decades ago (H. HUNGER, Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner [*HdA XII, Byzantinisches Handbuch* 5]. Munich 1978; H.-G. BECK, Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich [*HdA XII, Byzantinisches Handbuch* 2.1]. Munich 1959; H.-G. BECK, Geschichte der byzantinischen Volksliteratur [*HdA XII*, *Byzantinisches Handbuch* 2.3]. Munich 1971; A. KAZHDAN, A history of Byzantine literature [650–850], in collaboration with L.F. SHERRY and C. ANGELIDI. Athens 1999; A. KAZHDAN, A history of Byzantine literature [850–1000], ed. C. ANGELIDI. Athens 2006, and G. CAVALLO, Lo spazio letterario del medioevo. 3. Le culture circostanti. I La cultura bizantina. Rome 2004), along with the more recent short history by A. RHOBY (La letteratura bizantina. Un profilo storico, ed. A. GIOFFREDA. Rome 2022). Unlike these works that aim to provide chronological overviews of the entire textual production, Stratis Papaioannou approaches Byzantine literature as a cultural phenomenon from multiple angles, including material, normative, formal, and linguistic perspectives. Methodologically, the volume avoids pursuing a genre-driven or an author-centred approach, though it does address these themes. The result is a rich and exceptional volume, which bears the fruit of an extensive and successful theoretical treatment of Byzantine literature as a whole.

Byzantine literature, in this volume, is defined as the literature produced in the Greek language between c. 330 (Constantinople's inauguration as a Roman imperial capital by Constantine the Great) and c. 1453 (the capture of the city by the Ottomans; see chapter 1, by Stratis Papaioannou). While, for reasons of feasibility, the volume does not discuss literature produced in the Byzantine Empire in other languages, it does engage with the multilingual entanglements of Byzantine literature by including chapters on translations from and to other languages. Papaioannou defines literature as "an anthropological constant with specific instantiations throughout human history: The desire (a) to restructure reality and make sense of human experience through storytelling, (b) to perform oneself and one another through language, and (c) to

indulge in discursive play and form […] is (I would like to argue and offer a working definition of literature here) *universal*" (p. 10). Hence, in line with most contemporary definitions of Byzantine literature, he uses a rather open approach which includes the entire textual production, regardless of its linguistic register, its written or oral nature, secular or religious context, and so on. However, he adds a major caveat: the texts and books that we possess are far outnumbered by those that are lost, and whatever we have reflects the interests of those copying and collecting books with texts that were often composed centuries before the books that we can read today were produced.

With these delineations in mind, we shall discuss the four parts of the handbook: PART I deals with the "Materials, Norms, Codes" of Byzantine literature, and as such with the material and conceptual conditions on which literary production is based, namely language, normative perspectives on literature, and the textual memory as the background of literary writing.

In chapter 2, Martin Hinterberger offers an indispensable account of the characteristics of the Greek language during the Byzantine period. He rightly emphasizes that Byzantine Greek, with its great diversity of language registers (from the vernacular to the erudite classicizing literary language), deserves to be treated as a distinct linguistic variety. It should not be understood, in its more formal register, as a deficient, degenerate version of classical Greek, nor should it, particularly in vernacular texts, be regarded as another variety of Modern Greek. In fact, unlike the Latin West, Byzantium did not exhibit *diglossia*, as the various registers shared a broad common ground. Learning to write in Byzantium meant learning to write classicizing Greek. This holds especially true for orthography, which in many cases (up to the present day) represents the phonological reality of the ancient language, but not of Medieval Greek, thus offering considerable challenges to any student of the written idiom. On the other hand, the syntax used by the Byzantines differed considerably from ancient syntax, even in texts written in the most erudite register. The wide range of available linguistic options made the medieval Greek language a field of literary creativity and innovation.

Chapter 3 by Filippo Ronconi and Stratis Papaioannou offers a survey of Byzantine book culture, the most important characteristics of which are the singularity of each book and its vitality (i.e. the fact that its appearance, functions, and contents could change considerably over time). The authors highlight the many gaps in our knowledge that are due to the loss of innumerable manuscript books and other writing material, and map certain trends of book production: the prodigious output and circulation during the fourth to sixth centuries, combined with very poor chances of survival due to the major political and social shifts in the Eastern Roman Empire during the seventh and eighth centuries, as well as the transliteration movement of the late eighth century and onwards, when majuscule scripts were replaced by minuscule scripts, making earlier manuscripts inconvenient for readers to handle; the recovery of book culture from the ninth to the eleventh century; the large number of surviving manuscripts stemming from the fourteenth century and later; and finally, the long continuity of manuscript production in the modern period after the invention of the printing press. The authors further indicate the major parameters of book commerce and circulation, and examine religious and civic institutions, as well as individuals, as hubs for book production, collection, and consumption.

Chapter 4 by Stratis Papaioannou introduces the reader to the theories of literature as they were conceived by the Byzantines themselves and explained in schoolbooks, paratexts, or metaliterary discourse. Most extensively, theories of literature were taught in rhetorical textbooks, a corpus of late antique treatises that were amply copied and commented on during the Byzantine millennium. The most important changes and additions to the late antique theory were the introduction of Neoplatonic thought as well as the inclusion of Christian writers as model authors. Finally, the question of fiction and fictionality is discussed as a major interest of modern readers, for many of whom literature and fiction are almost identical. Papaioannou demonstrates the complex entanglements of fiction and attitudes towards truth and untruth, allegorization, conceptions of *mimesis* (or imitation), rhetorical modes such as *ekphrasis* and *ethopoiia*, and focuses on how persuasion, not truth, is the goal of rhetoric. Fiction in the modern sense is indeed addressed in Byzantine texts, yet it remains a marginal object of thought.

Chapter 5 by Fr. Maximos Constas assesses the complex mechanics of biblical hermeneutics as the most important engagement with one single book—the Bible—in the Byzantine world. He introduces the reader to the various genres of commentaries (including line-by-line commentaries, homilies, catenae, essays, *Questions and Answers* [*erotapokriseis*], and scholia) and stresses the special importance of monastic exegesis for the history of biblical hermeneutics. Basing their work on the heritage of Hellenic and Jewish exegetical traditions, he outlines three epochs in the history of Byzantine hermeneutics: from c. 300 to c. 800, with special emphasis on allegory, the School of Antioch, and the development of the *catenae*; from c. 800 to 1204, with special reference to Patriarch Photios, Theophylaktos of Ohrid, Euthymios Zygabenos, and Niketas of Herakleia; and 1204–1453, with the major debate about hesychasm and an active homiletic production.

Chapter 6 by Charis Messis and Stratis Papaioannou focuses on "Memory: Selection, Citation, Commonplace" and explores how textual memory was part of an identity-building process in Byzantium, heavily mediated through school education. The authors evaluate different memory aids and the advantages of learning by heart in the age before the printing press, before commenting on the conscious selection of certain memorable texts or textual units in anthologies, the citation of single passages as an essential part of writing, and the use of commonplaces as a rhetorical technique and a scaffolding for structuring a text. The authors' view on memory offers fresh insights into the dynamics of affirming cultural values in readers and instigating innovation and literary creativity by playing a novel tune on the memorized textual units.

Chapter 7 by Anthony Kaldellis deals with the reception of classical literature and, more specifically, ancient myth. He illuminates the Byzantine perception of classical literature

as "outside learning" which was to be acquired along with "our", namely Christian, literature. One major obstacle in this reception was the paradigm shift from revering the ancient gods in a religious context to seeing them as literary figures, which took place in late antiquity, and which necessitated a figurative understanding of the gods, seeing them as symbols, allegories, or simply fictionalized historical characters. Such techniques allowed mythography to thrive, and the ancient gods remained part of the school curriculum for the entire Byzantine era. Thus, Hellenism remained a crucial cultural resource with which to address issues in life that were not sufficiently treated in other literary texts, such as patristic literature or the Bible, and concerned issues such as imperial heroism, philosophy, or the engagement with eroticism.

The multi-authored Chapter 8 deals with texts translated into Greek from various languages (I. Latin, II. Syriac, III. Arabic, IV. Georgian, V. Neo-Latin languages). It finds its counterpart in Chapter 22, which studies Greek texts translated into other languages (I. Latin, II. Coptic, III. Syriac, IV. Armenian, V. Georgian, VI. Arabic, VII. Slavic). Papaioannou decided to separate these two categories, as chapter 8 belongs to the "textual memory" of the Byzantines, or what they received from others, and chapter 22 deals with translations as a way we can read Byzantine literature today. Reading through these chapters, however, we have found that they work much better when read in conjunction, as part of the textual interweaving of Byzantium with its neighbouring cultural and linguistic communities. All subchapters present quite different approaches, depending on the surviving material and the state of research.

In dealing with Latin texts, Réka Forrai (chs. 8.I and 22.I) lists the extant material, underlining that there are many more translations from Greek into Latin than the other way around. She singles out two periods for translations from Latin into Greek: the early Byzantine period, with its particular interest in classical learned texts and hagiography, and the Palaiologan period, when highly erudite scholars translated mainly philosophical and theological texts, while translation activities in the West were more steadfast over the centuries.

Pablo Ubierna, dealing with Greek-Syriac entanglements (chs. 8.II and 22.III), points to the central role of Ephrem as the most popular Syriac author in Byzantium, whose poetry was a crucial model for early Greek hymnography. Moreover, many Syriac hagiographical works were translated into Greek and became very popular in Byzantium, especially in the seventh century with the translation of the works of Isaak the Syrian and Pseudo-Methodios. On the other hand, the influence of Greek literature on the Syriac is evident across a wide array of genres, ranging from homiletics and theology to hagiography and historiography. The translation practice changed within a time span of three centuries from a free translation in the fourth century to a literalist approach in the seventh century, a trend that can also be detected in Armenian translation practices (see below).

Charis Messis and Stratis Papaioannou (ch. 8.III) point out that Arabic became a "Byzantine language", mainly used by Christians in the regions falling under Arabic rule. In addition to a wide range of Greek translations of Arabic scientific texts and of Melkite hagiographical stories during the two waves of translation extending between the eighth and tenth centuries, Arabic storytelling—even if it was occasionally mediated through other traditions (e.g. Syriac or Georgian)—shaped its Greek counterpart through translations but also through narrative traditions. As Alexander Treiger (ch. 22.VI) notes, in the ninth and tenth centuries a variety of Christian texts (e.g. the Bible, hagiography and homiletics) were translated from Greek and other Christian languages (e.g. Syriac and Coptic) into Arabic in regions that belonged to the patriarchates of Alexandria, Jerusalem and Antioch. By contrast, Arabic translations of Greek hymns emerged at a later chronological point (from the twelfth century onward).

Translating Greek texts had an enormous impact on Georgian literature, as Nikoloz Aleksidze demonstrates (chs. 8.IV and 22.V). He singles out three periods: the pre-Athonite, from the fifth through the tenth centuries; the Athonite in the tenth and eleventh centuries; and the "Hellenophile" period from the eleventh through the thirteenth century. Translation activities from Georgian into Greek, on the other hand, were dominated by Euthymios Hagiorites and his work on the Athonite Iviron monastery.

Carolina Cupane discusses translations from Romance vernacular into Greek (ch. 8.V). In the post-1204 period, when Byzantium was fragmented and many "contact zones" appeared in Greece, Anatolia, Cyprus and Crete, much Western material was translated into Greek, mainly including fictional narratives (*The War of Troy, Apollonios King of Tyros, Imperios and Margarona*) and in one case a history text (*The Chronicle of Morea)*. By contrast, we know only of one work that was translated from Greek into a Romance vernacular (namely, *Barlaam and Ioasaph*).

In the case of Coptic, the state of research is so poor that it is hard to make general statements about the history of its literature, as Arietta Papaconstantinou argues (ch. 22.II). Additionally, the transmission is dominated by what was found in the White Monastery in Upper Egypt, and no secular literature, if it even existed, has survived. In late antiquity, Egyptian monastic authors were often able to write in both Greek and Coptic, and sometimes produced versions of texts in both languages, a case where one should rather speak of cross-fertilization than of translation *stricto sensu*. After the Coptic church was divided from Byzantine orthodoxy with the Council of Chalcedon in 451, the interest in Greek texts diminished.

Armenian translation activities are traced by Theo Maarten van Lint (ch. 22.IV). After the invention of the Armenian alphabet in c. 405, a large number of biblical and patristic texts were translated, not least as a means of integrating various Armenian communities into a single unit. There were two different methodological strands: one translating *sensus de sensu*, i.e. oriented towards transmitting the content of a text; the other *verbum e verbo*, favouring a translation on the word level and sometimes going so far as to produce texts that were barely comprehensible without reading the Greek original in parallel, thus showing the great prestige Greek scholarship enjoyed in an educational context.

The Slavic translations of Greek texts are discussed by Sergey A. Ivanov and Anatolii Turilov (ch. 22.VII). The translation activities are divided into two periods, with the first one stretching from the ninth to the thirteenth century,

and the second one from the fourteenth to the fifteenth century. While we know many names of Slavic translators from the latter period, most of the early translations are anonymous (an exception is the translations of Constantine of Preslav). As the authors note, Greek texts constitute the basis of the Slavic literary tradition. However, the translations mostly revolve around religious texts (sections from the Bible, hagiography, hymnography, homiletics, etc.).

PART II is the most extensive part of the handbook. The eleven chapters include critical approaches to diverse forms of Byzantine literature: "oral" and/or "textual", "rhetorical" and/or "liturgical", "prose" and/or "poetic", etc.

Chapter 9 by Stratis Papaioannou and Charis Messis focuses on issues of orality and textuality. Building upon Walter J. Ong's model of "primary" and "secondary" orality, the authors propose the following classification: 1) "texts that reflect conditions of primary orality"; 2) "texts that entail secondary orality"; and 3) "texts that highlight the continuities between the former and the latter group" (p. 243). The first group includes songs, sayings, and even narrative texts. The second group includes rhetorical and liturgical literature associated with orality during their consumption. The last group stands for fictive orality, mainly expressed in large-scale narratives written in fifteen-syllable verse. In these texts, textuality is camouflaged through the use of metrical form and style, which are common markers of orality. Overall, the chapter transcends the traditional view that orality and textuality are two separate categories, with the latter being habitually associated with "popular" or "vernacular" literature.

Chapter 10 by Ingela Nilsson shifts our attention to narrative. Nilsson points to the cognitive aspect of narrative, which she understands as "a human strategy for understanding and organizing the world, coming to terms with time, space, and other human beings" (p. 273). The history of modern narratology has its roots in the 1960s, but Nilsson rightly refers to "proto-narratological" notions, which stretch back to antiquity. The chapter discusses various aspects of narratology, including "characterization and focalization", "time and space", and "narrator and narrative". In discussing passages from rhetorical *progymnasmata*, hagiography, novels, and many other types of texts, the chapter demonstrates the wide spectrum of possibilities that the Byzantine literary tradition offers. In the concluding section, the author emphasizes the need to pay attention to historical writings and investigate them from a narratological point of view.

Chapter 11 by Alexander Riehle is a study of rhetoric, which constitutes a major part of Byzantine textual production. It opens with some general remarks about the dependence of Byzantine rhetoric on ancient Greek rhetoric with its almost canonical tripartition into 1) judicial or forensic, 2) symbouleutic or deliberative, and 3) epideictic or demonstrative categories. During the Hellenistic period, the latter became the predominant type of rhetoric, but Riehle aptly notes that the other two types did not disappear altogether. The chapter emphasizes the importance of rhetoric in Christianity from its early days, especially regarding homiletics which, like their "secular counterparts", aimed to persuade an audience. The chapter also offers extremely useful overviews of three aspects related to rhetoric: 1) education, 2) composition and 3) performance. A very interesting aspect is the question of improvisation, for which Riehle argues that the authors usually recited from prepared texts.

Chapter 12 by Vessela Valiavitcharska is an excellent starting point for anyone interested in the complex issue of rhetorical figures in Byzantine literature. It opens with a discussion of the handbooks about tropes and figures, illustrating the complexities regarding the manuscript tradition and the lack of systematic scholarly investigation. Valiavitcharska then discusses the four main classifications of rhetorical figures in Byzantium and some important aspects of the role of figures in Byzantine literature, including emphasis, expansion, contraction, argument, and rhythm. The reader is introduced to the ways the figurative language of Byzantine texts can be analysed to unlock the complex literary and rhetorical strategies of Byzantine authors and to understand the multi-layered Byzantine education. The chapter must be read in conjunction with the meticulously gathered Glossary of Rhetorical Figures at the end of the volume (pp. 743–748), which will be of great avail to both new and more experienced modern students of Byzantine rhetoric.

Chapter 13 by Ioannis Polemis focuses on invective. The chapter begins with a short excursus on the issue of genre and the fact that invective can be considered as a genre but also as an example of Byzantine rhetoric in action. Polemis opts for a presentation of a selection of texts that allow the reader to think about invective from various perspectives rather than theorize over the problem. The remaining part of the chapter is devoted to two types of invective: forensic rhetoric and lampoon.

Chapter 14 by Stephanos Efthymiadis is devoted to the issue of rewriting, which is at the core of Byzantine (and, more generally, medieval) literature. Virtually every text in Byzantium has a model, with the degree of dependence varying from text to text. Efthymiadis puts forward a helpful model of three (interconnected) types of rewritings: a) copying, b) adaptation, and c) new version. In the second part of the chapter, Efthymiadis offers an overview of how the technique of rewriting developed throughout the Byzantine millennium, from the recasting of much Christian material in hexametric form in the early Byzantine period to the rewriting of hagiographical material in a higher register by Symeon Metaphrastes.

Chapter 15 by Floris Bernard and Kristoffel Demoen concentrates on the poetical tradition in Byzantium, providing an excellent overview of the challenges we encounter when we try to understand Byzantine poetry in terms of the times and places in which it was produced. As the authors point out, the relationship between poetry and the expression of elevated ideas and lyricism (often found essential for modern poetry) is not usually an integral characteristic of the Byzantine tradition. Instead, form (bound speech) is what defines poetry and separates it from prose. However, the separation of the two in terms of rhythm and terminology is not always clearly defined. The fact that the Byzantines followed the ancient Greek tradition and rarely discussed their poetry according to contemporary standards complicates things even more. Even so, poetry was frequently reserved for special uses in Byzantium, ranging from inscriptions and catanyctic poetry to poems for didactic purposes.

Chapter 16 by Ivan Drpić shifts the focus to metrical inscriptions, a habitual phenomenon associated with poetry throughout the Byzantine period. Drpić points out that inscriptions reside on the borderline between the visual and written world. He offers a panorama of the multifaceted aspects connected with inscriptions, ranging from issues of patronage to devotion and self-representation. Drpić argues that the inscriptions provide the reader/beholder with a "hermeneutic framework" to approach the object. The chapter teems with various examples of metrical inscriptions to showcase their importance for the social and intellectual world of Byzantium. Despite the rich scholarship on epigrams in recent years, some aspects are still unexplored, such as the nexus between epigrammatic poetry and hymnography, or the links between epigrammatic poetry and didactic purposes.

Chapter 17 by the late Wolfram Hörandner and Andreas Rhoby bridges the composition of poetry and prose and gives the reader a profound introduction to issues of form and rhythm. The first part is an overview of the various meters used in Byzantium (including the ancient hexameter, but most importantly the dodecasyllable and the political verse, along with the less commonly used octosyllables, heptasyllables, and polymetrical poems). While rhyme is minimally relevant until the fourteenth century, rhythm is the paramount quality of poetry. This, however, is not only a feature of poetry but also of prose. After the transition from prosodic to accentual rules, the Byzantines began to rhythmically regulate the end of their clauses, a phenomenon that is as yet only partially understood.

Chapter 18 by Stratis Papaioannou provides a thought-provoking introduction to hymnography, representing sacred sung poetry. Papaioannou offers a succinct overview of the various types of hymnographical texts, ranging from the early Byzantine monostrophic hymns to the polystrophic hymns (mainly represented by the *kontakion* and the *kanon*). One of the most interesting ideas put forward by Papaioannou runs counter to the traditional view that the *kontakion* had fallen into decline by the eleventh century. According to Papaioannou, the shortened form of the kontakion and its central place in the Morning Service and/or vigils hint at the "process of monumentalization" this type of hymn underwent. The chapter closes with an intriguing list of unstudied issues that are crucial for a better understanding of hymnography.

Chapter 19 by Sandra Martani shifts our focus to a crucial aspect of hymnography, namely its melodies and musical performances, which when studied (if at all), are often studied without reference to the texts (and vice versa). The chapter constitutes a helpful overview of the melodic notations used for the performance of hymnography, exhibiting at the same time the scarcity of evidence for the reconstruction of what was happening in the liturgy during the Byzantine period. Having derived from the Greek rhetorical praxis and Jewish practice, the early Christians placed an emphasis on the melody of scriptural texts. From the eighth century to the late Byzantine period, we have the so-called ecphonetic notation (a term coined by modern scholarship) used for texts consumed during the liturgical practice. The system underwent some changes in the coming centuries: firstly, from the end of the tenth century, it was codified in Constantinople; and secondly, from the mid-twelfth century, its system hints at a more dramatic performance. Another important development is the emergence of the kalophonic style, which shifted the importance from the text to the melody.

Part III—a diptych authored by Stratis Papaioannou—focuses on the core agents of Byzantine literature: authors and readers. Chapter 20 discusses authorship briefly in terms of its sociohistorical conditions, introducing the complexity of authorship in terms of composition, but also of compilation, paraphrasing, etc. Papaioannou arrives at an estimate of c. 1,600 eponymous authors from Byzantium, most of them belonging to the core of Byzantine society, i.e. men in the upper social strata, but mostly not part of the highest echelon. A golden thread connecting many of these authors is a certain precariousness in their lives and careers that they sought to remedy by writing literary works (more or less successfully). On a more conceptual level, authorship could have many faces in Byzantium: from the greatest authorial prestige, especially of saintly authors (e.g. the Evangelists, Gregory of Nazianzus, or Romanos Melodos), where authorship and authority went hand in hand, through practices of pseudepigraphy that intended to make use of the prestige of these authors for advertising other texts, to anonymity that went along with certain literary modes (especially storytelling) or functional contexts (e.g. epigrams transmitted as inscriptions). Finally, Papaioannou illustrates the multifarious practices of authorship by presenting the case of Symeon Metaphrastes, one of the most eminent writers of the middle Byzantine period, who acted as a composer of new texts, a metaphrast, but also included other texts into his *menologion* and collaborated with an authorial team.

Chapter 21 presents the other side of the coin: the reader of or listener to a literary text. Papaioannou emphasizes the great variety of readers from three essential categories: the erudite literati, able to compose texts themselves after long years of school training; the average listener, who mastered some degree of *koine* Greek when listening (mainly) to text performances in church or monasteries; and the mass of people who would not be able to do more than decipher or comprehend certain keywords. He distinguishes between two major proponents of reading: the ritual reader, for whom the spiritual or moral message of texts would be at the core of their reading experience, often linked to the orthodox rite or to ascetic practices, and the aesthetic reader, who would delight in the experience of rhetorical beauty. However, as Papaioannou rightly points out, the sensual experience of literature connected both readings in and outside the church, and aesthetic pleasure and more general value would pervade literary performances, where texts were not only read aloud but staged and embodied in sometimes almost theatrical ways, in both worlds.

The two chapters concluding Part IV (which opens with the translations from Greek into other languages as we discussed above) form another diptych that tackles the transmission and accessibility of Byzantine texts. Chapter 23 by Inmaculada Pérez Martín focuses on manuscript transmission from the ninth to the fifteenth century and, by making ample use of

examples, discusses the material conditions of text survival, such as the use of parchment or paper, or the degree to which a book was actually used, in settings such as the church, a monastery, or the school. Furthermore, she discusses the role of autographs and authorial collections and the relative scarcity of extant manuscripts from the eleventh and twelfth centuries in comparison to the literary productivity of the same period, most likely due to the contemporary preference for paper as a writing material and the destruction of books resulting from the depredations of the Fourth Crusade.

Based on these insights into the material conditions of text survival, the reader is equipped with the necessary knowledge to digest Chapter 24 by Caroline Macé on textual criticism, which is practice- rather than theory-driven, explaining the most important stages in the production of a critical edition, from the heuristics of identifying a text and all extant manuscript witnesses to the collation, classification, edition and publication of the text. The author rightly points out the bifurcation between recent advances in technology (especially in the free online availability of high-resolution digital manuscript productions, as well as computer-supported practices of collation and classification) and the disappearance of truly large editorial projects, which have become formidably difficult to realize in the face of growing demands for detailedness and conclusiveness and of current practices of short-term project funding.

The volume concludes with a postscript (Chapter 25) by Margaret Mullet reporting *in extenso* on the developments in the study of Byzantine literature during the last three decades. Reading through the varied list of studies put together by Mullett, two things become evident: firstly, much progress has been made, and secondly, the present volume is a milestone along the way of climbing the steep hill of Byzantine literature.

Taken together, this volume will shape our understanding of Byzantine literature for years to come. Stratis Papaioannou's contribution deserves special acknowledgment: he did much more than merely editing a volume by assigning single chapters to various individual authors, which is not only obvious in the number of articles (co-)authored by him (9!), but also in the fresh concept of the handbook. Chapter 6 on memory, for instance, is by no means a self-evident part of a handbook, and yet it greatly helps us to understand important mechanisms of Byzantine literary production and reception. At the same time, chapters on traditional aspects of Byzantine literature combine an original approach with new evidence (e.g. Chapter 18 on hymnography). Charis Messis' contribution to the volume should also be acknowledged since he is the co-author of three chapters. In general, a strong sociological impetus underpinning the book's construction turns the reader's attention not only to the texts themselves, but most importantly to their significance for the people who produced and consumed them in their millennium-long history.

Further strengths are the extensive and up-to-date bibliographies and suggestions on further reading, which are immensely helpful as a starting point for those readers who wish to wade deeper into the world of Byzantine literature. At times, however, less informed readers might struggle with the knowledge the volume presupposes. In some sections recommending "further reading", information about the content of databases is missing (e.g. Chapter 3, where crucial databases such as Pinakes or Diktyon remain unexplained); this will not be a problem for full-time Byzantinists, but it may baffle novices, or even scholars from adjacent fields. The same holds true for some passages in the main text, where, for instance, mentions of historical figures are not consistently accompanied by information on their dates or other essential context. What is more, some chapters may be more descriptive than others, merely providing an updated overview of a given topic. The most important lacuna, as it seems to us, is the absence of a detailed treatment of patronage mechanisms, a paramount condition of literature in Byzantium and the object of much research in recent years. Yet, whatever criticism one might make of some minor issues regarding this volume, this should by no means detract from its scholarly achievements and its enormous contribution to the research on Byzantine culture.

One can only congratulate Papaioannou and his large team of contributors on the publication of this book, which should now become required reading for anyone eager to learn about literature in Byzantium.

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Magnificent Icons in Bulgaria. Selected by Methodius PETRIKOV. Text by Georgi PARPULOV. o. O.: Methodius Books 2020. 221 S. ISBN 978-6199074169.

Der prachtvoll gestaltete Band ist die adaptierte englische Version des bulgarischen Originals, das von Ralitsa Ruseva publiziert wurde (Zlatna kniza: Ikony ot Bŭlgarija IX–XIX vek. Sofia 2016). Er zeichnet sich nicht nur durch die qualitativ hochwertigen Fotos aus, sondern auch durch die präzisen Beschreibungen der behandelten Ikonen. Genau 100 für die bulgarische Kunstgeschichte wertvolle Ikonen wurden zur Präsentation ausgewählt. Sie datieren zwischen dem 10. und 19. Jahrhundert; sie reichen somit vom Ersten Bulgarischen Reich über die byzantinische Epoche, das Zweite Bulgarische Reich bis in die Zeit der osmanischen Herrschaft. Die neuzeitlichen (d.h. nach dem Jahr 1500) zu datierenden Ikonen stellen die Mehrheit dar, doch zahlreiche Ikonen stammen auch aus der Zeit des Zweiten Bulgarischen Reiches mit seinem Höhepunkt unter dem Zaren Ivan Aleksandăr im 14.

Jahrhundert. Bis auf wenige Ausnahmen handelt es sich um Holzikonen, von denen manche auch doppelseitig bemalt sind: Die älteste Ikone, die in diesem Band vorgestellt wird (Nr. 1), zeigt den heiligen Theodoros (welchen, ist unklar) und stammt aus der ersten Hälfte des 10. Jahrhunderts; sie ist aus einzelnen bemalten Kacheln gefertigt, von denen heute nicht mehr alle vorhanden sind. Bei der aus dem frühen 14. Jahrhundert stammenden Ikone der Muttergottes (Hodegetria) handelt es sich um eine Mosaikikone (Nr. 9). Das Besondere bei einer Holzikone der Muttergottes aus dem 18. Jahrhundert (Nr. 10) ist der silbervergoldete Beschlag mit der Bezeichnung der Muttergottes als Ἡ ἐλεοῦσα (Ē eleousa), wobei dessen interessanteste Teile mit den Inschriften aus der Zeit um die Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts stammen. Sie dokumentieren neben der Stiftung des Ikonenbeschlags auch die Geschichte des Theotokos Eleousa-Klosters in Mesembria (Nesebăr); von realienkundlichem Interesse ist auch die auf dem Beschlag festgehaltene Inventarliste der Dinge (liturgische Geräte, Tücher usw.), die im Klosterschatz aufbewahrt wurden (eine Neuedition der Inschriften und deren kulturhistorische Analyse erfolgt in A. RHOBY, Speaking Icons – The Mediation of Inscriptions in Byzantine Sacred Space. The Case of the Theotokos Eleusa Icon from Mesembria, in: Mapping the Sacred in Byzantium, ed. by M. Mitrea – M. Mullett. Cambridge, in Druck). Gewisse stilistische Ähnlichkeiten mit dem Ikonenbeschlag von Mesembria zeigt auch der silberne, ebenfalls aus dem 14. Jahrhundert stammende Beschlag einer Ikone der Muttergottes mit Kind und den Erzengeln Michael und Gabriel, die in das 12. Jahrhundert zu datieren ist (Nr. 3); ausführliche Inschriften befinden sich auf diesem Beschlag jedoch keine.

Mit kürzeren oder längeren Inschriften sind die meisten Ikonen versehen, wobei diese meistens auf Griechisch sind, nur wenige auf Bulgarisch; das gilt auch für viele späte Ikonen aus der Zeit der Turkokratie. Eine griechische metrische Inschrift bestehend aus zwei Versen ist am unteren Rand der Ikone der Muttergottes mit Kind angebracht (Nr. 26), die in das Jahr 1514/15 zu datieren ist und die von einer gewissen Eudokia Pelage gestiftet wurde. Die beiden Verse sind höchstwahrscheinlich zwei (nicht vollständig erhaltene) Fünfzehnsilber. Die von den Autoren vorgenommene Ergänzung βρέ]φον (…]ΦΩΝ inscr.) am Beginn von Vers 2 ist m.E. problematisch, da das Wort βρέ]φος lauten müsste. Unerwähnt ist auch die Existenz von Spuren einer weiteren (älteren) Stifterinschrift auf einer darunterliegenden Malschicht.

Den Herausgebern ist zu gratulieren: Sie haben einen höchst anschaulichen Band zusammengestellt, der einen Querschnitt der Ikonenmalerei und der in Bulgarien aufbewahrten Ikonen vom Mittelalter bis zur Gründung des modernen bulgarischen Staates bietet. Die Begleittexte sind auf höchstem Niveau verfasst, die neueste Literatur ist berücksichtigt, die Inschriften sind *lege artis* transkribiert (mehrheitlich sind sie allerdings nur in englischer Übersetzung angeführt bzw. werden paraphrasiert). Der Band sei somit einem breiten Publikum ans Herz gelegt, auch Studierende werden großen Nutzen daraus ziehen.

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