JÖB

Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik

69 / 2019

VERLAG DER
ÖSTERREICHISCHEN
AKADEMIE DER
WISSENSCHAFTEN

JÖB

Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik

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Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik

Herausgegeben vom Institut für Mittelalterforschung, Abteilung Byzanzforschung der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften und vom Institut für Byzantinistik und Neogräzistik der Universität Wien

Fortsetzung des Jahrbuches der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft

Gedruckt mit Unterstützung der Historisch-Kulturwissenschaftlichen Fakultät der Universität Wien



universität wien

Historisch-Kulturwissenschaftliche Fakultät

Bibliografische Information der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek

Die Deutsche Nationalbibliohtek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie, detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet über http://dnb.d-nb-de abrufbar.

Lektorat: Nicola Wood (Englisch), Florence Hetzel (Französisch)

Die verwendete Papiersorte in dieser Publikation ist DIN EN ISO 9706 zertifiziert und erfüllt die Voraussetzung für eine dauerhafte Archivierung von schriftlichem Kulturgut.

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AU ISSN 0378-8660
ISBN 978-3-7001-8685-4
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Satz: Berger Crossmedia, Wien; Christian Gastgeber (OEAW, ABF), Wien
Druck und Bindung: Prime Rate, Budapest

https://epub.oeaw.ac.at/joeb
https://verlag.oeaw.ac.at
Made in Europe

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3 Conjectural placement of the complex of the Holy Apostles in the Fatih area (after W. Müller-Wiener, Zur Lage der Allerheiligenkirche in Konstantinopel, in: Lebendige Altertumswissenschaft: Festgabe zur Vollendung des 70. Lebensjahres von Hermann Vetters dargebracht von Freunden, Schülern und Kollegen. Wien 1985, pl. XLI, fig. 1b)

4 Alternative conjectural placements of the complex of the Holy Apostles in the Fatih area (after N. Asutay-Effenberger – A. Effenberger, Die Porphyrsarkophage der oströmischen Kaiser. Versuch einer Bestanderfassung, Zeitbestimmung und Zuordnung [*Spätantike–frühes Christentum–Byzanz*, Reihe B: *Studien und Perspektiven* 15]. Wiesbaden 2006, 142–143, fig. 18–20)

5 Sketch of the complex of the Holy Apostles (after G. Dagron, Théophanô, les Saints Apôtres et l'église de Tous-les-Saints. *Symm* 9 [1994] 218)

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7 Ground plan of the Holy Apostles complex (© B. Daskas, L. Carmagnola)

8 Conjectural placement of the complex of the Holy Apostles in the Fatih area (© M. Grimaldi, G. Vaglietti, B. Daskas; data source: USGS Aster Global Digital Elevation Model)

TOMASZ DERDA – ADAM ŁAJTAR

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NIKOLAS HÄCHLER

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CONSTANZE HÖPKEN

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1 Fundpunkte der Hufeisen und der Sattelelemente (roter Punkt) auf dem Dülük Baba Tepesi. Kartierte Hufeisen aus folgenden Schnitten bzw. mit folgenden Fundnummern: 03-T1/E2/53Coll 123 Nr. 522, 05_0804-200, 06_0330-200, 09_0101-01, 13-0234, 13-0501, 13-0805, 14_0401-205, 14_0461-200, 14_0461-201, 14_0601-200b, 14_1013-204, 14_1102-200, 14_1105-200, 14_1105-203, 14_1109-200, 14_1113-202 (Grafik: Forschungsstelle Asia Minor/Torben Schreiber)
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SIGLENVERZEICHNIS

AA	Antichità Altoadriatiche
AASS	Acta Sanctorum. Antwerpen – Bruxelles 1643–1925
ABME	Ἀρχεῖον τῶν βυζαντινῶν μνημείων τῆς Ἑλλάδος
ABSA	Annual of the British School at Athens
ACO	Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum, ed. E. Schwartz [et al.]. Berlin 1927–
AD	Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον
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	᾽Αρχεῖον Πόντου
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
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
BAR	British Archaeological Reports
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
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	Δελτίον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας
DGE	F. Adrados [et al.], Diccionario griego-español. Madrid 1980–
DHGE	Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques. Paris 1912–
DIEE	Δελτίον τῆς Ἱστορικῆς καὶ Ἐθνολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας τῆς Ἑλλάδος
DNP	Der neue Pauly. Enzyklopädie der Antike. I–XVI. Stuttgart – Weimar 1996–2003
DOP	Dumbarton Oaks Papers
DOS	Dumbarton Oaks Studies
DOT	Dumbarton Oaks Texts

EEBS	Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν
EO	Échos d'Orient
EpAnt	Epigraphica Anatolica
EPhS	Ὁ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ἑλληνικὸς Φιλολογικὸς Σύλλογος
FM	Fontes Minores
GCS	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller
GRBS	Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies
HdA	Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft
Hell	Ἑλληνικά
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	Κυπριακαὶ Σπουδαί
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	Μακεδονικά
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	Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων
OC	Orientalia Christiana
OCA	Orientalia Christiana Analecta
OCP	Orientalia Christiana Periodica
ODB	The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium, ed. by A. P. Kazhdan [et al.]. Vol. I–III. New York – Oxford 1991
PAA	Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν
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
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–
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
SicArch	Sicilia Archeologica
SIFC	Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica
StT	Studi e Testi
Symm	Σύμμεικτα
TAPA	Transactions of the American Philological Association
Tgl	Thesaurus Graecae Linguae I–VIII. Paris 1831–1865
ThEE	Θρησκευτικὴ καὶ Ἠθικὴ Ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία. I–XII. Athen 1962–1968
TIB	Tabula Imperii Byzantini. I– . Wien 1976–
TLG	Thesaurus Linguae Graecae. Digital Library, ed. M. C. Pantelia. University of California, Irvine, jeweils aktuelle Version unter www.tlg.uci.edu
TM	Travaux et Mémoires
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen
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

JAHRBUCH DER ÖSTERREICHISCHEN BYZANTINISTIK, 69. Band/2019, 1–57
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DOI: 10.1553/joeb69S1

Fabio Acerbi[a]

Byzantine *Rechenbücher* An Overview with an Edition of *Anonymi* J and L[*]

Abstract: This article presents an overview of Byzantine *Rechenbücher* and an edition of two of them, earlier than any other published *Rechenbuch*. Along with the edition, a translation and a commentary are provided, as well as a complete thematic Greek-English glossary and an edition of the earliest known Byzantine table of decomposition of common fractions into unit fractions.

Keywords: Byzantine Mathematics, Byzantine *Rechenbücher*, Codex Laurentianus Plut. 86.3, Codex Parisinus suppl. gr. 387

Byzantine mathematics is "sectional" in its essence: it mainly comprises works that do not display a tight deductive structure. As a consequence, these works can easily be—or actually are—partitioned into independent sections, or can easily be assembled to generate sectional texts. Examples are logistic and geometric metrological writings, primers of any kind (including those to special astronomical "texts" like the *Persian Tables*)[1], scholia, isagogic compilations, compendia like the *Quadrivia*. Even such complex architectures as Metochites' *Abridged Astronomical Elements* and Meliteniotes' *Three Books on Astronomy* are sectional writings; a notable exception is Barlaam's *Logistic*[2]. An extreme example of sectional mathematics are the so-called *Rechenbücher*, by no means a Byzantine speciality but a mathematical literary genre amply practised within the entire Mediterranean basin; nevertheless, fine specimens of this genre were produced in the Byzantine world.

Because of their highly sectional nature, to define what *Rechenbücher* are is a difficult task. We may say that they are collections of computational techniques and of arithmetical or metrological problems unrelated to each other, sometimes in (fictitious) daily-life guise[3], sometimes organized in sequences of almost identical items, and often formulated in a debased algorithmic code[4]. As a matter of fact, the "mathematical content" of a typical *Rechenbuch* problem is frequently related more to theoretical arithmetic (our number theory) than to logistic[5], the latter being the branch of arithmetic

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[*] I shall use the following bibliographic sigla in addition to the sigla currently used in JÖB: *DOO* = P. Tannery (ed.), Diophanti Alexandrini opera omnia cum Graeciis commentariis. I–II. Lipsiae 1893–1895; *HOO* = J. L. Heiberg – L. Nix – W. Schmidt – H. Schöne (eds.), Heronis Alexandrini opera quae supersunt omnia. I–V. Lipsiae 1899–1914. Online reproductions of almost all manuscripts mentioned in this article can be found by suitably searching the website https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/. I thank Jens Høyrup for a fruitful discussion.

[1] In the case of primers to tables, their sectional nature is obviously motivated by the nature of the reference text.

[2] Study, (partial) edition, and discussion of the manuscript tradition of the mentioned treatises in B. Bydén, Theodore Metochites' Stoicheiosis Astronomike and the Study of Natural Philosophy and Mathematics in Early Palaiologan Byzantium (*Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia* 66). Göteborg 2003; R. Leurquin (ed.), Théodore Méliténiote, Tribiblos Astronomique. Livre I; Livre II (*Corpus des Astronomes Byzantins* 4–6). Amsterdam 1990–1993; P. Carelos (ed.), Βαρλαὰμ τοῦ Καλαβροῦ, Λογιστική. Barlaam von Seminara, Logistiké (*Corpus philosophorum Medii Ævi. Philosophi byzantini* 8). Athens – Paris – Bruxelles 1996.

[3] I put "fictitious" in brackets since some kinds of problems do answer to practical exigencies: these are problems on the calculation of interest or on equivalence of units of measurement (currency, weight, capacity). I use "problem" in the wide sense of a short, self-contained mathematical unit that (explicitly or implicitly) contains a series of operations devised to answer a specific question.

[4] See pages 9–11 for a description of this stylistic resource.

[5] It is not even said that any such "typical" texts exist: the 100 problems in the *Rechenbuch* I shall call *Anonymus* V are dis-

in which a unit can be divided and that deals with counting numbers and with calculations on them[6], for some *Rechenbuch* problems (but definitely not all of them) can be rewritten as Diophantine problems—that is, as algebraic equations. Still, the stylistic code of reference adopted in *Rechenbücher* suggests categorizing them within logistic. A genre with partly similar characteristics comprises arithmetical riddles in the form of epigrams, collected in part of Book XIV of the *Palatine Anthology*[7]. My definition of a *Rechenbuch* is a restrictive one: for instance, neither Planudes' *Great Calculation According to the Indians* and its anonymous 1252 source[8], nor Rhabdas' *Letter to Khatzykes* and its anonymous source[9], are *Rechenbücher* but computational primers; no *Quadrivium* is a *Rechenbuch* but it may contain both theoretical arithmetic in the style of Euclid, Nicomachus, or Diophantus, typically constituting the whole of the arithmetical part, and a computational primer, embedded in the astronomical part[10]; no computational primer in the style of the *Prolegomena ad Almagestum* (see the end of the next section) is a *Rechenbuch.*

The present article presents an overview of Byzantine *Rechenbücher* and an edition of two of them[11]. The meaning of "edition" in this case also deserves a clarification. *Rechenbücher* are, in fact, a kind of text that escapes standard philological methods for establishing filiations among manuscript witnesses: like any highly sectional text, such collections of disparate arithmetical problems can be assembled and de-assembled very easily, and any such problem is conducive to undergoing (major) variant readings in the process of transmission. Thus, hypotheses of filiation between versions of specific problems in different manuscripts cannot usually be corroborated by any uncontroversial textual evidence. The only sensible attitude is to edit every *Rechenbuch* separately[12], even when there are—as there frequently are—overlaps with other collections of the same kind. This is exactly the case with *Anonymus* L, published here, since it shares 24 problems out of 48 with the *Rechenbuch*, contained in the manuscript Par. suppl. gr. 387 and published by K. Vogel in 1968, which I shall call *Anonymus* P.

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tributed by the editors among 32 categories. To make categorizations of genres even more complex, recall that, within the doctrinal framework of the Neoplatonic author of the isagogic *prolegomena* to Nicomachus' *Introductio arithmetica*, the difference between theoretical arithmetic (Nicomachus) and arithmetical zetetic (Diophantus) lies in the polarity ἀριθμὸς μετρῶν / μετρούμενος "measuring / measured number" (*DOO* II 73.20–74.2). See the next section for the denominations I shall adopt in this article. The principle I have followed in assigning the denominations is to make the word *Anonymus* followed by a date if any such temporal determination figures in the text, and otherwise by a majuscule letter pointing to the library that preserves the manuscript containing the *Rechenbuch*. Of course, there are *Rechenbücher* that are not anonymous.

[6] The best introduction to Greek logistic is still K. Vogel, Beiträge zur griechischen Logistik. Erster Teil (*Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Mathematisch-naturwissenschaftliche Abteilung*). Munich 1936, 357–472.

[7] Scholia to some of these epigrams, presenting solutions to them, are edited by Tannery in *DOO* II 43–72, drawing from Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, supplément grec 384 (early–middle 10th century). On the structure of the collection see P. Tannery, Sur les épigrammes arithmétiques de l'Anthologie palatine. *REG* 7 (1894) 59–62, repr. Id., Mémoires scientifiques II. Toulouse – Paris 1912, 442–446, and further below.

[8] The former is edited in A. Allard (ed.), Maxime Planude, Le grand calcul selon les Indiens. Louvain–la–Neuve 1981, the latter in A. Allard, Le premier traité byzantin de calcul indien: classement des manuscrits et édition critique du texte. *RHT* 7 (1977) 57–107.

[9] See notes 64 and 65 below.

[10] See for instance the computational primer for the sexagesimal system in §§ 1–6 and 26 of the astronomical part of Pachymeres' *Quadrivium*, in P. Tannery (ed.), Quadrivium de Georges Pachymères (*StT* 94). Città del Vaticano 1940, 330.33–363.11 and 451.15–454.16. My typology is further developed in F. Acerbi, Arithmetic and Logistic, Geometry and Metrology, Harmonic Theory, Optics and Mechanics, in: A Companion to Byzantine Science, ed. S. Lazaris. Leiden 2020, 105–159.

[11] The German denomination is reminiscent of Latin *liber abbaci*, whose eponymous specimen is Fibonacci's (at least two versions, the latest one written in 1228).

[12] Obvious exceptions to this philological stance must occur in those (very rare) cases in which a whole *Rechenbuch* is simply copied from one manuscript to another: this has happened with *Anonymus* P, copied in the manuscript El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de S. Lorenzo, Φ.I.16 (gr. 194), ff. 95r–115v, by John Mauromates (*RGK* I, no. 171; II, no. 229; III, no. 283) in March 1548.

Despite this extensive overlap, there are several reasons for publishing *Anonymus* L, which is contained in the manuscript Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 86.3, the main witness of Iamblichus' writings: as we shall see, it was almost certainly copied before *Anonymus* P. Some of the 24 problems in common with *Anonymus* P are nearly identical, but some display substantial variants: in general, the title system of *Anonymus* L is better structured, procedures and proofs are more detailed and calculations with fractions are worked out more explicitly and more thoroughly than in *Anonymus* P. I shall not enter into the details of these variants: a complete textual comparison of the problems *Anonymus* L shares with *Anonymus* P and with other similar writings would result in an overwhelming pile of minutiae. *Anonymus* P is not the only *Rechenbuch Anonymus* L shares problems with, in fact—and this just corroborates the philological point I made in the previous paragraph.

As a support to my edition, I shall also publish a (fragment of a) *Rechenbuch* contemporary with *Anonymus* L—these are six problems found on one single page of Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vaticanus graecus 191, and which I shall call *Anonymus* J—and a complete list of resolutions of common fractions into unit fractions, with denominations running from 5 to 20, found in Par. gr. 1670 (an *Ur-Rechenbuch* I shall call *Anonymus* 1183).

The plan of the article is as follows. An overview of Byzantine *Rechenbücher* is followed by an explanation of the structure of "typical" *Rechenbuch* problems and of the stylistic code adopted in them. After this, the manuscript in which *Anonymus* L is transcribed, the mathematical contents of this collection, and a list of the resolutions of common fractions into unit fractions used in the text are presented. The subsequent section briefly sets out the contents of *Anonymus* J and its salient stylistic features. A thematic word index of the edited texts follows. After some information preliminary to the edition, the edition itself is provided; every problem is followed by a translation and, in most cases, by a commentary. In the Appendix, the list of resolutions of common fractions into unit fractions in Par. gr. 1670 is transcribed and translated in tabular form; it is followed by a specimen of the method apparently used to find any of these resolutions.

BYZANTINE *RECHENBÜCHER*: AN OVERVIEW

The *Rechenbücher* I know of are set out in the following list[13].

Anonymus 1183, Par. gr. 1670 (end 12th century), ff. 21v–61v[14]. This is something like an *Ur-Rechenbuch*, namely, a collection of apparently disconnected subsets of problems. It contains:

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[13] On the phenomenon of *Rechenbuch*-style problems attached to logistic treatises, see F. Acerbi, I problemi aritmetici attribuiti a Demetrio Cidone e Isacco Argiro. *Estudios bizantinos* 5 (2017) 131–206: 176–177, and Acerbi, Arithmetic 134. Even if chronology might suggest including the Papyrus Achmin and the relevant epigrams of *AP* XIV in the list, their location and form of transmission suggest to me that they should be regarded as products of Late Antiquity. See below for the contents of these documents.

[14] The manuscript is described in *HOO* IV x–xi (with edition of the text at f. 61v ibid., xvii); F. Acerbi – B. Vitrac (eds.), Héron d'Alexandrie, Metrica (*Mathematica Graeca Antiqua* 4). Pisa – Roma 2014, 436–437; F. Acerbi, Struttura e concezione del vademecum computazionale Par. gr. 1670. *Segno e Testo* 19 (2021), in print, with a complete "translation" of the list of multiples of currency units, and an edition of the list of submultiples and of the Easter Computus. Edition of ff. 3r–21v in B. de Montfaucon – J. Lopin – A. Pouget, Analecta Graeca. Lutetiae Parisiorum 1688, 316–392; Montfaucon also used this material for the chapters on technical abbreviations in his celebrated *Palaeographia Graeca*. Parisiis 1708, 359–367. These folia of Par. gr. 1670 contain the treatises of fiscal accounting known as *Palaia Logarikê* (ff. 3r–13r) and *Nea Logarikê* (13r–21v), composed shortly after the death of Alexios I Komnenos in 1118; most accessible complete edition in C. E. Z. von Lingenthal, Jus Graeco-Romanum, Pars III, Novellae constitutiones. Lipsiae 1857, 385–400 (resorting to a tabular set-up that destroys the original layout); commentaries in M. F. Hendy, Coinage and Money in the Byzantine Empire 1091–1261 (*DOS* 12). Washington DC 1969, 50–64, and C. Morrisson, La *logarikè*: Réforme monétaire et réforme fiscale sous Alexis Ier Comnène. *TM* 7 (1979) 419–464 (with complete French translation). Edition of *Anomymi* 1183, 1256, 1306, and R in F. Acerbi, Byzantine Logistic Texts. forthcoming.

ff. 21v–34v, multiples and submultiples of currency units[15]; 35r–46v, a detailed collection of procedures for dividing numbers 1 … *n* by *n*, with *n* = 5 … 12, followed (44v–46v) by a list of the mere results of the same divisions, ranging this time from 5 to 20 (this list is edited in the present article); 46v–61v, Easter Computus and other chronological material[16], repeatedly assuming a.m. 6691 [= 1183] as the current year; 61v, measure of a stone solid. Greek numerals are used. The final part of the manuscript (ff. 62r–130v) contains geometric metrological material[17].

Anonymus E, Scorial. X.IV.5, gr. 400 (13th century); 259 items (entire manuscript), without a title. It includes standard riddles, applications of the rule of three, and Diophantine-style problems in everyday-life guise, problems of conversion involving weight and currency units of measurement, calculations with fractions. In the Cypriot vernacular language. The style and specific contents obviously relate this item to the following one. Greek numerals are used.

Anonymus 1256, Vat. Pal. gr. 367 (1317–20), ff. 69r–97v[18]. The style displays a slight tinge of vernacular Greek. Its contents include: ff. 69r–83v, title μέθοδοι σὺν θεῷ λογαρικοὶ ὡς ἐν ἐπιτόμῳ πάνυ ὠφέλιμοι τοῖς νουνεχῶς προσέχουσιν αὐτοὺς νέοις *Abridged Computational Procedures Very Useful for the Young People Carefully Attending Them*, 109 items featuring standard riddles, applications of the rule of three, and Diophantine-style problems in everyday-life guise (the riddle of the ring opens the collection), problems of conversion involving weight and currency units of measurement, calculations with fractions; 83v–84r, a table of decomposition of common fractions into unit fractions, set out as usual as division of numbers 1 … *n* by *n*, with *n* = 6 … 17; only one resolution is set out; 84v, standard Easter table; 85r–88r, Easter Computus and other chronological material, assuming a.m. 6764 [= 1256] as the current year; 88v–92v, capacity of ships and measurement of quantities of specific goods like oil, wine, and salt; 92v–93v, two testament templates; 94r–97v, geometric metrological problems[19]. Greek numerals are used.

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[15] Titles ἀρχὴ σὺν θεῷ τῶν λιτρισμῶν *Beginning, with God, of the Measures by Pounds*, and περὶ τῶν λεπτῶν τῆς λίτρας *On the Parts of the Pound*, at ff. 21v–33v and 33v–34v, respectively. The units involved are 1 κεντηνάριον = 100 λίτραι = 7200 νομίσματα, the latter being identified with the ἑξάγιον (see note 56 below).

[16] One must bear in mind that the traditional denomination "Easter Computi" for such chronological primers frequently amounts to a categorial mistake, as the computation of the Easter date was only the main goal of a whole system of tightly interrelated chronological issues. The Byzantine tradition of chronological primers, which developed independently of the tradition of *Rechenbücher* {early example (on f. 4v, the assumed current year is a.m. 6400 [= 891/2]) e.g. in Par. suppl. gr. 920 (10th century), ff. 2r–17r: on this manuscript see now F. Acerbi, How to Spell the Greek Alphabet Letters. *Estudios bizantinos* 7 (2019) 119–130}, has not yet been explored in a systematic way: O. Schissel, Note sur un Catalogus Codicum Chronologorum Graecorum. *Byz* 9 (1934) 269–295; recent editions and studies include A. Tihon, Le calcul de la date de Pâques de Stéphanos-Héraclius, in: Philomathestatos. Studies in Greek and Byzantine Texts Presented to Jacques Noret for his Sixty-Fifth Birthday, ed. B. Janssens – B. Roosen – P. Van Deun (*Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 137). Leuven 2004, 625–646; J. Lempire, Le calcul de la date de Pâques dans les traités de S. Maxime le Confesseur et de Georges, moine et prêtre. *Byz* 77 (2007) 267–304; A. Tihon, Barlaam de Seminara. Traité Sur la date de Pâques. *Byz* 81 (2011) 362–411.

[17] Edited by Heiberg in *HOO* IV. On the criteria followed by Heiberg in his edition of the Greek geometric metrological corpus, resulting in two philological monsters, see Acerbi – Vitrac, Héron d'Alexandrie 430–433.

[18] This important manuscript is the paradigmatic example of the script type called "chypriote bouclée": P. Canart, Un style d'écriture livresque dans les manuscrits chypriotes du XIVe siécle: la chypriote "bouclée", in: La paléographie grecque et byzantine. Actes du Colloque Paris, 21–25 octobre 1974, ed. J. Glénisson – J. Bompaire – J. Irigoin (*Colloques internationaux du C.N.R.S.* 559). Paris 1977, 303–321, repr. Id., Études de paléographie et de codicologie. I (*StT* 450). Vatican City 2008, 341–359. Analysis of the manuscript, including several datings occurring in it, in A. Turyn, Codices graeci Vaticani saeculis XIII et XIV scripti annorumque notis instructi. Vatican City 1964, 117–124 and pl. 96.

[19] The metrological problems are edited in E. Schilbach, Byzantinische metrologische Quellen (*Byzantina keimena kai meletai* 19). Thessalonike 1982, sects. I.5c–d (ff. 98r and 80v); II.4, 14, 16, 18 (ff. 94r–97v); III.1 (ff. 88v–91r); III.2e,k (f. 73r27–v9); IV.4d (ff. 80r23–v4, 83v marg.); IV.8b,f (88v1–3, 84r marg., 76v16–19, 69v5–9); see also ibid., 13; and in J. Lefort – R.-C. Bondoux – J.-C. Cheynet – J.-P. Grélois – V. Kravari – J.-M. Martin, Géométries du fisc byzantin (*Réalités byzantines* 4). Paris 1991, 48–58 (ff. 94r–97v). The two testament templates are edited in G. Ferrari, Due formule notarili cipriote inedite del Cod. Vaticano Pal. gr. 367, in: Studi in onore di Biagio Brugi nel XXX anno del suo insegnamento. Palermo 1910, 429–443.

Anonymus L, Laur. Plut. 86.3, ff. 165r–169v (2nd half of 13th century); 48 items partitioned into subsections. Greek numerals are used. This is edited and analysed in the present article.

Anonymus J. Vat. gr. 191, f. 261r (2nd half of 13th century); 6 items, title ἀρχὴ σὺν θεῷ τῶν διαφόρων ἐρωτημάτων. This single page, deleted by pen strokes, is embedded into an astrological collection: the bifolio where these problems belong was thus used as recycled paper. This is also edited and analysed in the present article.

Anonymus P, Par. suppl. gr. 387, ff. 118v–140v (end 13th century); 119 items, title ψηφηφορικὰ ζητήματα καὶ προβλήματα, ἃ δὴ καὶ μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων μεθόδων ἕκαστον σύγκειται *Calculative Investigations and Problems, Which Are Collected here Each with its Own Procedures, too*[20]. It also contains some geometric metrological problems and number-theoretical elaborations. The distribution of the problems among categories is random. Greek numerals are used. Most of what precedes in the manuscript is isagogic or geometric metrological material[21].

Anonymus 1306, Par. suppl. gr. 387, ff. 148r–161v (early 14th century). This is also something like an *Ur-Rechenbuch*. Its contents are: ff. 148r–149v, operations on fractions; 149v, abridged Passover Computus (from a given year to the subsequent one) to a.m. 6814 [= 1306], and other chronological material; 150r–151r, very short annotations (one of which is dated 1303), followed by one *Rechenbuch*-style problem; 151v, Eratosthenes' sieve; 152r–v, calculation of currency interests, title ἑτέρα ψηφιφορία περί τε τόκων νομισμάτων διαφορᾶς τε καὶ φυρασίας, καὶ ἔστιν εἰπεῖν οὕτως περὶ τόκων νομισμάτων *Calculation about the Difference and Combination of Interests of Nomismata, Which Amounts to Say about Interests of Nomismata*; 152v–157r, basic applications of the rule of three, title ἑτέρα μέθοδος ἀριθμητικὴ περὶ κέρδους καὶ ζημίας *Another Arithmetical Procedure about Profit and Loss*; 157r–158r, rules for calculating with unit fractions, title ψηφιφορία περὶ συνθέσεως μορίων ἐκβολῆς διαιρέσεώς τε καὶ πολλαπλασιασμοῦ *Calculation about Addition, Subtraction, Division and Multiplication of Parts*; 158r–161v, three sets of typical *Rechenbuch*-style problems: first set, 8 items, no title[22]; second set, 4 items, title ψηφιφορικὰ προβλήματα πάνυ ὀφέλημα *Very Useful Calculative Problems*[23]; third set, 6 items, title μέθοδοι καθολικαί *General Procedures*.

Rhabdas, *Letter to Tzavoukhes*[24]. Embedded in a discursive setting the other *Rechenbücher* do not share, it contains: multiplication and division (by reduction) of unit fractions (118.1–126.29 in

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[20] Edition K. Vogel (ed.), Ein byzantinisches Rechenbuch des frühen 14. Jahrhunderts (*WBS* 6). Vienna 1968. The manuscript is described in *HOO* IV iv–vii; M.-L. Concasty, Un manuscrit scolaire (?) de mathématiques. *Scriptorium* 21 (1967) 284–288; Acerbi – Vitrac, Héron d'Alexandrie 437–439. *Anonymus* 1306 is in a hand different from (and later than) that of *Anonymus* P (A. Gioffreda, *per litteras*). Thus it is incorrect, as Concasty, Un manuscrit 285, and Vogel, Ein byzantinisches Rechenbuch 11 n. 1a, do, to assign the date of the former to the latter.

[21] Edited in *HOO* IV–V, with the same warning as above. The isagogic material is the pseudo-Heronian *Definitiones*. Ff. 141r–147v contain extracts from the arithmetical section of the so-called *Anonymus Heiberg*—J. L. Heiberg (ed.), Anonymi Logica et Quadrivium (*Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskabs, Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser* 15.1). Copenhagen 1929, sects. 5–8, 52.3–54.6; 10–12, 54.23–55.1, 55.10–15, 55.17–24; and 21, 62.12–19, the latter in a later hand—but Heiberg did not use this manuscript—and (at ff. 142v–147r) a description of a cosmological system.

[22] The first item of this subset is also attested, followed by a solution, in Par. gr. 2107, f. 129v (end 14th–beginning 15th century), title αἴνιγμα ψηφικόν; both are edited in Acerbi, I problemi aritmetici, Text 16 (and n. 110 for commentaries on the variants involved). The riddle can already be found in *AP* XIV.51.

[23] The first three items of this subset coincide with the first three in *Anonymus* L, the first two also coincide with nos. 62 and 63 of *Anonymus* P. Later in the manuscript, ff. 181v–208r contain a substantial collection of problems on conversion of units of measurement, a lore a title dubs νοταρικὴ ἐπιστήμη "notarial knowledge". On f. 209r–v, title ἀρχὴ σὺν θεῷ τῶν παραπέμπτων, a procedure for computing the inverse of superparticular ratios (from $^4/_5$ to $^9/_{10}$) of integer numbers, followed by a list of such ratios.

[24] Edition P. Tannery, Notice sur les deux lettres arithmétiques de Nicolas Rhabdas. *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale* 32 (1886) 121–252, repr. Id., Mémoires scientifiques IV. Toulouse – Paris 1920, 61–198: 118–186, but two problems at the end are omitted because they were already edited in R. Hoche (ed.), Nicomachi Geraseni pythagorei Introductionis Arithmeticae libri II. Lipsiae 1866, 152.4–154.10. The main manuscript witnesses are organized as follows:

Tannery's edition); two methods of extraction of an approximate square root, the one a refinement of the other (128.1–134.22); Easter Computus, assuming a.m. 6849 [= 1341] as the current year (134.23–138.28); a so-called μέθοδος πολιτικῶν λογαρισμῶν *Procedure of Civil Life Computations*, namely: an exposition of the several species of the rule of three (140.1–144.9); generalities and some problems of conversion involving weight[25], length, and currency units of measurement, solved by application of the previous rules (144.10–154.5); the same for a problem involving alloying (154.6–24); twenty *Rechenbuch*-style problems[26], with solutions and associated procedures (156.25–186.19). Greek numerals are used.

Anonymus 1436, Vindob. phil. gr. 65, ff. 11r–126r (15th century); 242 numbered items[27]. The manuscript contains, in the margins and within the text but always in the hand of the main copyist, hundreds of completed arithmetic operations. In two books (nos. 1–116 and 117–242), written in vernacular Greek, with obvious lexical loans from Italian and Arabic-Turkish. It includes a fragmented handbook of logistic featuring notational issues, including the sign for zero (nos. 1–5); multiplication (with an example assuming 1436 as the current year) and division of integers (6–39); operations with fractions (40–52); extraction of an approximate square root by linear interpolation (123); extraction of cube roots (118); calculations with roots (119–126, 128–133); standard multiplication tables (no. 127 = ff. 67v–73r; ff. 118r–123v contain square roots tables, empty for the most part). Apart from this, one finds rule of three and arithmetical problems (nos. 53–116, 153–165), sometimes without the daily-life guise (134–152)[28], and including the sum of arithmetic progressions (57–60); geometric problems solved numerically and geometric metrological problems (166–242)[29].

Par. gr. 2107, ff. 115v–122v (Tannery, Notice 140.1–172.15 πολυπλασίασον {ταῦτα}; 1425–48), copies of which are Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, suppl. gr. 46 (<George Valla>), ff. 1r–4r, and Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Gud. gr. 40 (<Matthew Macigni>), ff. 2r–8r; Vat. gr. 1411 (<John Eugenicus>), ff. 23r–25v (incomplete, *des*. ibid., 132.31 ἐστιν ὁ κε); its apographs are Scorial. Φ.I.10 (gr. 188), ff. 108v–124r (1542), an immediate copy of which is Par. gr. 2428, ff. 225r–245v (mid-16th century), Vat. Ross. 986 (mid-15th century), ff. 123r–141v, Par. suppl. gr. 652 (15th century), ff. 165r–v (*des*. ibid., 122.11 τρισκαιδέκατα). On all of these manuscripts see Acerbi, I problemi aritmetici; add also Par. suppl. gr. 682, f. 34r–v (15th century), containing only the Easter Computus. See P. Tannery, Manuel Moschopoulos et Nicolas Rhabdas. *Bulletin des Sciences mathématiques* 2e série 8 (1884) 263–277, repr. Id., Mémoires Scientifiques IV. Toulouse – Paris 1920, 1–19: 12–14, for a summary description of the contents of the treatise. On this Easter Computus (a real Computus, not a chronological primer) see O. Schissel, Die Osterrechnung des Nikolaos Artabasdos Rhabdas. *BNJ* 14 (1937–38) 43–59.

[25] The metrological portion at Tannery, Notice 144.11–146.8, is also edited in Schilbach, Byzantinische metrologische Quellen, sect. IV.3; see also ibid., 30–31.

[26] Some of these problems coincide with problems in *Anonymus* P: no. 13 = example at Tannery, Notice 142.26–144.9; no. 14 = Rhabdas' problem I; 18 = problem III; 20 = IV; 21 = VI; 22 = VII; 9 = X; 11 = XII; 24 = XIII; 35 = XVI. Algebraic formulations of the problems in this section are in Tannery, Manuel Moschopoulos 14. The title of this section returns in the phrases at Tannery, Notice 140.8 and 154.3–4.

[27] Editions: Books I–II, M. D. Chalkou (ed.), The Mathematical Content of the Codex Vindobonensis Phil. Graecus 65 (ff. 11–126). Introduction, Edition and Comments (*Byzantine Texts and Studies* 41). Thessaloniki 2006; Book I, S. Deschauer (ed.), Die große Arithmetik aus dem Codex Vind. phil. gr. 65. Eine anonyme Algorismusschrift aus der Endzeit des Byzantinisches Reiches. Textbeschreibung, Transkription, Teilübersetzung mit Fachsprache, Vokabular, Metrologie (*Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Denkschriften* 461). Vienna 2014. Other texts pertaining to the logistic part of this item are found on ff. 4v–5v, 6r–9v and 142v–159v of the manuscript; the latter mainly repeat sections of *Anonymus* 1436. A tract, explicitly presented as a complement to Nicomachus, written by the Aristotelian commentator Leo Magentinus (1st half of 14th century; *PLP*, no. 16027) and entitled Περὶ τοῦ πῶς ἐστιν ὁ δέκα τέλειος ἀριθμός O*n Why Ten is a Perfect Number*, is also found in Vindob. phil. gr. 65, f. 4r–v. Related material can be found at ff. 1v–2v and 5v–6r of the same manuscript (one text is transcribed twice, the former being the better version). For a description of this manuscript, H. Hunger, Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, I (*Museion* 4.1). Vienna 1961, 182–183, must be completed with Deschauer, Die große Arithmetik 11*–12*

[28] Thus, these are algebraic problems in Diophantine style and worded in the typical Middle-Ages fashion (the unknown is called πρᾶγμα, etc.). This feature is unique to *Anonymus* 1436.

[29] Note that nos. 185–200 are missing because a page was lost in some model of Vindob. phil. gr. 65 (which does not show traces of a missing page); their content (mainly rules for fortification-building) can be recovered from the initial table of

Anonymus V, again Vindob. phil. gr. 65 (15th century), ff. 126v–140r; 100 numbered items[30]. Written in vernacular Greek, with obvious lexical loans from Italian and Arabic-Turkish. It also contains a few computational methods and some metrological problems. *Anonymi* 1436 and V only use Greek numerals, with an additional figure for the zero; sometimes, the Greek numeral signs from α to θ are also used to designate tens, hundreds, etc.: the resulting notation is positional.

Anonymus R, Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana, gr. 12, ff. 26v–27r (1430–50); 6 items[31].

Anonymus U, Uppsala, Universitets Bibliotek, gr. 8 (late 15th century), ff. 324r–331r; 18 items[32]. Written in vernacular Greek, with obvious lexical loans from Italian. Twelve problems are followed by six exercises on multiplication and division of fractions. Both Greek and Western Arabic numerals are used.

Add to these items a florilegium of geometric metrological problems, some of which are in fact problems of Diophantine analysis in fictitious metrological guise (problems "of separation"), contained in Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Mūzesi G.İ.1 (written by Ephrem ca. 960), ff. 28v–38v[33].

The descriptions of some of the above items confirm that the designation *Rechenbuch* must be taken to refer to a constellation of more or less well-structured, highly sectional, logistic collections; these can sometimes prove difficult to delimit in a given manuscript, because of the simultaneous presence of geometric metrological material that we might wish to attach to the intended *Rechenbuch* or not.

The existence of what I have called *Ur-Rechenbücher* adds a diachronical dimension to the issue: we really see the generation of these corpora from core collections of metrological recipes (conversions of weights and currencies, but also measurement of geometric figures) accompanied by computational tools obviously relevant for solving these problems such as resolution of common fractions into unit fractions. It is noteworthy that the chronological primers traditionally called Easter Computi were included in (*Ur*-)*Rechenbücher* from the very outset: apparently, they were perceived as homogeneous material in point of style and insofar as they involve extensive calculations. Problems in fictitious daily-life guise seem to enter the corpus during the Nicaean period (1204–61), thereby giving rise to fully-fledged *Rechenbücher*. Now, it so happens that: *a*) these problems have a long-standing Greek tradition in the form of epigrams (*AP* XIV)[34]; *b*) a purely mathematical setting for

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contents (f. 13r–v); no. 117 is the preface to Book II.

[30] Edition H. Hunger – K. Vogel (eds.), Ein byzantinisches Rechenbuch des 15. Jahrhunderts (*Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Denkschriften* 78.2). Vienna 1963; the copyist is not the same as that of *Anonymus* 1436. The manuscript was first described, with an edition of some extracts, in J. L. Heiberg, Byzantinische Analekten. *Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der Mathematik* 9 (1899) 163–174: 163–169; among these extracts (ff. 146v–147r) figures a numerical list of powers of 2 as far as 2^{63}, with three additional texts (a rule for getting the sum as far as an arbitrary power, a rule for multiplying specific powers, a note on some peculiar denominations of higher numerical orders; only the latter is edited by Heiberg): this is the so-called "wheat and chessboard problem"; the same copyist transcribed the list and two of the three texts in the manuscript Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, I 112 sup. (gr. 469), ff. IIIv–IVr; a chessboard scheme in whose cells the same numbers are marked is in Ambros. E 80 sup. (gr. 294), f. 196v (the last two cells are empty). A problem identical with *Anonymus* V, no. 38, is edited in F. Spingou, Πῶς δεῖ εὑρίσκειν τὸ δακτύλιον. Byzantine Game or a Problem from Fibonacci's *Liber Abaci*? Unpublished Notes from *Codex Atheniensis* EBE 2429. *Byz* 84 (2014) 357–369, but the editor got all the mathematics wrong.

[31] The second in order coincides with the one edited in Hoche, Nicomachi Geraseni 152.5–153.6, the third with the one included in Rhabdas' *Letter to Tzavoukhes* and edited in Tannery, Notice 184.20–186.4. All the problems were penned by George Scholarios (d. c. 1472; *PLP*, no. 27304—I thank D. Speranzi, who communicated the description of the manuscript in his forthcoming catalogue of the Greek manuscripts of the Riccardiana library to me).

[32] Edition D. M. Searby, A Collection of Mathematical Problems in Cod. Ups. Gr. 8. *BZ* 96 (2003) 689–702.

[33] See J. L. Heiberg – H. G. Zeuthen, Einige griechische Aufgaben der unbestimmten Analytik. *Bibliotheca Mathematica*, III Folge, 8 (1907–08) 118–134, and Acerbi – Vitrac, Héron d'Alexandrie 492–497. A *Rechenbuch* problem was also attached at the end of Planudes' *Great Calculation According to the Indians*; we read it in Allard, Maxime Planude 191.17–193.21; it is the same problem as *Anonymus* L, no. 40 = *Anonymus* P, no. 84.

[34] A typology of the mathematical epigrams in *AP* XIV is as follows: partition with a remainder, that is, an unknown number

some of them is provided in Diophantus' *Arithmetica* and in a possibly lower-status tradition that surfaces in P.Mich. 620 (2nd century)[35]; *c*) finally and most importantly, Greek Late Antiquity hands an almost fully-fledged *Rechenbuch* down tu us as the Papyrus Achmin (7th century)[36]. These facts mean that it is open to question whether we have to assume that any *early and massive* transfer of lore and techniques of this kind from other mathematical cultures in the Mediterranean basin has occurred, in particular from the Latin world, to the Greek technical corpus[37]. Very simply—and despite the arguably contrary evidence of *Anonymi* E and 1256 coming from Cyprus—the early Greek *Rechenbuch* tradition is, on the whole, perfectly self-contained; for this reason, in my edition I shall only provide a concordance with similar problems in Greek sources[38]. Moreover, it is quite obvious that *Anonymi* L, J, P, and 1306 on the one hand, and *Anonymi* E and 1256 on the other, must relate to markedly homogeneous yet different campaigns of composition of this kind of collections.

It is also important to recall that the Greek and Byzantine scientific literature displays an independent tradition of strictly logistic primers intended to assist astronomical calculations[39]. These primers give theoretical grounds for, and explain how to perform, the basic arithmetical operations in the decimal or in the sexagesimal system, including extraction of approximate square roots and composition

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is the sum of given parts of itself and of a given number: 1–4, 116–127, 137, 138 (116–120, 138 on distributing nuts or apples; 126, 127 on telling the age; 126 tells the age of Diophantus); the sum of given parts of an unknown number is a given number: 50; an unknown number plus a given part of itself yields a given number: 6, 139–142 (telling the hour), 128, 129, 143 (various settings; the last with two given parts); filling of a tank: 7, 130–136; numbers in arithmetic progression with given ratio and sum, and unknown first term: 12; two or several unknown numbers satisfying specific relations: 11, 13, 48, 49, 51, 144 [the relations are 11, 13: $x + y = k$ and $x/a \pm y/b = h$; 48: $ax = n(a + k)$ (n arbitrary; the solution is not unique); 49: $x + y + z + w = k$, $x + y = ck$, $x + z = bk$, $x + w = ck$; 51: $x = y + z/3$, $y = z + x/3$, $z = 10 + y/3$; on 51 see also note 22 above; 144: $z + w = x$, $2w = x$, $z = 3y$ (indeterminate)]; give-take problems: 145, 146. These epigrams and the scholia to them are edited together, from Par. suppl. gr. 384, in *DOO* II 43–72. See also Tannery, Sur les épigrammes, and P. Tannery, Le calcul des parties proportionnelles chez les Byzantins. *REG* 7 (1894) 204–208, repr. Id., Mémoires scientifiques IV. Toulouse – Paris 1920, 283–287, for an assessment. Recall that one single problem in Diophantus' *Arithmetica*, namely, V.33, is conceived as the solution of a riddle set out in epigram form.

[35] Edition in F. E. Robbins, P. Mich. 620: A Series of Arithmetical Problems. *Classical Philology* 24 (1929) 321–329, further discussion in K. Vogel, Die Algebräischen Probleme des P. Mich. 620. *Classical Philology* 25 (1930) 373–375.

[36] The Papyrus Achmin [edition J. Baillet, Le papyrus mathématique d'Akhmîn. *Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission Archéologique Française au Caire* 9.1 (1892) 1–89] contains 50 problems, sometimes very short. The typology is as follows (cf. ibid., 32–33): calculation of volumes: 1, 2, 5; proportional partition: 3, 4, 10, 11, 47–49 (the three treasures problem); iterative partition: 13, 17; calculation of interest: 26–28, 33–37, 44–46; basic rule of three: 41–43; calculations with fractions: 6–9, 12, 14–16, 18–25, 29–32, 38–40, 50. The problems are preceded by a table of resolutions of common fractions into unit fractions; see pages 14–15 and 50–56 below.

[37] A similar claim concerning the *Rechenbuch* he publishes is made but not argued in Vogel, Ein byzantinisches Rechenbuch 154–160 and the all-inclusive table there attached. For a different assessment concerning *Rechenbücher*, see J. Høyrup, Fibonacci – Protagonist or Witness? Who Taught Catholic Christian Europe about Mediterranean Commercial Arithmetic? *Journal of Transcultural Medieval Studies* 1 (2014) 219–247: 236–238, who sees it as more likely a partial borrowing in the opposite direction, namely, "that the Italian and Iberian way to formulate alloying problems had its roots in a *Byzantine* money-dealers environment" (ibid., 238, emphasis in the original). Recall that Fibonacci claims three times that one of his problems was proposed to him by a *magister constantinopolitanus* (B. Boncompagni (ed.), Scritti di Leonardo Pisano. II. Liber abbaci. Rome 1857, 188, 190, 249). This is in fact the sole basis supporting the claim that Fibonacci was present in Constantinople at the end of 12th century.

[38] The reader interested in concordances of problems in Greek and non-Greek sources will find them in Vogel, Ein byzantinisches Rechenbuch 154–160; Hunger – Vogel, Ein byzantinisches Rechenbuch 91–101; and, on a systematic basis and ranging over the entire worldwide corpus, in J. Tropfke, Geschichte der Elementarmathematik, 4. Auflage. Berlin–New York 1980, sect. 4.

[39] Cf. the explicit statement opening *Anonymus* 1252: Allard, Le premier 80.2–4, and, in a smoother formulation, Planudes' *Great Calculation*: Allard, Maxime Planude 27.1–5. Despite its title (and the author's statement similar to that of Planudes: Carelos, Βαρλαὰμ 1.10–26), Barlaam's *Logistic* is not a writing of logistic, but a fully-fledged treatise of theoretical arithmetic formulated in impeccable demonstrative style. Barlaam (*PLP*, no. 2284), undisputably the Byzantine scholar best versed in mathematical matters and a major actor in the hesychastic controversy, died in 1348.

and removal of ratios[40]. The two traditions eventually merged in the 15th century, within *Anonymus* 1436, for instance. More generally, the later *Rechenbücher* appear to witness to a discontinuity in the tradition, entailing obvious stylistic changes: these involve contents (as just seen), lexicon (with obvious loans from other languages, in particular Italian), and the style in which the problems are written (less strict algorithmic code).

GENERAL STYLISTIC FEATURES OF *RECHENBÜCHER*

A typical *Rechenbuch* problem is presented as a question (ἐρώτησις) or as a calculation (ψῆφος). The enunciation first sets out the givens and the constraints of the problem; the task to be performed is then enunciated in interrogative or prescriptive form[41]. The enunciation is followed by the procedure of solution (μέθοδος). The input of the procedure is fed in either by means of a causal subordinate ἐπειδή "since" + indicative, or directly within the first algorithmic step, after a standard initializing "we do as follows" clause. The procedure may be followed by a proof (ἀπόδειξις; they are absent in *Anonymus* J), which amounts to checking that the numbers arrived at at the end of the procedure actually solve the problem. The procedure and especially the proof may include elaborate calculations with fractions, usually not carried out in full details. These operations constitute the computational core of *Rechenbuch* problems; as we have seen, specific *Rechenbuch* problems just deal with manipulations of fractions. As was customary in the Greek tradition, common fractions were handled by resolving them into unit fractions (for instance, $^2/_7$ was resolved into $^1/_{12}$ $^1/_{22}$ $^1/_{33}$ $^1/_{44}$); these unit fractions are combined with the relevant ones featuring elsewhere in the problem, in order to add or to subtract the common fractions they arise from[42]. *Rechenbuch* problems other than geometric metrological problems usually do not involve the extraction of square roots.

The style adopted in *Rechenbuch* problems calls for some words of explanation. Greek and Byzantine mathematics adopted three stylistic codes: these are the demonstrative, procedural, and algorithmic codes[43]. The demonstrative code is the one in which ancient Greek geometry is written and does not need any description. In logistic, the solution of a numerical problem, usually formulated without any supporting proof, was encoded in two peculiar expository formats, namely, the procedural and the algorithmic code. These are two stylistic resources formulating chains of operations on numerical entities, such that the output of an operation is taken as the input of the subsequent operation: they are the ancient counterpart of our computer programmes. In particular, the procedural code was aptly used to formulate operational sequences that we would condense in an algebraic "formula".

The procedural code formulates its prescriptions as a sequence of coordinated principal clauses with the verb in the imperative or in the first person plural, present or future; to each principal clause are subordinated one or more participial clauses coordinated with each other; the participle is a satellite and performs the function of modifier of the operating subject. This code is used to formulate operatory prescriptions in the most general way; the mathematical objects involved are identified by

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[40] See the overview in Acerbi, Arithmetic 117–124. The model of such primers is the *Prolegomena ad Almagestum*, a (unredacted) set of lecture notes of a course held in the circle of the Neoplatonic philosopher Ammonius (Alexandria, end of 5th century); see J. Mogenet, L'Introduction à l'Almageste (*Académie Royale de Belgique, Classe des Lettres et des Sciences Morales et Politiques, Mémoires, 2e* série, Tome 51.2). Louvain 1956, and the edition of the non-logistic portion in F. Acerbi – N. Vinel – B. Vitrac, Les *Prolégomènes à l'Almageste*. Une édition à partir des manuscrits les plus anciens: Introduction générale – Parties I–III. *SCIAMVS* 11 (2010) 53–210. These primers usualy do not include instructions for handling common or unit fractions.

[41] Both directive infinitive and modal expressions are used; see the thematic word index below.

[42] See pages 14–15 and the Appendix for details.

[43] These notions were first introduced in F. Acerbi, I codici stilistici della matematica greca: dimostrazioni, procedure, algoritmi. *Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica* 101.2 (2012) 167–214; see also Acerbi – Vitrac, Héron d'Alexandrie, sect. II.2, for the algorithmic code in Hero's *Metrica*.

(sometimes extremely long) definite descriptions; the verb forms—either finite or participial—represent the operations. The most striking application of this stylistic tool in the ancient Greek corpus is the double procedure in Diophantus, *De polygonis numeris*, of which we only read the first half as an example[44]:

> λαβόντες γὰρ τὴν πλευρὰν τοῦ πολυγώνου ἀεὶ διπλασιάσαντες ἀφελοῦμεν μονάδα, καὶ τὸν λοιπὸν πολλαπλασιάσαντες ἐπὶ τὸν δυάδι ἐλάσσονα τοῦ πλήθους τῶν γωνιῶν [καὶ] τῷ γενομένῳ προσθήσομεν ἀεὶ δυάδα, καὶ λαβόντες τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ γενομένου τετράγωνον ἀφελοῦμεν ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ τετράδι ἐλάσσονος τοῦ πλήθους τῶν γωνιῶν, καὶ τὸν λοιπὸν μερίσαντες εἰς τὸν ὀκταπλασίονα τοῦ δυάδι ἐλάσσονος τοῦ πλήθους τῶν γωνιῶν εὑρήσομεν τὸν ζητούμενον πολύγωνον.
>
> ("In fact, taking the side of the polygonal always doubling we shall subtract a unit, and multiplying the remainder by the ‹number› less by a dyad than the multiplicity of the angles we shall always add a dyad to the result, and taking the square on the result we shall subtract from it the ‹square› on the ‹number› less by a tetrad than the multiplicity of the angles, and dividing the remainder by the octuple of the ‹number› less by a dyad than the multiplicity of the angles we shall find the sought polygonal.")

The algorithmic code resorts to paradigmatic examples featuring specific numerical values[45]. After the initializing clause, the prescriptions are expressed as a sequence of principal clauses coordinated by asyndeton; each clause formulates exactly one step of the algorithm and comprises a verb form in the imperative (this is the operation) and a system of two complements, a direct one and an indirect one, in the form of demonstratives or of numerical values (these are the operands). The operation is often expressed by means of the preposition introducing the indirect complement, without any verb form. The result of each operation is identified in a separated clause, with the verb in the present indicative (forms of γίνομαι "to yield"), sometimes replaced by an adjective in predicative position (mainly λοιπός "as a remainder" after a subtraction). Both syntactical structures are equivalent to our equals sign. The main feature of an algorithm is the systematic and exclusive use of parataxis by asyndeton: no coordinants, (almost) no connectors, no subordination. The algorithmic flow is usually one-step: any step 1) accepts as input a number that is directly the output of the immediately preceding step and 2) feeds in new data by means of the second operand. Operations in which neither operand comes from the immediately preceding step are less frequent. Such operations induce a hiatus in the algorithmic flow; the hiatus is often syntactically marked by the presence of particles or of

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[44] F. Acerbi (ed.), Diofanto, De polygonis numeris (*Mathematica Graeca Antiqua* 1). Pisa–Rome 2011, 197.18–30. Procedures prominently figure in the astronomical corpus; they expound how to use numerical tables to compute relevant astronomical quantities. Thus, we find procedures in Ptolemy, *Alm.* II.9, III.8, III.9, V.9, V.19, VI.9–10, XI.12, XIII.6, and the instruction manual to the *Handy Tables*, in Pappus' and Theon's commentaries thereon, in the anonymous *Prolegomena to the Almagest*, a late antiquity primer to the elementary arithmetical operations in the sexagesimal system, in Stephanus' commentary on the *Handy Tables*, and in all similar Byzantine primers. In the latter texts, procedures precede paradigmatic examples presented in algorithmic form and are intended to validate them.

[45] In the ancient Greek corpus, this code prominently figures in Hero's *Metrica*, and exclusively in the geometric metrological *corpus*. In the *Metrica*, proofs using the "language of the givens" precede paradigmatic examples of computations in algorithmic form, and are intended to validate them. In all astronomical primers mentioned in the previous footnote, paradigmatic examples presented in algorithmic form are very frequent; they are systematically preceded by procedures; as said, the latter are intended to validate the former. In these texts, algorithms are frequently replaced—or accompanied—by tabular arrangements of the performed operations; as a matter of fact, the latter are nothing but an evolution of the former in a more perspicuous format. In the computational primer included in Theodorus Meliteniotes' *Three Books on Astronomy*, each operation is described three times: by means of a procedure (called μέθοδος), of an algorithm (ὑπόδειγμα "example"), and of a tabular set-up (ἔκθεσις τῶν ἀριθμῶν "setting-out of the numbers").

liminal verb forms. As an example of an algorithm we read a part of Hero, *Metr.* I.8—this is "Hero's formula" for finding the area of a triangle once its sides are numerically given[46]:

οἷον ἔστωσαν αἱ τοῦ τριγώνου πλευραὶ μονάδων ζ η θ.	For instance, let the sides of the triangle be of 7, 8, 9 units.
σύνθες τὰ ζ καὶ τὰ η καὶ τὰ θ· γίγνεται κδ·	Compose the 7 and the 8 and the 9: it yields 24;
τούτων λαβὲ τὸ ἥμισυ· γίγνεται ιβ·	take half of these: it yields 12;
ἄφελε τὰς ζ μονάδας· λοιπαὶ ε.	subtract the 7 units: 5 as a remainder.
πάλιν ἄφελε ἀπὸ τῶν ιβ τὰς η· λοιπαὶ δ.	Again, subtract the 8 from the 12: 4 as a remainder.
καὶ ἔτι τὰς θ· λοιπαὶ γ.	And further the 9: 3 as a remainder.
ποίησον τὰ ιβ ἐπὶ τὰ ε· γίγνονται ξ·	Make the 12 by the 5: they yield 60;
ταῦτα ἐπὶ τὰ δ· γίγνονται σμ·	these by the 4: they yield 240;
ταῦτα ἐπὶ τὰ γ· γίγνεται υκ·	these by the 3: it yields 720;
τούτων λαβὲ πλευράν,	take a side of these,
καὶ ἔσται τὸ ἐμβαδὸν τοῦ τριγώνου.	and it will be the area of the triangle.

The algorithmic code employed in *Rechenbuch* problems is highly contaminated with procedures, and allows for several stylistic variations[47]. Some of them I shall explain in the commentary to the problems edited in this article.

THE *RECHENBUCH* IN LAUR. PLUT. 86.3: *ANONYMUS* L

Anonymus L is contained in Laur. Plut. 86.3, a composite manuscript whose contents are as follows[48]: ff. 1r–162v Iamblichus, *Opera*[49]; ff. 163v–169v, material to be described below (2nd half of 13th century); ff. 171r–186v Marinus of Neapolis, *Vita Procli*, ff. 186v–204v [Aristotle], *De mirabilibus auscultationibus* (end 13th century + 16th-century restoration); ff. 205r–209v Theophrastus, *Characteres* (14th century); ff. 210r–232r Aeschylus, *Persae* (end 13th century). We are interested in the structure of the quinion ff. 161–170. It contains: ff. 161r–162v end of the collection of Iamblichus' treatises; 163r blank; 163v–164r two divisions of the canon; 164v table of currency equivalence; 165r–169v *Anonymus* L; 170r–v blank. Since *Anonymus* L starts at f. 5 of the quinion, the *Rechenbuch* is, together with the other material, a filler intended to complete the Iamblichean transcription. There is only one hand at work in *Anonymus* L, despite the ink and pen change—entailing a slight variation of the ductus—at ff. 168v15–169v21.

Contrary to what is currently asserted[50], the hands involved in copying Iamblichus and *Anonymus* L must be definitively dated to the second half of the 13th century. In particular, the main copyist of

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[46] Acerbi – Vitrac, Héron d'Alexandrie 174.3–7.

[47] On the use of the first person singular in alloying problems, see again Høyrup, Fibonacci 236–238.

[48] Descriptions in P. Moraux – D. Harlfinger – D. Reinsch – J. Wiesner (eds.), Aristoteles Graecus. Die griechischen Manuskripte des Aristoteles. Erster Band, Alexandrien–London. Berlin – New York 1976, 282–286 (by J. Wiesner); D. Saffrey – A.-Ph. Segonds – C. Luna (eds.), Marinus, Proclus ou sur le bonheur. Paris 2001, cvi–cix; C. Giacomelli, Un altro codice della biblioteca di Niceforo Gregora: il Laur. Plut. 86, 3 fonte degli estratti nel Pal. gr. 129. *Quaderni di storia* 80 (2014) 217–237: 219–222, and C. Giacomelli, Ps.-Aristotele, De mirabilibus auscultationibus. Indagini sulla storia della tradizione e ricezione del testo (*Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca et Byzantina* 9). Berlin 2020. I also thank C. Giacomelli for discussions about the hands involved in ff. 1–170 of this manuscript. I also tacitly correct some datings of hands: F. Acerbi – A. Gioffreda, Manoscritti scientifici della prima età paleologa in scrittura arcaizzante. *Scripta* 12 (2019) 9–52.

[49] These are ff. 2v–46v *De vita Pythagorica*, 47v–82v *Protrepticus*, 84r–115v *De communi mathematica scientia*, 115v–162v *In Nicomachi arithmeticam*.

[50] The assertion is based on a misreading of N. G. Wilson, Nicaean and Paleologan Hands. Introduction to a Discussion, in: La paléographie grecque et byzantine. Actes du Colloque Paris, 21–25 octobre 1974, ed. J. Glénisson – J. Bompaire – J. Irigoin (*Colloques internationaux du C.N.R.S.* 559). Paris 1977, 263–267: 265, about the script of the first codicological unit of Laur.

Anonymus L is found in Vat. gr. 192, a manuscript also featuring the hand of the monk Ionas, who in its turn, subscribed Oxford, Bodleian Library, Roe 22 (Niketas Choniates) on 15 May 1286[51].

Let us now come to the mathematical material that precedes *Anonymus* L in Laur. Plut. 86.3. At ff. 163v–164r one finds two canonic divisions, the latter being a fairly incomplete redrawing of the former. This canonic division is a Greater Perfect System[52] that includes the names and standard signs of the notes, the ratios between consecutive notes, the main ratios between notes and the names of the corresponding musical intervals, and the numbers conventionally assigned to the notes. A marginal annotation counts how many times the main musical intervals figure in the diagram.

At f. 164v, the table transcribed just below lists the equivalence of a nomisma (the main currency in the Byzantine Empire) and of the fractional currency μιλιαρίσιον (12 μιλιαρίσια = 1 nomisma), and in addition, of the weight and fineness unit κεράτιον (24 κεράτια = 1 nomisma)[53]; the first and the last column indicate such equivalences assuming as the counting unit 1 (nomisma; left) and 6000 (right)[54]. Note the old names (albeit misspelled)[55] of the coins worth ½ and ⅓ of a nomisma.

κδ^{ov}	κεράτιν	κράτει	σν
ιβ^{ov}	μιλιαρίσιον	κράτει	φ
η^{ov}	γ κεράτια	κράτει	ψν
ς^{ov}	β μιλιαρίσια	κράτει	,α
δ^{ov}	γ μιλιαρίσια	κράτει	,αφ
γ^{ov}	τριμίσιν	κράτει	,β
γ^{ov} ιβ^{ov}	ε μιλιαρίσια	κράτει	,βφ
≍	σιμίσιν	κράτει	,γ
≍ ιβ^{ov}	ζ μιλιαρίσια	κράτει	,γφ
≍ ς^{ov}	η μιλιαρίσια	κράτει	,δ
≍ δ^{ov}	θ μιλιαρίσια	κράτει	,δφ
≍ γ^{ov}	ι μιλιαρίσια	κράτει	,ε
≍ γ^{ov} ιβ^{ov}	ια μιλιαρίσια	κράτει	,εφ
	τὸ ν^{o} ιβ μιλιαρίσια	κράτει	,ς

OVERVIEW OF THE MATHEMATICAL CONTENTS OF *ANONYMUS* L

I first provide information needed to understand what some problems in *Anonymus* L are about. This information consists in the basic equivalence rules among weights or currencies assumed as a matter of course in *Rechenbücher*. The rule for weights and the equivalence table of nominal values of currencies are as follows[56]:

Plut. 86.3 "resembl[ing]" Triclinius'.

[51] See Acerbi – Gioffreda, Manoscritti scientifici 16–24. A detailed analysis of the Bodleian manuscript is in A. Turyn, Dated Greek Manuscripts of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries in the Libraries of Great Britain (*DOS* 17). Washington DC 1980, 49–52 and pl. 28–31.

[52] See A. Barker, The Science of Harmonics in Classical Greece. Cambridge 2007, 12–18.

[53] See the following section for the complete equivalence table. Recall that the carat is not a currency (see again below).

[54] For the basic monetary unit (here, the nomisma) being divided into 6000 parts, see Tannery, Le calcul; Morrisson, La *logarikè* 440–441; Baillet, Le papyrus mathématique; and D. H. Fowler, The Mathematics of Plato's Academy. Oxford 1999, 235–236 (papyri). On this choice see also probs. 13–18 and commentary thereon; the counting unit ranging as far as 6000 is the noummion. As a matter of fact, what is here set out in tabular form is an abridgment (with the addition of the carats entries) of the list opening the *Palaia Logarikê* in Par. gr. 1670, f. 3r–v. Edition of the list in N. G. Svoronos, Recherches sur le cadastre byzantin et la fiscalité aux XIe et XIIe siècles: le cadastre de Thèbes. *BCH* 83 (1959) 1–145: 79; translation in tabular form in Hendy, Coinage 59, or Morrisson, La *logarikè* 422.

[55] But for the several spellings of σιμίσιον see *LBG, sub voce*.

[56] Cf. C. Morrisson, Byzantine Money: Its Production and Circulation, in: The Economic History of Byzantium. From the

pound	ounce	exagion	gram	carat	nomisma	miliaresion	(carat)	follis
1	12	72	288	1728	1	12	24	288
	1	6	24	144		1	2	24
		1	4	24			1	12
			1	6				

Information about other weight or currency units is provided in the commentary *ad loca*. The reader is also referred to the word index below, to E. Schilbach's books on Byzantine metrology[57], and to the indexes of edited *Rechenbücher*[58].

Anonymus L contains 48 problems. They can be categorized within two different typologies, on the basis either of their "bare" mathematical content or of their staging format. A non-exclusive mathematical typology is as follows[59].

- calculation of interest: 13–18;
- calculations with fractions, both unit and common fractions: 32–38;
- Diophantine-style problems in everyday-life guise: 1, 2 (telling the hour: an unknown number plus a part of itself yields a given number: no counterpart in Diophantus' *Arithmetica* since it involves one variable only; cf. *AP* XIV.6, 139–142); 7 (give-take problem: assigned exchange-fractions and equal, and assigned, final amount: Diophantus, *Ar*. I.21); 8, 10, 11 (give-take problems: assigned exchange-amount and assigned final ratios [one of them ratio of equality]: *Ar*. I.15; *AP* XIV.145–146); 26 (cup made of two metals: system of two equations in two unknowns: *Ar*. I.5; cf. *AP* XIV.13); 39, 43, 44 (pursuit: an unknown number plus a given number is equal to a suitable rescaling of the unknown number);
- iterative partitions: 40, 45 (apples, beggars);
- proportional partition of a given amount (always tripartition; bipartition in *Ar*. I.2; frequent in *AP* XIV): 4 (tank filled by three sources; cf. *AP* XIV.7); 5, 6 (estate partitioned among three people), 12 (generic purchase), 41 (purchase of a drink by three people);
- multiplication by several numbers: 3 (telling the hour);
- rule of three: 19–24 (values of alloy with variable fineness); 25 (conversion of units of measurement: weights and currencies); 27 and 28–31 (conversion of units of measurement; 31 gives a rule); 34–36 (change of denomination of fractions); 42 (bees eating honey); 46 (bow killing birds); 47, 48 (buying goods; entails conversion of units of measurement);
- onomatomancy: 9.

Seventh through the Fifteenth Century, ed. A. E. Laiou (*DOS* 39). Washington DC 2002, 891–966: 921 and 930, Hendy, Coinage 25. Recall that the weight of a nomisma is 1 exagion = 24 carats; this means that a standard gold nomisma is of 24 carats weight and of 24 carats fine. The carat was thus also used as the fineness unit (that is, a unit of value), but it was not a currency. The miliaresion and the follis were originally a silver and a copper coin, respectively; after Alexios I's reform, they became units of account not represented by a coin. The miliaresion loses even this function from the mid 12th-century on, and in fact it is never mentioned in our *Rechenbücher*. A clear exposition of Byzantine monetary terminology is in Hendy, Coinage 27–38. See also C. Morrisson, Les traités d'arithmétique byzantins des XIIIe–XVe siècles, source d'histoire monétaire. *Revue Numismatique* 167 (2011) 171–183, for a short discussion of the currencies mentioned in the *Rechenbücher* edited so far.

[57] E. Schilbach, Byzantinische Metrologie (*HdA* 12.4). Munich 1970, and Schilbach, Byzantinische metrologische Quellen, for the sources.

[58] See Tannery, Notice 188–198 (Rhabdas' explanations in his *Letter to Tzavoukhes* are invaluable); Vogel, Ein byzantinisches Rechenbuch 139–145 and 161–163; Deschauer, Die große Arithmetik 359–413.

[59] Compare the analogous typologies in Vogel, Ein byzantinisches Rechenbuch 147–148; Hunger – Vogel, Ein byzantinisches Rechenbuch 87–91; Chalkou, The Mathematical Content 28–56; Deschauer, Die große Arithmetik 355–357.

A non-exclusive typology based on the staging format and everyday-life goals is instead as follows (details on the actual staging in the previous typology):

- alloy currencies: 19–24;
- alloying: 26;
- conversion of units of measurement: 19–31, 47, 48;
- interest rates: 13–18;
- give-take: 7, 8, 10, 11;
- handling fractions: 32–38;
- onomatomancy: 9;
- lively staging: 1–6, 40–42, 45, 46;
- pursuit: 39, 43, 44;
- sellying-buying: 12, 41, 47, 48;
- telling the hour: 1–3.

The following table sets out the structure of *Anonymus* L according to the previous typology; the second and the fourth row contain the concordance with *Anonymus* P:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
62	62	/	64	71	/	72	/	/	73	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	74	/	75	76	77	78
25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48
79	/	/	/	/	/	80	81	/	82	/	83	/	/	24	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	/	/

RESOLUTIONS OF COMMON FRACTIONS INTO UNIT FRACTIONS CONTAINED IN *ANONYMUS* L

Dealing with common fractions by resolving them into unit fractions was a current technique in the Greek and Byzantine world[60], and more generally within the Mediterranean basin. Systematic lists of resolutions into unit fractions are found in the manuscript tradition and in papyri[61]. A complete table is in the Papyrus Achmin: denominations from 2 to 20, including $^2/_3$; the numerators are units, tens, hundreds, thousands, and 1 myriad as far as the denomination 10, if instead the denominations fall in the range $11 \leq n \leq 20$, the numerators go from 1 to n; only one resolution is set out[62]. The list of resolutions of common fractions in *Anonymus* 1183, Par. gr. 1670, ff. 44v–46v, is transcribed and translated in the Appendix[63]. Simpler resolution tables are attached to Rhabdas' *Letter to Khatzykes*[64];

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[60] On this issue, see W. R. Knorr, Techniques of Fractions in Ancient Egypt and Greece. *Historia Mathematica* 9 (1982) 133–171; B. Vitrac, Logistique et fractions dans le monde hellénistique, in: Histoire de fractions, fractions d'histoire, ed. P. Benoit – K. Chemla – J. Ritter. Basel 1992, 149–172; Acerbi – Vitrac, Héron d'Alexandrie 81–84 (Hero's *Metrica*).

[61] List of this kind of tables in papyri in Fowler, The Mathematics 269–274; edition of one of them in F. E. Robbins, A Greco-Egyptian Mathematical Papyrus. *Classical Philology* 18 (1923) 328–333.

[62] Similar tables, going as far as the ninths, are found in Vat. gr. 1058, ff. 36v–38r (early 15th century).

[63] Parts expressed as sums of unit fractions are systematically used in the *Palaia Logarikê* and *Nea Logarikê* in the same manuscript.

[64] The tables are edited in Tannery, Notice 114–117; in the manuscripts, see Vat. gr. 1411, f. 13r, Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, gr. Z. 323 (coll. 639), ff. 35v–36r (same copyist as Vat. gr. 1058). Rhabdas' *Letter to Khatzykes* is not a *Rechenbuch* but a computational primer; it contains the following (references are to the pages of Tannery, Notice): denominations of numbers and how to represent integers from 1 to 9,999 on the fingers of the hands (86.1–96.12); abstract descriptions of the five elementary arithmetic operations on integers, extraction of an approximate square root included (96.13–102.9); denominations of numerical orders and their multiplication (102.10–110.5). A structured set of tables of addition, subtraction,

they were almost certainly contained in the anonymous treatise that Rhabdas plagiarized[65]. The following tables set out all resolutions of common fractions into unit fractions used in *Anonymus* L.

Fifths

numerator	4
resolution	$\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{5}\ \frac{1}{10}$
problem	23, 24, 28

Sevenths

numerator	3	4	5	6
resolution	$\frac{1}{6}\ \frac{1}{7}\ \frac{1}{14}\ \frac{1}{21}$	$\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{14}$	$\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{7}\ \frac{1}{14}$	$\frac{2}{3}\ \frac{1}{7}\ \frac{1}{21}$
problem	1, 19, 36, 42	19, 34	47	36

Eights

numerator	5	7
resolution	$\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{8}$	$\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{4}\ \frac{1}{8}$
problem	45	45

Ninths

numerator	2
resolution	$\frac{1}{6}\ \frac{1}{18}$
problem	2

Tenths

numerator	7
resolution	$\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{5}$
problem	30

multiplication, and partition is found at the end of the treatise and was apparently meant to complete it; it also contains an introduction to the partition table (114.1–17).

[65] See F. Acerbi – D. Manolova – I. Pérez Martín, The Source of Nicholas Rhabdas' *Letter to Khatzykes*: An Anonymous Arithmetical Treatise in Vat. Barb. gr. 4. *JÖB* 68 (2018) 1–37.

Elevenths

numerator	2	2	3	4	5	6	7
resolution	$\frac{1}{12}\ \frac{1}{22}\ \frac{1}{33}\ \frac{1}{44}$	$\frac{1}{9}\ \frac{1}{18}\ \frac{1}{99}\ \frac{1}{198}$	$\frac{1}{4}\ \frac{1}{44}$	$\frac{1}{3}\ \frac{1}{33}$	$\frac{1}{3}\ \frac{1}{11}\ \frac{1}{33}$	$\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{22}$	$\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{11}\ \frac{1}{22}$
problem	2, 4, 38, 44	2	4, 26	26, 38	12, 38	4	26

8	8	8	9
$\frac{1}{3}\ \frac{1}{4}\ \frac{1}{11}\ \frac{1}{33}\ \frac{1}{44}$	$\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{6}\ \frac{1}{22}\ \frac{1}{66}$	$\frac{2}{3}\ \frac{1}{22}\ \frac{1}{66}$	$\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{4}\ \frac{1}{22}\ \frac{1}{44}$
12, 26, 38	26	38	2, 12

Twelfths

numerator	5
resolution	$\frac{1}{4}\ \frac{1}{6}$
problem	5

Thirteenths

numerator	4	8
resolution	$\frac{1}{6}\ \frac{1}{13}\ \frac{1}{26}\ \frac{1}{39}$	$\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{13}\ \frac{1}{26}$
problem	46	35

Other fractions

fraction	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{3}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{3}{17}$	$\frac{9}{19}$	$\frac{11}{24}$	$\frac{12}{25}$	$\frac{2}{33}$	$\frac{13}{33}$
resolution	$\frac{1}{4}\ \frac{1}{6}\ \frac{1}{12}$	$\frac{1}{5}\ \frac{1}{12}\ \frac{1}{20}$	$\frac{1}{5}\ \frac{1}{20}$	$\frac{1}{12}\ \frac{1}{17}\ \frac{1}{51}\ \frac{1}{68}$	$\frac{1}{4}\ \frac{1}{6}\ \frac{1}{38}\ \frac{1}{57}\ \frac{1}{76}$	$\frac{1}{3}\ \frac{1}{8}$	$\frac{1}{5}\ \frac{1}{6}\ \frac{1}{10}\ \frac{1}{75}$	$\frac{1}{22}\ \frac{1}{66}$	$\frac{1}{3}\ \frac{1}{22}\ \frac{1}{66}$
problem	32	6	6	32	32	25	29	26	38

fraction	$\frac{9}{47}$	$\frac{42}{47}$	$\frac{43}{47}$	$\frac{47}{60}$	$\frac{24}{125}$	$\frac{127}{250}$	$\frac{2}{3}-\frac{1}{11}-\frac{1}{17}=\frac{96\frac{2}{3}}{187}$
resolution	$\frac{1}{6}\ \frac{1}{47}\ \frac{1}{282}$	$\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{4}\ \frac{1}{8}\ \frac{1}{94}\ \frac{1}{188}\ \frac{1}{376}$	$\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{3}\ \frac{1}{15}\ \frac{1}{94}\ \frac{1}{235}$	$\frac{1}{3}\ \frac{1}{4}\ \frac{1}{5}$	$\frac{1}{6}\ \frac{1}{75}\ \frac{1}{125}\ \frac{1}{250}$	$\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{125}$	$\frac{1}{5}\ \frac{1}{6}\ \frac{1}{11}\ \frac{1}{170}\ \frac{1}{187}$
problem	5	5	5	5	29	29	37

fraction	$\frac{210}{323}=\frac{3}{17}+\frac{9}{19}$	
resolution	$\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{10}\ \frac{1}{20}\ \frac{1}{6460}$	$\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{17}\ \frac{1}{38}\ \frac{1}{51}\ \frac{1}{57}\ \frac{1}{68}\ \frac{1}{76}$
problem	32	32, 33

THE SET OF PROBLEMS IN VAT. GR. 191, F. 261R: *ANONYMUS* J

Vat. gr. 191 is a late 13th-century manuscript in oriental paper; it is written by sixteen copyists, named hands A to Q in recent scholarship, and it comprises several thematic and codicological blocks[66]. Vat. gr. 191 is commonly (and wrongly) held to be a paradigmatic instance of a codex assembled by cooperating copyists coordinated by a supervisor[67]. Within the block made of the astrological collection at ff. 229–286 (elsewhere penned by hand K alone), a page written by hand J is found: it is f.

[66] See Turyn, Codices graeci Vaticani 89–97; D. Bianconi, Libri e mani. Sulla formazione di alcune miscellanee dell'età dei Paleologi. *Segno e Testo* 2 (2004) 311–363: 324–330 and fig. 1; Acerbi – Gioffreda, Manoscritti scientifici 41–44.

[67] For arguments against the standard view, see F. Acerbi, Byzantine Recensions of Greek Mathematical and Astronomical Texts: A Survey. *Estudios bizantinos* 4 (2016) 133–213: 192–195, and Acerbi – Gioffreda, Manoscritti scientifici 30–34.

261r, where the text is deleted by two long, crossed pen strokes. The beginning of the text at f. 261v exactly fits the end of that at f. 260v; the text at f. 261r is a portion of a *Rechenbuch* and has nothing to do with the text surrounding it, nor with anything elsewhere in Vat. gr. 191: thus, the presence of hand J here, which however copied other parts of the manuscript, is just a matter of recycling paper. This micro-*Rechenbuch* contains six problems; the last item ends exactly at the end of the page and the verso of the folio was originally blank: the collection might well be complete. The typology is as follows:

- Give-take problems: a, b, d.
- Casting lots by dice: c.
- The riddle of the ring: e.
- Sum of an arithmetic progression: f.

Here is the concordance table with *Anonymi* L, P, 1306, and V:

J	a	b	c	d	e	f
L	8, 10, 11	8, 10, 11	/	8, 10, 11	/	/
P	/	/	100	/	/	111–112
1306	III.1[68]	/	/	/	/	/
V	/	/	/	/	38	/

The six problems in *Anonymus* J do not use unit fractions and display, as for particles and adverbs, a slightly different lexicon from that of *Anonymus* L: reading the texts and going through the word index in the next section will make this characteristic apparent. With respect to *Anonymus* L, noteworthy features are the more frequent use of connexive λοιπόν and the exclusive presence of the adverbs αὖθις and πάντοτε, the compartmented lexicon for subtraction (κουφίζω L vs. ὑφαιρέω J, the latter with geminated *lambda* in aorist tense forms, and the term ὑφειλμός), the use of τόσα for the unknown (sounding *so* similar to Italian *cosa* and never used in other *Rechenbücher*, but it may be sheer coincidence)[69], and the participle ἐκφωνούμενον for an assigned number. The style of *Anonymus* J is more discursive, less rigidly algorithmic, eager to spell out general rules.

THEMATIC WORD INDEX OF *ANONYMI* L AND J

This word index is also intended as a glossary to the translation; I have tried to follow the principle of translating different terms in Greek with different terms in English, even if the rich preverbal system ancient Greek avails of sometimes makes it impossible to establish a one-to-one correspondence—and even if the outcome is at times bizarre[70]. It might have sounded bizarre to such ancient Greek ears as Hero's, too, for the *Metrica* displays a remarkable lexical uniformity in this respect[71]. The wide, and sometimes slightly bewildering, range of prepositions used to mark the second operand of an operation coincides with that of *Anonymus* P[72]. Forms in restored clauses are marked by an asterisk. The problems in *Anonymus* L are numbered from 1 to 48, those in *Anonymus* J from a to f.

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[68] This is item 1 of the section of *Anonymus* 1306 I have called above μέθοδοι καθολικαί.

[69] I thank J. Høyrup for a discussion on this point. The term *cosa* for the unknown does not seem to be used before Jacopo da Firenze's *Tractatus algorismi* of 1307. Note, however the use of τόσσα in *AP* XIV.144.

[70] There are also some English neologisms; see the following section.

[71] See Acerbi – Vitrac, Héron d'Alexandrie 74–81.

[72] See Vogel, Ein byzantinisches Rechenbuch 141–143, and compare with the discussion mentioned in the previous footnote.

Non-lexical items

Numerical entities. ἀριθμός: number (3–5, 44, b–e); δεκάς: decad (e); ἑπτάς: heptad (c); μαλλίον: mallion (38); μέρος: part (4–6, 44, 46); μονάς: unit (13–17, 32, 38); οὐδέν: nothing (45); πισθομόριον: further part (38); στερεός: solid ‹number› (38); φωνή; denomination (5, 32, 34, 38, 44); χιλιάς: thousand (e); ψηφίον: counting-unit (28, 31); ψῆφος: part (38).

Unknown quantities. ὅσος: what, how much, *as much* (6, 36, 39, *c*, *e*); ποσόν: quantity (31); πόσος: what, how much (4, 4, 7, 8, 10–12, 16, 21–23, 25, 27–29, 34–36, 39, 40, 42–44, 46, 48, f); τοιοῦτος: such (36); τόσος: such-and-such, such (b, f); τοσοῦτος: such (6).

Operations

Addition. ἐπαναλαμβάνω ἐπί: to take up in addition on (39); μίγνυμι: to merge (38); ὁμαδεύω: to collect (38); ὁμάς: collection (3); ποιέω followed by a conjunction: to do (12, 37); προστίθημι εἰς, ἐπί: to add to (1, 2, 7, a, a*, c, e, f); τίθημι εἰς: to set to (26).

Subtraction. αἴρω ἐκ: to raise from (d, e); ἀφαιρέω: to remove (f); ἐκβάλλω: to take away from (a); ἐπαίρω: to raise (40); κουφίζω ἐκ, εἰς: to subtract from, to (7, 19, 26, 37, 43, a*); ὑφαιρέω ἐκ, ἀπό: to remove from (37, c, e); ὑφειλμός: removal (c).

Multiplication. ἀναλαμβάνω εἰς: to take up on (9); ἐπαναβαίνω εἰς: to mount on (5); ἐπιβάλλω: to put upon (31); ποιέω ἐπί, εἰς: to do by, into (1, 2, 4, 10, 12, 13, 19, 20, 25, 26, 28–30, 33, 33, 36, 42–44, 46)[73]; πολλαπλασιάζω ἐπί, εἰς: to multiply by, into (14, 15, 17, 18, b, f); πολλαπλασιασμός: multiplication (31, b); πολυπλασιάζω ἐπί: to multiply by (33).

Multiples. ἅπαξ: once (19, 20); δεκαπλασιάζω: to decuplicate (c, e); δεκαπλασιασμός: decuplication (c); δεκαπλόω: to decuplicate (3); διπλάζω: to double (c, e); διπλάσιος: the double (d); διπλός: the double (b); διπλόος: twofold (8); διπλόω: to double (3, 25, 45); δωδεκαπλασιάζω: to dodecuplicate (d); εἰκοσαπλόω: to twentuplicate (32); ἐνναπλασιάζω: to ennuplicate (c); ἐνναπλασιασμός: ennuplication (c); ἑξαπλόω: to sextuplicate (40); πενταπλασιάζω: to quintuplicate (c, d, e); πενταπλόω: to quintuplicate (c, d, e); τετραπλόος: fourfold (11); τετραπλόω: to quadruplicate (41); τριπλασιασμός: triplication (c); τριπλόος: threefold (10); τριπλόω: to triplicate (3, 41, c).

Submultiples. δίμοιρον: two-thirds (37); ἥμισυ(ν), ἥμισο: a half (12, 12, a); ποιέω + genitive: to do of (5, 16, 44, 45).

Division. ἀναλύω εἰς: to resolve out into (3, 24, 28, 31); ἀπολύω: to resolve off (4, 5); ἐπιλύω: to resolve (34); λύσις: resolution (38); λύω εἰς: to resolve into (2, 3, 13–15, 17, 18, 21, 25, 29, 34–36, 38, 46–48); μερίζω εἰς: to divide into (31, 37, b); ποιέω εἰς: to do into (25, 33); συγκρίνω πρός: to compare to (32).

Result. ἀπομένω: to remain (e); γίνομαι: to yield (1–2, 4–7, 9, 12–26, 28–30, 32–48, a, c, e); (κατα)λείπω: to leave (out) (37, c, c); καταλιμπάνω: to leave out (c, d, e); λοιπός: as a remainder (7, 19, 20, 26, 40, 43, 45); μένω: to remain (37, 40, 45); ὅλος: whole (3, 26, 46, c, e); ὁμοῦ: together (1, 2, 4, 5, 12, 20, 25, 26, 28–30, 32, 33, 38, 40, 41, 44–46, c, f); περιττεύω ἀπό: to remain over from (c); ποιέω: to make (3, 13–17, 25, 26, 32, 34–36); (συν)ἀθροίζω: to put together (31, 38); συνάγω: to gather (2, 3, 5, 12, 26, 31, 32, 38); ὑπολείπω: to leave over (45); ὑπόλοιπος: left over (45).

Proportionality. ἀναλόγως: in proportion (12, 41).

Factoring out. γυρεύω: circumvent (e).

Alloys. ἀργυρός: silver (25, 26); κεράτιον: carat (5, 20–29, 47, 48); χρυσίος ἀργυρός: white gold (21–23); χρυσίος: gold (26); χρυσὸς ἀργ(υρ)ός: white gold (19, 20, 22, 23).

Recall that in this kind of texts an operation is frequently identified by the sole preposition. Multiplication may even be formulated by mere juxtaposition of the factors, as in our probs. 1–4, 8–10, 18, 28, 30, 32–39, 39, 46, a, d, f. Probs. 19 and 20 have the phrase ποιοῦμεν ἅπαξ.

[73] Very frequently without a preposition, see the previous footnote.

Currencies. ἡμίσιον: semissis (12); καθαρός: pure (29); νόμισμα: nomisma (5–8, 10–20, 25–30, 47, 48); νουμμίον: noummion (12, 45); τραχίον: trachion (41); τριμίσιον, τρίμισυν: tremissis (12); χάραγμα νόμισμα: coined nomisma (19).

Interest. δανείζω ὑπὲρ/ὑπὸ τόκων: to lend at interest (13, 14, 15, 16); δίδωμι: to give (15–18); λαμβάνω: to take (13–16); τελεία ἑκατοστή: full per cent rate (18); τόκος: interest (13–18).

Lengths. μήλιον, μίλιον: mile (43); στάδιον: stadium (39).

Pursuit. εἰσέρχομαι: to come into (39); πήδημα: leap (44); προεξέρχομαι: to set out before (39); προκόπτω: to be in advance (44); προλαμβάνω: to be ahead (39, 43, 44); φθάνω: to overtake (39, 43, 44).

Selling and buying. ἀγοράζω: to buy (12); ἀκρόλιον: first-fruit (27); βαστάζω: to hold (7, 8, 10, 45, a, b, d, f); δίδωμι: to give (40, 41, 45, 47); δίδωμι: to give (7, 8, 10, 11, a, b, d) in give-take; ἐπαίρω: to raise (22); ἐπιδίδωμι: to give (b) in give-take; ἔρχομαι: to amount to (25, 27); λαμβάνω: to take (19, 20, 24, 40, 45, 48, f); λαμβάνω: to take (6, 8, 10, a, b) in give-take; μαργαρίτα: pearl (28); παρέχω: to provide (45); πιπράσκω: to sell (47); προτείνω: to offer (10) in give-take; τιμή: value (21, 24–26, 28–30); τίμημα: value (31).

Weights. γραμμόν: gram (25–27); ἐξάγιον: exagion (12, 19–24); κεράτιον: carat (19, 25, 26, 28–30); κερατισμός: carat-value (31); κοκκί(ν)ον: grain (28, 29, 30, 31), λίτρα: pound (25, 26, 41, 42); μόδιον: modius (47, 48); οὐγγία: ounce (25–30, 32, 42); οὐγγιασμός: ounce-value: (31); στατήρ: stater (28); στένω: to balance (28–30).

Lexical items

Connectors, particles, and adverbs. ἀλλά: but (8, 10, 11, f); ἀπό: each (7, 8, 10, 26); ἄρτι: now (45, c); αὖθις: anew (e); γάρ: in fact, for (25, 32, 46, d); εἶτα: afterwards (3, b, d); ἐπεί: since (42); ἐπειδή: because, since (1, 2, 2, 12, 16, 18, 19, 25, 40, 44); ἵνα: in order that (1, 2, 27); καί: also, too (3–6, 27, 28, 34, 38, 40, 41, 45, a, c); λοιπόν: finally (3, a, d, e); ὁμοίως: similarly (3, 5, 6, 40, 45, a, f); ὅτι: that, as, *because* (6, 8, 10, 11, 28, 38–40, 41–43, *44*, 46, *a*, c, f); οὖν: then (1–8, 10, 12, 16–28, 30, 32, 34–36, 38, 40, 42–46, 48, a, c–e); οὐχί: not at all (8, 10, 11); πάλιν: again (3, 5, 6, 37, 38, b–e); πρότερον: before (45); ὡς: so that, *so as to*, as (1, 3, 4, 8, 10, 19, *28*, *29*, *38*, 39, 40, 42, 45).

Generality. ἀεί: always (b, c); πάντοτε: always (b, e).

Initialization and winding up. ἀποτίθημι: to keep away (20); κρατέω: to keep (5, 8, 10, 11, 19, 38, 40, b, c, e); λαμβάνω: to take (7, 20); λέγω: to say (1, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 10–13, 16, 26, 39–43, 45, 467, a, d–f); ποιέω: to do (8, 9, 11, 26, 32, 34, 37, 39, 41, 42, 47, f).

Metadiscursive: ἀναμάρτητος: faultless (6); ἀνωτέρω: above (11); ἀπαιτέω: to ask (3); βραχύς: short (34); γιγνώσκω: to be aware of, to know (4, f); δῆλον: clear (38, 40); δηλονότι: clearly (3, 4, 27, 39, 42); διὰ τί: why (1, 2, 25, 42, 44, e); διὰ τό + noun or infinitive: because (of) (25, 42, 44, 48, a); διότι: because (e); διπλῶς: in two ways (27); εἶδον: to see, to know (26, 38, e); ἐκφωνέω: to utter (d); ἐπερωτάω: to ask (1, 3); ἐπιδείκνυμι: to show (34); ἐρωτάω: to ask (3, a, b, d); ἐρώτημα: question (a); ἐρώτησις: question (2–4, 10, 11, 14–17, 20–22, 24, 26, 29, 30, 48, f); εὑρίσκω: to find (3–5, 25, 31, 38); εὐχερῶς: easily (31, 38); ἰδού: there it is (7, 8, 10, 34, 40); ἰστέον: one has to know that (6, 28, 38); ἵστημι: to stand (6, 26); κανών: rule (3, 11, 25, 38); μέθοδος: procedure (1–5, 8, 10, 12–16, 19, 21–29, 32, 33, 34, 36, 38, 40, 42, 43, 45, 46, a, b, d, f); νοέω: to conceive (25, 27, c); οἷον: for instance (38); οὕτω: in this way, thus (9, 36); οὕτως: as follows, so (3, 8, 9, 26, 32, 34, 37–39, 41, 42, 44, 44, 45, 45, 47, d, f); συμβάλλω: to occur (31); συνίστημι: to conjure up (32); τουτέστι: that is (19, 28, 31, 38); ὑποδείξεως χάριν: for the sake of (3, 27, 28); φέρω: to convert (9, 31); φιλομαθέστατε: you fondest of learning (38); φιλοπόνως: industriously (38); ψῆφος: calculation (1, 5, 6, 13, 19, 25, 27, 28, 31).

Modalities and imperativals. εἰπεῖν: say (5, 26, 41, 42); χρή: one must (4–7, 40); ὠφείλω: ought to (6, 13–15, 38, 48, c–e).

Particulars. μέλλω + infinitive translated with conditional (46); προσέθηκε (perfect tense): turns out to add (1, 2); ὡς πρός strengthened preposition (28, 30).

Pronouns. ἀμφότερος: both of them (7, c); ἐκεῖνος: that, that guy (3, 31); –περ: indeed (3, 5, 27, 38, 43, 45); οὗτος: this (3, 4, 5, 12, 22, 23, 24, 25, 28, 29, 30, 32, 38, 40, 41, 45, 47, b, f); τι: something, what (3, 5, 13–20, 24, 26, 32, 37, 41, 45, 47); τις: someone, some (1, 3–5, 7, 8, 10, 12, 13, 16, 39, 43, 45, 47, a, b).

PRELIMINARIES TO THE EDITION

The Greek text is generally edited as it stands, the exceptions mainly concern numerals; the expected reading is given in the apparatus; forms that are aberrant in classical Greek are kept in the main text. I have rigidly conformed to the conventions of the manuscript as for the accent of enclitics and as for the presence of movable *ny* and *sigma*. Deletions are included in square brackets and are usually not translated; restitutions—which include some rubricated initial letters—are between angular brackets and are translated. If the text has a lacuna that cannot be supplied with reasonable certainty, I have refrained from doing this, while explaining the issue in the commentary associated with the problem. I have transcribed the Greek numeral letters representing cardinals as simple letters, those representing ordinals (that is, the denominations of fractions) by putting a desinency at the exponent of the numeral letter, thus: γ^{ov} "a third"; no apices are introduced. When the denomination is indicated in the text by doubling the numeral, I have written $\gamma\gamma^{\alpha}$ "thirds". The fractions ½ and ⅓ are noted ͵ and ͻ, respectively.

My edition normalizes the punctuation: in a technical treatise, there is really no point in adhering to Byzantine conventions in such matters. Within the procedure or the proof of a problem, consecutive steps of the algorithm are separated by an upper point; a hiatus is marked by a full stop; commas are only introduced when ambiguities might arise, and sometimes to separate the result of a multiplication from the two factors[74]. The title system of *Anonymus* L, always penned by the main hand, is usually located in the margins of the manuscript page; I shall not indicate this feature in my apparatus, but enclose such titles in brackets with the indication "marg.". *Anonymus* L also carefully marks the articulation enunciation-procedure-proof in each problem by means of rubricated, majuscule initials.

The reader will forgive me for the weirdness and artificiality of my translation. For uniformity's sake, I have coined such words as "to twentuplicate"; by contrast, some terms are simply transliterated. Integrations occurring only in the translation are enclosed by smaller angular brackets. The procedure and the proof are punctuated as follows: a colon preceds the statement of a result; a semicolon separates steps in which the output-input chain is not interrupted; a full stop indicates an algorithmic hiatus and precedes the final winding up, where the solution is identified as such.

In the commentary, I have provided specific mathematical information about each problem, as well as an algebraic transcription of the procedure adopted, under the headings *Equation* and *Algorithm*. The latter is intended to represent faithfully the algorithmic flow of the procedure: steps in which the output-input chain is not interrupted are linked by an arrow; the operands in a given step are written in the same order as that in which they are introduced in the text[75]; the sign | separates independent results within one and the same step (that is, a branching has occurred); a full stop indicates an algorithmic hiatus. This symbolic transcription tends to eliminate the result of each operation, but I was

[74] These are a part of the recommendations in Acerbi – Vitrac, Héron d'Alexandrie 98.

[75] If two consecutive steps formulate the same operation, the algorithm only reproduces the first.

unable to do better. Both *Equation* and *Algorithm* generalize, by introducing schematic letters, the paradigmatic example contained in the text. To see how my algorithmic transcription works, take for example prob. 1, where one reads "*Equation*. $x + (a/b)x = k$, with $(a,b,k) = (1,7,12)$. *Algorithm*. $(a,b,k) \rightarrow bk \rightarrow [1/(b + a)]bk = x$". This means that the intended equation is $x + (\frac{1}{7})x = 12$ and that the algorithm is $7 \times 12 = 84$; $[\frac{1}{(7 + 1)}] \times 84 = 10\ \frac{1}{2}$. Commentaries on a string of similar problems are usually provided on the occurrence of the first of them.

Each problem is numbered. After the number I have indicated within brackets problems in other *Rechenbücher* that appear to be (nearly) identical to the one at issue; the absence of any such problem is denoted by three asterisks ***. I refrained from listing sets of similar but not identical problems in other *Rechenbücher*, for they can be found immediately by means of the typologies mentioned in note 59 above. I have instead systematically provided references to such problems in the Papyrus Achmin and in *AP* XIV.

EDITION, TRANSLATION, AND COMMENTARY OF *ANONYMUS* L

Laur. Plut. 86.3, ff. 165r–169v

1

[= *Anonymus* P, no. 62 = *Anonymus* 1306, item 1 of ψηφιφορικὰ προβλήματα πάνυ ὀφέλημα]

|[165r] ψῆφος τῶν ὡρῶν.

τίς τινὰ ἐπερωτᾷ· ποία ἐστὶν ὥρα; λέγει· τῶν παρελθουσῶν ὡρῶν πρόσθες τὸ ζ^{ον}, ἵνα πληρωθῇ ἡ ἡμέρα, καὶ αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ ὥρα.

μέθοδος. Ἐπειδὴ ζ^{ον} προσέθηκε, ποίησον ζ ιβ· πδ· (διὰ τί δὲ ἐπὶ δώδεκα; ἐπειδὴ ἡ ἡμέρα ιβ ἐστὶν ὡρῶν·) τὸ η^{ον} τῶν πδ· (διὰ τί δὲ τὸ η^{ον}; ἐπειδὴ ζ^{ον} προσέθηκεν, ὅ ἐστιν η ζζ^{α}·) γίνεται οὖν τὸ η^{ον} τῶν πδ, ι ⏓. ἔστιν οὖν ι ⏓ ὥρα· πρόσθες τὸ ζ^{ον} τῶν ι ⏓· γίνεται α[76] ⏓· ὁμοῦ γίνονται ιβ.

Ἀπόδειξις. τὸ ζ^{ον} τῶν ι· γίνεται α ς^{ον} ζ^{ον} ιδ^{ον} κα^{ον}. καὶ τὸ ζ^{ον} τοῦ ⏓· γίνεται ιδ^{ον}[77]· ὁμοῦ α ⏓· καὶ ι ⏓· γίνονται ιβ. ἔστιν οὖν, ὡς εἴπομεν, ὥρα ι ⏓.

Calculation of hours.

Someone asks someone: what time is it? He says: add ⅐ of the past hours in order that the day be completed, and this is the time it is.

Procedure. Since he turns out to add ⅐, do 7 ‹by› 12: 84; (and why by twelve? Because a day is of 12 hours;) ⅛ of 84; (and why ⅛? Because he turns out to add ⅐, which ‹yielding› is ⅞:) then ⅛ of 84 yields 10 ½. Then it is 10 ½ o'clock; add ⅐ of 10 ½: it yields 1 ½: together they yield 12.

Proof. ⅐ of 10: it yields 1 ⅙ ⅐ 1/14 1/21. And ⅐ of ½: it yields 1/14: together 1 ½; and 10 ½: they yield 12. Then it is, as we have said, 10 ½ o'clock.

Problems 1–2. An unknown number plus a part of itself yields an assigned number. The setting of telling the hour is a classical one: cf. *AP* XIV.6, 139–142. In both problems, the procedure is followed by two computational checks that the found number actually solves the problem; the second is more detailed than the first. *Equation*. $x + (a/b)x = k$, with $(a,b,k) = (1,7,12)$. *Algorithm*. $(a,b,k) \to bk \to [1/(b + a)]bk = x$.

2

[= *Anonymus* P, no. 63 = *Anonymus* 1306, item 2 of ψηφιφορικὰ προβλήματα πάνυ ὀφέλημα]

Ἄλλη[78] ἐρώτησις.

Τῶν παρελθουσῶν ὡρῶν πρόσθες ς^{ον} ιη^{ον}, ἵνα πληρωθῇ ἡ ἡμέρα, καὶ αὕτη ἡ ὥρα ἐστίν.

Ἡ μέθοδος. ἐπειδὴ ς^{ον} ιη^{ον} προσέθηκε, ποίησον θ ιβ· γίνονται ρη· καὶ λῦσον εἰς ια· (διὰ τί δὲ εἰς ἕνδεκα; ἐπειδὴ ς^{ον} ιη^{ον} προσέθηκεν, ὅ ἐστιν ια θθ^{α}·) γίνονται οὖν τὸ ια^{ον} τῶν ρη, θ ⏓ δ^{ον} κβ^{ον} μδ^{ον}. εἰσὶν ὧραι θ ⏓ δ^{ον} κβ^{ον} μδ^{ον}· <πρόσθες τὸ ς^{ον} ιη^{ον} τῶν θ ⏓ δ^{ον} κβ^{ον} μδ^{ον}·> γίνονται β ιβ^{ον} κβ^{ον} λγ^{ον} μδ^{ον}· ὁμοῦ ιβ.

Ἡ ἀπόδειξις. Τὸ ς^{ον} τῶν θ· γίνεται α ⏓. καὶ τὸ ιη^{ον} τῶν θ· ⏓· ὁμοῦ γίνεται β. καὶ τὸ ς^{ον} ιη^{ον} τοῦ ⏓ δ^{ον} κβ^{ον} μδ^{ον}· γίνεται ιβ^{ον} κβ^{ον} λγ^{ον} μδ^{ον}. καὶ τὸ ς^{ον} ιη^{ον} τοῦ ⏓· γίνονται θ^{ον}. καὶ τὸ ς^{ον} ιη^{ον} τοῦ δ^{ον}· γίνεται ιη^{ον}. καὶ τὸ ς^{ον} ιη^{ον} τοῦ κβ^{ον}· γίνεται ρθ^{ον}. καὶ τὸ ς^{ον} ιη^{ον} τοῦ μδ^{ον}· γίνεται ρρη^{ον}· ὁμοῦ γίνονται θ^{ον} ιη^{ον} ρθ^{ον} ρρη^{ον}· γίνεται ιβ^{ον} κβ^{ον} λγ^{ον} μδ^{ον}. τὸ θ^{ον} τῶν ρθ· γίνονται ια. καὶ τὸ ιη^{ον} τῶν ρθ· γίνονται ε ⏓. τὸ

[76] ι L
[77] πδ^{ον} L
[78] Ἄλλο ἡ L

ρθ^{ον} τῶν ρθ· γίνεται α. τὸ ρρη^{ον} τῶν ρθ· γίνεται ⩟· ὁμοῦ ιη. ιη εἰς ρθ· ιβ^{ον} κβ^{ον} λγ^{ον} μδ^{ον}· ιβ, η δ^{ον}· κβ, δ ⩟· λγ, γ· μδ, β δ^{ον}· συνήξαμεν ιη. εἰσὶν οὖν ὧραι θ ⩟ δ^{ον} κβ^{ον} μδ^{ον}.

In another way the question.

Add $\frac{1}{6}$ $\frac{1}{18}$ of the past hours in order that the day be completed, and this is the time it is.

Procedure. Since he turns out to add $\frac{1}{6}$ $\frac{1}{18}$, do 9 ‹by› 12: they yield 108; and resolve into 11; (and why into eleven? Because he turns out to add $\frac{1}{6}$ $\frac{1}{18}$, which ‹yielding› is $\frac{11}{9}$:) then $\frac{1}{11}$ of 108 yield 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{22}$ $\frac{1}{44}$. Then it is 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{22}$ $\frac{1}{44}$ o'clock; <add $\frac{1}{6}$ $\frac{1}{18}$ of 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{22}$ $\frac{1}{44}$:> they yield 2 $\frac{1}{12}$ $\frac{1}{22}$ $\frac{1}{33}$ $\frac{1}{44}$: together 12.

Proof. $\frac{1}{6}$ of 9: it yields 1 $\frac{1}{2}$. And $\frac{1}{18}$ of 9: $\frac{1}{2}$: together it yields 2. And $\frac{1}{6}$ $\frac{1}{18}$ of $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{22}$ $\frac{1}{44}$: it yields $\frac{1}{12}$ $\frac{1}{22}$ $\frac{1}{33}$ $\frac{1}{44}$. And $\frac{1}{6}$ $\frac{1}{18}$ of $\frac{1}{2}$: they yield $\frac{1}{9}$. And $\frac{1}{6}$ $\frac{1}{18}$ of $\frac{1}{4}$: it yields $\frac{1}{18}$. And $\frac{1}{6}$ $\frac{1}{18}$ of $\frac{1}{22}$: it yields $\frac{1}{99}$. And $\frac{1}{6}$ $\frac{1}{18}$ of $\frac{1}{44}$: it yields $\frac{1}{198}$: together they yield $\frac{1}{9}$ $\frac{1}{18}$ $\frac{1}{99}$ $\frac{1}{198}$: it yields $\frac{1}{12}$ $\frac{1}{22}$ $\frac{1}{33}$ $\frac{1}{44}$. $\frac{1}{9}$ of 99: they yield 11. And $\frac{1}{18}$ of 99: they yield 5 $\frac{1}{2}$. $\frac{1}{99}$ of 99: it yields 1. $\frac{1}{198}$ of 99: it yields $\frac{1}{2}$: together 18. 18 into 99: $\frac{1}{12}$ $\frac{1}{22}$ $\frac{1}{33}$ $\frac{1}{44}$. 12, 8 $\frac{1}{4}$; 22, 4 $\frac{1}{2}$; 33, 3; 44, 2 $\frac{1}{4}$; we gathered 18. Then it is 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{22}$ $\frac{1}{44}$ o'clock.

Problem 2. The final check contains a further check, to the effect of proving that two sums of unit fractions are equal. Note the final list of parts of 99. A step was omitted by *saut du même au même*. *Equation*. $x + (a/b)x = k$, with $(a,b,k) = (2,9,12)$. *Algorithm*. $(a,b,k) \rightarrow bk \rightarrow bk/(b + a) = x$.

3

[*** = *Anonymus* 1306, item 3 of ψηφιφορικὰ προβλήματα πάνυ ὀφέλημα; cf. *Anonymus* J, no. c, e]

Ἄλλη ἐρώτησις.

Ἠρώτησε τίς τινὰ ποίᾳ ὥρᾳ ἐνεθυμήθη τί πρᾶξαι.

Ἡ μέθοδος. παρασκεύαζε τὸν ἐπερωτῶντα, ἥνπερ ὥραν ἐνεθυμήθη, διπλῶσαι αὐτὴν παρ' ἑαυτῷ, καὶ τὰ διπλωθέντα τριπλῶσαι, καὶ τὰ τριπλωθέντα πενταπλῶσαι, καὶ τὰ πενταπλωθέντα δεκαπλῶσαι, καὶ ἐρωτώμενος παρὰ σοῦ τὴν συναχθεῖσαν ὁμάδα εἰπεῖν καὶ τότε ταῦτα παρὰ σεαυτῷ λῦε εἰς τὰ τ, καὶ σκόπει ποίῳ ἀριθμῷ[79] ἀπηρτίσθη, καὶ εὑρήσεις τὴν ὥραν ἥνπερ ἐνεθυμήθη.

ὑποδείξεως χάριν, |[165v] Ἐνεθυμήθη τίς τρίτην ὥραν. ἀπαιτούμενος παρὰ σοῦ διπλῶσαι αὐτὴν ποιεῖ ς, εἶτα τριπλῶσαι ταῦτα ποιεῖ ιη, πάλιν ταῦτα πενταπλῶσαι ποιεῖ ρ, ὁμοίως ταῦτα δεκαπλῶσαι συνῆξε λοιπὸν τὰ ὅλα ϡ· ταῦτα ἐκφαίνοντος ἐκείνου ἀνάλυε σὺ εἰς τ οὕτως· τριακόσιαι τρία· ϡ· ὡς δηλονότι τρίτῃ ὥρᾳ ἐνεθυμήθη τί ποιῆσαι. τούτῳ οὖν τῷ κανόνι ἀκολουθῶν πάσας ὥρας εὑρήσεις.

Another question.

Someone asked someone at what hour he intended to do something.

Procedure. Contrive the asker, that hour he indeed intended, to double it within himself, and to triplicate what has been doubled, and to quintuplicate what has been triplicated, and to decuplicate what has been quintuplicated, and asked by you to say the gathered collection, then also resolve these into 300 within yourself, and look at what number was completed, and you will find exactly the hour that he indeed intended.

For the sake of example, someone intended the third hour. Asked by you to double it he makes 6, afterwards to triplicate these he makes 18, again to quintuplicate these he makes 90, similarly to decuplicate these he finally gathered the whole 900; once that guy makes these manifest, you yourself, resolve out into 300 as follows: three hundreds ‹by› three: 900; so that clearly he intended to do something in the third hour. Then by following this rule you shall find all hours.

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[79] ῥυθμῷ L

Problem 3. A simple riddle in which the sought number is multiplied by a series of factors, whose product is cut off as a whole by the solver; asking the hour is just a pretext: no connection with probs. **1** and **2**. *Equation*. $a{\times}b{\times}c{\times}d{\times}x = k$ (the sign × denotes taking multiples), with $(a,b,c,d) = (10,5,3,2)$ and $k = 900$. *Algorithm*. $(a,b,c,d,k) \rightarrow k/abcd = x$.

4

[= *Anonymus* P, no. 64; cf. *Anonymus* V, no. 27]

Ἄλλη ἐρώτησις.

Λέγει τις κιστέρνα ἐστὶν ἔχουσα κρουνοὺς γ· ὁ εἷς κρουνὸς πληροῖ αὐτὴν διὰ μιᾶς ὥρας, ὁ β^{ος} διὰ β, ὁ γ^{ος} διὰ τριῶν ὡρῶν. τῶν τριῶν οὖν ὁμοῦ ἀφεθέντων διὰ πόσης ὥρας πληροῦσιν αὐτήν;

Ἡ μέθοδος. Ἐπειδὴ διὰ μιᾶς καὶ β καὶ γ εἶπεν ὡρῶν γεμίζειν τοὺς κρουνοὺς τὴν κιστέρναν, χρὴ εὑρεῖν τὸν ἀριθμὸν τὸν ἀπολύοντα ⏖ γ^{ον}· ἔστιν οὖν ς· ποιοῦμεν οὖν ς α· ς· καὶ τὸ ⏖ τῶν ς· γ. καὶ τὸ γ^{ον} τῶν ς· β· ὁμοῦ γίνονται ια· ς εἰς ια· γίνεται ⏖ κβ^{ον}· ὡς δηλονότι τῶν τριῶν ὁμοῦ ἐπιρεόντων γεμοῦσι τὴν κιστέρναν διὰ ὡρῶν ⏖ κβ^{ον}. γνῶθι οὖν καὶ τοῦτο, ἕκαστος κρουνὸς πόσον μέρος πληροῖ τῆς κιστέρνης· ὁ γεμίζων διὰ μιᾶς ὥρας πληροῖ τῆς κιστέρνας μέρος ⏖ κβ^{ον}, ὁ δὲ διὰ β ὡρῶν πληρῶν αὐτὴν γεμίζει μέρος δ^{ον} μδ^{ον}, ὁ δὲ διὰ τριῶν γεμίζων αὐτὴν ἀπολυόμενος σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις δυσὶ κρουνοῖς πληροῖ τῆς κιστέρνης μέρος ιβ^{ον} κβ^{ον} λγ^{ον} μδ^{ον}.

Another question.

Someone says there is a tank having 3 springs; the one spring fills it in one hour, the 2nd in 2, the 3rd in three hours. Then the three being allowed to release together, in how many hours do they fill it?

Procedure. Since he said the springs fill the tank full in one and 2 and 3 hours, one must find the number that resolves ½ ⅓ off: then it is 6; then we do 6 ‹by› 1: 6; and ½ of 6: 3. And ⅓ of 6: 2: together they yield 11; 6 into 11: it yields ½ $\frac{1}{22}$; so that clearly, the three flowing together, they fill the tank full in ½ $\frac{1}{22}$ hours. Then be also aware of this, each spring what part fills of the tank: the one filling it full in one hour fills the ½ $\frac{1}{22}$ part of the tank, the one filling it in 2 hours fills the ¼ $\frac{1}{44}$ part full, the one filling it full in three, once resolved off with the other two springs, fills the $\frac{1}{12}$ $\frac{1}{22}$ $\frac{1}{33}$ $\frac{1}{44}$ part of the tank.

Problem 4. The classical problem of the tank filled by several sources; it amounts to a proportional partition of the unit; see the commentary on prob. **5**. The givens are the same as *AP* XIV.133, 135. *Equation*. $x/a + x/b + x/c = 1$, with $a{:}b{:}c = 1{:}2{:}3$. *Algorithm*. $(a,b,c) \rightarrow abc \rightarrow abc(1/a) = bc \mid (1/b)abc = ac \mid (1/c)abc = ab \rightarrow bc + ac + ab \rightarrow abc/(bc + ac + ab) = x$. The parts of the tank filled by the three sources are stated to be $x/a = bc/(bc + ac + ab)$, $x/b = ac/(bc + ac + ab)$, $x/c = ab/(bc + ac + ab)$, respectively.

5

[= *Anonymus* P, no. 71]

{marg. ψῆφος τῶν νομισμάτων}

Τίς τελευτῶν κατέλειπε τρεῖς υἱοὺς ἐάσας αὐτοῖς νομίσματα ρθ, καὶ τῷ μὲν πρώτῳ εἴασε γ^{ον} μέρος, τῷ δὲ β^{ῳ} δ^{ον}, τῷ δὲ γ^{ῳ} ε^{ον}. εἰπεῖν τί ἑκάστῳ αὐτῶν ἁρμόττει ἐκ τῶν ρθ νομισμάτων.

Ἡ μέθοδος. Χρὴ εὑρεῖν τὸν ἀριθμὸν τὸν ἀπολύοντα τὰς φωνάς, ὅς ἐστιν ὁ ξ. τὸ οὖν γ^{ον} δ^{ον} ε^{ον} τῶν ξ· γίνεται μζ, ἅπερ καὶ λύουσι τὴν ψῆφον. ποίησον οὖν τὸ γ^{ον} τῶν ξ· γίνεται κ· τὰ κ ἐπὶ τὰ ρθ· γίνεται ˏβρπ· τούτων τὸ μζ^{ον}· γίνεται νομίσματα μς κεράτια δὲ θ ς^{ον} μζ^{ον} σπβ^{ον}. ὁμοίως τὸ δ^{ον} τῶν ξ· γίνεται ιε· τὰ ιε ἐπὶ τὰ ρθ νομίσματα· γίνεται ˏαχλε· τούτων τὸ μζ^{ον}· γίνεται νομίσματα λδ κεράτια ιη ⏖ δ^{ον} η^{ον} ρδ^{ον} ρπη^{ον} <τος^{ον}>. τὸ [ς^{ον} καὶ τὸ] ε^{ον} τῶν ξ· γίνεται ιβ· τὰ ιβ ἐπὶ τὰ ρθ νομίσματα· γίνεται ˏατη· τούτων τὸ μζ^{ον}· γίνεται νομίσματα κζ κεράτια ιθ ⏖ γ^{ον} ιε^{ον} ρδ^{ον} σλε^{ον}. ὁμοῦ συμήχθησαν νομίσματα <ρθ>.

Ἄλλως ἡ μέθοδος. κράτει γ καὶ δ καὶ ε· γίνεται ιβ· ποίει[80] τὸ ιβ^{ον} τῶν ρθ[81]· γίνεται θ ιβ^{ον}· τὰ θ ιβ^{ον} ἐπανάβα[82] εἰς τὰ τρία· γίνεται κζ δ^{ον}. <καὶ τὰ θ ιβ^{ον} ἐπανάβα εἰς δ· γίνεται λς γ^{ον}.> καὶ πάλιν τὰ θ ιβ^{ον} ἐπανάβα εἰς ε· γίνεται με δ^{ον} ς^{ον}[83]· ὁμοῦ συμήχθησαν νομίσματα ρθ.

Calculation of nomismata.

Someone dying left three sons bequeathing 109 nomismata to them, and he bequeathed a 3rd part to the first, a 4th to the 2nd, and a 5th to the 3rd. Say what is due to each of them of the 109 nomismata.

Procedure. One must find the number resolving the denominations off, which is 60. Then ⅓ ¼ ⅕ of 60: it yields 47, which indeed also solve the calculation. Then do ⅓ of 60: it yields 20; 20 by 109: it yields 2180; $\frac{1}{47}$ of these: it yields 46 nomismata and 9 ⅙ $\frac{1}{47}$ $\frac{1}{282}$ carats. Similarly ¼ of 60: it yields 15; 15 by the 109 nomismata: it yields 1635; $\frac{1}{47}$ of these: it yields 34 nomismata 18 ½ ¼ ⅛ $\frac{1}{94}$ $\frac{1}{188}$ <$\frac{1}{376}$> carats. ⅕ of 60: it yields 12; 12 by the 109 nomismata: it yields 1308; $\frac{1}{47}$ of these: it yields 27 nomismata 9 ½ ⅓ $\frac{1}{15}$ $\frac{1}{94}$ $\frac{1}{235}$ carats: together <109> nomismata were gathered.

In another way the procedure. Keep 3 and 4 and 5: it yields 12; do $\frac{1}{12}$ of 1<0>9: it yields 9 $\frac{1}{12}$; mount 9 $\frac{1}{12}$ on three: it yields 27 ¼. <And mount 9 $\frac{1}{12}$ on 4: it yields 36 ⅓.> And again mount 9 $\frac{1}{12}$ on 5: it yields 45 ¼ ⅙: together 109 nomismata were gathered.

Problems 5, 12, and 41. Problems of proportional partition. Similar problems in Papyrus Achmin, nos. 3, 4, 10, 11, 13, 17, 47–49. In prob. **5** there are two solutions, according to whether the proportional parts are given as parts or as integers, respectively. Ambiguities of this kind can arise in the Greek numerical notation, as the system of signs discriminating cardinal and ordinal numerical letters (if any system is used) is unstable and prone to copying mistakes. It is likely that the double solution was conceived exactly as a reaction to this ambiguity. Add to this that the wording of the partition is a paradigmatic example of a formulaic clause whose meaning is different from its literal reading: the assigned parts are not the fractions of a whole (they do not add to 1), but the terms of the ratios between the assigned portions of the whole. A mere check-clause is provided at the end of both solutions. In probs. **12** and **41**, only the solution for integers is provided. Recall that 1 nomisma = 24 carats: thus, in the final calculation of the unknown number in each subroutine of the first solution, a rescaling must take place to carats of the residual fractional part of a nomisma; such residual fractions are $\frac{18}{47}$, $\frac{37}{47}$, and $\frac{39}{47}$, respectively. A step was omitted by *saut du même au même*. Note the verb form ἐπανάβα. **Solution 1**. *Equation*. $1/x + 1/y + 1/z = k$ and $x{:}y{:}z = a{:}b{:}c$, with $(a,b,c,k) = (\frac{1}{3},\frac{1}{4},\frac{1}{5},109)$. *Algorithm*. $(a,b,c,k) \rightarrow abc \rightarrow (1/a + 1/b + 1/c)abc$. $(1/a)abc \rightarrow [(1/a)abc]k \rightarrow [(1/a + 1/b + 1/c)abc][(1/a)abc]k = x \mid (1/a)abc \rightarrow [(1/b)abc]k \rightarrow [(1/a + 1/b + 1/c)abc][(1/b)abc]k = y \mid (1/c)abc \rightarrow [(1/c)abc]k \rightarrow [(1/a + 1/b + 1/c)abc][(1/c)abc]k = z$. **Solution 2**. *Equation*. $x + y + z = k$ and $x{:}y{:}z = a{:}b{:}c$, with $(a,b,c,k) = (3,4,5,109)$. *Algorithm*. $(a,b,c,k) \rightarrow a + b + c \rightarrow [1/(a + b + c)]k \rightarrow [1/(a + b + c)]ka = x \mid [1/(a + b + c)]kb = y \mid [1/(a + b + c)]kc = z$.

6

[***]

{marg. ἄλλως}

Ἰστέον ἐπὶ τῆς διανομῆς τῶν ρθ νομισμάτων ὅτι ὀφείλει τὸ γ^{ον} ὑπερέχειν τοῦ μὲν δ^{ου} ιβ^{ῳ} τοῦ δὲ ε^{ου} ιβ^{ῳ} κ^{ῷ}. ὁμοίως καὶ τὸ δ^{ον} ὀφείλει ὑπερέχειν τοῦ ε^{ου} κ^{ῷ}. ὅσον οὖν μέρος |[166r] γίνεται τὸ δ^{ον} τοῦ γ^{ου} τοσοῦτον μέρος καὶ τὰ γ^{ον} τῶν δ^{ων}, καὶ πάλιν ὅσον μέρος γίνεται τὸ ε^{ον} τοῦ δ^{ου} τοσοῦτον γίνεται μέρος καὶ τὰ δ^{ον} τῶν ε^{ων}.[84] χρὴ οὖν τὸ μεῖζον μέρος (ἤγουν τὸ γ^{ον}) λαμβάνειν πέντε νομίσματα τὸ δὲ μέσον <(ἤγουν τὸ δ^{ον}) δ τὸ δὲ ἔλαττον> (ἤγουν τὸ ε^{ον}) γ. καὶ ἵσταται ὁ ψῆφος ἀναμάρτητος.

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[80] ποιεῖ L
[81] ιθ L
[82] sic L
[83] καὶ L
[84] marg. οἶμαι τί σφάλλει

In another way.

One has to know that, in the distribution of the 109 nomismata, ⅓ ought to exceed ¼ by $\frac{1}{12}$ and ⅕ by $\frac{1}{12}$ $\frac{1}{20}$. Similarly ¼ ought also to exceed ⅕ by $\frac{1}{20}$. Then, what part yields ¼ of ⅓, such a part also yields ⅓ of ¼, and again what part yields ⅕ of ¼, such a part also yields ¼ of ⅕. Then the greater part (namely, ⅓) must take five nomismata, the middle <(namely, ¼) 4, and the lesser> (namely, ⅕) 3. And the calculation stands faultless.

Problem 6. Remarks on the fractions involved in the previous problem, first solution. Nothing is wrong, contrary to what the marginal annotation "I think something has gone wrong" asserts. A step was omitted by *saut du même au même*.

7

[= *Anonymus* P, no. 72]

Λέγει τίς ἄλλῳ· λάβε τὸ ζ^{ον} ὧν βαστάζω νομισμάτων καὶ δὸς τὸ δ^{ον} ὧν βαστάζεις, καὶ ἔχομεν ἀπὸ λς νομίσματα. εἰπεῖν χρὴ ἀπὸ πόσων ἐβάσταζον νομισμάτων.

Ἐπειδὴ ζ καὶ δ εἶπον[85], κούφισον ἐκ τῶν ἀμφοτέρων ἀφ' ἑνός· λοιπὰ ς καὶ γ· τὸ ς^{ον} τῶν λς· γίνεται ς· κούφισον ἐκ τῶν λς ς καὶ πρόσθες εἰς τὰ λς τὰ ς· γίνεται λ, μβ· τὸ γ^{ον} τῶν μβ· γίνεται ιδ· κούφισον ἐκ τῶν μβ τὰ ιδ καὶ πρόσθες εἰς τὰ λ· ἰδοὺ μδ καὶ κη. εἶχεν οὖν ὁ εἷς νομίσματα μδ καὶ ὁ ἄλλος νομίσματα κη.

Ἡ ἀπόδειξις τῆς ψήφου· τὸ ζ^{ον} τῶν κη· δ· δὸς τὰ δ τῷ ἔχοντι τὰ μδ, καὶ ἔχει ὁ εἷς μη καὶ ὁ ἄλλος κδ. δὸς τὸ δ^{ον} τῶν μη (τὰ ιβ) τῷ ἔχοντι τὰ κδ, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἀμφότεροι ἔχουσιν ἀπὸ λς νομισμάτων.

Someone says to another one: take $\frac{1}{7}$ of the nomismata I hold and give ¼ of those you hold, and we have 36 nomismata each. One must say how many nomismata they held each.

Since they said 7 and 4, subtract one each from both of them: 6 and 3 as remainders; ⅙ of 36: it yields 6; subtract 6 from 36 and add 6 to 36: it yields 30, 42; ⅓ of 42: it yields 14; subtract 14 from 42 and add ‹them› to 30: there it is, 44 and 28. Then the one had 44 nomismata and the other 28 nomismata.

Proof of the calculation: $\frac{1}{7}$ of 28: 4; give 4 to the one having 44, and the one has 48 and the other 24. Give ¼ of 48 (namely, 12) to the one having 24, and there it is, both of them have 36 nomismata each.

Problem 7. A give-take problem with assigned exchange-fractions and equal, and assigned, final amount. One must intend that the second act of the give-take transaction takes place after the first is performed. A final check is provided. Note the distributive ἀπό. *Equation*. $x + y/a - (x + y/a)/b = k$, $y - y/a + (x + y/a)/b = k$, with $(a,b,k) = (7,4,36)$. *Algorithm*. $(a,b,k) \rightarrow (a-1,b-1) \rightarrow [1/(a-1)]k \rightarrow k \pm [1/(a-1)]k = \{[1/(a-1)](ak - 2k), [1/(a-1)]k\} \rightarrow [1/(b-1)][1/(a-1)]k \rightarrow k \pm [1/(a-1)]k \mp [1/(b-1)][1/(a-1)]k = (y,x)$.

8

[***; cf. *Anonymus* L, no. a, b, d]

Ἄλλος τίς λέγει τινί· πάρεσχέ μοι δ νομίσματα ἐξ ὧν βαστάζεις, καὶ ἔχω διπλᾶ σου. λέγει ὁ ἄλλος· οὐχί, ἀλλὰ δός μοι δ νομίσματα αὐτὸς ἐξ ὧν βαστάζεις, καὶ ἔχομεν ἴσως. πόσα νομίσματα ἐβάσταζεν ὁ εἷς καὶ πόσα ὁ ἄλλος;

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[85] expect. εἶπε

Ἡ μέθοδος. Ἐπειδὴ διπλᾶ εἶπε, κράτησον ε καὶ ζ. καὶ ὅτι εἶπε δ νομίσματα δοῦναι ἀλλήλοις, ποίησον οὕτως. δ ε· κ· καὶ δ ζ· κη. ἐβάσταζεν οὖν ὁ εἷς νομίσματα κη καὶ ὁ ἄλλος κ.

Ἡ ἀπόδειξις. δὸς ἐκ τῶν κ νομισμάτων δ τῷ ἔχοντι τὰ κη, καὶ ἔχει ὁ εἷς νομίσματα λβ καὶ ὁ ἄλλος ις. ἰδοὺ διπλᾶ λάβει ἕκαστος τὰ ἑαυτοῦ κ καὶ κη. δώσει ὁ ἔχων τὰ κη νομίσματα δ τῷ ἔχοντι τὰ κ, καὶ ἔχουσιν οἱ δύο ἀπὸ κδ. ἰδοὺ ἴσα. ἐβάσταζεν, ὡς εἴπομεν, ὁ εἷς νομίσματα κ καὶ ὁ ἄλλος κη.

Someone says to someone: provide me with 4 nomismata from those you hold, and I have twofold as you. The other says: not at all, but give me 4 nomismata of those you yourself hold, and we have equally. How many nomismata did the one hold and how many did the other?

Procedure. Since he said twofold, keep 5 and 7. And as he said they gave 4 nomismata to one another, do as follows. 4 ‹by› 5: 20; and 4 ‹by› 7: 28. Then the one held 28 nomismata and the other 20.

Proof. From the 20 nomismata, give 4 to the one having 28, and the one has 32 nomismata and the other 16. There it is, each of them takes twofold the 20 and 28 of their own. The one having 28 nomismata will give 4 to the one having 20, and the two have 24 each: there it is, these are equal. The one, as we said, held 20 nomismata and the other 28.

Problems 8, 10, 11. Three give-take problems all solved in exactly the same way; prob. **11** does not work out a (impossible) solution because it applies the underlying insight when it could not be applied (a textual problem suggests that this drawback was perceived by some redactor or reviser). The exchange-amount and the final ratios are given; one of them is always the ratio of equality. Long final check. The statement "each of them takes twofold the 20 and 28 of their own" must not be taken at face value; it also occurs in the other give-take problems and must be a formulaic clause. Cf. *AP* XIV.145, 146. *Equation*. $(x + a)/(y - a) = k$ and $y + a = x - a$, with $(a,k) = (4,2), (4,3)$ in probs. **8** and **10**, respectively. Underlying insight: take the least numbers (r,s) such that $r = s + 2$ and $(r + 1)/(s - 1) = k$, $k = 2, 3$ (probs. **8** and **10**, respectively); then rescale 1 to a and (r,s) accordingly: so that $(r,s,k) = (7,5,2), (5,3,3)$ in probs. **8** and **10**, respectively. The trick works with integer numbers only if $k = 2, 3$; it cannot work in the case of prob. **11** ($k = 4$), which in fact does not present any solution. *Algorithm*. $(a,k) \rightarrow (r,s)_k \rightarrow as = y \mid ar = y$.

9

[= *Anonymus* P, no. 73]

Διὰ ζ καὶ θ συστήσωμεν ὄνομα. Κόνων ἔχει ψήφους ϡϱ. ποίει οὕτως. ζ ϡ· ͵ςτ· θ ζ· ξγ· τὸ ξγ^{ον} τῶν ͵ςτ· γίνεται ρ· τὰ ρ ἀνάλαβε εἰς θ· θ ρ· ϡ. οὕτω φέρει τὸ ὄνομα Κόνων διὰ ζ καὶ θ.

We shall build a name by means of 7 and 9. "Conon" has digits 990. Do as follows. 7 ‹by› 900: 6300; 9 ‹by› 7: 63; $\frac{1}{63}$ of 6300: it yields 100; take up 100 on 9: 9 ‹by› 100: 900. In this way the name "Conon" converts by means of 7 and 9.

Problem 9. A problem of onomatomancy. The Greek word Κόνων has digits 990 because 20(κ) + 70(ο) + 50(ν) + 800(ω) +50(ν) = 990. The rest of the text is pointless as it stands (it amounts to multiplying and dividing 900 by 63), and 90 appears nowhere. Maybe we should correct one of the two θ into a ϙ. For Greek onomatomancy, possibly in question here because of the reference to 7 and 9, see P. Tannery, Notice sur des fragments d'onomatomancie arithmétique. *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale* 31 (1886) 231–260, repr. Id., Mémoires scientifiques IX. Toulouse – Paris 1929, 17–50, and O. Neugebauer – G. Saliba, On Greek Numerology. *Centaurus* 31 (1989) 189–206.

10

[***]

Ἄλλη ἐρώτησις.

Λέγει τίς τῷ ἄλλῳ· δός μοι ἐξ ὧν ἔχεις νομίσματα δ, καὶ ἔχω σου τριπλᾶ. ὁ ἄλλος· οὐχί, ἀλλὰ δός μοι δ, καὶ ἔχομεν ἴσως. ἀπὸ πόσων ἐβάσταζον;

Ἡ μέθοδος. Ἐπειδὴ τριπλᾶ εἶπε, κράτει γ καὶ ε. καὶ ὅτι τέσσαρα προέτεινε, ποίησον δ γ· ιβ· καὶ δ ε· κ. ἐβάσταζεν οὖν νομίσματα ιβ καὶ ὁ ἄλλος κ.

δὸς ἐκ τῶν ιβ δ τῷ ἔχοντι τὰ κ, καὶ ἔχει ὁ εἷς νομίσματα κδ καὶ ὁ ἄλλος η. ἰδοὺ τριπλᾶ λάβουσι[86] τὰ ἴδια ιβ καὶ κ. δώσει ὁ ἔχων τὰ κ νομίσματα δ τῷ ἔχοντι τὰ ιβ, καὶ ἔχουσιν οἱ δύο ἀπὸ ις. ἰδοὺ ἴσα. εἶχεν οὖν, ὡς εἴπομεν, ὁ εἷς ιβ καὶ ὁ ἄλλος κ.

Another question.

Someone says to another one: give me 4 nomismata from those you have, and I have threefold as you. The other: not at all, but give me 4, and we have equally. How many ‹nomismata› did they hold each?

Procedure. Since he said threefold, keep 3 and 5. And as he offered four, do 4 ‹by› 3: 12; and 4 ‹by› 5: 20. Then he held 12 nomismata and the other one 20.

From 12, give 4 to the one having 20, and the one has 24 nomismata and the other 8. There it is, they take threefold their own 12 and 20. The one having 20 nomismata will give 4 to the one having 12, and the two have 16 each. There it is, these are equal. Then the one, as we said, held 12 and the other 20.

11

[***]

{marg. ἄλλη ἐρώτησις}

Λέγει ὁ εἷς τῷ ἄλλῳ· δός μοι ἐξ ὧν ἔχεις νομίσματα δ, καὶ ἔχω τετραπλᾶ σου. ὁ ἄλλος· οὐχί, |[166v] ἀλλὰ δός μοι δ, καὶ ἔχομεν ἴσως. πόσα ἕκαστος εἶχεν; ὅτι τετραπλᾶ εἶπεν, κράτει δ γ καὶ β γ, καὶ ποίησον κατὰ τὸν ἀνωτέρω κανόνα.

Another question.

The one says to the other: give me 4 nomismata from those you have, and I have fourfold as you. The other: not at all, but give me 4, and we have equally. How much did each of them have? As he said fourfold, keep 4 3 and 3 2, and do according to the above rule.

12

[***]

<Ψ>ῆφος τῶν ἐξαγίων.

Λέγει τίς ἐξάγια ἠγόρασα νομίσματος καὶ ἡμισίου [καὶ] καὶ τριμισίου. [φόλλης γ.] πόσου τὸ νόμισμα, πόσου τὸ ἥμισο, πόσου τὸ τριμίσιον ἀναλόγως;

Ἡ μέθοδος. Ποίησον κδ καὶ ιβ καὶ η· γίνονται μδ. τὰ μδ λύουσι τὴν ψῆφον. ἐπειδὴ ρκ λεπτῶν ἠγοράσθησεν τὰ ἐξάγια, ποίησον κδ ἐπὶ ρκ· γίνεται ˏβωπ· τούτων τὸ μδ^{ον}· γίνονται ξε γ^{ον} ια^{ον} λγ^{ον}. καὶ ιβ ἐπὶ ρκ· γίνεται ˏαυμ· τούτων τὸ μδ^{ον}· γίνονται λβ γ^{ον} δ^{ον} ια^{ον} λγ^{ον} μδ^{ον}. καὶ η ἐπὶ ρκ· γίνεται ϡξ· τούτων τὸ μδ^{ον}· γίνονται κα ⩟ δ^{ον} κβ^{ον} μδ^{ον}· ὁμοῦ ρκ. ἔστιν οὖν τὸ νόμισμα νουμμίων ξε γ^{ον} ια^{ον}

[86] sic L

λγ^{ον}, καὶ τὸ ἥμισυ νουμμία λβ γ^{ον} <δ^{ον}> ια^{ον} λγ^{ον} μδ^{ον}, καὶ τρίμισυν νουμμία κα ⏑ δ^{ον} κβ^{ον} μδ^{ον}· ὁμοῦ συνήξαμεν νουμμία ρκ.

Calculation of exagia.

Someone says I bought exagia of a nomisma and semissis and tremissis. How much the nomisma, how much its half, how much the tremissis in proportion?

Procedure. Do 24 and 12 and 8: they yield 44. 44 solves the calculation. Since the exagia were bought at 120 parts, do 24 by 120: it yields 2880; $\frac{1}{44}$ of these: they yield 65 $\frac{1}{3}$ $\frac{1}{11}$ $\frac{1}{33}$. And 12 by 120: it yields 1440; $\frac{1}{44}$ of these: they yield 32 $\frac{1}{3}$ $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{11}$ $\frac{1}{33}$ $\frac{1}{44}$. And 8 by 120: it yields 960; $\frac{1}{44}$ of these: they yield 21 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{22}$ $\frac{1}{44}$: together 120. Then the nomisma is of 65 $\frac{1}{3}$ $\frac{1}{11}$ $\frac{1}{33}$ noummia, and its half 32 $\frac{1}{3}$ <$\frac{1}{4}$> $\frac{1}{11}$ $\frac{1}{33}$ $\frac{1}{44}$ noummia, and the tremissis 21 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{22}$ $\frac{1}{44}$ noummia: together we gathered 120 noummia.

Problem 12. See the commentary on prob. **5**. A problem of proportional partition, with mere check-clause at the end. It is not easy to find a reason for the presence of φόλλης γ "of 3 folles" in the enunciation, as it does not figure in the subsequent computations. Maybe, together with the previous καί to be expunged, it is a misplaced and misread gloss ς φόλλεις γ, where we have to suppose a further misreading of a sign for φόλλις to a sign for μιλιαρέσιον. As a matter of fact, the follis was $\frac{1}{288}$ of a nomisma: Hendy, Coinage 26, and page 13 above. For the copper coin νουμμίον "noummion", here apparently taken to be $\frac{1}{120}$ of an exagion, see Hendy, Coinage 28; for the noummion in the *Palaia Logarikê*, see Svoronos, Recherches 80, and references therein. For the names of a half and a third of a nomisma, here affected by wild oscillations in spelling and the former largely disfigured, see the table edited on page 12. The problem is enunciated with fractional givens $(a,b,c) = (1,\frac{1}{2},\frac{1}{3})$, but the procedure is initialized by an input rescaled to (24,12,8). *Equation*. $x + y + z = k$ and $x{:}y{:}z = a{:}b{:}c$, with $(a,b,c,k) = (24,12,8,120)$. *Algorithm*. $(a,b,c,k) \rightarrow a + b + c\ .\ ak \rightarrow ak/(a + b + c) = x \mid bk \rightarrow bk/(a + b + c) = y \mid ck \rightarrow ck/(a + b + c) = z$.

13

[***]

{marg. ψῆφος τόκων}

Λέγει τίς νομίσματα ρ ἐδάνεισα ὑπὲρ τόκων μηνῶν ζ ἐπὶ ⏑ ρ^{ῆς}. τί λάβω;

Ἡ μέθοδος. Τὸ ρ^{ὸν} τῆς μονάδος· γίνεται ξ· τὸ ⏑ τῶν ξ· γίνεται λ· τὰ λ τί ποιοῦσι τῆς μονάδος; <σ^{ον}.> ποίησον τὰ νομίσματα ἐπὶ τοὺς μῆνας, ὅ ἐστι ρ ἐπὶ ζ· γίνεται ψ· καὶ λῦσον εἰς τὰ σ· τὸ σ^{ον} τῶν ψ· γίνεται γ ⏑. ὤφειλε λαβεῖν ὁ δανείσας ὑπὲρ νομισμάτων ρ τόκον εἰς τοὺς ζ μῆνας ἐπὶ ρ^{ῆς} τὸ ⏑ νομίσματα γ ⏑.

Calculation of interest.

Someone says I lent at interest 100 nomismata for 7 months at $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. What do I take?

Procedure. $\frac{1}{100}$ of the unit: it yields 60; $\frac{1}{2}$ of 60: it yields 30; what do 30 make of the unit? <$\frac{1}{200}$.> Do the nomismata by the months, which is 100 by 7: it yields 700; and resolve into 200; $\frac{1}{200}$ of 700: it yields 3 $\frac{1}{2}$. The lender of 100 nomismata at $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent ought to take an interest of 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ nomismata for the 7 months.

Problems 13–18. Calculations of interest. Cf. Papyrus Achmin, nos. 26–28, 33–37, 44–46, where, however, the temporal dimension is absent. The basic relation is {*a*mount lent}{*m*onths}{interest *r*ate} = *i*nterest. Probs. **13**–**15** and **17**, **18** prescribe calculation of the interest, prob. **16** the amount lent, all other quantities being given. All amounts are in nomismata. Probs. **15** and **16** are complementary. For the basic monetary unit (here, the nomisma) being divided into 6000 parts, see page 12 above. With the exception of prob. **18**, the interest rate is preliminarily rescaled to a quantity such that the unit is 6000; the factor 100 in this number obviously derives from the standard per cent scale, the factor 60 accommodates for fractional interest rates. *Preliminary rescaling*. $\frac{1}{100}6000 = 60 \rightarrow r60 \rightarrow r60/6000 = \frac{r}{100}$. *Equation*. $amr = i$, the data and the unknown being in order from probs. **13** to **18**,

(*a*,*m*,*r*,*i*) = (100,7,½,*x*), (120,5,⅓,*x*), (100,12,¼,*x*), (*x*,12,¼,3), (100,12,⅔,*x*), (100,12,1,*x*). *Algorithm*. Probs. **13**–**15**, **17**, **18**: (*a*,*m*,*r*) → *am* → (⁄$_{100}$)*am* = *x*. Prob. **16**: (*m*,*r*,*i*) → (^{100}⁄$_{r}$)*i* → (⁄$_{m}$)(^{100}⁄$_{r}$)*i* = *x*.

14

[***]

Ἄλλη ἐρώτησις.

Ἐδάνεισα νομίσματα ρκ ὑπὸ τόκων μηνῶν ε ἐπὶ ρ^{ῆς} τὸ γ^{ον}. τί λάβω;

Ἡ μέθοδος. τὸ ρ^{ὸν} τῆς μονάδος· γίνονται ξ· τὸ γ^{ον} τῶν ξ· γίνεται κ· τὰ κ τί ποιοῦσι τῆς μονάδος; τ^{ον}. πολλαπλασίασον τὰ νομίσματα ἐπὶ τοὺς μῆνας, ὅ ἐστι ρκ ἐπὶ ε· γίνεται χ· καὶ λύεις εἰς τὸ τ· τὸ τ^{ον} τῶν χ· γίνεται β. ὤφειλε λαβεῖν ὁ δανείσας ὑπὲρ νομισμάτων ρκ τόκον ὑπὲρ μηνῶν ε ρ^{ῆς} τὸ γ^{ον} νομίσματα β.

Another question.

I lent at interest 120 nomismata for 5 months at ⅓ per cent. What do I take?

Procedure. $\frac{1}{100}$ of the unit: they yield 60; ⅓ of 60: it yields 20; what do 20 make of the unit? $\frac{1}{300}$. Multiply the nomismata by the months, which is 120 by 5: it yields 600; and you resolve into 300; $\frac{1}{300}$ of 600: it yields 2. The lender of 120 nomismata at ⅓ per cent ought to take an interest of 2 nomismata for 5 months.

15

[***]

{marg. Ἄλλη ἐρώτησις}

Ἐδάνεισα νομίσματα ρ ἐπὶ ρ^{ῆς} τὸ δ^{ον} ὑπὲρ τόκων μηνῶν ιβ. τί λάβω;

Ἡ μέθοδος. Τὸ ρ^{ὸν} τῆς μονάδος· γίνονται ξ· τὸ δ^{ον} τῶν ξ· γίνονται ιε· τὰ ιε τί ποιοῦσι τῆς μονάδος; υ^{ον}. πολλαπλασίασον τὰ νομίσματα ἐπὶ τοὺς μῆνας, ὅ ἐστι ρ ἐπὶ ιβ· γίνεται ,ασ· λῦσον εἰς τὰ υ· τὸ υ^{ον} τῶν ,ασ· γίνονται γ. ὤφειλε δοθῆναι ὑπὲρ νομισμάτων ρ τόκον ὑπὲρ μηνῶν ιβ νομίσματα γ.

Another question.

I lent at interest 100 nomismata for 12 months at ¼ per cent. What do I take?

Procedure. $\frac{1}{100}$ of the unit: they yield 60; ¼ of 60: they yield 15; what do 15 make of the unit? $\frac{1}{400}$. Multiply the nomismata by the months, which is 100 by 12: it yields 1200; resolve into 400; $\frac{1}{400}$ of 1200: they yield 3. For 12 months, 3 nomismata for 100 nomismata ought to be given as interest.

16

[***]

{marg. Ἄλλη ἐρώτησις}

Λέγει τίς ἐδάνεισα καὶ ἔλαβον ὑπὲρ τόκων ὑπὲρ μηνῶν ιβ ἐπὶ ρ^{ῆς} τὸ δ^{ον} νομίσματα γ. ὑπὲρ πόσων οὖν νομισμάτων ἔλαβον τὰ γ νομίσματα;

Ἡ μέθοδος. Τὸ ρ^{ὸν} τῆς μονάδος· γίνονται ξ· τὸ δ^{ον} τῶν ξ· ιε· τὰ ιε τί ποιοῦσι τῆς μονάδος; υ^{ον}. τὰ υ ἐπὶ τὰ νομίσματα γ· γίνεται ,ασ. καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὑπὲρ ιβ μηνῶν ἐδόθησαν τὰ γ νομίσματα, ποίησον ιβ^{ον} τῶν ,ασ· γίνεται ρ. ἐδόθησαν οὖν τὰ γ νομίσματα ἐπὶ ρ^{ῆς} τὸ δ^{ον} ὑπὲρ μηνῶν ιβ εἰς νομίσματα ρ.

Another question.

Someone says I lent at interest for 12 months at ¼ per cent and took 3 nomismata. Then for how many nomismata did I take the 3 nomismata?

Procedure. $\frac{1}{100}$ of the unit: they yield 60; ¼ of 60: 15; what do 15 make of the unit? $\frac{1}{400}$. 400 by the 3 nomismata: it yields 1200. And since the 3 nomismata were given for 12 months, do $\frac{1}{12}$ of 1200: it yields 100. Then the 3 nomismata for 12 months at ¼ per cent were given for 100 nomismata.

17

[***]

{marg. Ἄλλη ἐρώτησις}

νομίσματα ρ ἐπὶ ϖ ἑκατοστῆς ὑπὲρ μηνῶν ιβ. τί δίδοται;

τὸ ρ^{ὸν} τῆς μονάδος· ξ· τὸ ϖ τῶν ξ· γίνεται μ· τὰ μ τῆς μονάδος |[167r] τί ποιοῦσι; ρν^{ον}. πολλαπλασίασον τὰ ρ ἐπὶ ιβ· γίνεται ͵ασ· καὶ λῦσον εἰς ρν· τὸ ρν^{ον} τῶν ͵ασ· γίνεται η. δίδοται οὖν ὑπὲρ νομισμάτων ρ ἐπὶ τόκῳ ρ^{ῆς} τὸ ϖ ὑπὲρ μηνῶν ιβ νομίσματα η.

Another question.

100 nomismata at ⅔ per cent for 12 months. What is given?

$\frac{1}{100}$ of the unit: 60; ⅔ of 60: it yields 40; what do 40 make of the unit? $\frac{1}{150}$. Multiply 100 by 12: it yields 1200; and resolve into 150; $\frac{1}{150}$ of 1200: it yields 8. Then for 100 nomismata at an interest rate of ⅔ per cent for 12 months are given 8 nomismata.

18

[***]

νομισμάτων ρ ἐπὶ τελείας ἑκατοστῆς τί δίδοται ὑπὲρ μηνῶν ιβ;

ἐπειδὴ ρ^{ὴν} τελείαν εἶπε, πολλαπλασίασον τὰ νομίσματα ἐπὶ τοὺς μῆνας· ρ ιβ· γίνεται ͵ασ· καὶ λῦσον εἰς τὰ ρ διὰ τὴν τελείαν ἑκατοστήν· τὸ ρ^{ὸν} οὖν τῶν ͵ασ· γίνεται ιβ. ἔστιν οὖν ὁ τόκος τῶν ρ νομισμάτων ἐπὶ τελείας ρ^{ῆς} ὑπὲρ μηνῶν ιβ νομίσματα ιβ.

What is given for 100 nomismata at a full per cent rate for 12 months?

Since he said full per cent rate, multiply the nomismata by the months: 100 ‹by› 12: it yields 1200; and resolve into 100 because of the full per cent rate; then $\frac{1}{100}$ of 1200: it yields 12. Then the interest of 100 nomismata at a full per cent rate for 12 months is 12 nomismata.

19

[= *Anonymus* P, no. 74]

{marg. Ἡ ψῆφος τοῦ ἀργυροῦ}

Ἔστι τὸ ἐξάγιον τοῦ ἀργοῦ χρυσοῦ – τουτέστι τῶν κδ κερατίων – κα. τῶν ς νομισμάτων τί λάβω;

Ἡ μέθοδος. Κράτει κδ· κούφισον κα· λοιπὰ γ· γ εἰς κα· γίνεται ζ^{ον}. ἔστιν οὖν ἑκάστῳ νομίσματι χάραγμα νόμισμα ἀργοῦ χρυσοῦ α ζ^{ον}. τὸ οὖν ζ^{ον} ἐστι τῶν κδ κερατίων γ ς^{ον} ζ^{ον} ιδ^{ον} κα^{ον}. ἐπειδὴ οὖν ς νομίσματα θέλεις, ποιοῦμεν ἅπαξ ς· […] τὸ ς^{ον} ζ^{ον} ιδ^{ον} κα^{ον} τῶν ς· γίνεται β ⏅ ιδ^{ον}· ὡς γίνεται ὑπὲρ νομισμάτων […] η κεράτια ιγ ⏅ [ζ^{ον}] ιδ^{ον}.

Calculation of white ‹gold›.

An exagion of white gold—that is, of 24 carats—is of 21 ‹carats› fine. What do I take of 6 nomismata?

Procedure. Keep 24; subtract 21: 3 as remainders; 3 into 21: it yields ⅐. Then there is 1 ⅐ of a white gold coined nomisma for each ‹gold› nomisma. Then ⅐ of 24 carats is 3 ⅙ ⅐ 1/14 1/21. Then since you want 6 nomismata, we do once 6; […] ⅙ ⅐ 1/14 1/21 of 6: it yields 2 ½ 1/14; so that it yields […] 8 carats ½ 1/14 for 6 nomismata.

Problems 19–24. Problems on the value of alloy currencies with variable fineness. All of them apply the rule of three, probs. **19**–**20** indirectly, probs. **21**–**24** directly. A feature of these problems is that the carat is both a weight unit (for instance of white gold) and the unit of value expressing fineness, namely, the amount with respect to 24 of pure gold in an alloy. With the exception of prob. **23**, which is complementary to prob. **24**, here we are always given the fineness of an exagion (= 24 carats weight) of white gold, and we are asked to find the gold content of another amount, sometimes expressed in nomismata (19–20), sometimes in carats (21–24). Thus, the basic relation is {*fi*neness}:{24} = {gold *ca*rats}:{*w*hite gold carats}. The syntagm χάραγμα νόμισμα denotes the intrinsic value of a nomisma as a coined piece and not in its nominal value as a unit of account; it is in fact a synonym of ὑπέρπυρον, the basic unit of the system. From Alexios I's (ruled 1081–1118) monetary reform on, the nomisma was of 20 ½ carats fineness and worth 20 ¾ carats weight of pure gold (Hendy, Coinage 16–17), which is the value assumed in probs. **19** and **20**. For these problems, cf. Rhabdas' *Letter to Tzavoukhes*, in Tannery, Notice 148.1–150.14. Probs. **19**, **20**, **22**, **24**, **48** are directly formulated in the first person singular. The portion between asterisks in the algorithm below is badly represented in the problem. For since 6 nomismata do not allow exact division by 7, the text correctly resolves the nomisma into 24 carats, yielding 3 ⅐ (as usual, the common fraction is expressed as a sum of unit fractions) after division by 7. Rescaling to 6 nomismata, the calculation goes awry but remains partly consistent; since any correction would restore the text arbitrarily, I refrained from doing this. A correct text should read as follows: "Then since you want 6 nomismata, we make once 6; <and 3 by 6: they yield 18; and> ⅙ ⅐ 1/14 1/21 of 6: it yields 2 ½ 1/14; so that it yields 6 nomismata 18 carats ½ [⅐] 1/14 for 6 nomismata". *Equation*. *f*:24 = *c*:*w*, the data and the unknown being in order from probs. **19** to **24**, (*f*,24,*c*,*w*) = (21,24,6,*x*), (21,24,7,*x*), (18,24,*x*,19), (18,24,30,*x*), (*x*,24,16,30), (⅘,24,16,*x*). *Algorithm*. (*f*,24,*c*) → 24 – *f* → (24 – *f*)/*f* *→ 1*c* + [(24 – *f*)/*f*]*c* = *x**.

20

[= *Anonymus* P, no. 74]
{marg. Ἄλλη ἐρώτησις}
Ἔστι τὸ ἐξάγιον {signum et marg. κερατίων} <κα. τῶν> ζ νομισμάτων τί λάβω;
ἀπόθου κδ· λάβε κα· λοιπὸν γ· γ εἰς κα· γίνονται ζον, ὅ ἐστιν ἑκάστου νομισμάτων νόμισμα α ζον ἀργυροῦ χρυσοῦ· ποιοῦμεν ἅπαξ ζ· καὶ τὸ ζον τῶν ἑπτά· ὁμοῦ η. γίνεται οὖν εἰς νομίσματα ζ <η> νομίσματα χρυσοῦ ἀργυροῦ.

Another question.
An exagion is of <21> carats fine. What do I take of 7 nomismata?
Keep away 24; take 21: 3 as a remainder; 3 into 21: they yield ⅐, which is 1 ⅐ of a white gold nomisma for each of the ‹gold› nomismata; we do once 7; and ⅐ of 7: together 8. Then it yields <8> nomismata of white gold for 7 ‹gold› nomismata.

Problem 20. Note ἀπόθου with the meaning of κράτει. *Equation*. *f*:24 = *c*:*w*, with (*f*,24,*c*,*w*) = (21,24,7,*x*). *Algorithm*. (*f*,24,*c*) → 24 – *f* → (24 – *f*)/*f* → 1*c* + [(24 – *f*)/*f*]*c* = *x*.

21

[= *Anonymus* P, no. 75]
Ἄλλη ἐρώτησις
<Ἔ>στω τὸ ἐξάγιον {signum et marg. κερατίων} ιη. τὰ ιθ πόσου;

Ἡ μέθοδος. ιη ἐπὶ ιθ· γίνεται τμβ· λῦσον εἰς κδ· γίνεται ιδ δ^{ον}. ἔστιν οὖν ἡ τιμὴ τῶν ιθ κερατίων τοῦ ἀργοῦ χρυσίου κερατίων ιδ δ^{ον}.

Another question.
Let an exagion be of 18 carats fine. How much is 19?
Procedure. 18 by 19: it yields 342; resolve into 24: it yields 14 ¼. Then the value of 19 white gold carats is of 14 ¼ carats.

Problem 21. *Equation*. *f*:24 = *c*:*w*, with (*f*,24,*c*,*w*) = (18,24,*x*,19). *Algorithm*. (*f*,24,*w*) → *fw* → *fw*/24 = *x*.

22

[= *Anonymus* P, no. 76]
{marg. ἄλλη ἐρώτησις}
<T>ὸ ἐξάγιον κερατίων ιη. εἰς τὰ λ κεράτια πόσον χρυσοῦ ἀργοῦ ἐπάρω;
Ἡ μέθοδος. κδ ἐπὶ λ· γίνονται ψκ· τούτων τὸ ιη^{ον}· γίνεται μ. ἔστιν οὖν τῶν λ κερατίων χρυσίου ἀργοῦ κεράτια μ.

Another question.
An exagion is of 18 carats fine. How much do I raise of white gold for 30 carats?
Procedure. 24 by 30: they yield 720; 1/18 of these: it yields 40. Then ‹the amount› for 30 carats is 40 white gold carats.

Problem 22. *Equation*. *f*:24 = *c*:*w*, with (*f*,24,*c*,*w*) = (18,24,30,*x*). *Algorithm*. (*f*,24,*c*) → 24*c* → (1/*f*)24*c* = *x*.

23

[= *Anonymus* P, no. 77]
<Ἀ>ργοῦ χρυσοῦ κεράτια λ εἰς κεράτια ις. τὸ ἐξάγιον πόσου;
Ἡ μέθοδος. Ἐπὶ κδ· γίνονται τπδ· τούτων τὸ λ^{ον}· γίνεται ιβ ⏜ ε^{ον} ι^{ον}. ἔστιν οὖν τὸ ἐξάγιον τῶν λ τοῦ χρυσίου κερατίων ιβ ⏜ ε^{ον} ι^{ον}.

30 carats of white gold for 16 carats. Of how much is an exagion fine?
Procedure. By 24: they yield 384; 1/30 of these: it yields 12 ½ ⅕ 1/10. Then an exagion of 30 ‹white› gold carats is of 12 ½ ⅕ 1/10 fine.

Problem 23. The givens of probs. **23** and **24** are complementary. *Equation*. *f*:24 = *c*:*w*, with (*f*,24,*c*,*w*) = (*x*,24,16,30). *Algorithm*. (24,*c*,*w*) → *c*24 → (1/*w*)*c*24 = *x*.

24

[= *Anonymus* P, no. 78]
Ἄλλη ἐρώτησις
Τὸ ἐξάγιον ιβ ⏜ ε^{ον} ι^{ον}. τῶν ις κερατίων τί λάβω;
Ἡ μέθοδος. ις ἐπὶ κδ· γίνονται τπδ· ταύτας ἀνάλυσον εἰς ιβ ⏜ ε^{ον} ι^{ον}· γίνεται λ. ἔστιν οὖν ἡ τιμὴ τῶν λ κερατίων κερατίων ις.

Another question.

An exagion is of 12 ½ ⅕ 1/10 ‹carats› fine. What do I take of 16 carats?

Procedure. 16 by 24: they yield 384; resolve these out into 12 ½ ⅕ 1/10: it yields 30. Then the value of 30 ‹white gold› carats is 16 carats.

Problem 24. *Equation*. *f*:24 = *c*:*w*, with (*f*,24,*c*,*w*) = (⅘,24,16,*x*). *Algorithm*. (*f*,24,*c*) → *c*24 → *c*24/*f* = *x*.

25

[= *Anonymus* P, no. 79]

{marg. Ἡ ψῆφος τοῦ ἀργυροῦ}

<Ἡ> λίτρα τοῦ ἀργυροῦ νομίσματα ε ͵. ἡ οὐγγία πόσου;

Ἡ μέθοδος. δίπλωσον τὰ ε ͵, καὶ ποίησον ια. (διὰ τί δὲ διπλώσομεν; διὰ τὸ γίνεσθαι ε ͵ νομίσματα κεράτια ρλβ. τὸ οὖν ιβ^{ον} τῶν ρλβ· γίνεται ια.) ἐὰν οὖν ἐστιν ἡ λίτρα νομίσματα ε ͵, τοῦ ἀργυροῦ ἔρχεται ἡ τιμὴ κεράτια ια[87]. τὸ δὲ γραμμὸν πόσου; ἐπειδὴ ἡ οὐγγία γράμματα ἔχει κδ, τὰ ια κεράτια ποίησον εἰς τὰ κδ· γίνεται γ^{ον} η^{ον}.

Ἐὰν οὖν ἐστιν ἡ οὐγγία τοῦ ἀργυροῦ κεράτια ια, ἔρχεται ἡ τιμὴ τοῦ γραμμοῦ κεράτια γ^{ον} η^{ον}. γίνεται γὰρ τὸ γ^{ον} τῶν κδ, η, καὶ τὸ η^{ον} τῶν κδ, γ· ὁμοῦ ια. τούτῳ οὖν τῷ κανόνι πάντα τὰ εἰς τὸν ἄργυρον εὑρήσεις, εἰς μὲν τὴν οὐγγίαν |[167v] διπλῶν τὴν τιμὴν τῆς λίτρας καὶ νοῶν αὐτὰ κεράτια, εἰς δὲ τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ γραμμοῦ λύοντα τὴν οὐγγίαν εἰς κεράτια εἰς τὰ κδ.

Calculation of silver.

A pound of silver 5 ½ nomismata. How much an ounce?

Procedure. Double 5 ½, and make 11. (And why did we double? Because of 5 ½ nomismata being 132 carats. Then 1/12 of 132: it yields 11.) Then if a pound be of 5 ½ nomismata, the value of silver amounts to 11 carats. And how much a gram? Since an ounce has 24 grams, do the 11 carats into 24: it yields ⅓ ⅛.

Then if an ounce of silver is 11 carats, the value of a gram amounts to ⅓ ⅛ carats. In fact, ⅓ of 24, 8, and ⅛ of 24, 3: together 11. Then by means of this rule you will find everything concerning silver, concerning an ounce by doubling the value of a pound and by conceiving them as carats, concerning the value of a gram by resolving an ounce into carats, namely, into 24.

Problem 25. Conversion of units of measurement: weights and currencies (contrary to probs. **19**–**24**, ἀργυρός denotes here a silver coin). A single application of the rule of three is required. The standard equivalences are 1 nomisma = 24 carats (currency) and 1 pound = 12 ounces, 1 ounce = 24 grams (weight). Thus, if an amount in pounds *p* is worth *n* nomismata, the same amount in ounces *o* is worth 2*n* carats, and again, the same amount in grams *g* is worth 2*n*/24 carats. This much is stated in the general rule with which the problem ends. For these conversion problems, cf. Rhabdas' *Letter to Tzavoukhes*, in Tannery, Notice 150.18–154.2. Before the rule, a check is provided. Cf. prob. **27**. *Algorithm*. (*p*,*n*) = (1,*n*) → (*o*,2*n*) → (*g*,2*n*/24).

26

[***]

{marg. ἄλλη ἐρώτησις}

Λέγει τίς καυκίνον χρυσέμπαστον λιτρῶν ι νομισμάτων ρ· ἡ λίτρα τοῦ ἀργυροῦ νομισμάτων ϛ· καὶ ἡ λίτρα τοῦ χρυσίου νομισμάτων οβ. εἰπεῖν τί ἔχει χρυσὸν τί ἀργυρόν.

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[87] ια e ιβ fecit. m.1

Ἡ μέθοδος. Ἐπειδὴ ς νομισμάτων εἶπε τὴν λίτραν τοῦ ἀργυροῦ εἶναι καὶ οβ τὴν λίτραν τοῦ χρυσίου, ποίησον οὕτως. τὸ ς^{ον} τῶν οβ· γίνονται ιβ· ἀφ᾽ ὧν [ἐκ τῶν ιβ], α· λοιπὰ ια. καὶ ὅτι ι λίτρας ἔστησεν τὸ καυκίον, ποίησον ς ἐπὶ ι· γίνονται ξ· τὰ ξ κούφισον ἐκ τῶν ρ· λοιπὰ μ· τὰ ια^{α} τῶν μ· γίνεται γ ⸬ ια^{ον} κβ^{ον}[88]· κούφισον ἐκ τῶν ξ καὶ θὲς εἰς τὰ μ. ἔχει οὖν χρυσοῦ νομίσματα μγ ⸬ ια^{ον} κβ^{ον} καὶ ἀργοῦ νομίσματα νς γ^{ον} λγ^{ον} νομισμάτων ρ.

ἴδωμεν τί ποιεῖ ἡ λίτρα.

ὁ χρυσὸς ἔχει νομίσματα μγ κεράτια ιε δ^{ον} μδ^{ον}, ὅ ἐστιν οὐγγίαι ζ γράμματα ς κεράτια γ δ^{ον} μδ^{ον}, καὶ ὁ ἀργυρὸς νομίσμα<τα> νς κεράτια η[89] ⸬ ς^{ον} κβ^{ον} ξς^{ον}, ὅ ἐστι λίτραι θ οὐγγίαι δ γράμματα ιζ κεράτια β γ^{ον} <δ^{ον}> ια^{ον} λγ^{ον} μδ^{ον}.

ἴδωμεν εἰς τί συνάγει ὁ ἄργυρος ὑπὲρ λιτρῶν θ οὐγγιῶν δ γράμματα ιζ κεράτια β γ^{ον} <δ^{ον}> ια^{ον} λγ^{ον} μδ^{ον}, νομίσματα νς κεράτια η ⸬ ς^{ον} κβ^{ον} ξς^{ον}.

οὕτως. ἀργυροῦ λίτραι θ ἀπὸ νομισμάτων ς γίνονται νομίσματα νδ. καὶ ὑπὲρ οὐγγιῶν δ τῆς οὐγγίας κεράτια ιβ· γίνονται νομίσματα β. καὶ ὑπὲρ γραμμάτων ιζ τοῦ γραμμοῦ κεράτιον ⸬· γίνονται κεράτια η ⸬. καὶ ὑπὲρ κερατίων β τοῦ κερατίου τὸ ιβ^{ον}· γίνεται κεράτια τὸ ς^{ον}. καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ γ^{ον} δ^{ον} ια^{ον} λγ^{ον} μδ^{ον}· γίνεται κεράτια τὸ κβ^{ον} ξς^{ον}· ὁμοῦ λίτραι θ ἀργυροῦ οὐγγίαι δ γράμματα […] ς κεράτια γ δ^{ον} μδ^{ον}· γίνεται νομίσματα μγ κεράτια ιε δ^{ον} μδ^{ον}· ὁμοῦ νομίσματα ρ συνήχθησαν ὑπὲρ τιμῆς ὅλου τοῦ καυκίου.

Another question.

Someone says a gold-pasted cup of 10 pounds for 100 nomismata; a pound of silver is of 6 nomismata; and a pound of gold of 72 nomismata. Say what does ‹the cup› have of gold and what of silver.

Procedure. Since he said a pound of silver is of 6 nomismata and a pound of gold of 72, do as follows. $\frac{1}{6}$ of 72: they yield 12; from 12, 1: 11 as remainders. And as the cup stood of 10 pounds, do 6 by 10: they yield 60; subtract 60 from 100: 40 as remainders; $\frac{1}{11}$ of 40: it yields 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{11}$ $\frac{1}{22}$; subtract from 60 and set to 40. Then of 100 nomismata it has 43 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{11}$ $\frac{1}{22}$ nomismata of gold and 56 $\frac{1}{3}$ $\frac{1}{33}$ of silver.

Let us see what does a pound make.

Gold has 43 nomismata 15 $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{44}$ carats, which is 7 ounces 6 grams 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{44}$ carats, and silver 56 nomismata 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{6}$ $\frac{1}{22}$ $\frac{1}{66}$ carats, which is 9 pounds 4 ounces 17 grams 2 $\frac{1}{3}$ <$\frac{1}{4}$> $\frac{1}{11}$ $\frac{1}{33}$ $\frac{1}{44}$ carats.

Let us see what does silver gather for 9 pounds 4 ounces 17 grams 2 $\frac{1}{3}$ <$\frac{1}{4}$> $\frac{1}{11}$ $\frac{1}{33}$ $\frac{1}{44}$ carats, namely, 56 nomismata 18 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{6}$ $\frac{1}{22}$ $\frac{1}{66}$ carats.

As follows. 9 pounds of silver 6 nomismata each yield 54 nomismata. And for 4 ounces an ounce being worth 12 carats: they yield 2 nomismata. And for 17 grams a gram being worth $\frac{1}{2}$ carat: they yield 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ carats. And for 2 carats a carat being $\frac{1}{12}$: it yields $\frac{1}{6}$ carats. And for $\frac{1}{3}$ $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{11}$ $\frac{1}{33}$ $\frac{1}{44}$: it yields $\frac{1}{22}$ $\frac{1}{66}$ carats: together 9 pounds of silver 4 ounces […] 6 grams 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{44}$ carats: it yields 43 nomismata 15 $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{44}$ carats: together 100 nomismata were gathered for the value of the whole cup.

Problem 26. Cf. probs. **5**, **12**, and **41**. Cf. *AP* XIV.11, 13. The problem sets out a cup of given weight made of gold and of silver. The nomismata gold and silver are worth are also given. One must find the amount of gold and of silver used in the cup, and their values in nomismata. The text sets the two values as unknown in the algorithm. The results, expressed in unit fractions as usual, are 43 $\frac{7}{11}$ and 56 $\frac{4}{11}$, respectively. To compute the weights, one must bear in mind the following relations. Silver: 1 pound = 6 nomismata, 1 ounce = 12 carats, 1 gram = $\frac{1}{2}$ carat, 1 carat (weight) = $\frac{1}{12}$ carat (nominal fineness). Gold, of course, is obtained by rescaling the previous ones by 12: 1 pound = 72 nomismata, 1 ounce = 6 nomismata = 144 carats, 1 gram = 6 carats, 1 carat (weight) = 1 carat (fineness). Calculating with these equivalences, one easily spots some copying mistakes and a lacuna that affects most of the long final check of the calculation of the weight of gold. *Equation*. $x + y = k$ and $x/a + y/b = h$, with $(a,b,k,h) = (6,72,100,10)$.

[88] ιβ^{ον} L
[89] ιη L

Algorithm. $(a,b,k,h) \to (1/a)b \to (1/a)b - 1\ .\ ah \to k - ah \to \{1/[(1/a)b - 1]\}(k - ah) \to ah - \{1/[(1/a)b - 1]\}(k - ah) = x\ .\ (k - ah) - \{1/[(1/a)b - 1]\}(k - ah) = y \to x/a\ .\ y/b$.

27

[***]

{marg. ψῆφος τοῦ ἀκρολίου}

Ἔστιν ἡ οὐγγία τοῦ ἀκρολίου νομισμάτων γ. τὸ γραμμὸν πόσου;

Ἡ μέθοδος. διπλῶς νόησον τὴν ψῆφον, ἵνα ἅπερ νομίσματά εἰσιν ἐν τῇ οὐγγίᾳ τοσαῦτα κεράτια ἐν τῷ γραμμῷ. ἔστιν οὖν ὑποδείξεως χάριν ἡ οὐγγία τοῦ ἀκρολίου νομισμάτων γ· καὶ τὸ γραμμὸν δηλονότι ἔρχεται γ.

Calculation of akrolion.

An ounce of first-fruits is of 3 nomismata worth. How much a gram?

Procedure. Conceive the calculation in two ways, in order that, how many nomismata there are in indeed in an ounce, so many carats there be in a gram. Then, for the sake of example, an ounce of first-fruits is of 3 nomismata; clearly a gram also amounts to 3.

Problem 27. A very simple conversion problem: since there are as many carats in a nomisma as grams in an ounce (namely, 24), the numbers expressing the values in nomismata or in carats of an ounce or of a gram of anything coincide, respectively. The term ἀκρόλιον or ἀκρόλειον is very poorly attested; I have chosen a meaning of ἀπαρχή, a synonym recorded by Byzantine lexicographers, that fits the context of the problem. Cf. prob. **25**.

28

[***]

{marg. ψῆφος τῶν μαργαριτῶν}

Ἰστέον ὅτι ἐστιν ὁ λεγόμενος στατὴρ τῶν μαργαριτῶν ψηφίων ξ. ἔστιν οὖν καὶ οὐγγία κερατίων ιβ. ὑποδείξεως χάριν κοκκία β στένοντα κεράτια κ· ἔστιν ὁ στατὴρ αὐτῶν οὐγγίαι ιβ – τουτέστι νομίσματα ς. πόσου τὰ β κοκκία;

<Ἡ> μέθοδος. Ποιοῦμεν κ κ· υ· τούτων τὸ ν^{ον}· γίνεται η· ὁμοῦ υη· ταύτας τὰς υη ἀνάλυε εἰς τὸν στατῆρα, ὅ ἐστι ξ· γίνεται ς ⏜ ι^{ον} ε^{ον}. ἔστιν οὖν ἡ τιμὴ αὐτῶν ὡς πρὸς οὐγγίας ιβ νομισμάτων μ ⏜ ι^{ον} ε^{ον}, ὡς γίνεσθαι τὴν τιμὴν ἀκριβῆ τῶν β κοκκίων νομισμάτων μ κερατίων ιθ ε^{ον}.

Calculation of pearls.

One has to know that the so-called stater of pearls is of 60 counting units. Then an ounce is also of 12 carats worth. For the sake of example, 2 grains balancing 20 carats; their stater is 12 ounces worth—that is, 6 nomismata. How much 2 grains?

Procedure. We do 20 ‹by› 20: 400; $\frac{1}{50}$ of these: it yields 8: together 408; resolve these 408 out into a stater, which is 60: it yields 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{10}$ $\frac{1}{5}$. Then their value with respect to 12 ounces is of 40 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{10}$ $\frac{1}{5}$ nomismata, so as to yield the exact value of 2 grains, 40 nomismata 19 $\frac{1}{5}$ carats.

Problems 28–31. Conversions of units of measurement; prob. **31** gives the rule. A bewildering set of problems; despite a general statement in prob. **31**, the rule applied can only be induced from the algorithm. The whole issue rests upon the participle στένον(τα), whose meaning is "to weigh" (*LBG*, *sub voce*), and which I translate "to balance". It is always question of g*r*ains στένοντα *c*arats, the stater (which has 60 parts, taken as a parameter of the algorithm and apparently coinciding with ounces; for the stater, see Schilbach, Byzantinische Metrologie 282 *sub voce*) being given as *o* ounces, which are worth *o*/2 nomismata since 1 ounce is stated to be 12 carats (= $\frac{1}{2}$ nomisma) worth. It is required to find the nomisma-value of the assigned grains suitably transformed into parts of a stater;

this transformation, which involves squaring the grain-value and rescaling it by $^{51}/_{50}$, I have been unable to justify. In probs. **28** and **31**, I have translated ψηφίον as "counting unit" instead of "part". A final reduction from fractional parts of a nomisma to carats (1 nomisma = 24 carats) is performed. *Algorithm*. (*r*,*c*,*o*) → *rr* → ($^{1}/_{50}$)*rr* → *rr* + ($^{1}/_{50}$)*rr* → [*rr* + ($^{1}/_{50}$)*rr*]/60 → *o*/2{[*rr* + ($^{1}/_{50}$)*rr*]/60}.

29

[***]

{marg. ἄλλη ἐρώτησις}

<Τρία κ>οκκία στένοντα κεράτια ιη τοῦ στατῆρος ὄντος τιμῆς οὐγγιῶν β, ὅ ἐστι νόμισμα α. τὰ τρία κοκκία πόσου;

Ἡ μέθοδος. Ποιοῦμεν ιη ἐπὶ ιη· γίνεται τκδ· τούτων τὸ νου· γίνονται ς εου ςου ιου οεου· ὁμοῦ γίνονται τλ εου ςου ιου οεου· ταῦτα λῦσον εἰς τὰ ξ· γίνεται ε ⏜ ρκεου. γίνεται ἡ τιμὴ νομισμάτων ε ⏜ ρκεου, ὡς γίνεσθαι νομίσματα καθαρὰ ε κεράτια ιβ ςου οεου ρκεου σνου. |[168r]

Another question.

Three grains balancing 18 carats the stater being of a value of 2 ounces, which is 1 nomisma worth. How much three grains?

Procedure. We do 18 by 18: it yields 324; $^{1}/_{50}$ of these: they yield 6 $^{1}/_{5}$ $^{1}/_{6}$ $^{1}/_{10}$ $^{1}/_{75}$: together they yield 330 $^{1}/_{5}$ $^{1}/_{6}$ $^{1}/_{10}$ $^{1}/_{75}$; resolve these into 60: it yields 5 $^{1}/_{2}$ $^{1}/_{125}$. It yields a value of 5 $^{1}/_{2}$ $^{1}/_{125}$ nomismata, so as to yield 5 pure nomismata 12 $^{1}/_{6}$ $^{1}/_{75}$ $^{1}/_{125}$ $^{1}/_{250}$ carats.

30

[***]

{marg. ἄλλη ἐρώτησις}

<Κ>οκκίνον α στένον κεράτια ι ἐστιν ὁ στατὴρ αὐτῶν οὐγγίαι κ, ὅ ἐστι νομίσματα ι.

ποιοῦμεν ι ι· ρ· ἅν τὸ νου· γίνεται β· ὁμοῦ ρβ· ταῦτα εἰς τὰ ξ· γίνεται α ⏜ εου. ἔστιν οὖν ἡ τιμὴ ὡς πρὸς οὐγγίας κ νομισμάτων ιζ.

Another question.

1 grain balancing 10 carats their stater is 20 ounces worth, which is 10 nomismata.

We do 10 ‹by› 10: 100; of which $^{1}/_{50}$: it yields 2: together 102; these into 60: it yields 1 $^{1}/_{2}$ $^{1}/_{5}$. Then the value with respect to 20 ounces is of 17 nomismata.

31

[= *Anonymus* P, no. 80]

Ἄλλη ψῆφος συμβαλλομένη τοῖς ἀγοράζουσιν.

Συναναγαγὼν τὸν πολλαπλασιαμὸν τοῦ κερατισμοῦ μέριζε εἰς τὸ ποσὸν τῶν κοκκίων, καὶ τὸ ποσὸν εἰς ὃ ἀναλύονται ἐπίβαλε κατὰ τοῦ στατῆρος – τουτέστι τῶν ξ ψηφίων – καὶ εἴ τι ἀθροίσεις, ἐκεῖνο τὸ ποσὸν εἰς τὸν οὐγγιασμὸν φέρων εὑρήσεις εὐχερῶς τὸ τίμημα.

Another calculation occurring to merchants.

Gathering the multiplication of the carat-value, divide into the quantity of grains, and the quantity into which they are resolved out put upon according to the stater—that is, to the 60 counting units—

and if you will put something together, converting that quantity into ounce-value you shall easily find the valuation.

32

[= *Anonymus* P, no. 81]

Τὰ γ ιζιζ^{α} καὶ θ ιθιθ^{α} τί ποιοῦσι τῆς μονάδος;

Ἡ μέθοδος. Ἐπειδὴ γ εἶπε ιζιζ^{α} καὶ θ ιθιθ^{α}, ποιοῦμεν οὕτως. τρεῖς εἰς ιζ^{ον}· γίνεται ιβ^{ον} ιζ^{ον} να^{ον} ξη^{ον}. καὶ θ εἰς ιθ^{ον}· γίνεται δ^{ον} ς^{ον}[90] λη^{ον} νζ^{ον} ος^{ον}· συνάγονται οὖν αἱ φωναὶ ⫟ ιζ^{ον} λη^{ον} να^{ον} νζ^{ον} ξη^{ον} ος^{ον}. τὰ γ οὖν ιζιζ^{α} καὶ θ ιθιθ^{α} ποιοῦσι τῆς μονάδος ⫟ ιζ^{ον} λη^{ον} να^{ον} νζ^{ον} ξη^{ον} ος^{ον}.

ιζ ιθ· τκγ· τούτων ιζ^{ον}· γίνεται ιθ. καὶ τὸ ιθ^{ον}· ιζ. τὰ γ ιθ[91]· γίνεται νζ. καὶ τὰ θ ιζ[92]· γίνεται ρνγ· ὁμοῦ σι. ταῦτα τὰ σι συγκρινόμενα πρὸς τὰ τκγ γίνεται ⫟ ι^{ον} κ^{ον} ,ςυξ^{ον}. εἰκοσαπλούμενα γὰρ τὰ σι γίνεται ,δσ, εἰκοσαπλούμενα δὲ τὰ τκγ γίνεται ,ςυξ. ταῦτα οὖν συγκρινόμενα τὰ ,δσ πρὸς τὰ ,ςυξ συνιστῶσιν ⫟ ι^{ον} κ^{ον} ,ςυξ^{ον}.

$^{3}/_{17}$ and $^{9}/_{19}$ what do they make of the unit?

Procedure. Since he said $^{3}/_{17}$ and $^{9}/_{19}$, we do as follows. Three into $^{1}/_{17}$: it yields $^{1}/_{12}$ $^{1}/_{17}$ $^{1}/_{51}$ $^{1}/_{68}$. And 9 into $^{1}/_{19}$: it yields $^{1}/_{4}$ $^{1}/_{6}$ $^{1}/_{38}$ $^{1}/_{57}$ $^{1}/_{76}$; then the denominations are gathered, namely, $^{1}/_{2}$ $^{1}/_{17}$ $^{1}/_{38}$ $^{1}/_{51}$ $^{1}/_{57}$ $^{1}/_{68}$ $^{1}/_{76}$. Then $^{3}/_{17}$ and $^{9}/_{19}$ make $^{1}/_{2}$ $^{1}/_{17}$ $^{1}/_{38}$ $^{1}/_{51}$ $^{1}/_{57}$ $^{1}/_{68}$ $^{1}/_{76}$ of the unit.

17 ‹by› 19: 323; $^{1}/_{17}$ of these: it yields 19. And $^{1}/_{19}$: 17. 3 ‹by› 19: it yields 57. And 9 ‹by› 17: it yields 153: together 210; these 210 compared to 323 yield $^{1}/_{2}$ $^{1}/_{10}$ $^{1}/_{20}$ $^{1}/_{6460}$. In fact, 210 twentuplicated yield 4200, and 323 twentuplicated yield 6460. Then these 4200 compared to 6460 conjure up $^{1}/_{2}$ $^{1}/_{10}$ $^{1}/_{20}$ $^{1}/_{6460}$.

Problems 32–38. Calculations with unit and common fractions. Cf. Papyrus Achmin, nos. 6–9, 12, 14–16, 18–25, 29–32, 38–40, 50. Probs. **32** and **33** compute $^{3}/_{17}$ + $^{9}/_{19}$ by means of three algorithms; probs. **34**–**36** transform, by means of identical algorithms, $^{3}/_{7}$ into thirteenths, $^{3}/_{13}$ into sevenths, and $^{2}/_{3}$ $^{1}/_{7}$ $^{1}/_{21}$ into elevenths, respectively; prob. **37** calculates $^{2}/_{3}$ – $^{1}/_{11}$ – $^{1}/_{17}$. As for prob. **38**, see the commentary on it. *Algorithms of prob.* ***32***. 1) ($^{a}/_{b}$,$^{c}/_{d}$) → $a(^{1}/_{b})$. $c(^{1}/_{d})$ → $a(^{1}/_{b}) + c(^{1}/_{d})$. This algorithm amounts to calculating an expansion in unit fractions of both fractions and then gathering the results; use is made of the fact that $^{1}/_{2}$ is $^{1}/_{4}$ $^{1}/_{6}$ $^{1}/_{12}$. 2) ($^{a}/_{b}$,$^{c}/_{d}$) → bd → $(^{1}/_{b})bd = d$ | $(^{1}/_{d})bd = b$. ad . cd → $ad + cd$ → $(ad + cd)/bd = {}^{a}/_{b} + {}^{c}/_{d}$. Final check, expanding the fraction by 20.

33

[***]

{marg. Ἄλλως ἡ μέθοδος}

Ἐπειδὴ γ ιζιζ^{α} καὶ θ ιθιθ^{α} εἶπε, πολυπλασίασον τὰ ιζ ἐπὶ τὰ ιθ· γίνεται τκγ. ποιήσον τρία ιθ· γίνεται νζ. καὶ θ ἐπὶ ιζ· γίνεται ρνγ· ὁμοῦ σι· τὰ σι ποίησον εἰς τὰ τκγ· γίνεται ⫟ ιζ^{ον} λη^{ον} να^{ον} νζ^{ον} ξη^{ον} ος^{ον}. ⫟ (ρξα ⫟), ιζ^{ον} (ιθ), λη^{ον} (η ⫟), να^{ον} (ς γ^{ον}), νζ^{ον} (ε ϡ), ξη^{ον} (δ ⫟ δ^{ον}), ος^{ον} (δ δ^{ον}).

The procedure in another way.

Since he said $^{3}/_{17}$ and $^{9}/_{19}$, multiply 17 by 19; it yields 323. Do three ‹by› 19: it yields 57. And 9 by 17: it yields 153: together 210; do 210 into 323: it yields $^{1}/_{2}$ $^{1}/_{17}$ $^{1}/_{38}$ $^{1}/_{51}$ $^{1}/_{57}$ $^{1}/_{68}$ $^{1}/_{76}$. $^{1}/_{2}$ (161 $^{1}/_{2}$), $^{1}/_{17}$ (19), $^{1}/_{38}$ (8 $^{1}/_{2}$), $^{1}/_{51}$ (6 $^{1}/_{3}$), $^{1}/_{57}$ (5 $^{2}/_{3}$), $^{1}/_{68}$ (4 $^{1}/_{2}$ $^{1}/_{4}$), $^{1}/_{76}$ (4 $^{1}/_{4}$).

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[90] καὶ L

[91] ιζιζ^{α} L

[92] ιθιθ^{α} L

Problem 33. Final check, by listing the indicated parts of *bd*. *Algorithm*. ($^{a}/_{b}$,$^{c}/_{d}$) → *bd* | *ad* | *cd* → *ad* + *cd* → (*ad* + *cd*)/*bd* = $^{a}/_{b}$ + $^{c}/_{d}$.

34

[= *Anonymus* P, no. 82]

ἰδοὺ καὶ διὰ βραχείας μεθόδου ἐπεδείξαμεν ἐπιλυούσας φωνάς· γ ζζ$^{\alpha 93}$ πόσα ιγιγ$^{\alpha}$ ποιοῦσιν;

Ποιοῦμεν οὕτως. γ ιγ· γίνονται λθ· καὶ λύομεν εἰς ζ· τὸ ζ^{ον} τῶν λθ· γίνονται ε ≏ ιδ^{ον}. ἔστιν οὖν τὰ γ ζζ$^{\alpha}$ ιγιγ$^{\alpha}$ ε ≏ ιδ^{ον}.

There it is, we also showed ‹the› resolving denominations by means of a shorter procedure: how many thirteenths 3 sevenths do make?

We do as follows. 3 ‹by› 13: they yield 39; and we resolve into 7; ⅐ of 39: they yield 5 ½ 1/14. Then 3/7 are 5 ½ 1/14 thirteenths.

Problem 34. A copying mistake has occurred. *Algorithm*. ($^{a}/_{b}$,$^{x}/_{d}$) → *ad* → *ad*/*b* = *x*.

35

[***]

{marg. Ἄλλως}

Τὰ γ ιγιγ$^{\alpha}$ πόσα ζζ$^{\alpha}$; ποιοῦμεν γ ζ· κα· καὶ λύομεν εἰς ιγ· τὸ ιγ^{ον} τῆς κα· γίνεται α ≏ ιγ^{ον} κς^{ον}. ἔστιν οὖν τὰ γ ιγιγ$^{\alpha}$ ζζ$^{\alpha}$ α ≏ ιγ^{ον} κς^{ον}.

In another way.

How many sevenths 3/13? We make 3 ‹by› 7: 21; and we resolve into 13; 1/13 of 21: it yields 1 ½ 1/13 1/26. Then 3/13 are 1 ½ 1/13 1/26 sevenths.

Problem 35. *Algorithm*. ($^{a}/_{b}$,$^{x}/_{d}$) → *ad* → *ad*/*b* = *x*.

36

[= *Anonymus* P, no. 83]

Τὸ ϡ ζ^{ον} κα^{ον} πόσα ιαια$^{\alpha}$ ποιοῦσιν;

Ἡ μέθοδος. <Ἐ>πειδὴ τὸ ϡ ζ^{ον} κα^{ον} ς εἰς ζ εἰσι, ποιοῦμεν ς ια· γίνεται ξς· καὶ λύομεν εἰς ζ· τὸ οὖν ζ^{ον} τῶν ξς· γίνεται θ ς^{ον} ζ^{ον} ιδ^{ον} κα$^{ον 94}$. ιαια$^{\alpha}$ θ ς^{ον} ζ^{ον} ιδ^{ον} κα^{ον}, καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα οὕτω γίνεται.

How many elevenths do ⅔ ⅐ 1/21 make?

Procedure. Since ⅔ ⅐ 1/21 are 6 into 7, we do 6 ‹by› 11: it yields 66; and we resolve into 7; then ⅐ of 66: it yields 9 1/6 ⅐ 1/14 1/21. 9 1/6 ⅐ 1/14 1/21 elevenths, and how many such are, thus it yields.

Problem 36. A copying mistake has occurred. *Algorithm*. ($^{a}/_{b}$,$^{x}/_{d}$) → *ad* → *ad*/*b* = *x*.

---

93 α γ ιζιζ$^{\alpha}$ L

94 κδ^{ον} L

37

[***]

ἐκ τοῦ διμοίρου ἐὰν ὑφέλῃς ια^{ον} καὶ ιζ^{ον}, τί καταλείπεται;

ποίει οὕτως. ια ιζ· ρπζ· τὸ ↄ τῶν ρπζ· γίνεται ρκδ ↄ. πάλιν ποίει ια καὶ ιζ· γίνεται κη· τὰ κη ὕφειλον ἐκ τῶν ρκδ ↄ· μένουσι ρς ↄ· τὰ ρς ↄ μέρισον εἰς ρπζ· γίνεται ε^{ον} ς^{ον} ια^{ον} ρο^{ον} ρπζ^{ον}. [τὸ δ^{ον} ἐκ τοῦ ↄ κουφίσῃς[95] καὶ οὕτω ποίει.]

If from two-thirds you remove $\frac{1}{11}$ and $\frac{1}{17}$, what is left out?

Do as follows. 11 ‹by› 17: 187; $\frac{2}{3}$ of 187: it yields 124 $\frac{2}{3}$. Again, do 11 and 17: it yields 28; remove 28 from 124 $\frac{2}{3}$: they remain 96 $\frac{2}{3}$; divide 96 $\frac{2}{3}$ into 187: it yields $\frac{1}{5}$ $\frac{1}{6}$ $\frac{1}{11}$ $\frac{1}{170}$ $\frac{1}{187}$. [Subtract $\frac{1}{4}$ from $\frac{2}{3}$ and do as follows.]

Problem 37. The final clause is out of place, nor does it pertain to the subsequent problem. *Algorithm*. $(\frac{a}{b},\frac{1}{d},\frac{1}{f}) \rightarrow df \rightarrow (\frac{a}{b})df \,.\, d + f \rightarrow (\frac{a}{b})df - (d + f) \rightarrow [(\frac{a}{b})df - (d + f)]/df$.

38

[***]

|[168v] μέθοδος δι’ ἧς ὀφείλομεν συναθροῖσαι τὰ λεπτὰ τῆς μονάδος.

Ἰστέον ὅτι ἔχει τὸ ια^{ον} τῆς μονάδος πισθομόρια, ἅπερ τινὲς μαλλία καλοῦσιν, γ^{ον} ια^{ον} λγ^{ον}, τὸ δὲ κβ^{ον}, γ^{ον} δ^{ον} ια^{ον} λγ^{ον} μδ^{ον}, τὸ δὲ μδ^{ον} ἔχει γ^{ον} λγ^{ον}, τὸ δὲ πη^{ον}, ιβ^{ον}[96] κβ^{ον} λγ^{ον} μδ^{ον}. ὁμαδεύσωμεν τὰς φωνὰς τὰς εὐχερῶς ὑπὸ τῆς δεξίας κρατουμένας· οἷον ἔχομεν γ^{ον} καὶ γ^{ον} καὶ γ^{ον} – τουτέστιν ἐκ τῆς λύσεως τοῦ ια^{ον} καὶ κβ^{ον} καὶ μδ^{ον} – καὶ ἐκ τοῦ κβ^{ου}, δ^{ον}, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ πη^{ου}, ιβ^{ον}· ὁμοῦ συνήξαμεν α γ^{ον}. ἔλθωμεν καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς ἄλλας φωνάς. εἰσὶν οὖν αὗται ια^{ον} λγ^{ον} καὶ ια^{ον} λγ^{ον} μδ^{ον} καὶ λγ^{ον} καὶ κβ^{ον} λγ^{ον} μδ^{ον}. συναθροίσωμεν αὐτὰς οὕτως. κράτει τὸ ια^{ον} α καὶ τὸ λγ^{ον} γ^{ον}, καὶ <τὸ ια^{ον} α καὶ τὸ λγ^{ον} γ^{ον}> τὸ μδ^{ον} δ^{ον}, καὶ πάλιν τὸ λγ^{ον} γ^{ον}, καὶ κβ^{ον} ⩦ καὶ λγ^{ον} γ^{ον} καὶ τὸ μδ^{ον} δ^{ον}. συνήχθησαν οὖν δ γ^{ον}· ταῦτα τὰ δ γ^{ον} λῦσον εἰς ια· γίνεται γ^{ον} (γ ↄ) κβ^{ον} (⩦) ξς^{ον} (ς^{ον})· γίνεται γ^{ον} κβ^{ον} ξς^{ον}. μίξωμεν οὖν καὶ τὴν α γ^{ον} τὴν συναχθεῖσαν ἐκ τῶν στερεῶν· ὁμοῦ συνάγονται ψῆφοι α ↄ κβ^{ον} ξς^{ον}, ὡς δῆλον εἶναι ὅτι συνάγουσιν αἱ φωναί – τουτέστι τὸ γ^{ον} ια^{ον} λγ^{ον} <, τὸ γ^{ον} δ^{ον} ια^{ον} λγ^{ον} μδ^{ον}, τὸ γ^{ον} λγ^{ον}> καὶ τὸ ιβ^{ον} κβ^{ον} λγ^{ον} μδ^{ον} – α ↄ κβ^{ον} ξς^{ον}. τούτῳ οὖν τῷ κανόνι πάντα τὰ λεγόμενα πισθομόρια συναθροίζων εἴσῃ τὰς μεθόδους φιλοπόνως εὑρίσκειν φιλομαθέστατε.

Procedure by means of which we ought to put together the parts of the unit.

One has to know that $\frac{1}{11}$ has further parts than the unit, which indeed some call mallia, namely, $\frac{1}{3}$ $\frac{1}{11}$, $\frac{1}{33}$, and $\frac{1}{22}$, $\frac{1}{3}$ $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{11}$ $\frac{1}{33}$ $\frac{1}{44}$, and $\frac{1}{44}$ has $\frac{1}{3}$ $\frac{1}{33}$, and $\frac{1}{88}$, $\frac{1}{12}$ $\frac{1}{22}$ $\frac{1}{33}$ $\frac{1}{44}$. Let us collect those denominations that easily kept on the right; for instance, we have $\frac{1}{3}$ and $\frac{1}{3}$ and $\frac{1}{3}$—that is, from the resolution of $\frac{1}{11}$ and $\frac{1}{22}$ and $\frac{1}{33}$—and from $\frac{1}{22}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, and from $\frac{1}{88}$, $\frac{1}{12}$: together we gathered 1 $\frac{1}{3}$. Let us also come to the other denominations. Then these are $\frac{1}{11}$ $\frac{1}{33}$ and $\frac{1}{11}$ $\frac{1}{33}$ $\frac{1}{44}$ and $\frac{1}{33}$ and $\frac{1}{22}$ $\frac{1}{33}$ $\frac{1}{44}$. Let us put them together as follows. Keep $\frac{1}{11}$ 1 and $\frac{1}{33}$ $\frac{1}{3}$ and <$\frac{1}{11}$ 1 and $\frac{1}{33}$ $\frac{1}{3}$> and $\frac{1}{44}$ $\frac{1}{4}$, and again $\frac{1}{33}$ $\frac{1}{3}$ and $\frac{1}{22}$ $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{33}$ $\frac{1}{3}$ and $\frac{1}{44}$ $\frac{1}{4}$: then 4 $\frac{1}{3}$ were gathered; resolve these 4 $\frac{1}{3}$ into 11: it yields $\frac{1}{3}$ (3 $\frac{2}{3}$) $\frac{1}{22}$ ($\frac{1}{2}$) $\frac{1}{66}$ ($\frac{1}{6}$): it yields $\frac{1}{3}$ $\frac{1}{22}$ $\frac{1}{66}$. Then let us also merge 1 $\frac{1}{3}$ gathered from the solid ‹numbers›: together 1 $\frac{2}{3}$ $\frac{1}{22}$ $\frac{1}{66}$ parts are gathered, so as to be clear that the denominations—that is, $\frac{1}{3}$ $\frac{1}{11}$ $\frac{1}{33}$ <, $\frac{1}{3}$ $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{11}$ $\frac{1}{33}$ $\frac{1}{44}$, $\frac{1}{44}$ has $\frac{1}{3}$ $\frac{1}{33}$> and $\frac{1}{12}$ $\frac{1}{22}$ $\frac{1}{33}$ $\frac{1}{44}$—gather 1 $\frac{2}{3}$ $\frac{1}{22}$ $\frac{1}{66}$. Then assembling by means of this rule all the so-called further parts you will know industriously to find the procedures, you fondest of learning.

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[95] κουσῃς L

[96] γ^{ον} L

Problem 38. A most interesting problem, despite some copying mistakes. Apparently, the μαλλία (word unknown to the TLG) or τῆς μονάδος πισθομόρια "further parts than the unit" are the unit fractions in a given resolution of an assigned (unit) fraction into unit fractions, only the fractional part exceeding a unit being retained. It is obvious that the μαλλία here listed add to something greater than the assigned fraction, so that some rescaling must have occurred. In fact, the indicated sequences of unit fractions add to 16 times the corresponding assigned fractions; since $^{16}/_{11}$ is greater than 1, $^{5}/_{11}$ is retained. Thus, the μαλλία set out add to $^{5}/_{11}$, $^{8}/_{11}$, $^{4}/_{11}$, and $^{2}/_{11}$, in this order. All the μαλλία are systematically gathered, and the result is $1\ ^{8}/_{11}$. I am unable to explain the presence of the denomination στερεός "solid ‹number›" in this context. The last sentence of the problem has a clear interlocutive value.

39

[= *Anonymus* P, no. 24 = Rhabdas, no. XIII] | alium atramentum

Λέγει τις ὅτι προέλαβε τινὰ στάδια ὅσα προέλαβε, καὶ ἄλλος εἰσελθὼν μετὰ ἡμέρας κ ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ αὐτοῦ ἐποίει καθ' ἡμέραν στάδια υ, καὶ ἔφθασεν αὐτὸν διὰ ἡμερῶν ξ. πόσα στάδια ἐποίει καθ' ἡμέραν ὁ ἐξελθὼν πρῶτος;

ποίει οὕτως. ξ υ· γίνεται β͵δ· ἐπανάλαβε[97] τὰ κ ἐπὶ τὰ ξ· γίνεται π· τὸ π^{ον} τῶν β͵δ· γίνεται τ· ὡς δηλονότι ἐποίει ὁ προεξελθὼν καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν στάδια τ.

Someone says that he was ahead of someone how many stadia he was ahead by, and another one coming into in his route after 20 days made 400 stadia per day, and overtook him in 60 days. How many stadia per day made the one who set out first?

Do as follows. 60 ‹by› 400: it yields 2400; take up 20 in addition on 60: it yields 80; $^{1}/_{80}$ of 2400: it yields 300; so that clearly the one who set out before made 300 stadia per each day.

Problems 39, 43, 44. Standard pursuit problems. The gloss πρόσθες for the non-canonical ἐπανάλαβε suggests that L copied an annotated set of problems. In probs. **39** and **43**, the relation used is that speed by elapsed time yields run-distance; the run-distances are equated of two runners, the second moving later than the first. Thus, one gets $v_1t_1 = v_2t_2$, with $t_1 = t_2 + a$. In prob. **39**, one has to find v_1, in prob. **43**, t_2 . *Equation*. $v_1(t_2 + a) = v_2t_2$, with $(v_1,t_2,a,v_2) = (x,60,20,400)$. *Algorithm*. $(t_2,a,v_2) \rightarrow t_2v_2$. $t_2 + a \rightarrow [1/(t_2 + a)]t_2v_2 = x$.

40

[= *Anonymus* P, no. 84 = Planudes, *Great Calculation*, 191.17–193.21 Allard]

Ἐν ἀρίστῳ μῆλα παρετέθησαν, καὶ ἐδόθη τῷ ἑνὶ μῆλον α καὶ τὰ ζζ^{α} τῶν μεινάντων μήλων, καὶ τῷ δευτέρῳ β καὶ τὰ ζζ^{α} τῶν μεινάντων μήλων, καὶ τῷ τρίτῳ γ καὶ τὰ ζζ^{α} τῶν μεινάντων μήλων, καὶ τῷ τετάρτῳ δ καὶ τὰ ζζ^{α} τῶν μεινάντων μήλων, καὶ τοῖς ὑπολοίποις τῶν ἀριστούντων ὁμοίως. εἰπεῖν χρὴ πόσοι οἱ ἀρισοῦντες ἦσαν καὶ πόσα τὰ μῆλα.

{marg. μέθοδος} ἐπειδὴ ζ^{ον} εἶπε, κρατοῦμεν ζ· ἐπαίρομεν ἕν· λοιπὰ ς· ἐξάπλωσον τὰ ς· γίνεται λς· ὡς δῆλον ὅτι ἦσαν οἱ ἀρισοῦντες ς καὶ τὰ μηλα λς.

Ἡ ἀπόδειξις. Ἐκ τῶν λς μήλων δὸς τῷ ἑνὶ ἕν· μένουσι λε· δὸς καὶ τούτων τὸ ζ^{ον}· γίνονται ὁμοῦ ς. ἰδοὺ ἔλαβεν ὁ εἷς μῆλα ς· λοιπὰ ἔμειναν μῆλα λ· ὁ β, δύο· λοιπὰ κη· τούτων τὸ ζ^{ον}· γίνεται δ· ὁμοῦ ς. καὶ ἔλαβεν ὁ δεύτερος ς· ἔμειναν μῆλα κδ· |[169r] ὁ γ^{ος}, γ· λοιπὰ ἔμειναν μῆλα κα· καὶ τούτων τὸ ζ^{ον}· γίνεται γ· ὁμοῦ ς. καὶ ἔλαβεν ὁ τρίτος ς· λοιπὰ ἔμειναν μῆλα ιη· ὁ τέταρτος, δ· λοιπὰ ιδ· καὶ τούτων τὸ ζ^{ον}· γίνεται β· ὁμοῦ ς. ἔλαβεν καὶ ὁ τέταρτος ς· λοιπὰ ἔμειναν μῆλα ιβ· ὁ ε^{ος}, ε· λοιπὰ ζ· καὶ τούτων τὸ ζ^{ον}· γίνεται α· ὁμοῦ ς. ἔλαβεν καὶ ὁ ε^{ος} ς· λοιπὰ ἔμειναν ς. ἔλαβεν καὶ ὁ ς^{ος} τὰ ς μείναντα μῆλα. ἦσαν οὖν οἱ ἀριστοῦντες ς καὶ τὰ μῆλα λς.

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[97] πρόσθες s.l. m.1

Apples were served up for breakfast, and 1 apple and the sevenths of the remaining apples were given to one, and 2 apples and the sevenths of the remaining apples to a second one, and 3 apples and the sevenths of the remaining apples to a third one, and 4 apples and the sevenths of the remaining apples to a fourth one, and similarly to the left over ones of those having the breakfast. One must say how many those having the breakfast were and how many the apples.

Procedure. Since he said ⅐, we keep 7; we raise one: 6 as remainders; sextuplicate 6: it yields 36; so that it is clear that those having the breakfast were 6 and the apples 36.

Proof. From the 36 apples give one to the one: 35 remain; give also ⅐ of these: together they yield 6. There it is, the one took 6 apples: 30 apples remained as remainders; the 2nd ‹took› two: 28 as remainders; ⅐ of these: it yields 4: together 6. The second also took 6; 24 apples remained; the 3rd, 3: 21 remained as remainders; and ⅐ of these: it yields 3: together 6. The third also took 6; 18 apples remained; the fourth, 4: 14 as remainders; and ⅐ of these: it yields 2: together 6. The fourth also took 6; 12 apples remained as remainders; the 5th, 5: 7 as remainders; and ⅐ of these: it yields 1: together 6. The 5th also took 6; 6 as remainders. The 6th also took the remaining 6 apples. Then those having the breakfast were 6 and the apples 36.

Problem 40. A much-contrived yet classical riddle of iterative partition. Cf. prob. **45** and Papyrus Achmin, no. 13, 17. Contrary to prob. **45**, this problem is not conducive to generalization because this does not always allow for non-integer solutions. Just note in this connection that the only given number provided is 7: as a matter of fact, it is tacitly assumed that each participant gets the same share of apples; moreover, that there are 6 participants in the breakfast is forced by choosing 7 as the part to be given to each. A long check is provided. *Equation*. Iterative: $i + (x - k_{i-1} - i)/7 = k_i$, $\sum_i k_i = a$, $i = 1 \ldots n$, $k_0 = 0$, where x is the number of apples and n the number of participants. Find x and n. *Algorithm*. (⅐) → 7 – 1 → 6(7 – 1) = x. It is simply stated that $n = 6$.

41

[= *Anonymus* P, no. 85]

πρός τινα εἰσῆλθον τρεῖς τινές, καὶ ἔπιον δροσάτον λίτραν α τραχίων τξ. ἔπιον δὲ οὕτως. ὁ εἷς γ, ὁ ἄλλος δ καὶ ὁ ἄλλος ε. εἰπεῖν τί ἑκάστῳ ἁρμόττει δοῦναι ἀναλόγως ὧν ἔπιον.

ποίησον οὕτως. γ καὶ δ καὶ ε· ὁμοῦ γίνονται ιβ. τρίπλωσον τὰ τξ· γίνεται ͵απ· τούτων τὸ ιβ^{ον}· γίνεται ρ. καὶ ὅτι ἔπιεν δ, τετράπλωσον τὰ τξ· γίνεται ͵αυμ· ὧν τὸ ιβ^{ον}· γίνεται ρκ. ἔπιεν δὲ καὶ ὁ γ^{ος} ε· πεντάπλωσον τὰ τξ· γίνεται ͵αω· ὧν τὸ ιβ^{ον}· γίνεται ρν· ὁμοῦ γίνεται ρ καὶ ρκ καὶ ρν, ἅ εἰσι τξ.

Three guys came into at someone’s, and drank 1 pound of drink ‹for› 360 trachia. They drank as follows. The first 3, the other one 4, and the other one 5. Say what each of them is due to give in proportion to what they drank.

Do as follows. 3 and 4 and 5: together they yield 12. Triplicate 360: it yields 1080; 1/12 of these: it yields 90. And as he drank 4, quadruplicate 360: it yields 1440; of which 1/12: it yields 120. And the third also drank 5; quintuplicate 360: it yields 1800; of which 1/12: it yields 150: together it yields 90 and 120 and 150, which are 360.

Problem 41. See the commentary on prob. **5**. For the small coin τραχίον, see Rhabdas in Tannery, Notice 148.8–9, stating that 1/26 of a carat is worth ⅔ of a trachion, which entails that 1 nomisma = 416 trachia. A problem of proportional partition, with final check. *Equation*. $x + y + z = k$ and $x{:}y{:}z = a{:}b{:}c$, with $(a,b,c,k) = (3,4,5,360)$. *Algorithm*. $(a,b,c) \rightarrow a + b + c$. $ak \rightarrow [1/(a + b + c)]ak = x \mid bk \rightarrow [1/(a + b + c)]bk = y \mid ck \rightarrow [1/(a + b + c)]ck = z$.

42

[= *Anonymus* P, no. 86]

{marg. τὸ τῶν μελισσῶν}

Μέλισσαι εἰσελθοῦσαι ἐν τόπῳ ἔφαγον μέλιτος λίτρας ρ, καὶ κρατηθεῖσα μία καὶ θλιβεῖσα ἐξέβαλε ϛ^{ον} ζ^{ον} ιδ^{ον} κα^{ον} οὐγγίας. εἰπεῖν πόσαι μέλισσαι ἦσαν αἱ τὸ μέλι φαγοῦσαι.

{marg. μέθοδος} Ἐπειδὴ ϛ^{ον} ζ^{ον} ιδ^{ον} κα^{ον} οὐγγίας εἶπε φαγεῖν τὴν μέλισσαν, τὴν οὐγγίαν β γ^{ον} μέλισσαι ἔφαγον. (διὰ τί δὲ δύο γ^{ον}· διὰ τὸ γίνεσθαι τὸ ϛ^{ον} ζ^{ον} ιδ^{ον} κα^{ον} τῶν ζ γ, τὸ δὲ γ^{ον} τῶν ζ γίνεται β γ^{ον}.) ἐπεὶ οὖν ἡ λίτρα ἔχει οὐγγίας ιβ, ποίησον β γ^{ον} ἐπὶ ιβ· γίνεται κη. ἔφαγον οὖν τὴν λίτραν μέλισσαι κη. καὶ ὅτι ρ λίτρας τοῦ μέλιτος ἔφαγον, ποίησον οὕτως. κη ἐπὶ ρ· γίνεται ˏβω· ὡς δηλονότι ἔφαγον τὰς ρ λίτρας μέλισσαι ˏβω.

The one of the bees.

Bees coming to a place ate 100 pounds of honey, and one of them caught and squeezed gave out $\frac{1}{6}$ $\frac{1}{7}$ $\frac{1}{14}$ $\frac{1}{21}$ ounces. Say how many bees there were eating the honey.

Procedure. Since he said that a bee ate $\frac{1}{6}$ $\frac{1}{7}$ $\frac{1}{14}$ $\frac{1}{21}$ ounces, 2 bees $\frac{1}{3}$ ate an ounce. (And why two $\frac{1}{3}$? Because of $\frac{1}{6}$ $\frac{1}{7}$ $\frac{1}{14}$ $\frac{1}{21}$ of 7 yielding 3, and $\frac{1}{3}$ of 7 yields 2 $\frac{1}{3}$.) Then since a pound has 12 ounces, do 2 $\frac{1}{3}$ by 12: it yields 28. Then 28 bees ate a pound. And as they ate 100 pounds of honey, do as follows. 28 by 100: it yields 2800; so that clearly 2800 bees ate the 100 pounds.

Problem 42. An iterated application of the rule of three. If a bee eats *r*/*s* ounces of honey, *s*/*r* bees eat 1 ounce, 12(*s*/*r*) eat a pound (= 12 ounces), [12(*s*/*r*)]*n* eat *n* pounds. *Algorithm*. (*r*/*s*,*n*) → *s*/*r* → (*s*/*r*)12 → [(*s*/*r*)12]*n*.

43

[= *Anonymus* P, no. 87]

Λέγει τίς δοῦλος ἔφυγε καὶ προέλαβε τὸν δεσπότην αὐτοῦ ἡμέρας δ· ἐποίει δὲ τὴν ἡμέραν ὁ δοῦλος μήλια κδ καὶ ὁ δεσπότης μήλια λ. διὰ πόσων ἡμερῶν ἔφθασεν αὐτὸν ὁ δεσπότης αὐτοῦ;

{marg. Ἡ μέθοδος} Ἐπειδὴ δ ἡμέρας προέλαβε ὁ δοῦλος <καὶ> ἐποίει μίλια κδ, ποίησον δ ἐπὶ κδ· γίνεται ρς. καὶ ὅτι ὁ δεσπότης λ μίλια ἐποίει, κούφισον ἐκ τῶν λ τὰ κδ, ἅπερ ἐποίει ὁ δοῦλος· λοιπὰ ϛ· τὸ ϛ^{ον} τῶν ρς· γίνεται ις. ἔφθασεν οὖν τὸν δοῦλον ὁ δεσπότης δι᾽ ἡμερῶν ις.

Someone says a slave escaped and was 4 days ahead of his master; and the slave made 24 miles in a day and the master 30 miles. In how many days his master overtook him?

Procedure. Since the slave was 4 days ahead <and> made 24 miles, do 4 by 24: it yields 96. And as the master made 30 miles, subtract 24, which indeed the slave made, from 30: 6 as remainders; $\frac{1}{6}$ of 96: it yields 16. Then the master overtook the slave in 16 days.

Problem 43. See the commentary on prob. **39**. *Equation*. $v_1(t_2 + a) = v_2t_2$ with $(v_1,t_2,a,v_2) = (24,x,4,30)$. *Algorithm*. $(v_1,a,v_2) \rightarrow av_1 \,.\, v_2 - v_1 \rightarrow [1/(v_2 - v_1)]av_1 = x$.

44

[= *Anonymus* P, no. 88; cf. *Anonymus* V, no. 81, *Anonymus* U, no. 11]

Σκύλος ἀπελύθη ὀπίσω λαγοῦ, προέκοψε δὲ ὁ λαγὸς πηδήματα μ, καὶ οὕτως ἀπελύθη ὁ σκύλος ποιῶν ἐπάνω τοῦ λαγοῦ ιβ^{ον} κβ^{ον} λγ^{ον} μδ^{ον} μέρος τοῦ πηδήματος.[98] διὰ πόσων πηδημάτων ἔφθασεν ὁ σκύλλος τὸν λαγόν;

[98] marg. ext. ὅτι τὸ ιβ^{ον}

ἐπειδὴ μ πηδήματα προέλαβεν ὁ λαγὸς τὸν σκύλον ὁ δὲ σκύλλος ιβ^{ον} κβ^{ον} λγ^{ον} μδ^{ον} μέρος προέτυπεν ἐπάνω τοῦ πηδήματος τοῦ λαγοῦ, ποίησον μ ἐπὶ ια· γίνεται υμ· (διὰ τί δὲ ἐπὶ ια; διὰ <τὸ> τὸ ἀριθμὸν εἶναι τὸ ιβ^{ον} κβ^{ον} λγ^{ον} μδ^{ον} τῶν ια·) ποίησον τὸ ⩧ τῶν υμ· γίνεται σκ· (διὰ τί δὲ τὸ ⩧; ὅτι αἱ φωναὶ β εἰς ια εἰσὶν[99] |[169v] τὰ δὲ β ἀριθμὸς τῶν ἡμίσεων ἐστίν). ἔφθασεν οὖν ὁ σκύλλος τὸν λαγὸν διὰ πηδημάτων σκ.

οὕτως. τὸ ιβ^{ον} τῶν σκ· γίνεται ιη γ^{ον}. καὶ τὸ κβ^{ον} τῶν σκ· γίνεται ι. καὶ τὸ λγ^{ον} τῶν σκ· γίνεται ς ϟ. καὶ τὸ μδ^{ον} τῶν σκ· γίνεται ε· ὁμοῦ μ.

A hound was released after a hare, and the hare was in advance of 40 leaps, and the hound was so released as to make the $\frac{1}{12}$ $\frac{1}{22}$ $\frac{1}{33}$ $\frac{1}{44}$ part of a leap above and beyond the hare's. In how many leaps the hound overtook the hare?

Since the hare was 40 leaps ahead of the hound and the hound struk the $\frac{1}{12}$ $\frac{1}{22}$ $\frac{1}{33}$ $\frac{1}{44}$ part ‹of a leap› above and beyond a leap of the hare, do 40 by 11: it yields 440; (and why by 11? Because of the number being $\frac{1}{12}$ $\frac{1}{22}$ $\frac{1}{33}$ $\frac{1}{44}$ of 11;) do $\frac{1}{2}$ of 440: it yields 220; (and why $\frac{1}{2}$? Because the denominations are 2 into 11 and 2 is number of the halves). Then the hound overtook the hare in 220 leaps.

As follows. $\frac{1}{12}$ of 220: it yields 18 $\frac{1}{3}$. And $\frac{1}{22}$ of 220: it yields 10. And $\frac{1}{33}$ of 220: it yields 6 $\frac{2}{3}$. And $\frac{1}{44}$ of 220: it yields 5: together 40.

Problem 44. See the commentary on prob. **39**. This problem is framed in terms of sought *l*eaps and their parts, thus eliminating any reference to speed, time, and distance. The common fraction expressed in terms of unit fractions is $\frac{2}{11}$, which provides the canonical answer to the two questions. A final check is provided. Note the two *marginalia*, the first of which is misplaced; they identify the relevant unit sum of unit fractions. *Equation*. $l + a = l + (\frac{1}{s})\ l$. *Algorithm*. $(r,s,a) \rightarrow as \rightarrow (\frac{1}{r})as = l$.

45

[= *Anonymus* P, no. 89 = Rhabdas, no. XI]

τὸ τῶν προσαιτῶν.

Ἤτει τίς τινὰ προσαίτης, ὁ δὲ διδοὺς λέγει· ἐὰν διπλωθῶσιν ἅπερ βαστάζω, παρέχω σοι νουμμία λε, καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως. ὁμοίως καὶ ἐπὶ δευτέρῳ οὕτως, καὶ παρέσχε καὶ αὐτῷ νουμμία λε. ὁμοίως καὶ ἐπὶ γ^{ῳ}, καὶ ἔλαβε καὶ αὐτὸς νουμμία λε, καὶ οὐδὲν ἔμεινε τῷ δεδωκότι τὴν εὐποιΐαν. τί οὖν πρότερον ἐβάσταζεν.

{marg. μέθοδος} Ἐπειδὴ διπλῶσαι εἶπε καὶ τρεῖς προσαῖται ἦσαν, ποίησον τὸ ⩧ τῆς α· γίνεται ⩧· καὶ τὸ ⩧ τοῦ ⩧· γίνεται δ^{ον}· καὶ τὸ ⩧ τοῦ δ^{ον}· γίνεται η^{ον}· ὁμοῦ γίνεται ⩧ δ^{ον} η^{ον}· ποίησον ἄρτι τὸ ⩧ δ^{ον} η^{ον} τῶν λε· γίνεται λ ⩧ η^{ον}, οὕτως. τὸ ⩧ τῶν λε· γίνεται ιζ ⩧. τὸ δ^{ον} τῶν λε· γίνεται η ⩧ δ^{ον}. τὸ η^{ον} τῶν λε· γίνεται δ δ^{ον} η^{ον}· ὁμοῦ γίνεται λ ⩧ η^{ον}. ταῦτα ἐβάσταζε τὸ πρότερον ὁ τὴν εὐποιΐαν διδούς.

Ἡ ἀπόδειξις. δίπλωσον τὰ λ ⩧ η^{ον}· γίνεται ξα δ^{ον}· δὸς ἐξ αὐτῶν λε· λοιπὰ κς δ^{ον}· δίπλωσον ταύτας· γίνεται νβ ⩧· δὸς λε· λοιπὰ ιζ ⩧· δίπλωσον ταῦτα· γίνεται λε· δὸς καὶ τῷ τρίτῳ λε, καὶ οὐδὲν ὑπολείπεται. ὡς οὖν εἴπομεν, ἐβάσταζε τὸ πρῶτον νουμμία λ ⩧ η^{ον}.

The one of the beggars.

Some beggar begs someone, and the one who gives says: if what I indeed hold were doubled, I provide you 35 noummia, and so happened. Similarly so also with a second ‹beggar›, and he also gave him 35 noummia. Similarly also with a third, and this one also took 35 noummia, and nothing remained to the one who had given the beneficence. Then what did he hold before?

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[99] marg. inf. ὅτι τὸ ιβ^{ον} κβ^{ον} λγ^{ον} μδ^{ον} τῶν β ιαια^{α} ἤγουν ς^{ον} ξς^{ον} τοῦ ὅλου

Procedure. Since he said “to double” and there were three beggars, do ½ of 1: it yields ½; and ½ of ½: it yields ¼; and ½ of ¼: it yields ⅛: together it yields ½ ¼ ⅛; do now ½ ¼ ⅛ of 35: it yields 30 ½ ⅛, as follows. ½ of 35: it yields 17 ½. ¼ of 35: it yields 8 ½ ¼. ⅛ of 35: it yields 4 ¼ ⅛: together it yields 30 ½ ⅛. These held before the one who gives the beneficence.

Proof. Double 30 ½ ⅛: it yields 61 ¼; give 35 out of them: 26 ¼ as remainders; double these: it yields 52 ½; give 35: 17 ½ as remainders; double these: it yields 35; also give 35 to the third one, and nothing is left over. Then, as we said, he held first 30 ½ ⅛ noummia.

Problem 45. A much-contrived yet classical riddle, as the title testifies. Cf. prob. **40**. A complete check is provided. For the noummion, see prob. **12**. *Equation*. $2^n(\ldots(2(2x - a) - a)\ldots) - a = 0$, yielding $x = (\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{4} + \ldots + \frac{1}{2^n})a$. *Algorithm*. $(a,n) \rightarrow \frac{1}{2}, \frac{1}{4} \ldots \frac{1}{2^n} \rightarrow \frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{4} + \ldots + \frac{1}{2^n} \rightarrow (\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{4} + \ldots + \frac{1}{2^n})a = x$.

46

[= *Anonymus* P, no. 90]

Τίς ἔσυρε ϛ^{ον} ιγ^{ον} κϛ^{ον} λθ^{ον} μέρος τοῦ τοξαρίου καὶ ἔκρουσε στρουθία η. ἐὰν ἔσυρε ὅλον, πόσα ἔμελλε κρούειν;

Ἡ μέθοδος. Ἐπειδὴ τὸ ϛ^{ον} ιγ^{ον} κϛ^{ον} λθ^{ον} δ ἐστιν <ιγ^{α}>, καὶ ὅτι η στρουθία εἶπε κροῦσαι αὐτόν, ποιοῦμεν η ιγ· γίνεται ρδ· καὶ λύομεν εἰς δ· τὸ οὖν δ^{ον} τῶν ρδ· γίνεται κϛ. ἐφόνευσεν οὖν, εἰ ἔσυρε ὅλον τὸ τοξάριον, στρουθία κϛ.

τὸ γὰρ ϛ^{ον} τῶν κϛ γίνεται δ γ^{ον}, καὶ τὸ ιγ^{ον} τῶν κϛ γίνεται β, καὶ τὸ κϛ^{ον} τῶν κϛ γίνεται α, καὶ τὸ λθ^{ον} τῶν κϛ γίνεται ϖ· ὁμοῦ η.

Someone stretched the ⅙ $\frac{1}{13}$ $\frac{1}{26}$ $\frac{1}{39}$ part of a bow and pierced 8 birds. If he had stretched the whole of it, how many would he have pierced?

Procedure. Since ⅙ $\frac{1}{13}$ $\frac{1}{26}$ $\frac{1}{39}$ is $\frac{4}{<13>}$, and as he said he had pierced 8 birds, we do 8 ‹by› 13: it yields 104; and we resolve into 4; then ¼ of 104: it yields 26. Then, if he had stretched the whole bow, he would have killed 26 birds.

In fact, ⅙ of 26 yields 4 ⅓, and $\frac{1}{13}$ of 26 yields 2, and $\frac{1}{26}$ of 26 yields 1, and $\frac{1}{39}$ of 26 yields ⅔: together 8.

Problem 46. Compare prob. **42**. A simple application of the rule of three. If a bow stretched for a part *r*/*s* kills *n* birds, the wholly stretched bow will kill (*r*/*s*)*n*. A final check is provided. *Algorithm*. $(r/s,n) \rightarrow ns \rightarrow ns/r$.

47

[***] | primum atramentum

<Λ>έγει τις σῖτος ἐπράθη τῷ νομίσματι μόδια κη[100]. τῶν θ μοδίων τί ἐδόθησαν;

ποιοῦμεν οὕτως. τὰ θ μόδια ἐπὶ τὰ κδ κεράτια τοῦ νομίσματος· γίνεται σις· ταύτας λῦσον εἰς τὰ κη μόδια· γίνεται κεράτια ζ ⏓ ζ^{ον} ιδ^{ον}. οἱ θ μόδιοι κεράτια ζ ⏓ ζ^{ον} ιδ^{ον}.

Someone says grain was sold at 28 modii for a nomisma. What were they given for 9 modii?

We do as follows. The 9 modii by the 24 carats of a nomisma: it yields 216; resolve these into 28 modii: it yields carats 7 ½ $\frac{1}{7}$ $\frac{1}{14}$. The 9 modii ‹are sold› at 7 ½ $\frac{1}{7}$ $\frac{1}{14}$ carats.

Problems 47, 48. Simple applications of the rule of three entailing conversion of units of measurement, from nomisma to carats: a price is provided as *m*odii/*n*omisma and one is required to find what is given for some assigned amount of modii, or vice versa. The nomisma of the price must be resolved into 24 carats. *Equation*. $m{:}n = m_1{:}n_1$, the data and the unknown being $(m,n,m_1,n_1) = (28,24,9,x)$ and $(28,24,x,9)$, respectively. *Algorithm*. $(m,n,m_1) \rightarrow m_1n \rightarrow m_1n/m = x$.

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[100] κα L

48

[***]
{marg. ἄλλη ἐρώτησις}
τῷ νομίσματι μόδια κη. εἰς τὰ θ κεράτια πόσα λάβω;
τὰ θ κεράτια ἐπὶ τὰ κη μόδια· γίνεται σνβ· λῦσον εἰς τὰ κδ διὰ τὸ νόμισμα· τὸ οὖν κδ^{ον} τῶν σνβ· γίνεται ι ⸬. ὀφείλει λαβεῖν τῶν θ μοδίων ι ⸬.

Another question.
28 modii for a nomisma. How much do I take for 9 carats?
The 9 carats by the 28 modii: it yields 252; resolve into 24 because of the nomisma; then $\frac{1}{24}$ of 252: it yields 10 ½. One ought to take 10 ½ of the 9 modii.

Problem 48. See prob. **47**. *Algorithm*. $(m,n,n_1) \rightarrow n_1m \rightarrow n_1m/n = x$.

EDITION, TRANSLATION, AND COMMENTARY OF *ANONYMUS* J

Vat. gr. 191, f. 261r

ἀρχὴ σὺν θεῷ διαφόρων ἐρωτημάτων
Beginning with God of various questions

a

[= *Anonymus* 1306, item 1 of μέθοδοι καθολικαί; cf. *Anonymus* L, no. 8, 10, 11]
<Ἐ>ρώτησε τίς πρὸς ἕτερον ὅτι δός μοι ἀφ' ὧν βαστάζεις ἓν καὶ λάβε τέσσαρα ἐξ ἐμοῦ, καὶ ἐσμὲν ἴσα βαστάζοντες. ἀπεκρίθη ὁ ἄλλος· δὸς καὶ σὺ ἐμοὶ τέσσαρα καὶ λάβε ἕν, καὶ ἐσμὲν ἴσα.
μέθοδος. εἰπὲ δ δ· ις διὰ τὸ ζητῆσαι δ· τὸ ἥμισυ οὖν τῶν ις ἔστιν ὀκτώ· <πρόσθες οὖν εἰς μὲν τὰ η, γ, εἰς δὲ τὰ ἕτερα η κούφισον ἕτερα γ·> λοιπὸν οὖν ὁ μὲν εἶχε ε ὁ δὲ ἕτερος ια.
ἐὰν δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ια ἐκβάλῃς δ καὶ προσθήσεις α, γίνονται ὀκτώ. ὁμοίως καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ε ἐὰν ἐκβάλῃς α καὶ προσθήσεις δ, γίνονται ὀκτώ.

Someone asked another one: give me one from those you hold and take four from me, and we are holding the same. The other answered: you too, give me four and take one, and we are ‹holding› the same.
Procedure. Say 4 ‹by› 4: 16 because of searching 4; then a half of 16 is eight; <then add 3 to 8, and subtract other 3 to the other 8;> then finally the one had 5, the other 11.
And if you take 4 away from 11 and will add 1, they yield eight. And similarly if you take 1 away from 5 and will add 4, they yield eight.

Problems a, b, d. Give-take problems: assigned exchange amount and assigned final ratios (one of them always the ratio of equality; the other once equality and twice double). Prob. **a** is indeterminate because the two conditions coincide: any two numbers whose difference is 6 will work; the choice of 4 must be partly dictated by analogy with the general solution of such problems, in which the rescaling number is the exchange amount: cf. διὰ τὸ ζητῆσαι δ. An omitted sequence is supplied on the basis of *Anonymus* 1306. Cf. *AP* XIV.145, 146, and the commentary on prob. **8**. *Equation*. $x + a – b = y – a + b$, twice. *Algorithm*. $(a) \rightarrow aa \rightarrow aa/2 \rightarrow aa/2 + (a – b) = y$. $aa/2 – (a – b) = x$.

b

[cf. *Anonymus* L, no. 8, 10, 11]

<E>ἶπε τίς πρὸς ἕτερον· δός μοι τόσα ἀφ' ὧν βαστάζεις, καὶ ἐσμὲν ἶσα, ἢ λάβε ἐξ ἐμοῦ τὰ αὐτά, καὶ ἔχεις διπλά.

μέθοδος. <K>ράτει ἀεὶ δώδεκα, καὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὃν ἐρωτᾷ σε πολλαπλασίαζε εἰς τὰ ιβ, εἶτα μέρισον τὸν πολλαπλασιασμὸν εἰς ιβ, καὶ ταῦτα πάλιν μέρισον εἰς τὰ δύο, καὶ ἐπίδος τῷ μὲν ἑνὶ δωδέκατα ἑπτὰ τῷ δὲ ἑτέρῳ ιβ$^{\alpha}$ιβ$^{\alpha}$[101] ε.

Someone said to another one: give me such-and-such from those you hold, and we are ‹holding› the same, or take the same from me, and you have the double.

Procedure. Always keep twelve, and multiply the number that he asked you by 12, afterwards divide the multiplication into 12, and again divide these into two ‹parts›, and give seven twelfths to the one and $^{5}/_{12}$ to the other.

Problem b. Cf. the commentary on prob. **8.** It provides the general rule for $k = 2$ (it uses τόσα for the unknown!): one must rescale $^{7}/_{12}$ and $^{5}/_{12}$ by twelve times the exchanged amount. A copying mistake occurs in the final clause. Prob. **d** gives an application of the rule. *Equation*. $(x + a)/(y - a) = 2$, $y + a = x - a$. *Algorithm*. $(a) \rightarrow a12 \rightarrow (^{7}/_{12})\, a12 = x$. $(^{5}/_{12})a12 = y$.

c

[cf. *Anonymus* P, no. 100; *Anonymus* L, no. 3]

<Ἔ>λαχον[102] Πέτρος, Παῦλος καὶ Ἀνδρέας, καὶ ἐξέβαλεν ὁ μὲν Πέτρος τρία, ὁ Παῦλος πέντε καὶ ὁ Ἀνδρέας δύο· ὁμοῦ δέκα· δίπλασον ταῦτα· καὶ γίνονται κ· καὶ πρόσθες καὶ ε· καὶ γίνονται κε· τὰ ἀμφότερα πενταπλασιαζόμενα· γίνονται ρκε· καὶ δεκαπλασιαζόμενα· γίνονται ¸ασν· καὶ πάλιν δεκαπλασιαζόμενα· γίνονται α¨¸βφ. ἄρτι τρίπλασον τὰ τοῦ Πέτρου· καὶ γίνονται θ. καὶ ἐνναπλασίασον τὰ τοῦ Παύλου· καὶ γίνονται με. καὶ τὰ τοῦ Ἀνδρέου δεκαπλασίασον· καὶ γίνονται κ· ὁμοῦ τῶν τριῶν οδ. ὀφείλεις οὖν καθ' ἑαυτὸν δεκαπλασιάζειν ἀεὶ τὰ ι, καὶ ὑφέλλειν αὐτὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τῶν οδ – ἢ καὶ ἄλλου ἀριθμοῦ τοῦ γινομένου ἀπὸ τῆς ἑνώσεως τῶν τριῶν (ἤγουν τοῦ τριπλασιασμοῦ, τοῦ ἐνναπλασιασμοῦ καὶ τοῦ δεκαπλασιασμοῦ) – καὶ τὰ καταλιμπανόμενα κράτει, καὶ ὕφελλε ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὅσας ἑπτάδας ἔχεις, καὶ νόει ὅτι ὁ πρῶτος τοσαῦτα ἐξέβαλεν. ὅσα δέ σοι περιττεύου<σι>ν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑφειλμοῦ τοῦ ἑπτά, νόει ὅτι ἐξέβαλεν ὁ β^{ος}. ὅσα δέ σοι λείπει εἰς τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦ ὅλου λαχίου τῶν τριῶν ἐξέβαλεν ὁ τρίτος.

Peter, Paul, and Andrew cast lots, and Peter threw three, Paul five, and Andrew two; together ten; double these; and they yield 20; and also add 5; and they yield 25; both of them quintuplicated; they yield 125; and decuplicated; they yield 1250; and again decuplicated; they yield 12500. Now triplicate those of Peter; and they yield 9. And ennuplicate those of Paul; and they yield 45. And decuplicate those of Andrew; and they yield 20; the three together 74. Then you always ought to decuplicate 10 by yourself, and remove <from> them [from] the number of 74—or even [from] another number yielded by the union of the three (namely, of the triplication, the ennuplication, and the decuplication)—and keep what is left out, and remove as many heptads as you have from them, and conceive that the first threw this much. And as much as remains over for you from the removal of seven, conceive that ‹this much› threw the 2nd. And as much as is left for you as far as the number of the whole casting of the three, ‹this much› threw the third.

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[101] ις$^{\alpha}$ις$^{\alpha}$ J

[102] ἔλαχαν J

Problem c. Casting lots by dice: three people, two different prescriptions; what is given is the sum of the three castings and, in the second prescription, a suitable (and fixed) linear combination of them. In the second prescription, one of the 10s referred to is a parameter (cf. "always"), the other is the sum of the three castings, as derived from the previous relation. The subsequent step mistakenly interchanges subtrahend and minuend. Problems **c** and **e** are of the same kind. *Equations*. $10\{10[5(2\{x + y + z\} + 5)]\} = 10000\{x + y + z\} + 2500$ and $10(x + y + z) – (3x + 9y + 10z) = 7x + y$, which of course are identities. *Algorithms*. No algoritm is provided for the first prescription. The second: $(x + y + z,3x + 9y + 10z) = (k,h) \rightarrow 10k \rightarrow 10k – h \rightarrow [(10k – h)/7] = x \rightarrow 10k – h – 7x = y \rightarrow k – x – y = z$. Here, $[x]$ is the integral part of x.

d

[cf. *Anonymus* L, no. 8, 10, 11]

<Δ>ύο τινὲς ἠρώτησεν εἷς πρὸς τὸν ἕτερον· δός μοι ἀφ' ὧν βαστάζεις ζ, καὶ ἔχω διπλάσιον[103], ἢ ἆρον ἐξ ἐμοῦ ζ, καὶ ἐσμὲν ἴσα βαστάζοντες.

μέθοδος. <Ε>ἴ τι ἂν ἐστὶν ὁ ἀριθμός, δωδεκαπλασίασον, ἤγουν ζ ιβ· πδ. εἶθ' οὕτως πάλιν πενταπλασίαζε τὸν ἐκφωνούμενον ἀριθμόν (ἤγουν τὰ ζ), καὶ λέγε ε ζ· λε. λοιπὸν οὖν λε εἶχεν ὁ εἷς· ἐξερχομένων δὲ τῶν λε ἀπὸ τῶν πδ καταλιμπάνονται μθ. καὶ εἶχε ταῦτα τὰ μθ ὁ ἕτερος· ζ ζ γὰρ ἐστὶ μθ.

Two guys; the one asked to the other: give me 7 from those you hold, and I have the double, or raise 7 from me, and we are holding the same.

Procedure. If the number is something, dodecuplicate ‹it›, namely, 7 ‹by› 12: 84. Afterwards again, quintuplicate as follows the uttered number (namely, 7), and say 5 ‹by› 7: 35. Then finally the one had 35; and 35 coming out of 84, 49 are left out. And the other had these 49, for 7 ‹by› 7 is 49.

Problem d. General rule in prob. **b**. *Equation*. $(x + a)/(y – a) = 2$, $y + a = x – a$, with $a = 7$. *Algorithm*. $(a) \rightarrow a12 \,.\, a7 = x \rightarrow a12 – a7 = y$.

e

[cf. *Anonymus* V, no. 38 = Spingou, Πῶς δεῖ εὑρίσκειν; *Anonymus* L, no. 3]

<Τ>οῦ δακτυλιδίου τῶν παίδων

<Κ>ράτει ἀριθμὸν οἷον θέλεις καὶ δίπλασον· πρόσθες ἐπ' αὐτῷ ε· καὶ αὖθις πενταπλασίασον τὰ ὅλα· καὶ αὖθις τὰ ὅλα δεκαπλασίασον· πρόσθες ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν δακτύλων· καὶ αὖθις τὰ ὅλα δεκαπλασίασον· καὶ ἴδε τὰ ὅλα· καὶ ὕφελλε ἀπ' αὐτῶν πάντοτε ,βφ· καὶ κράτησον τὰ ἀπομείνοντα. καὶ ὅσας μὲν χιλιάδας ἔχεις, ἔστιν ὁ ἀριθμὸς τοῦ λαοῦ· ὅσας δὲ δεκάδας, ἔστιν ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῶν δακτύλων. διὰ τί δὲ ὑφέλλεις ,βφ; διότι ἡ ἀρχὴ ἔστι τὸ α· λοιπὸν οὖν διπλάζοντες τὸ α γίνεται β· προστιθέντες δὲ ε γίνεται ζ· πενταπλασιαζόμενα γοῦν γίνεται λε· δεκαπλασιαζόμενα γίνεται τν· καὶ πάλιν δεκαπλασιαζόμενα γίνεται ,γφ. λοιπὸν οὖν ἓν ὀφείλοντες γυρεύειν λέγομεν· ἆρον τὰ ,βφ· καὶ καταλιμπάνονται ,α, ἥτις χιλιὰς ἐστὶ τοῦ ἑνός.

Of the ring of the boys.

Keep such a number as you like and double ‹it›; add 5 to it; and quintuplicate anew the whole; and decuplicate anew the whole; add the number of the fingers to them; and decuplicate anew the whole; and see the whole; and always remove 2500 from it; and keep what remains. And as many thousands you have, they are the number of people, and as many decads, they are the number of the fingers. Why do you remove 2500? Because the beginning is 1; then finally doubling 1 it yields 2; and adding 5 it yields 7; then quintuplicated they yield 35; decuplicated they yield 350; and again decuplicated

[103] διπλάσον J

they yield 3500. Then finally, since we ought to circumvent one, we say: raise 2500; and 1000 are left out, which is indeed one thousand of one.

Problem e. The riddle of the ring. A trivialized variant, in which one has to find the finger in which someone among several people hold a ring; people must be arranged in a circle and reckoned starting from the one who holds the ring. The final explanation is interesting since it involves factoring out ("circumvent") the unit. Problems **c** and **e** are of the same kind. *Equation*. $10\{10[5(2x + 5)] + y\} = 1000x + 10y + 2500 = k$. *Algorithm*. $(k) \rightarrow k - 2500 \rightarrow myr(k - 2500) = x$. $dec(k - 2500) = y$.

f

[= *Anonymus* P, no. 111–112 = Vindob. phil. gr. 225, f. 154v]

<Ἐ>ρώτησις

<Κ>αβαλλάριοι ἑκατὸν διερχόμενοι εὗρον μηλέαν, καὶ ὁ μὲν πρῶτος ἁπλώσας εἰς τὴν μηλέαν ἀνελάβετο μῆλον ἕν, ὁ δεύτερος δύο, ὁ τρίτος τρία, ὁ τέταρτος τέσσαρα, ὁ πέμπτος ε, ὁ ἕκτος ς, ὁ ζ^{ος} ζ, ὁ ὄγδοος η, ὁ ἔννατος θ, ὁ δέκατος ι, καὶ καθεξῆς ἕως τῶν ἑκατόν, καὶ ἐπλήρωσαν ἅπαντα τὰ μῆλα. δέον γνῶναι πόσα μῆλα εἶχεν ἡ μηλέα.

μέθοδος. <Π>ολλαπλασίασον τὰ ἑκατὸν ἐφ' ἑαυτά, εἰπὼν ρ ρ· α· πρόσθες ρ· ὁμοῦ μύρια ἑκατόν· τὰ ͵α τούτων· ,εν. καὶ εἶχε ἡ μηλέα μῆλα ,εν. καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὁμοίως.

ἐὰν δὲ ὁ πρῶτος ἀφείλετο δύο, ὁ δεύτερος τέσσαρα, ὁ τρίτος ς, ὁ τέταρτος ὀκτώ, ὁ πέμπτος δέκα, ὁ ς^{ος} δώδεκα, καὶ ἐπληρώθησαν τὰ μῆλα μέχρι τῶν ρ καβαλλαρίων, πόσα ἂν ἐβάσταζεν ἡ μηλέα μῆλα;

ποιῶμεν οὕτως. πολλαπλασιάζομεν τὰ ρ ἐφ' ἑαυτά[104], λέγοντες ρ ρ· α· καὶ προστίθεμεν εἰς τὰ μύρια ρ· ὁμοῦ μύρια ἑκατόν, ἅτινα μοιρασίαν οὐ δέχονται, ἀλλ' ἀπεντεῦθεν λέγομεν ὅτι τόσα μῆλα.

Question.

One hundred passing-through riders found an apple orchard, and the first breaking into the apple orchard took up one apple, the second two, the third three, the fourth four, the fifth 5, the sixth 6, the 7th 7, the eighth 8, the ninth 9, the tenth 10, and in succession as far as one hundred, and they cleared all apples up. One must know how many apples had the apple orchard.

Procedure. Multiply one hundred by itself, saying 100 ‹by› 100: 10000; add 100; together one myriad one hundred; ½ of these; 5050. And the apple orchard had 5050 apples. And similarly for the others.

And if the first removed two, the second four, the third 6, the fourth eight, the fifth ten, the sixth twelve, and the apples were cleared up as far as the one hundred riders, how many apples would the apple orchard have hold?

Let's do as follows. We multiply 100 by themselves, saying 100 ‹by› 100: 10000; and we add 100 to the myriad; together one myriad one hundred, which indeed do not receive a partition, but we thereby say that the apples are such.

Problem f. Sum of an arithmetic progression. A copying mistake is corrected on the basis of the other two witnesses of the problem. Byzantine parallels. Five short arithmetical texts are ascribed to Kydones and to Argyros (ed. Acerbi, I problemi aritmetici); three of them expound procedures, with different degrees of generality, for the sum of an arithmetic progression; a fourth provides a proof of one such procedure. Cf. *Anonymus* P, no. 23, 37, 110–113; *Anonymus* 1436, no. 57–60 (for no. 110, see also, at f. 208v of the same manuscript as *Anonymus* P, the text edited in *HOO* IV xvi.16–xvii.5—a comparison of the two versions in Acerbi, I problemi aritmetici, Text 22); Vindob. phil. gr. 225, f. 154v (cf. *HOO* V cvii); and Moschopoulos' treatise on magic squares (ed. P. Tannery, Le traité de Manuel

[104] ἕν J

Moschopoulos sur les carrés magiques. Texte grec et traduction. *Annuaire de l'Association pour l'encouragement des études grecques en France* (1886) 88–118, repr. ID., Mémoires scientifiques IV. Toulouse – Paris 1920, 27–60: 34.24–36.9; Vat. gr. 1411, f. 118v, has a text identical to Tannery's; this manuscript is the earliest witness of the treatise; on Moschopoulos see TANNERY, Manuel Moschopoulos; cf. also *PLP*, no. 19373). Recall that a magic square is the arrangement, on the n^2 cells of a "chessboard", of the first n^2 integers so that the sum of the numbers in any row, column and in the two main diagonals is the same. Such a sum is equal to the sum of the n^2 arranged integers, divided by the number of rows (or columns), namely, by n. *Algorithm*. $(n) \to nn \to nn + n \to (nn + n)/2$.

APPENDIX

The list of resolutions of common fractions into unit fractions in Par. gr. 1670, ff. 44v–46v (P) is here edited and translated in tabular form. The list starts with fifths in the manuscript; the reason must be that the set of fractions with denominations from 2 to 4 would provide empty or trivial sets of resolutions. Recall that $^2/_3$ counts as a "unit fraction".

τὰ πέμπτα

εᵒᵛ τοῦ ἑνός, εᵒᵛ· τῶν β, γᵒᵛ ιεᵒᵛ ϟ δᵒᵛ ιᵒᵛ κᵒᵛ· τῶν γ, ⫟ ιᵒᵛ ϟ γᵒᵛ εᵒᵛ ιεᵒᵛ ϟ δᵒᵛ εᵒᵛ ιᵒᵛ κᵒᵛ· τῶν δ, ⫟ εᵒᵛ ιᵒᵛ ϟ ꟹ ιᵒᵛ λᵒᵛ· τῶν ε, α.

Fifths

numerator	2	3	4
resolutions	$^1/_3\ ^1/_{15}$	$^1/_2\ ^1/_{10}$	$^1/_2\ ^1/_5\ ^1/_{10}$
	$^1/_4\ ^1/_{10}\ ^1/_{20}$	$^1/_3\ ^1/_5\ ^1/_{15}$	$^2/_3\ ^1/_{10}\ ^1/_{30}$
		$^1/_4\ ^1/_5\ ^1/_{10}\ ^1/_{20}$	

τὰ ἕκτα

ςᵒᵛ τοῦ ἑνός, ςᵒᵛ· τῶν β, γᵒᵛ· τῶν γ, ⫟ ϟ γᵒᵛ ςᵒᵛ· τῶν δ, ꟹ ϟ ⫟ ςᵒᵛ· τῶν ε, ꟹ ςᵒᵛ ϟ ⫟ γᵒᵛ· τῶν ς, α.

Sixths

numerator	2	3	4	5
resolutions	$^1/_3$	$^1/_2$	$^2/_3$	$^2/_3\ ^1/_6$
		$^1/_3\ ^1/_6$	$^1/_2\ ^1/_6$	$^1/_2\ ^1/_3$

τὰ ἕβδομα

ζᵒᵛ τοῦ ἑνός, ζᵒᵛ· τῶν β, δᵒᵛ κηᵒᵛ ϟ εᵒᵛ ιδᵒᵛ οᵒᵛ ϟ ςᵒᵛ ιδᵒᵛ καᵒᵛ· τῶν γ, δᵒᵛ ζᵒᵛ κηᵒᵛ ϟ γᵒᵛ ιδᵒᵛ μβᵒᵛ ϟ γᵒᵛ ιεᵒᵛ λεᵒᵛ ϟ εᵒᵛ ζᵒᵛ ιδᵒᵛ οᵒᵛ ϟ ςᵒᵛ ζᵒᵛ ιδᵒᵛ καᵒᵛ· τῶν δ, ⫟ ιδᵒᵛ· τῶν ε, ⫟ ζᵒᵛ ιδᵒᵛ ϟ ꟹ καᵒᵛ· τῶν ς, ⫟ γᵒᵛ μβᵒᵛ ϟ ꟹ ζᵒᵛ καᵒᵛ· τῶν ζ, μία.

Sevenths

numerator	2	3	4	5	6
resolutions	$\frac{1}{4}\ \frac{1}{28}$	$\frac{1}{4}\ \frac{1}{7}\ \frac{1}{28}$	$\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{14}$	$\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{7}\ \frac{1}{14}$	$\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{3}\ \frac{1}{42}$
	$\frac{1}{5}\ \frac{1}{14}\ \frac{1}{70}$	$\frac{1}{3}\ \frac{1}{14}\ \frac{1}{42}$		$\frac{2}{3}\ \frac{1}{21}$	$\frac{2}{3}\ \frac{1}{7}\ \frac{1}{21}$
	$\frac{1}{6}\ \frac{1}{14}\ \frac{1}{21}$	$\frac{1}{3}\ \frac{1}{15}\ \frac{1}{35}$			
		$\frac{1}{5}\ \frac{1}{7}\ \frac{1}{14}\ \frac{1}{70}$			
		$\frac{1}{6}\ \frac{1}{7}\ \frac{1}{14}\ \frac{1}{21}$			

τὰ ὄγδοα

η^{ον} τοῦ ἑνός, η^{ον}· τῶν β, δ^{ον}· τῶν γ, δ^{ον} η^{ον} ἢ γ^{ον} κδ^{ον}· τῶν δ, ⫟· τῶν ε, ⫟ η^{ον}· τῶν ς, ⫟ δ^{ον} ἢ ϡ ις^{ον}· τῶν ἑπτά, ⫟ δ^{ον} η^{ον} ἢ ϡ η^{ον} ις^{ον} ἢ ⫟ γ^{ον} κδ^{ον} ἢ ϡ ς^{ον} κδ^{ον}· τῶν ὀκτώ, μία.

Eights

numerator	2	3	4	5	6	7
resolutions	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{4}\ \frac{1}{8}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{8}$	$\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{4}\ \frac{1}{8}$
		$\frac{1}{3}\ \frac{1}{24}$			$\frac{2}{3}\ \frac{1}{16}$	$\frac{2}{3}\ \frac{1}{8}\ \frac{1}{16}$
						$\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{3}\ \frac{1}{24}$
						$\frac{2}{3}\ \frac{1}{6}\ \frac{1}{24}$

τὰ ἔννατα

θ^{ον} τοῦ ἑνός, θ^{ον}· τῶν β, ς^{ον} ιη^{ον} ἢ ε^{ον} με^{ον}· τῶν γ, γ^{ον}· τῶν δ, γ^{ον} θ^{ον}· τῶν ε, ⫟ ιη^{ον}· τῶν ς, ⫟ ς^{ον} ἢ ϡ· τῶν ζ, ⫟ ς^{ον} θ^{ον} ἢ ϡ θ^{ον}· τῶν ὀκτώ, ⫟ γ^{ον} ιη^{ον} ἢ ϡ ς^{ον} ιη^{ον}· |[45r] τῶν ἐννέα, μία.

Ninths

numerator	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
resolutions	$\frac{1}{6}\ \frac{1}{18}$	$\frac{1}{3}$	$\frac{1}{3}\ \frac{1}{9}$	$\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{18}$	$\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{6}$	$\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{6}\ \frac{1}{9}$	$\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{3}\ \frac{1}{18}$
	$\frac{1}{5}\ \frac{1}{45}$				$\frac{2}{3}$	$\frac{2}{3}\ \frac{1}{9}$	$\frac{2}{3}\ \frac{1}{6}\ \frac{1}{18}$

τὰ δέκατα

ι^{ον} τοῦ ἑνός, ι^{ον}· τῶν β, ε^{ον}· τῶν γ, ε^{ον} ι^{ον} ἢ δ^{ον} κ^{ον}· τῶν δ, γ^{ον} ιε^{ον} ἢ δ^{ον} ι^{ον} κ^{ον}· τῶν ε, ⫟· τῶν ς, ⫟ ι^{ον}· τῶν ζ, ⫟ ε^{ον} ἢ ϡ λ^{ον}· τῶν η, ⫟ ε^{ον} ι^{ον} ἢ ϡ ι^{ον} λ^{ον}· τῶν θ, ⫟ γ^{ον} ιε^{ον} ἢ ⫟ δ^{ον} ι^{ον} κ^{ον} ἢ ϡ ε^{ον} λ^{ον} ἢ ϡ ς^{ον} ιε^{ον}· τῶν ι, α.

Tenths

numerator	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
resolutions	$\frac{1}{5}$	$\frac{1}{5}\ \frac{1}{10}$	$\frac{1}{3}\ \frac{1}{15}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{10}$	$\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{5}$	$\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{5}\ \frac{1}{10}$	$\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{3}\ \frac{1}{15}$
		$\frac{1}{4}\ \frac{1}{20}$	$\frac{1}{4}\ \frac{1}{10}\ \frac{1}{20}$			$\frac{2}{3}\ \frac{1}{30}$	$\frac{2}{3}\ \frac{1}{10}\ \frac{1}{30}$	$\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{4}\ \frac{1}{10}\ \frac{1}{20}$
								$\frac{2}{3}\ \frac{1}{5}\ \frac{1}{30}$
								$\frac{2}{3}\ \frac{1}{6}\ \frac{1}{15}$

τὰ ἑνδέκατα

ια^{ον} τοῦ ἑνός, ια^{ον}· τῶν β, ς^{ον} ξς^{ον}· τῶν γ, δ^{ον} μδ^{ον}· τῶν δ, γ^{ον} λγ^{ον}· τῶν ε, γ^{ον} ια^{ον} λγ^{ον}· τῶν ς, ≃ κβ^{ον}· τῶν ζ, ≃ ια^{ον} κβ^{ον}· τῶν η, ϡ κβ^{ον} ξς^{ον}· τῶν ἐννέα, ϡ ια^{ον} κβ^{ον} ξς^{ον} ἢ ≃ δ^{ον} κβ^{ον} μδ^{ον}· τῶν ι, ϡ ς^{ον} κβ^{ον} λγ^{ον} ἢ ≃ γ^{ον} κβ^{ον} λγ^{ον}· τῶν ια, α.

Elevenths

numerator	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
resolutions	$\frac{1}{6}\ \frac{1}{66}$	$\frac{1}{4}\ \frac{1}{44}$	$\frac{1}{3}\ \frac{1}{33}$	$\frac{1}{3}\ \frac{1}{11}\ \frac{1}{33}$	$\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{22}$	$\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{11}\ \frac{1}{22}$	$\frac{2}{3}\ \frac{1}{22}\ \frac{1}{66}$	$\frac{2}{3}\ \frac{1}{11}\ \frac{1}{22}\ \frac{1}{66}$	$\frac{2}{3}\ \frac{1}{6}\ \frac{1}{22}\ \frac{1}{33}$
								$\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{4}\ \frac{1}{22}\ \frac{1}{44}$	$\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{3}\ \frac{1}{22}\ \frac{1}{33}$

τὰ δωδέκατα

ιβ^{ον} τοῦ ἑνός, ιβ^{ον}· τῶν β, ς^{ον}· τῶν γ, δ^{ον} ἢ ς^{ον} ις^{ον}· τῶν δ, γ^{ον} ἢ δ^{ον} ις^{ον}· τῶν ε, γ^{ον} ις^{ον} ἢ δ^{ον} ς^{ον}· τῶν ς, ≃ ἢ γ^{ον} ς^{ον}· τῶν ζ, ≃ ις^{ον} ἢ γ^{ον} δ^{ον}· τῶν η, ≃ ς^{ον} ἢ ϡ· τῶν ἐννέα, ≃ δ^{ον} ἢ ϡ ις^{ον}· τῶν ι, ≃ γ^{ον} ἢ ϡ ς^{ον}· τῶν ια, ≃ γ^{ον} ις^{ον} ἢ ϡ δ^{ον}· τῶν δώδεκα, μία.

Twelfths

numerator	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
resolutions	$\frac{1}{6}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{3}$	$\frac{1}{3}\ \frac{1}{16}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{16}$	$\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{6}$	$\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{3}$	$\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{3}\ \frac{1}{16}$
		$\frac{1}{6}\ \frac{1}{16}$	$\frac{1}{4}\ \frac{1}{16}$	$\frac{1}{4}\ \frac{1}{6}$	$\frac{1}{3}\ \frac{1}{6}$	$\frac{1}{3}\ \frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{2}{3}$	$\frac{2}{3}\ \frac{1}{16}$	$\frac{2}{3}\ \frac{1}{6}$	$\frac{2}{3}\ \frac{1}{4}$

τὰ τρισκαιδέκατα

ιγ^{ον} τοῦ ἑνός, ιγ^{ον}· τῶν β, ζ^{ον} ρα^{ον}· τῶν γ, ζ^{ον} ιγ^{ον} ρα^{ον} ἢ ς^{ον} κς^{ον} λθ^{ον} ἢ ε^{ον} λθ^{ον} ρϱε^{ον}· τῶν δ, κς^{ον} νβ^{ον} ἢ ε^{ον} ιγ^{ον} λθ^{ον} ρϱε^{ον} ἢ ς^{ον} ιγ^{ον} κς^{ον} λθ^{ον}· τῶν ε, γ^{ον} κς^{ον} οη^{ον} ἢ δ^{ον} ιγ^{ον} κς^{ον} νβ^{ον}· τῶν ς, γ^{ον} ιγ^{ον} κς^{ον} οη^{ον}· τῶν ζ, ≃ κς^{ον}· τῶν ὀκτώ, ≃ ιγ^{ον} κς^{ον}· τῶν θ, ϡ λθ^{ον}· τῶν ι, ϡ ιγ^{ον} λθ^{ον} ἢ ≃ δ^{ον} νβ^{ον}· τῶν ια, ≃ γ^{ον} οη^{ον} ἢ ϡ ς^{ον} οη^{ον}· τῶν ιβ, ≃ γ^{ον} ιγ^{ον} οη^{ον} ἢ ϡ ς^{ον} ιγ^{ον} οη^{ον} ἢ ϡ δ^{ον} ρνς^{ον}· τῶν ιγ, μία.

Thirteenths

numerator	2	3	4	5	6	7
resolutions	$\frac{1}{7}\ \frac{1}{91}$	$\frac{1}{7}\ \frac{1}{13}\ \frac{1}{91}$	$\frac{1}{26}\ \frac{1}{52}$	$\frac{1}{3}\ \frac{1}{26}\ \frac{1}{78}$	$\frac{1}{3}\ \frac{1}{13}\ \frac{1}{26}\ \frac{1}{78}$	$\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{26}$
		$\frac{1}{6}\ \frac{1}{26}\ \frac{1}{39}$	$\frac{1}{5}\ \frac{1}{13}\ \frac{1}{39}\ \frac{1}{195}$	$\frac{1}{4}\ \frac{1}{13}\ \frac{1}{26}\ \frac{1}{52}$		
		$\frac{1}{5}\ \frac{1}{39}\ \frac{1}{195}$	$\frac{1}{6}\ \frac{1}{13}\ \frac{1}{26}\ \frac{1}{39}$			

numerator	8	9	10	11	12
resolutions	$\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{13}\ \frac{1}{26}$	$\frac{2}{3}\ \frac{1}{39}$	$\frac{2}{3}\ \frac{1}{13}\ \frac{1}{39}$	$\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{3}\ \frac{1}{78}$	$\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{3}\ \frac{1}{13}\ \frac{1}{78}$
			$\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{4}\ \frac{1}{52}$	$\frac{2}{3}\ \frac{1}{6}\ \frac{1}{78}$	$\frac{2}{3}\ \frac{1}{6}\ \frac{1}{13}\ \frac{1}{78}$
					$\frac{2}{3}\ \frac{1}{4}\ \frac{1}{156}$

τὰ τεσσαρεσκαιδέκατα

ιδ^{ον} τοῦ ἑνός, ιδ^{ον}· τῶν β, ζ^{ον}· τῶν γ, ζ^{ον} ιδ^{ον}· τῶν δ, δ^{ον} κη^{ον} ἢ ς^{ον} ιδ^{ον} κα^{ον}· τῶν ε, δ^{ον} ιδ^{ον} κη^{ον} |[45v] ἢ γ^{ον} μβ^{ον} ἢ ς^{ον} ζ^{ον} κα^{ον}· τῶν ς, δ^{ον} ζ^{ον} κη^{ον} ἢ γ^{ον} ιδ^{ον} μβ^{ον} ἢ ς^{ον} ζ^{ον} ιδ^{ον} κα^{ον}· τῶν ζ, ≃· τῶν η, ≃ ιδ^{ον}· τῶν θ, ≃ ζ^{ον}· τῶν ι, ≃ ζ^{ον} ιδ^{ον} ἢ ↄ κα^{ον}· τῶν ια, ≃ δ^{ον} κη^{ον} ἢ ↄ ιδ^{ον} κα^{ον}· τῶν ιβ, ≃ γ^{ον} μβ^{ον} ἢ ↄ ζ^{ον} κα^{ον}· τῶν ιγ, ≃ γ^{ον} ιδ^{ον} μβ^{ον} ἢ ↄ ζ^{ον} ιδ^{ον} κα^{ον} ἢ ↄ δ^{ον} πδ^{ον}· τῶν ιδ, μία.

Fourteenths

numerator	2	3	4	5	6	7
resolutions	1/7	1/7 1/14	1/4 1/28	1/4 1/14 1/28	1/4 1/7 1/28	1/2
			1/6 1/14 1/21	1/3 1/42	1/3 1/14 1/42	
				1/6 1/7 1/21	1/6 1/7 1/14 1/21	

numerator	8	9	10	11	12	13
resolutions	1/2 1/14	1/2 1/7	1/2 1/7 1/10	1/2 1/4 1/28	1/2 1/3 1/42	1/2 1/3 1/14 1/42
			2/3 1/21	2/3 1/14 1/21	2/3 1/7 1/21	2/3 1/7 1/14 1/21
						2/3 1/4 1/84

τὰ πεντεκαιδέκατα

ιε^{ον} τοῦ ἑνός, ιε^{ον}· τῶν β, ι^{ον} λ^{ον} ἢ η^{ον} ρκ^{ον} ἢ θ^{ον} με^{ον}· τῶν γ, ε^{ον} ἢ ι^{ον} ιε^{ον} λ^{ον}· τῶν δ, ε^{ον} ιε^{ον} ἢ δ^{ον} ξ^{ον}· τῶν ε, γ^{ον}· τῶν ς, γ^{ον} ιε^{ον}· τῶν ἑπτά, γ^{ον} ι^{ον} λ^{ον} ἢ γ^{ον} η^{ον} ρκ^{ον} ἢ γ^{ον} θ^{ον} με^{ον}· τῶν η, γ^{ον} ε^{ον} ἢ ≃ λ^{ον}· τῶν θ, ≃ ι^{ον}· τῶν ι, ↄ ἢ ≃ ι^{ον} ιε^{ον}· τῶν ια, ≃ ε^{ον} λ^{ον} ἢ ↄ ιε^{ον}· τῶν ιβ, ≃ ε^{ον} ι^{ον} ἢ ↄ ι^{ον} λ^{ον}· τῶν ιγ, ≃ ε^{ον} ι^{ον} ιε^{ον} ἢ ≃ γ^{ον} λ^{ον} ἢ ↄ ε^{ον}· τῶν ιδ, ≃ γ^{ον} ι^{ον} ἢ ↄ ε^{ον} ιε^{ον}· τῶν ιε, α.

Fifteenths

numerator	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
resolutions	1/10 1/30	1/5	1/5 1/15	1/3	1/3 1/15	1/3 1/10 1/30	1/3 1/5	1/2 1/10
	1/8 1/120	1/10 1/15 1/30	1/4 1/60			1/3 1/8 1/120	1/2 1/30	
	1/9 1/45					1/3 1/9 1/45		

numerator	10	11	12	13	14
resolutions	2/3	1/2 1/5 1/30	1/2 1/5 1/10	1/2 1/5 1/10 1/15	1/2 1/3 1/10
	1/2 1/10 1/15	2/3 1/15	2/3 1/10 1/30	1/2 1/3 1/30	2/3 1/5 1/15
				2/3 1/5	

τὰ ἑξκαιδέκατα

ις^{ον} τοῦ ἑνός, ις^{ον}· τῶν β, η^{ον}· τῶν γ, η^{ον} ις^{ον}· τῶν δ, δ^{ον}· τῶν ε, δ^{ον} ις^{ον}· τῶν ς, δ^{ον} η^{ον}· τῶν ζ, δ^{ον} η^{ον} ις^{ον}· τῶν η, ≃· τῶν θ, ≃ ις^{ον}· τῶν ι, ≃ η^{ον}· τῶν ια, ≃ η^{ον} ις^{ον}· τῶν ιβ, ≃ δ^{ον}· τῶν ιγ, ≃ δ^{ον} ις^{ον}· τῶν ιδ, ≃ δ^{ον} η^{ον}· τῶν ιε, ≃ δ^{ον} η^{ον} ις^{ον}· τῶν ις, α.

Sixteenths

numerator	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
resolutions	1/8	1/8 1/16	1/4	1/4 1/16	1/4 1/8	1/4 1/8 1/16	1/2	1/2 1/16	1/2 1/8

numerator	11	12	13	14	15
resolutions	1/2 1/8 1/16	1/2 1/4	1/2 1/4 1/16	1/2 1/4 1/8	1/2 1/4 1/8 1/16

τὰ ἑπτακαιδέκατα

ιζ^{ον} τοῦ ἑνός, ιζ^{ον}· τῶν β, θ^{ον} ρνγ^{ον}· τῶν γ, θ^{ον} ιζ^{ον} ρνγ^{ον} ἢ ς^{ον} ρβ^{ον}· τῶν δ, ς^{ον} ιζ^{ον} ρβ^{ον} ἢ ε^{ον} λδ^{ον} ρο^{ον}· τῶν ε, δ^{ον} λδ^{ον} ξη^{ον}· τῶν ς, γ^{ον} να^{ον}· τῶν ζ, γ^{ον} ιζ^{ον} να^{ον}· τῶν η, γ^{ον} θ^{ον} να^{ον} ρνγ^{ον}· τῶν ἐννέα, ⫟ λδ^{ον}· τῶν ι, ⫟ ιζ^{ον} λδ^{ον}· τῶν ια, ⫟ θ^{ον} λδ^{ον} ρνγ^{ον}· τῶν ιβ, ↄ λδ^{ον} ρβ^{ον}· τῶν ιγ, ↄ ιζ^{ον} λδ^{ον} ρβ^{ον} ἢ ↄ ις^{ον} ξη^{ον} ἢ ⫟ δ^{ον} ξη^{ον}· τῶν ιδ, ↄ ιβ^{ον}[105] ιζ^{ον} ξη^{ον} ἢ ⫟ δ^{ον} ιζ^{ον} ξη^{ον}· τῶν ιε, |[46r] ↄ ς^{ον} λδ^{ον} να^{ον} ἢ ⫟ γ^{ον} λδ^{ον} να^{ον}· τῶν ις, ↄ ς^{ον} ιζ^{ον} λδ^{ον} να^{ον} ἢ ↄ δ^{ον} ξη^{ον} ρβ^{ον} ἢ ⫟ γ^{ον} ιζ^{ον} λδ^{ον} να^{ον}· τῶν δεκαεπτά, μία.

Seventeenths

numerator	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
resolutions	$\frac{1}{9}\ \frac{1}{153}$	$\frac{1}{9}\ \frac{1}{17}\ \frac{1}{153}$	$\frac{1}{6}\ \frac{1}{17}\ \frac{1}{102}$	$\frac{1}{4}\ \frac{1}{34}\ \frac{1}{68}$	$\frac{1}{3}\ \frac{1}{51}$	$\frac{1}{3}\ \frac{1}{17}\ \frac{1}{51}$	$\frac{1}{3}\ \frac{1}{9}\ \frac{1}{51}\ \frac{1}{153}$	$\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{34}$	$\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{17}\ \frac{1}{34}$
		$\frac{1}{6}\ \frac{1}{102}$	$\frac{1}{5}\ \frac{1}{34}\ \frac{1}{170}$						

numerator	11	12	13	14	15	16
resolutions	$\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{9}\ \frac{1}{34}\ \frac{1}{153}$	$\frac{2}{3}\ \frac{1}{34}\ \frac{1}{102}$	$\frac{2}{3}\ \frac{1}{17}\ \frac{1}{34}\ \frac{1}{102}$	$\frac{2}{3}\ \frac{1}{12}\ \frac{1}{17}\ \frac{1}{68}$	$\frac{2}{3}\ \frac{1}{6}\ \frac{1}{34}\ \frac{1}{51}$	$\frac{2}{3}\ \frac{1}{6}\ \frac{1}{17}\ \frac{1}{34}\ \frac{1}{51}$
			$\frac{2}{3}\ \frac{1}{16}\ \frac{1}{68}$	$\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{4}\ \frac{1}{17}\ \frac{1}{68}$	$\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{3}\ \frac{1}{34}\ \frac{1}{51}$	$\frac{2}{3}\ \frac{1}{4}\ \frac{1}{68}\ \frac{1}{102}$
			$\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{4}\ \frac{1}{68}$			$\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{3}\ \frac{1}{17}\ \frac{1}{34}\ \frac{1}{51}$

τὰ ὀκτωκαιδέκατα

ιη^{ον} τοῦ ἑνός, ιη^{ον}· τῶν β, θ^{ον}· τῶν γ, ς^{ον}· τῶν δ, ς^{ον} ιη^{ον}· τῶν ε, ς^{ον} θ^{ον} ἢ δ^{ον} λς^{ον}· τῶν ς, γ^{ον}· τῶν ζ, γ^{ον} ιη^{ον}· τῶν η, γ^{ον} θ^{ον}· τῶν θ, ⫟· τῶν ι, ⫟ ιη^{ον}· τῶν ια, ⫟ θ^{ον}· τῶν ιβ, ↄ· τῶν ιγ, ↄ ιη^{ον}· τῶν ιδ, ↄ θ^{ον}· τῶν ιε, ↄ ς^{ον} ἢ ⫟ γ^{ον}· τῶν ις, ↄ ς^{ον} ιη^{ον} ἢ ⫟ γ^{ον} ιη^{ον}· τῶν ιζ, ↄ ς^{ον} θ^{ον} ἢ ⫟ γ^{ον} θ^{ον}· τῶν δεκαοκτώ, μία.

Eighteenths

numerator	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
resolutions	$\frac{1}{9}$	$\frac{1}{6}$	$\frac{1}{6}\ \frac{1}{18}$	$\frac{1}{6}\ \frac{1}{9}$	$\frac{1}{3}$	$\frac{1}{3}\ \frac{1}{18}$	$\frac{1}{3}\ \frac{1}{9}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{18}$	$\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{9}$
				$\frac{1}{4}\ \frac{1}{36}$						

numerator	12	13	14	15	16	17
resolutions	$\frac{2}{3}$	$\frac{2}{3}\ \frac{1}{18}$	$\frac{2}{3}\ \frac{1}{9}$	$\frac{2}{3}\ \frac{1}{6}$	$\frac{2}{3}\ \frac{1}{6}\ \frac{1}{18}$	$\frac{2}{3}\ \frac{1}{6}\ \frac{1}{9}$
				$\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{3}$	$\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{3}\ \frac{1}{18}$	$\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{3}\ \frac{1}{9}$

τὰ ἐννεακαιδέκατα

ιθ^{ον} τοῦ ἑνός, ιθ^{ον}· τῶν β, ι^{ον} ρϙ^{ον}· τῶν γ, ι^{ον} ιθ^{ον} ρϙ^{ον} ἢ θ^{ον} λη^{ον} νζ^{ον} τμβ^{ον} ἢ η^{ον} λη^{ον} ρνβ^{ον} ἢ ζ^{ον} ος^{ον} φλβ^{ον}· τῶν δ, ε^{ον} ρε^{ον}· τῶν ε, δ^{ον} ος^{ον}· τῶν ς, δ^{ον} ιθ^{ον} ος^{ον}· τῶν ζ, δ^{ον} ι^{ον} ος^{ον} ρϙ^{ον} ἢ δ^{ον} θ^{ον} σκη^{ον} τμβ^{ον} ἢ γ^{ον} λη^{ον} ριδ^{ον}· τῶν η, δ^{ον} ς^{ον} σκη^{ον} ἢ δ^{ον} ι^{ον} ιθ^{ον} ος^{ον} ρϙ^{ον} ἢ γ^{ον} ιθ^{ον} λη^{ον} ριδ^{ον}· τῶν θ, δ^{ον} ε^{ον} ος^{ον} ρε^{ον} ἢ γ^{ον} θ^{ον} λη^{ον} τμβ^{ον} ἢ γ^{ον} η^{ον} ος^{ον} υνς^{ον}· τῶν ι, ⫟ λη^{ον}· τῶν ια, ⫟ ιθ^{ον} λη^{ον}· τῶν ιβ, ⫟ η^{ον} ρνβ^{ον} ἢ ⫟ ι^{ον} λη^{ον} ρϙ^{ον}· τῶν ιγ, ↄ νζ^{ον} ἢ ⫟ ς^{ον} νζ^{ον}· τῶν ιδ, ↄ ιθ^{ον} νζ^{ον} ἢ ⫟ ς^{ον} ιθ^{ον} νζ^{ον} ἢ ⫟ ε^{ον} λη^{ον} ρε^{ον}· τῶν ιε, ↄ ι^{ον} νζ^{ον} ρϙ^{ον} ἢ ↄ θ^{ον} ριδ^{ον} τμβ^{ον} ἢ ⫟ δ^{ον} λη^{ον} ος^{ον}· τῶν ις, ↄ ς^{ον} ριδ^{ον} ἢ ⫟ γ^{ον} ριδ^{ον}· τῶν ιζ, ↄ ς^{ον} ιθ^{ον} ριδ^{ον} ἢ ⫟ γ^{ον} ιθ^{ον} ριδ^{ον} ἢ ↄ ε^{ον} νζ^{ον} ρε^{ον}· τῶν ιη, ↄ δ^{ον} νζ^{ον} ος^{ον} ἢ ⫟ γ^{ον} ιβ^{ον}[106] νζ^{ον} ος^{ον}· τῶν δεκαεννέα, μία.

[105] ις P
[106] ις P

Nineteenths

numerator	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
resolutions	$\frac{1}{10}\ \frac{1}{190}$	$\frac{1}{10}\ \frac{1}{19}\ \frac{1}{190}$	$\frac{1}{5}\ \frac{1}{95}$	$\frac{1}{4}\ \frac{1}{76}$	$\frac{1}{4}\ \frac{1}{19}\ \frac{1}{76}$	$\frac{1}{4}\ \frac{1}{10}\ \frac{1}{76}\ \frac{1}{190}$	$\frac{1}{4}\ \frac{1}{6}\ \frac{1}{228}$	$\frac{1}{4}\ \frac{1}{5}\ \frac{1}{76}\ \frac{1}{95}$
		$\frac{1}{9}\ \frac{1}{38}\ \frac{1}{57}\ \frac{1}{342}$				$\frac{1}{4}\ \frac{1}{9}\ \frac{1}{228}\ \frac{1}{342}$	$\frac{1}{4}\ \frac{1}{10}\ \frac{1}{19}\ \frac{1}{76}\ \frac{1}{190}$	$\frac{1}{3}\ \frac{1}{9}\ \frac{1}{38}\ \frac{1}{342}$
		$\frac{1}{8}\ \frac{1}{38}\ \frac{1}{152}$				$\frac{1}{3}\ \frac{1}{38}\ \frac{1}{114}$	$\frac{1}{3}\ \frac{1}{19}\ \frac{1}{38}\ \frac{1}{114}$	$\frac{1}{3}\ \frac{1}{8}\ \frac{1}{76}\ \frac{1}{456}$
		$\frac{1}{7}\ \frac{1}{76}\ \frac{1}{532}$						

numerator	10	11	12	13	14	15
resolutions	$\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{38}$	$\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{19}\ \frac{1}{38}$	$\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{8}\ \frac{1}{152}$	$\frac{2}{3}\ \frac{1}{57}$	$\frac{2}{3}\ \frac{1}{19}\ \frac{1}{57}$	$\frac{2}{3}\ \frac{1}{10}\ \frac{1}{57}\ \frac{1}{190}$
			$\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{10}\ \frac{1}{38}\ \frac{1}{190}$	$\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{6}\ \frac{1}{57}$	$\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{6}\ \frac{1}{19}\ \frac{1}{57}$	$\frac{2}{3}\ \frac{1}{9}\ \frac{1}{114}\ \frac{1}{342}$
					$\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{5}\ \frac{1}{38}\ \frac{1}{95}$	$\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{4}\ \frac{1}{38}\ \frac{1}{76}$

numerator	16	17	18
resolutions	$\frac{2}{3}\ \frac{1}{6}\ \frac{1}{114}$	$\frac{2}{3}\ \frac{1}{6}\ \frac{1}{19}\ \frac{1}{114}$	$\frac{2}{3}\ \frac{1}{4}\ \frac{1}{57}\ \frac{1}{76}$
	$\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{3}\ \frac{1}{114}$	$\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{3}\ \frac{1}{19}\ \frac{1}{114}$	$\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{3}\ \frac{1}{12}\ \frac{1}{57}\ \frac{1}{76}$
		$\frac{2}{3}\ \frac{1}{5}\ \frac{1}{57}\ \frac{1}{95}$	

τὰ εἰκοστά

κ^{ον} τοῦ ἑνός, κ^{ον}· τῶν β, ι^{ον}· τῶν γ, ι^{ον} κ^{ον}· τῶν δ, ε^{ον}· |[46v] τῶν ε, δ^{ον}· τῶν ς, ε^{ον} ι^{ον} ἢ δ^{ον} κ^{ον}· τῶν ζ, δ^{ον} ι^{ον}· τῶν ὀκτώ, γ^{ον} ιε^{ον}· τῶν ἐννέα, γ^{ον} ιε^{ον} κ^{ον} ἢ δ^{ον} ε^{ον}· τῶν ι, ⫟· τῶν ια, ⫟ κ^{ον}· τῶν ιβ, ⫟ ι^{ον}· τῶν ιγ, ⫟ ι^{ον} κ^{ον} ἢ γ^{ον} δ^{ον} ιε^{ον}· τῶν ιδ, ⫟ ε^{ον} ἢ ↄ λ^{ον}· τῶν ιε, ⫟ δ^{ον} ἢ ⫟ ε^{ον} κ^{ον} ἢ ↄ ις^{ον}· τῶν ις, ⫟ ε^{ον} ι^{ον} ἢ ↄ ι^{ον} λ^{ον}· τῶν ιζ, ⫟ δ^{ον} ι^{ον} ἢ ↄ ς^{ον} ξ^{ον} ἢ ↄ ι^{ον} ις^{ον}· τῶν ιη, ⫟ γ^{ον} ιε^{ον} ἢ ⫟ δ^{ον} ι^{ον} κ^{ον} ἢ ↄ ε^{ον} λ^{ον} ἢ ↄ ς^{ον} ιε^{ν}· τῶν ιθ, ⫟ δ^{ον} ε^{ον} ἢ ⫟ γ^{ον} ιε^{ον} κ^{ον} ἢ ↄ ε^{ον} ις^{ον} ἢ ↄ ς^{ον} ιε^{ον} κ^{ον} ἢ ↄ ς^{ον} ι^{ον} ξ^{ον}· τῶν εἴκοσι, μία.

Twentieths

numerator	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
resolutions	$\frac{1}{10}$	$\frac{1}{10}\ \frac{1}{20}$	$\frac{1}{5}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{5}\ \frac{1}{10}$	$\frac{1}{4}\ \frac{1}{10}$	$\frac{1}{3}\ \frac{1}{5}$	$\frac{1}{3}\ \frac{1}{15}\ \frac{1}{20}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{20}$
					$\frac{1}{4}\ \frac{1}{20}$			$\frac{1}{4}\ \frac{1}{5}$		

numerator	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
resolutions	$\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{10}$	$\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{10}\ \frac{1}{20}$	$\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{5}$	$\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{5}\ \frac{1}{10}$	$\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{4}\ \frac{1}{10}$	$\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{3}\ \frac{1}{15}$	$\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{4}\ \frac{1}{5}$
		$\frac{1}{3}\ \frac{1}{4}\ \frac{1}{15}$	$\frac{2}{3}\ \frac{1}{30}$	$\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{5}\ \frac{1}{20}$	$\frac{2}{3}\ \frac{1}{10}\ \frac{1}{30}$	$\frac{2}{3}\ \frac{1}{6}\ \frac{1}{60}$	$\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{4}\ \frac{1}{10}\ \frac{1}{20}$	$\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{3}\ \frac{1}{15}\ \frac{1}{20}$
				$\frac{2}{3}\ \frac{1}{16}$		$\frac{2}{3}\ \frac{1}{10}\ \frac{1}{16}$	$\frac{2}{3}\ \frac{1}{5}\ \frac{1}{30}$	$\frac{2}{3}\ \frac{1}{5}\ \frac{1}{16}$
							$\frac{2}{3}\ \frac{1}{6}\ \frac{1}{15}$	$\frac{2}{3}\ \frac{1}{6}\ \frac{1}{15}\ \frac{1}{20}$
								$\frac{2}{3}\ \frac{1}{6}\ \frac{1}{10}\ \frac{1}{60}$

The method expounded in Par. gr. 1670 to resolve common fractions into unit fractions is as follows; I take the resolution of $\frac{5}{7}$ on f. 40v as an example:

ζ^{ον} τῶν πέντε, ⫟ ζ^{ον} ιδ^{ον}. ἡ μέθοδος. ἀνάλυσον τὰς πέντε μονάδας εἰς ἡμίσεια· γίνονται ἡμίσεια δέκα, ἀφ' ὧν ἐπίδος τοῖς ἑπτὰ ἀνὰ ἥμισυ, ἤτοι ἡμίσεια ἑπτά· λοιπὰ ἡμίσεια τρία, ἤτοι μονὰς μία ἥμισυ. ἀνάλυσον οὖν τὴν μονάδα εἰς ζζ^{α}, καὶ ἐπίδος τοῖς ἑπτὰ ἀνὰ ζ^{ον}· τὸ δὲ ἥμισυ πολυπλασίασον

ἐπὶ τὰ ἑπτὰ οὕτως. β ζ· ιδ, ὧν τὸ ἥμισυ γίνεται ιδιδ^{α} ἑπτά, καὶ ἐπίδος τοῖς ἑπτὰ ἀνὰ ιδ^{ον}. γίνεται οὖν ὁ μερισμὸς τῶν πέντε εἰς ἑπτὰ ⫠ ζ^{ον} ιδ^{ον}. καὶ εἰπὲ οὕτως. ἑπτάκις τὸ ἥμισυ ἑπτὰ ἡμίσεια, ἤτοι μονάδες γ ⫠· ἑπτάκις τὸ ζ^{ον} ἑπτὰ ζζ^{α}, ἤτοι μονὰς μία· καὶ ἑπτάκις τὸ ιδ^{ον} ἑπτὰ ιδιδ^{α}, ἤτοι ἥμισυ τῆς μονάδος.

1/7 of five, 1/2 1/7 1/14. Procedure. Resolve the five units into halves; they yield ten halves, from which give a half to each seven, that is, seven halves; three halves as remainders, that is, one unit and a half. Then resolve the unit into sevenths, and give a 1/7 to each seven; and multiply the half by seven as follows. 2 ‹by› 7: 14, a half of which yields seven sevenths, and give a 1/14 to each seven. Then the division of five into seven yields 1/2 1/7 1/14. And say as follows. Seven times a half seven halves, that is, 3 1/2 units; seven times 1/7 seven sevenths, that is, one unit; and seven times 1/14 seven fourteenths, that is, a half of a unit.

A procedure like this seems to presuppose the result, but this is not the case, for what is required is to write a common fraction as a sum of unit fractions. Let us consider the greatest unit fraction in any resolution. Now, neglecting for simplicity 2/3, by definition such a fraction cannot be greater than 1/2, and stricter upper bounds can easily be set in specific cases. On the other hand, it is easy to see that the denomination of the greatest unit fraction in any "reasonable" resolution cannot be equal to or greater than the denomination of the common fraction to be resolved. For instance, a "reasonable" resolution of 3/7 cannot have 1/7 or 1/8 as its greatest unitary fraction. Thus, the denomination of the greatest unit fraction in any resolution of a common fraction with denomination 7 can only be 2, 3, 4, 5, or 6. We may now apply uniformly the algorithm of our text, which can be described in modern fashion as follows.

The numerator of the common fraction to be resolved is rescaled into an equivalent fraction whose denomination is one of the possible values. To be consistent with our example, select 2 as such a denomination and write $5 \to {}^{10}/_{2}$. Write this fraction as sum of two fractions, the first of which has a numerator that is a multiple of the denomination of the common fraction at issue, here 7: $5 \to {}^{10}/_{2} \to {}^{7}/_{2} + {}^{3}/_{2}$. The second fraction is either an improper fraction, or a common fraction, or 2/3, or a unit fraction. If the second or the third case apply, resolve into unit fractions (use $2/3 = 1/2 + 1/6$)—this is always possible since the second fraction necessarily has a denomination less than the one of the fraction to be resolved, and since the resolutions are computed serially and by increasing denominations. If the first case applies, write the improper fraction as integral part + fractional part: $5 \to {}^{10}/_{2} \to {}^{7}/_{2} + {}^{3}/_{2} \to {}^{7}/_{2} + 1 + 1/2$. Treat 1 as the fraction $1/1$ and, if the case applies, resolve the said fractional part into unit fractions: $5 \to {}^{10}/_{2} \to {}^{7}/_{2} + {}^{3}/_{2} \to {}^{7}/_{2} + 1/1 + 1/2$. Write the result—which contains only unit fractions with the sole exception of the first fraction set out in the second step of the algorithm—by factoring out the denomination of the fraction to be resolved, possibly after rescaling the fractions involved by the same denomination: $5 \to {}^{10}/_{2} \to {}^{7}/_{2} + {}^{3}/_{2} \to {}^{7}/_{2} + 1/1 + 1/2 \to 7(1/2) + 7(1/7) + 7(1/14)$. If all fractions involved in the last step are unit fractions, their sum is the required resolution and the algorithm ends: $5/7 = 1/2 + 1/7 + 1/14$. If they are not—and this can only happen if the first fraction in the second step of the algorithm yields, after factoring out the denomination of the fraction to be resolved, a common fraction—resolve the said common fraction into unit fractions.

This procedure is used in such a way as to yield resolutions that keep the number of unit fractions to a reasonable minimum. For instance, the table for the "Sevenths" above shows that further resolutions of 5/7 could be obtained by wildly combining those of 2/7 and those of 3/7, but this move is never put into effect. Note, however, that three of the five resolutions of 3/7 are simply obtained by adding the unit fraction 1/7 to the three resolutions of 2/7.

LIST OF THE MANUSCRIPTS MENTIONED IN THE ARTICLE AND THEIR *DIKTYON* NUMBERS.

Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
- Pal. gr. 367 (*Diktyon* 66099)
- Ross. 986 (*Diktyon* 66453)
- Vat. gr. 191 (*Diktyon* 66822)
- Vat. gr. 192 (*Diktyon* 66823)
- Vat. gr. 1058 (*Diktyon* 67689)
- Vat. gr. 1411 (*Diktyon* 68042)

El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de S. Lorenzo
- Φ.I.10 (gr. 188) (*Diktyon* 15142)
- Φ.I.16 (gr. 194) (*Diktyon* 15148)
- X.IV.5 (gr. 400) (*Diktyon* 15016)

Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana
- Plut. 86.3 (*Diktyon* 16789)

Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana
- gr. 12 (*Diktyon* 17013)

Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi
- G.İ.1 (*Diktyon* 33946)

Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana
- E 80 sup. (gr. 294) (*Diktyon* 42703)
- I 112 sup. (gr. 469) (*Diktyon* 42925)

Oxford, Bodleian Library
- Roe 22 (*Diktyon* 48403)

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France
- gr. 1670 (*Diktyon* 51293)
- gr. 2107 (*Diktyon* 51736)
- gr. 2428 (*Diktyon* 52060)
- suppl. gr. 384 (*Diktyon* 53132)
- suppl. gr. 387 (*Diktyon* 53135)
- suppl. gr. 652 (*Diktyon* 53387)
- suppl. gr. 682 (*Diktyon* 53417)
- suppl. gr. 920 (*Diktyon* 53604)

Uppsala, Universitets Bibliotek
- gr. 8 (*Diktyon* 64421)

Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana
- gr. Z. 323 (coll. 639) (*Diktyon* 69794)

Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek
- phil. gr. 65 (*Diktyon* 71179)
- suppl. gr. 46 (*Diktyon* 71508)

Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek
- Gud. gr. 40 (*Diktyon* 72084)

JAHRBUCH DER ÖSTERREICHISCHEN BYZANTINISTIK, 69. Band/2019, 59–98
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DOI: 10.1553/joeb69S59

Benedetta Contin[a]

The Problem of Evil and the Theory of Contraries from Alexandria and Athens to Armenia in Late Antiquity[*]

To my grandmothers, Elisa and Antonia

Abstract: The purpose of this paper is to trace the reception of the problem of evil in Armenian philosophical literature in Late Antiquity. As preliminary material, it offers a detailed discussion of the philosophical tenets of the debate as developed by the Neoplatonists, and especially by the Greek Alexandrian commentators, with a particular focus on David the Invincible. It provides the edition and theoretical analysis of an Armenian pseudepigraphic text, the so-called "Every Evil Is Punishable", which is attributed to David the Invincible in the Armenian tradition, and has been generally considered as the Armenian translation of (pseudo-)Gregory of Nyssa's *Contra Manicheos*. The paper also draws a comparison between the Armenian text and (pseu do-)Gregory of Nyssa's *Contra Manicheos*, on the one hand, and between the Armenian text and two other Greek texts, namely Didymus the Blind's *Contra Manicheos* and John of Caesarea's *Syllogisms*, on the other.

Keywords: Armenian Philosophical Literature, Late Antiquity, Armenian Translations, Early Byzantine Literature

The problem of evil was one of the main issues in the philosophical and theological debates of Antiquity and Late Antiquity. Both the Neoplatonists and the Church Fathers discussed the ontological status of evil as something opposed to God, and generally to the divinity. The former focused on it in response to two theories: that of the relation between matter and evil as found in Plotinus' *Enneads*, and that of the relation between possession and privation as found in Aristotle's *Categories*. For the latter, by contrast, it was one of the epistemic paradigms in the hard and eristic process of reshaping and adapting the pagan philosophical theories to the Christian faith. Starting from the first half of the 5th century, the disputes about the problem of evil also reverberated in Armenia. It was at that point that first Mesrop Mashots and his disciples, and then the mostly anonymous members of the Hellenizing (Grecizing) School, initiated the translation of a variety of texts, including the Graeco-Hellenistic literature[1]. Although this is well known, we do not have a detailed study of how theoretical questions concerning evil—its ontological status and the logical backgrounds of the problem—transmigrated into medieval Armenian literature. The aim of this paper is an attempt to partly fill this gap.

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[*] This research has been carried out during the author's tenure as Senior Post-Doctoral Fellow within the ERC project "Reassessing Ninth Century Philosophy. A Synchronic Approach to the Logical Traditions" (9 SALT) that received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation program (grant agreement No. 648298). I would like to express my gratitude to Dirk Krausmüller for his patient revision of my 'manneristic' English, and to thank the two JÖB referees as well as the editors for their valuable and helpful remarks and corrections. Sincere thanks are due to Levon Zekiyan, Christophe Erismann, Armine Melkonyan for their invaluable scholarly suggestions on earlier drafts. I would also like to express my gratitude to the editorial board of the Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik for their competent and precious suggestions on final drafts. Any shortcomings, however, are my own responsibility. The transliteration system for Armenian used in the present article is the one from the Library of Congress's Cataloging Service.

[1] For recent contributions on this topic, M. Morani, Ancient Armenian Translation from Greek Texts: Questions of Method, in: Greek Texts and Armenian Traditions. An Interdisciplinary Approach, ed. F. Gazzano – L. Pagani – G. Traina. Berlin – Boston 2016, 3–21; V. Calzolari, The Transmission and Reception of the Greek Cultural Heritage in Late Antique Armenia: The Armenian Translations of the Greek Neoplatonic Works, in: Greek Texts 47–70; G. Muradyan, The Hellenizing School, in: Armenian Philology in the Modern Era: From Manuscript to Digital Text, ed. V. Calzolari with the Collaboration of M. E. Stone. Leiden – Boston 2014, 321–348.

The paper is divided into three sections. In section 1, I will examine the theoretical tenets of the debate in the Greek tradition, particularly as formulated by the Athenian and Alexandrian Neoplatonic commentators. I will attempt to outline the main ontological and logical problems relating to contraries—among which the couple good-evil is unavoidably included—that are discussed in the commentaries on Aristotle's *Categories*. Particularly, my focus will be on David the Invincible (or the Armenian, according to the Greek sources). It was thanks to him that the Graeco-Hellenistic heritage and the Neoplatonic Alexandrian philosophical tradition rapidly spread into Armenia. This initiated in turn a "local" commentary tradition that was to be productive intermittently until the 18th century. In the same section, I will offer a general overview of the position of the Church Father Gregory of Nyssa, and I will scrutinize especially the Cappadocian's ontological approach to the problem of evil. This is necessary, because the Greek pseudepigraphical text known under the title *Contra Manicheos* (hereafter, *CMg*), which is at the core of my study, was attributed to him by the Greek manuscript tradition. This pseudepigraphical text is of great interest, for it shows how multilayered the transition of the Greek inheritance to Christianity was, in particular as regards fundamental logical tools, such as demonstrative method and syllogistic arguments. These tools would have been of paramount significance in theological and Christological disputes. Of the Greek *CMg* (or rather, its underlying model, as I will show) there exists an extensive re-adaptation in Armenian, which is attributed to David the Invincible and bears a different title: Ամենայն չար տանջելի ["Every Evil Is Punishable"] (hereafter, *ACH*). In section 2, I will draw attention to the Armenian Church Father Eznik of Koghb, who was the first Armenian author to deal with the problem of evil in his original masterpiece, *Against the Sects* (or *De Deo*, as it was brilliantly defined by Louis Mariès). A detailed discussion of Eznik of Koghb's answers to the problem of evil will also help us better to understand the background of David the Invincible's discussion of evil, which is mainly found in the *Definitions and Division of Philosophy* (the Armenian adaptation of David's *Prolegomena philosophiae*)[2]. Then, I will offer a systematic examination of David's ontological views on evil in his Armenian commentaries, in order to assess what conceptual similarities prompted the Armenian tradition to attribute *ACH* to David himself. In section 3, I will offer the diplomatic edition of the Armenian *ACH*, as well as its English translation, in juxtaposition with the Greek *CMg*. I will end with a detailed examination of the theoretical tenets of both texts, by comparing their lexical and conceptual differences and similarities against two other Greek texts, the *Contra Manicheos* by Didymus the Blind and the *Omne malum punienudum est* or *Syllogisms* probably composed by John of Caesarea.

INTERTWINED PHILOSOPHICAL HUBS: ATHENS AND ALEXANDRIA

The problem of evil had been considered an important question throughout Antiquity, especially in relation to the ontological status of matter and to the concept of (divine) providence, which can, for instance, be seen in some representatives of Middle-Platonism, such as Numenius. Yet, from Plotinus and the early Christianized "Platonism" onwards it became a crucial issue. The philosophers examined it from ontological and logical perspectives, whereas the Alexandrian and Cappadocian Fathers included it in their theological and ontological arguments in response to the proselytism of the dualistic sect of the Manicheans.

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[2] I prefer to define the Armenian version of the *Prolegomena* by David the Invincible as an "adaptation" rather than a "translation" for several reasons that I attempted to substantiate by means of linguistic and textual proofs in: B. Contin, David l'Arménien et l'École d'Alexandrie. Recherches sur la formation du vocabulaire épistémologique des œuvres grecques et arméniennes (*OCA* 301). Rome 2017. Cf. V. Calzolari, La version arménienne des *Prolegomena philosophiae* de David et son rapport avec le texte grec, in: L'œuvre de David l'Invincible et la transmission de la pensée grecque dans la tradition arménienne et syriaque, ed. V. Calzolari – J. Barnes (*Commentaria in Aristotelem Armeniaca. Davidis Opera* 1). Leiden – Boston 2009, 39–65.

The ontological argument: Plotinus and Proclus

The father of "Neoplatonism", Plotinus, focuses on the problem of evil in the first book of his *Enneads*, chapter 8. Here, he identifies evil with primordial matter and describes its ontological status through the apophatic discourse, in order to show that evil is necessarily deprivation of being in the onto-cosmological process of emanation proceeding from the One. When interpreting *Theaetetus* 176A, where we are told that evil is endemic in this sphere of existence, Plotinus agrees with Plato that evil is something necessary. Yet he reframes Plato's position in the light of his theory of emanation so as to avoid a possible dualistic conclusion[3]. Evil thus becomes the last outcome in the outgoing process of emanation and is necessarily opposed to good[4]. Evil and vice come into existence because the irrational part of the soul is necessarily charmed by material attractions. Since matter is produced by a lower manifestation of the higher soul (characterized as "sensation"), it is imperfect by necessity, being the imperfect effect of an imperfect cause[5].

Plotinus' negative conception of evil was challenged by one of the main representatives of the Neoplatonic school, Proclus. Both Plotinus and Proclus seek to tackle the ontological status of evil, starting from *Theaetetus* 176A. Yet, the discrepancy between the two authors is evident, being mainly due to their different concept of matter. Proclus, in fact, does not accept Plotinus's view that matter should be regarded as being opposed to the plenty of being and as formless. When rejecting this opinion, Proclus argues that the nature of evil does not depend on matter, because matter is the necessary substratum of every created being. Thus, matter should be good by necessity, since it has been created by the divine. By contrast, evil has no matter and is characterized as parasitic existence (*parhypostasis*) which comes into existence through a certain deficiency of the beings that are good by essence[6]. Nonetheless, the presence of evil challenges the role of divine providence, for evil is an obstacle to the good being of providence and to its activity in the realm of nature. In order to avoid this aporia, Proclus argues that evil depends solely on the soul. Since the soul is a self-moving substance and subjected to change, it can also be exposed to partial evil. Yet, evil is finally encompassed by the divine providence which leads the creature to its own original ontological status of "being good". Evil is not absolute evil, but is mixed with good according to different degrees and appearances. What seems to be evil is indeed evil for the particulars but not for the universals (De Malorum Subsistentia 59):

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[3] Cf. J. M. Rist, Plotinus on Matter and Evil. *Phronesis* 6, 2 (1961) 154–166, part. 158–160.

[4] Plotinus, Enneads I 8.7.16–23: "It is also possible to grasp the necessity of evil in this way. For since there is not only the Good, there must be, in the going out beyond it, if one wishes to say in this way, in the descent and departure, the end beyond which nothing more emerges, and this is evil. There must be something after the first and so also the last, but this is matter, having nothing of the first" (after D. O'Meara, Plotinus: Introduction to the Enneads. Oxford 1993, 83).

[5] J. Opsomer, Proclus vs Plotinus on Matter (De mal. subs. 30–7). *Phronesis* 46, 2 (2001) 154–188. On the distinction put forward by Proclus between *steresis* and *hexis*, in particular with respect to Aristotle, J. N. Martin, Existence, Negation, and Abstraction in the Neoplatonic Hierarchy. *History and Philosophy of Logic* 16, 2 (1995) 169–196, part. 191–192.

[6] Proclus, De malorum subsistentia 53.1–14: *Si itaque hec recte dicimus, neque agere malum neque posse dicendum, sed et agere ipsi et posse a contrario. Et enim bonum debile et inefficax propter mixturam mali fit, et malum virtutis et operationis transortitur propter boni presentiam: in uno enim ambo. Et sicut in corporibus materia fit contrarium contrario, et le secundum naturam fortificat le preter naturam* […], *quod autem preter naturam debilitat quod secundum naturam, latitante naturam ad facere et ordine in quo le bene nature soluto: sic utique et in animalibus malum vincens bonum utitur illius potentia ad suum, scilicet ea quae rationis et inventionibus ad concupiscentias; et tradunt invicem ex sui iposrum natura, hoc quidem de potentia, hoc autem de debilitate, quoniam et secundum se malum ne neque agere natum est neque posse* (Procli Opuscula, ed. H. Boese. Berlin 1960, 250–252; Proclus. Trois études sur la Providence, ed. D. Isaac [*Les Belles Lettres*]. Paris 1982). For a Greek retroversion, see Proklos, Tria Opuscula, Textkritisch kommentierte Retroversion der Übersetzung Wilhelms von Moerbeke, ed. B. Strobel (*Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca et Byzantina* 6). Berlin – Boston 2014, 908–910.

Talia quidem igitur omnia bonum habent multipliciter. Et enim ad aliorum vindictam facta sunt, et secundum dignitatem actio, et non idem agentem male in quodcumque agere aut ad indigens pati. Hec igitur et patienti omnino bona et facienti, secundum quod assequitur totis (sic !).
"Thus, all these evils have good in multiple manners. In fact, it is for the punishment of others that they are produced, and the act is accomplished with respect to what is worthy, and acting bad with someone who needs to be punished is not the same as acting bad in whatever circumstance. And these evils are undoubtedly good from the perspective both of the one who suffers them [*patiens*] and of the one who commits them [*faciens*], since the latter conforms himself to the whole."[7]

In Proclus' cosmological argument, evil has no further existence: gods, in fact, also create evil, but they do and know it as good for they have a comprehensive and undivided knowledge of what appears to be disunited and divided (De mal. sub. 61). The Plotinian identification between matter and evil is reformulated by Proclus. Since evil is deprived of any ontological status, it cannot combine with matter, because of its lack of existence and form[8].

The logical argument: Ammonius of Hermias, Simplicius, Olympiodorus, Philoponus and David

For the Neoplatonist commentators who succeeded Proclus, both in Alexandria and in Athens, the discussion about evil emerges in the commentaries on Aristotle's *Categories*, and particularly in the *lemmata* devoted to the opposites (*ta antikeimena*)[9]. Ammonius of Hermias (434/45–517/26), who received his education from Proclus in Athens and later became a teacher of philosophy in Alexandria, describes three contrary modes of being, which have been passed down through the exegetical tradition: 1. a certain evil is wholly contrary to what is good, 2. a certain good is not wholly contrary to what is evil (because it is not convertible), 3. either a certain good or a certain evil is contrary to what is evil (*in Categories* 101.17–19). He argues, however, that the contraries cannot co-exist in the same substance (*hyparxis*) according to the same part and at the same time, such as health and illness. Moreover, not all the contraries can be seen in the same genus, such as the contrary genera of justice and injustice which belong to different genera. The former, in fact, belongs to the genus of virtue and the latter to the genus of vice. Yet, Ammonius argues that these contrary genera share a given common genus, for virtue is (a state of) possession, and similarly also vice is (a state of) possession[10]. Therefore, he declares that according to Aristotle contraries can be contraries by possession

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[7] Proclus 105–106 (Isaac). Translated by me.

[8] L. Cardullo, Il male come "privazione". Simplicio e Filopono in difesa della materia. *Peitho/Examina Antiqua* 1, 8 (2017) 391–408.

[9] Here the Alexandrian commentators focus their exegetical efforts on: Aristotle, Cat. 13a37–b1, 13b36–14a1–6 (ed. R. Bodéüs. Aristotle. Catégories. Paris 2001, 60, 62): Ὅσα δὲ ὡς κατάφασις καὶ ἀπόφασις ἀντίκειται, φανερὸν ὅτι κατ᾽ οὐδένα τῶν εἰρημένων τρόπων ἀντίκειται […] Ἐναντίον δέ ἐστιν ἀγαθῷ μὲν ἐξ ἀνάγκης κακόν (τοῦτο δὲ δῆλον τῇ καθ᾽ ἕκαστον ἐπαγωγῇ, οἷον ὑγιεία νόσος καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ ἀδικία καὶ ἀνδρείᾳ δειλία, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων), κακῷ δὲ ὁτὲ μὲν ἀγαθὸν ἐναντίον, ὁτὲ δὲ κακόν· τῇ γὰρ ἐνδείᾳ κακῷ ὄντι ἡ ὑπερβολὴ ἐναντίον κακὸν ὄν· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἡ μεσότης ἐναντία ἑκατέρῳ οὖσα ἀγαθόν. Ἐπ᾽ ὀλίγων δ᾽ ἂν τὸ τοιοῦτον ἴδοι τις, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν πλείστων ἀεὶ τῷ κακῷ τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐναντίον ἐστίν.
"It is plain that things opposed as affirmation and negation are not opposed in any of the above ways [...]. What is contrary to a good thing is necessarily bad; this is clear by induction from cases—health and sickness, justice and injustice, courage and cowardice, and so on with the rest. But what is contrary to a bad thing is sometimes good but sometimes bad. For excess is contrary to deficiency, which is bad, and is itself bad; yet moderation as well is contrary to both, and it is good. However, though this sort of thing may be seen in a few cases, in most cases what is contrary to a bad thing is always a good." Translation by J. L. Ackrill, Categories, in: Aristotle. Complete Works of Aristotle, Volume 1. The Revised Oxford Translation, ed. J. Barnes (*Bollingen Series* 71, 2). Chichester, West Sussex [6]1995, 21.

[10] Ammonius, inCat. 102.15–21 (ed. A. Busse, Ammonius in Aristotelis Categorias Commentarius [*Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* 4]. Berlin 1895): Ἄνω εἰρηκὼς ὅτι τὰ ἐναντία ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ γένει δεῖ εἶναι, νῦν δείκνυσιν ὅτι οὐ πάντα ἐν τῷ

and privation, without however developing the argument about evil as his successors do[11]. He merely states that evil and good are genera of some other things, in accordance with Aristotle's statement in *Categories* 14a19–25: Ἀναγκαῖον δὲ πάντα τὰ ἐναντία ἢ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ γένει εἶναι ἢ ἐν τοῖς ἐναντίοις γένεσιν, ἢ αὐτὰ γένη εἶναι· […] ἀγαθὸν δὲ καὶ κακὸν οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν γένει, ἀλλ'αὐτὰ τυγχάνει γένη τινῶν ὄντα (63, 19–25 Bodéüs)[12]. It should be noted that even today the meaning of this statement is a matter of debate, because it can be interpreted in two different ways: either that evil and good are not in any ordinary genus but fall under a category, or that they are not in any category but subsumed under all the categories[13]. Given this situation, it is not surprising that the ancient Greek commentators, too, were induced to offer different interpretations and solutions.

Olympiodorus (495/505–565), a disciple of Ammonius, outlines four contrary modes of being, which have been handed down from the Ancients, adding one mode to the three put forward by his teacher: 1. goods are only contrary to evils, but evils are contrary both to goods and to evils (he refers then to the example of the deficiency which is contradictory not only to symmetry, which is something good, but also to excess, which is something bad); 2. contraries cannot co-exist in the same subject at the same time; 3. contraries can exist in the same subject by genus or species: by species, such as illness and health, in the animal body, and by genus, such as white and black, in the body *simpliciter*; 4. contraries are subsumed either under the same genus or under contrary genera, or they are the most general genera like good and evil. Further, Olympiodorus attempts to explain the meaning of *Categories* 14a 19–25, arguing that Aristotle does not intend to affirm two more genera beyond the ten categories. Hence, Olympiodorus states that neither good nor evil have their own matter, but that they act as genera through the whole scheme of the categorial being as, for instance, generation and corruption act in the substance, the former as good and the latter as bad, and so on[14]. Even though Olympiodorus develops his discourse on good and bad further than Ammonius, he does not take his argument as far as Simplicius and Philoponus.

Simplicius (490–560) describes only three contrary modes of being among the four inherited from the philosophical tradition: 1. contraries can be under the same genus as, for instance, white and black which are under color; 2. or they can be under contrary genera as, for instance, justice and injustice; 3. or they can be themselves genera as good and evil which are not in any ordinary genus, but are indeed genera in themselves. After quoting the opinions defended by various philosophers (Nicostratus, Archytas, Aristotle, Theophrastus and Iamblichus), he explains that it is worth investigating whether good and evil, and justice and injustice, and health and illness, should be defined as contraries, or rather as modes of having and not-having[15].

αὐτῷ γένει εἰσίν. δικαιοσύνη γὰρ καὶ ἀδικία ἐναντία γένη οὐκ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ γένει θεωροῦνται. ἡ γὰρ δικαιοσύνη ἐν γένει τῇ ἀρετῇ, ἡ δὲ ἀδικία ἐν γένει τῇ κακίᾳ. φαμὲν ὅτι καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ ἐναντία γένη κοινόν τι γένος ἔχει. καὶ γὰρ ἡ ἀρετὴ ἕξις ἐστίν καὶ ἡ κακία ὁμοίως ἕξις. Cf. Arist, Cat. 11.14a19–25 (63 Bodéüs).

[11] I use here the term "meontological" (or "meontology") to define non-being not as absolutely non-existent (existential sense) but as something that simply is not (predicative sense). For an insightful discussion of the value of the meontological argument in the MXG (*On Melissus, Xenophanes and Gorgias*) and in the Peripatetic school (according to the author, however, the MXG was penned by Aristotle himself), M. Wesoły, La «Dimostrazione propria» di Gorgia. *Peitho/Examina Antiqua* 1, 4 (2013) 159–188.

[12] "All contraries must either be in the same genus or in contrary genera, or be themselves genera. [...], while good and bad are not in a genus but are themselves actually genera of certain things." Translation by Ackrill, Categories (n. 9), 22.

[13] Cf. L. M. De Rijk, Aristotle. Semantics and Ontology. Volume One: General Introduction. The Works on Logic. Leiden – Boston – Cologne 2002, 451–453; Bodéüs, Aristotle 148–150 (Notes complémentaires).

[14] Olympiodorus, inCat. 141.31–40, 142.1–40, 143.1–4 (ed. A. Busse, Olympiodori Prolegomena et in Categorias Commentarium [*Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* 12, 1]. Berlin 1902).

[15] Simplicius, inCat. 414.22–34, 415.1–35, 416.1–20 (ed. K. Kalbfleisch, Simplicii in Aristotelis Categorias Commentarium [*Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* 8]. Berlin 1907). According to Jan Opsomer, the source for the main arguments of Simplicius against Plotinus, and the identification of evil with *parhypostasis* ("parasitical existence") should be traced back to Iamblichus and not to Proclus: Opsomer, Proclus vs Plotinus 184–188.

> "In fact, if he [Aristotle] wishes that the contraries are equivalent, and both of them are similarly leading <principles> and by nature, but these ones, I mean evil, injustice and illness and other similar things, are rather failures, deviations and alterations from what is according to nature, and they are parasitical existences, how could both of them be leading <principles>, equivalent and similar by nature? If, in fact, what is against nature generally exists at all, it exists in those things and not in others. And that they are failures is evident first of all from the fact that they are the achievement of nothing, and then also those who choose to commit injustice are baited by the faint image of good which is present in it (i.e. injustice), and fall into <committing it> by failure, whereas they are looking for a sufficient, satisfactory and primary thing. Who, when dealing with illness, does not nourish doubts that it is a disposition against nature? Thus, all the physicians till today continue to define it in this manner. Therefore, if these manifestations are opposed to each other as what is by nature opposed to what is against nature, it should not be an antithesis of contraries (because these ones are both by nature and forms as, for instance, white and black, hot and cold), but it should be rather <an antithesis> of possession and privation: a feature of the latter is the 'being deprived' and the 'having been deprived'. […] And generally, both the contraries are actions of nature, whereas illness is a failure of the nature and a privation, since it is not only absence of what is natural, but also failure. In fact, in Physics, a privation was absence of the form which does not manifest its being-against-nature anywhere, but rather the otherness. […] And since wherever the being-against-nature is present, it should be said that here there is privation rather than contrariety."[16]

Simplicius does not regard evil as something contrary to good. His argument is based on the fact that if the contraries are forms, primary guiding principles and equivalent (as also Aristotle had already affirmed), evil, injustice and illness do not possess an in-formed existence and are not symmetrical to the plenitude of their opposites. The latter are rather instances of what is against nature and failure from what is the plenitude of a given form, as, for instance, the faltering walk with respect to the correct walk. And evil or illness cannot be contrary to what is good and healthy insofar as white and black are as contrary forms of a common genus. Simplicius' opinion on the me-ontological status of evil is defended not only against Plotinus' conception of the couple "matter-evil", but also against the dualism of the Manicheans. Simplicius argues against their arguments in favor of two contrary ontological principles in his *Commentary on the Enchiridion of Epictetus*. From a philosophical perspective, discussions against gnostic and Manichean dualism became particularly heated from the fourth century onwards, particularly in the Latin world (St. Augustine), but do not seem to have taken place in the Hellenistic world as of the first half/middle of the sixth century with Simplicius.

John Philoponus (490–570) deals with the problem of contraries in a manner that is rather closer to Proclus and Simplicius than to Ammonius and Olympiodorus. At the beginning of the discussion

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[16] Simplicius, inCat. 416.29–33, 417.1–10, 417.27–32, 418.1–2 (Kalbfleisch): εἰ γὰρ τὰ ἐναντία ἰσοσθενῆ βούλεται <εἶναι > καὶ ὁμοίως προηγούμενα καὶ κατὰ φύσιν ἄμφω, ταῦτα δέ, τὸ κακόν φημι καὶ ἀδικία καὶ νόσος καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἀποτυχίαι μᾶλλόν εἰσιν καὶ παραλλάξεις καὶ παρατροπαὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν καὶ παρυποστάσεις, πῶς ἂν εἴη προηγούμενα ἄμγω ἢ ἰσοσθενῆ ἢ κατὰ φύσιν ὁμοίως; εἰ γὰρ ἔστιν ὅλως τὸ παρὰ φύσιν, ἐν τούτοις ἐστὶν καὶ οὐκ ἄλλῳ, καὶ ὅτι ἀποτυχία, δηλοῖ τὸ πρῶτον μέν μηδενὸς εἶναι τέλος αὐτά, ἔπειτα καὶ οἱ αἱρούμενοι ἀδικίαν τῇ παραχρώσει τοῦ ἐν αὐτῇ ἀγαθοῦ δελεάζονται καὶ κατὰ ἀποτυχίαν αὐτῇ περιπίπτουσιν, τὸ αὔταρκες καὶ τὸ ἱκανὸν καὶ τὸ πρωτεῖον ζητοῦντες. τίς δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς νόσου διαμφιβάλλει. ὅτι οὐ παρὰ φύσιν ἐστὶν διάθεσις; καὶ οὕτως αὐτὴν μέχρι νῦν οἱ ἰατροί πάντες ὁριζόμενοι διατελοῦσιν. εἰ οὖν ὡς τὸ κατὰ φύσιν ταῦτα καὶ τὸ παρὰ φύσιν ἀντίκεινται, οὐκ ἂν εἴη ὡς ἐναντίων ἀντίθεσις (ἐκεῖνα γὰρ κατὰ φύσιν καὶ εἴδη ἄμφω, ὡς λευκὸν καὶ μέλαν καὶ θερμὸν καὶ ψυχρὸν), ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ἕξεως μᾶλλον καὶ στερήσεως, τῆς μὲν ἐν τῷ στερίσκεσθαι, τῆς δὲ ἐν τῷ ἑστερῆσθαι. ὅλως δὲ τὰ ἐναντία ἄμφω φύσεως ἔργα, νόσος δὲ φύσεως ἀποτυχία καὶ στέρησις, οὐχ ὡς ἀπουσία μόνον ἦν τοῦ εἴδους οὐδαμοῦ τὸ παρὰ φύσιν ἐμφαίνουσα, ἀλλ᾽ ἑτερότητα μᾶλλον· ἡ γοῦν τοῦ βοὸς ὕλη ἐστέρεται τέως τοῦ τῶν μελισσῶν εἴδους καὶ ἡ τοῦ ἄρτου τοῦ τῆς σαρκός, οὐδαμοῦ τοῦ παρὰ φύσιν ἐνόντος ἐνταῦθα ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀντικειμένης στερήσεως. ὥστε ὅπου τὸ παρὰ φύσιν, ἐκεῖ στέρησιν μᾶλλον ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἐναντίον ῥητέον: Translation by me.

about the contraries, Philoponus mentions four contrary modes of being, but then refers only to three of them as follows: 1. either contraries are subsumed under one and the same genus; 2. or contraries are subsumed under contrary genera like injustice and justice; 3. or they are genera by themselves like good and evil. When referring to the former in order to explain *Categories* 14a 23–25, Philoponus argues that we could regard good and evil as "trans" genera crossing through the whole system of categorial being, and not as two further categories in addition to Aristotle's ten *predicamenta*. Yet, he rejects this conclusion in a way that is very close to Proclus and Simplicius:

> "In fact, Aristotle, too, affirmed herein that what is good and what is evil are genera not as genera by themselves, but as genera which are observed in each category. There is, therefore, something good and something bad in substance as well as in quantity and in quality, and in all the other categories. In fact, in substance what is good is the perfection by itself, and what has brought to perfection the account of nature neither being a monster nor exceeding or failing in relation to <its own> account of nature, in quantity what is good is due proportion of quantity for each one of the realities. In quality, what is good is the proportion of every color, and similarly for all the others. Yet, for those who are precise, good and evil do not appear to be contrary, but opposed by privation and by possession. In fact, it is necessary that each one of the contraries has a nature endowed with form and properly defined, such as, for instance, white and black. What is bad, however, does not have a defined substance. In fact, it is a sort of disproportion, and how might disproportion have a defined form? Whence badness does not fall under definition, but as privation appears through the absence of possession because it has no defined nature, badness, too, stands by the absence of virtue either by hypernegation or by privative negation. If the latter (i.e. the virtue), in fact, is observed in proportion, the alteration from due proportion produces evil either by excess or by defect. One must know that even if he <Aristotle> says that contraries are subsumed under contrary genera, <he intends to say that> they are not in such a manner according to their most general genus, but by proximity and subordination. It is necessary that all the contraries are subsumed under the same genus: if, in fact, injustice and justice are subsumed under badness and virtue, they are in such a manner because they belong to one common genus, that is, I mean, possession and disposition. These ones are in turn subsumed under quality which is a genus more general than all contraries. And contraries are reasonably subsumed under one genus."[17]

There is a striking difference between the two disciples of Ammonius when they discuss the problem of contraries, focusing on good and evil. Philoponus rejects Olympiodorus' opinion that evil

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[17] Philoponus, inCat. 190.20–32, 191.1–15 (ed. A. Busse, Philoponi (olim Ammonii) In Aristotelis Categorias Commentarium [*Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* 13, 1]. Berlin 1898): οὕτως δὴ καὶ ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐνταῦθα γένη εἶπεν εἶναι τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸ κακὸν οὐχ ὡς αὐτὰ καθ'αὑτὰ ἀλλ' ὡς ἐν πάσαις ταῖς κατηγορίαις θεωρούμενα· ἔστι γάρ τι καὶ ἐν οὐσίᾳ ἀγαθὸν καὶ κακὸν καὶ ἐν ποσῷ καὶ ἐν ποιῷ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις κατηγορίαις· ἐν οὐσίᾳ μὲν γὰρ ἀγαθὸν ἡ καθ' αὑτὴν τελειότης, τὸ ἀπηρτισμένον ἔχειν τὸν λόγον τῆς φύσεως καὶ μὴ τέρας εἶναι ἢ τῷ | πλεονάζειν κατὰ τὸν λόγον ἢ ἐλλείπειν, ἐν ποσῷ δὲ ἡ σύμμετρος ἑκάστῳ πράγματι ποσότης καὶ ἐν ποιῷ τὸ σύμμετρον ἑκάστῳ χρώματι, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὁμοίως. ἀκριβολογουμένοις δὲ οὐδὲ ἐναντία τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸ κακὸν φανήσεται, ἀλλὰ κατὰ στέρησιν καὶ ἕξιν ἀντικεῖσθαι· δεῖ γὰρ τῶν ἐναντίων ἑκάτερον εἰδοπεποιῆσθαι καὶ ὡρισμένην ἔχειν φύσιν, ὥσπερ τὸ λευκὸν καὶ τὸ μέλαν· τὸ δὲ κακὸν οὐκ ἔχει ὡρισμένην ὑπόστασιν· ἀμετρία γάρ τίς ἐστιν, ἡ δὲ ἀμετρία πῶς ἄν εἶδος σχοίη ὡρισμένον; ὅθεν οὐδὲ ὁρισμῷ ὑποπίπτει ἡ κακία, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἡ στέρησις τῇ ἀπουσίᾳ τῆς ἕξεως παραγίνεται αὐτὴ οὐκ ἔχουσα ὡρισμένην τινὰ φύσιν, οὕτω καὶ ἡ κακία τῇ ἀπουσίᾳ τῆς ἀρετῆς παραγίνεται ἢ καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἢ κατ' ἔλλειψιν· ἐκείνης γὰρ ἐν συμμετρίᾳ θεωρουμένης ἡ τοῦ μετρίου παρατροπὴ κακίαν ἐποίησε κατά τε τὸ πλεονάζον καὶ τὸ ἐλλεῖπον. ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι εἰ καὶ ὑπὸ τὰ ἐναντία τελεῖν γένη ἔφη τὰ ἐναντία, οὐ κατὰ τὸ γενικώτατον αὐτῶν γένος εἴρηκεν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ προσεχὲς καὶ ὑπάλληλον· ἀνάγκη γὰρ πάντα τὰ ἐναντία ὑπὸ τὸ αὐτὸ τελεῖν γένος· εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἡ ἀδικία καὶ ἡ δικαιοσύνη ὑπὸ τὴν κακίαν καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν τελοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὗται ὑφ' ἕν τι κοινὸν τελοῦσι γένος, τὴν ἕξιν λέγω καὶ τὴν διάθεσιν, αὗται δὲ ὑπὸ τὴν ποιότητα, ἥτις ἐστὶ γένος γενικώτατον πάντων τῶν ἐναντίων. καὶ εἰκότως ὑφ' ἓν τὰ ἐναντία τελοῦσι γένος· ἐσπούδασε γὰρ ἄνωθέν τε καὶ κάτωθεν ἡ φύσις τὸν πρὸς ἄλληλα αὐτῶν εἰδυῖα πόλεμον ἄνωθέν τε καὶ κάτωθεν αὐτὰ συνδῆσαι, ἄνωθεν μὲν τῷ κοινῷ γένει κάτωθεν δὲ τῷ κοινῷ ὑποκειμένῳ: Translation by me.

and good are the most general genera seen in all the ten categories as trans-categorial *predicamenta*. Philoponus argues, in fact, that all the contraries cannot be genera by themselves, but are necessarily subsumed under a more general genus. Therefore, they can be subsumed under one of the most general *predicamenta* as, for instance, injustice and justice are subsumed under the common genus of possession (ἕξις) and disposition (διάθεσις). The latter in turn are subsumed under quality which is even more general than they are. It is up to the nature to join above and below what is in conflict: above, by joining the contraries to a common genus, and below by joining them to a common subject (inCat. 191, 19–27)[18]. It is evident that for Philoponus, good and evil as well as justice and injustice or health and illness, are not genera by themselves. Rather, the positive terms of these contraries are manifestations of the state of having and then of quality, whereas the negative terms of them come into existence as negative and privative forms in respect of their *habitus*. The term *diathesis* ("disposition") used to describe injustice and evil is borrowed from Aristotle (Cat. 8b 27–9a 13), who defines it as a sort of quality beside possession (*hexis*). *Hexis* differs from *diathesis*, because the former is not easily changed but it can nevertheless convert into disposition, whereas disposition is easily changeable and does not necessarily convert into possession. Philoponus uses the Aristotelian term when defining the nature of evil in the context of his theory of virtue and vice. By assuming that virtue and vice are subsumed under one common and more general genus, Philoponus (but David, too) seems to contradict what he had already affirmed about the me-ontic status of evil. Yet, Philoponus attempts here to make sense of Aristotle's statement. For him, in fact, Aristotle does not affirm the existence of contrary genera, because contraries are all subsumed under the most general genus of quality, whereas evil cannot be subsumed under any contrary genus, as it lacks its own form and matter.

Concerning the term *diathesis* as a lexical marker for evil and vice, it is interesting to mention that, in *Homily 2 on the Hexameron*, Basil of Caesarea uses the same definition when describing evil as the outcome of the individual voluntary activity:

> "Therefore, if evil is not created as generated by God, from where does it receive its nature? None of those who are alive, in fact, will deny that there are evils. What shall we say? That evil is not a living and animate substance, but a disposition of the soul contrary to virtue, which appears in the negligent because of the falling away from the good"[19].

Basil had already defined evil as inclination (*diathesis*) towards badness because of the falling away from good and virtue, which are indeed the most convenient and natural *habitus* (*hexis*) for the soul. Even though the arguments of both authors are different—Basil's argument is ontological and ethical, whereas Philoponus' is logical—they agree when they define evil as the outcome of the conversion into a 'maladroit' disposition of the soul's *habitus*, which is not necessary, and nevertheless possible.

David the Invincible (second half 6th/mid-7th cent.), a second-generation student in Ammonius' circle, deals with the question of evil near the end of his *Commentary on Categories* in a manner that

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[18] Philoponus, inCat. 190.8–32, 191.1–5 (Busse). Philoponus, too, argues against Manichean ontological and cosmological dualism in his *On the Creation of the World* (*De Opificio Mundi*) 301.15–303.24 (ed. G. Reichardt, Iohannis Philoponi De opificio mundi libri VIII [*Scriptores sacri et profane* 1]. Leipzig 1897), stating that evil is not substantial, but is produced when nature acts out of goodwill: cf. Cardullo, Il male come "privazione" 402, footnote 25.

[19] Basilius Caesarensis, Homilia II in Hexameron 4.25 (*PG* 29, 37): Εἰ τοίνυν, φησί, μήτε ἀγέννητον, παρὰ Θεοῦ γεγονός, πόθεν ἔχει τὴν φύσιν; Τὸ γὰρ εἶναι τὰ κακὰ οὐδεὶς ἀντερεῖ τῶν μετεχόντων τοῦ βίου. Τί οὖν φαμεν; Ὅτι τὸ κακόν ἐστιν οὐχὶ οὐσία ζῶσα καὶ ἔμψυχος, ἀλλὰ διάθεσις ἐν ψυχῇ ἐναντίως ἔχουσα πρὸς ἀρετήν, διὰ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ καλοῦ ἀπόπτωσιν τοῖς ῥαθύμοις ἐγγινομένη. Translation by me.
As already explained, Aristotle uses the term *diathesis* (pl. *diatheseis*) to define the qualities which are easily changeable and alterable, whereas the qualities which are not subjected to changing and altering are defined as *hexeis*. Nonetheless, Aristotle does not seem to count evil either among the dispositions or among the states of having, as Basil of Caesarea and Philoponus more clearly do: Aristotle, Cat. 8b 26–9a 13 (39–41 Bodéüs).

is very close to Philoponus[20]. At the beginning of the discussion, he outlines three contrary modes of being according to the philosophical tradition: 1. good is contrary to evil alone, and evil is contrary either to good or to another evil, as, for instance, in the case of virtue, because in every virtue there is hypernegation (*hyperbole*) and privative negation (*elleipsis*); 2. contraries can sometimes co-exist by genus like white and black in the animal, and by species like healthy and ill among men; 3. contraries are subsumed either under one genus as, for instance, white and black [are subsumed] under color, or under opposed genera as, for instance, justice and injustice [are subsumed] under virtue and badness, or they are not subsumed under a genus like, for instance, good and evil, because they are genera by themselves. In accordance with Philoponus, David argues that evil and good should not be regarded as contraries by those who are meticulous. They are rather 'opposite' according to the mode of privation and possession (καὶ οὕτως μὲν ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐναντία γένη εἶναί φησι τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸ κακόν. ἀκριβολογουμένοις δὲ οὐδὲ ἐναντία φανήσεται, ἀλλὰ κατὰ στέρησιν καὶ ἕξιν ἀντικεῖσθαι)[21]. In fact, each one of the contraries needs to have been endowed with form and to have a defined nature like, for instance, white and black, whereas evil does not have a defined substance (*hypostasis*). The latter is a disproportion, and a disproportion cannot have a defined form. Moreover, evil does not fall under definition (*horismos*), and it is to be characterized as either hypernegation or privative negation of virtue[22]. Between David's inCat. 250.18–35 to 251.1–4 and Philoponus' inCat. 190.20–32 to 191.1–15 there is not only a striking conceptual similarity, but even a strong similarity in wording. This could be the result of manuscript interpolations, but could also be further evidence in order to substantiate that David depends on the Philoponian branch of the Alexandrian school rather than on Olympiodorus' branch. Even though this intellectual interdependence has already been hinted at by some scholars, it is still stubbornly ignored by the dominant scholarship, which maintains the tradi-

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[20] In my opinion, there is no need to go back once again to the *vexata quaestio* concerning the authorship of the *Commentary on Categories* (ed. A. Busse, Eliae in Porphyrii Isagogen et [olim Davidis] Aristotelis Categorias Commentaria [*Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* 18, 1]. Berlin 1900, 105–281). On the basis of textual parallels between the Armenian versions of David's logical commentaries and their Greek corresponding commentaries (except for *In analytica priora* that is extant only in Armenian), several pieces of evidence in favor of David's paternity have been suggested by scholars in Armenian studies, such as Sen Arevshatyan, Jean-Pierre Mahè, Valentina Calzolari, and Erna Shirinyan. David's paternity has also been accepted by prominent scholars, such as Richard Bodéüs, Richard Sorabji, and Ilsetraut Hadot. Very recently, Christoph Helmig, too, is keener on attributing the Commentary to David rather than to Elias: C. Helmig, Die jeweiligen Eigenheiten der Neuplatoniker David und Elias und die umstrittene Autorschaft des Kommentars zur Kategorienschrift, in: Die Kunst der philosophischen Exegese bei den spätantiken Platon- und Aristoteles-Kommentatoren, hrsg. von B. Strobel. Berlin – Boston 2018, 277–313, part. 307. For a brief overview of the *status quaestionis* and new evidences in favor of David's authorship: Contin, David l'Arménien 75–78; V. Calzolari, Aux origins de la formation du corpus philosophique en Arménie: quelques remarques sur les versions arméniennes des commentaires grecs de David, in: The Libraries of the Neoplatonists, ed. C. D'Ancona Costa (*Philosophia Antiqua* 107). Leiden – Boston 2007, 259–291.
Unfortunately, the section devoted to contraries has not come down to us in the Armenian version of David's *Commentary*, at least at the current state of the art, E. M. Shirinian, The Armenian Version of David the Invincible's *Commentary on Aristotle's Categories*, in: Calzori–Barnes, L'œuvre de David l'Invincible (n. 2), 89–102.

[21] Dav (El), inCat. 250.17–20 (Busse).

[22] Dav (El), inCat. 250.17–27 (Busse): καὶ οὕτως μὲν ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐναντία γένη εἶναί φησι τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸ κακόν. ἀκριβολογουμένοις δὲ οὐδὲ ἐναντία φανήσεται, ἀλλὰ κατὰ στέρησιν καὶ ἕξιν ἀντικεῖσθαι· δεῖ γὰρ τῶν ἐναντίων ἑκάτερον εἰδοπεποιῆσθαι καὶ ὡρισμένη ἔχειν φύσιν, ὥσπερ τὸ λευκὸν καὶ τὸ μέλαν· τὸ δὲ κακὸν οὐκ ἔχει ὡρισμένην ὑπόστασιν· ἀμετρία γάρ τίς ἐστιν, ἡ δὲ ἀμετρία πῶς εἶδος ἂν σχοίη ὡρισμένον; ὅθεν οὐδὲ ὁρισμῷ ὑποπίπτει ἡ κακία, ἀλλ᾽ ὥσπερ ἡ στέρησις τῇ ἀπουσίᾳ τῆς ἕξεως παραγίνεται αὐτὴ οὐκ ἔχουσα ὡρισμένη τινὰ φύσιν, οὕτω καὶ ἡ κακία τῇ ἀπουσίᾳ τῆς ἀρετῆς παραγίνεται ἢ καθ᾽ ὑπερβολὴν ἢ κατ᾽ ἔλλειψιν.
"And Aristotle states that good and evil are contrary genera in this way. To those who are meticulous, however, they should not seem to be contrary, but opposed by privation and possession. In fact, it is necessary that each one of the contraries has a nature endowed with form and properly defined, such as, for instance, white and black. What is bad has not a defined substance. In fact, it is a sort of disproportion, and how might disproportion have a defined form? Whence badness does not fall under definition, but since privation appears through the absence of possession because it has no defined nature, badness, too, appears through the absence of virtue by either hypernegation or privative negation. If the latter [i.e. the virtue], in fact, is observed in proportion, the alteration from due proportion produces evil by both excess and defect." Translation by me.

tional chronology Olympiodorus the Younger—Elias—David[23]. When recalling the contrary modes of being inherited from the ancient tradition, David seems to interweave some modes of Olympiodorus and some others of Philoponus and Simplicius (Table 1). Yet, when summing up his viewpoint about contraries, and particularly about good and evil, David clearly depends on Philoponus and Simplicius. In fact, he not only rejects the opinion that good and evil are genera by themselves, but clarifies also what is the mode of opposition of good and evil, by stressing the status of deprivation and disproportion of the latter. Compared with Philoponus, David is more coherent when discussing the category of quality. In this context, he refers to symmetry or proportion (*symmetria*) as what is good in quality, and asymmetry or disproportion (*asymmetria*) as what is evil in quality. And then again, he defines evil as a sort of asymmetry (*ametria*) in opposition to symmetry (*symmetria*) for each defined nature (inCat. 250.22–24). By contrast, Philoponus provides the example of the symmetry of colors, in order to show how the good can be seen under the category of quality (*inCat* 190.27).

The Armenian version of David's *Commentary on Categories* stops abruptly at the end of the discussion on quantity (Cat. 6a12). Since the discussion of opposites and contraries has not come down to us, we cannot establish what the Armenian terms for the Greek *ametria* and *steresis* are in the context of the same commentary. Yet, there is an interesting passage in the Armenian version of David's *Commentary on Porphyry's Isagoge* where the author uses the term 'disproportion' (*ameteria*, in Greek) for hectic fever. When speaking about the relation between accidents and subject, David refutes the opinion of those who affirm that the accident destroys the subject and itself on purpose:

> "For some say: if no being desires its perdition (for we say about non-rational [creatures] that they kill themselves by jumping from cliffs and falling into the water, and they do this, not desiring their perdition, but because they flee from somebody or kill themselves by accident out of anger), why do accidents desire to destroy themselves? And that they destroy themselves, is clear from the following: for if accidents are in the subject and destroy the subject, it is agreed that they destroy themselves too. And we shall say why they destroy the subject. Hectic fever destroys its subject, for it is impossible for it to go without the destruction of its subject. Now, because it destroys its subject, it also destroys itself with it.
>
> Against them, we say that no accident longs for its destruction and neither does it long for destroying its subject (for it destroys it by accident, and not on purpose). And hence it is clear that hectic fever is a disproportion, and that a sound mixture is a due proportion and that they are <u>contrary</u> to each other. And a disproportion seeks to destroy the due proportion and, destroying it, it destroys by accident the subject as well, destroying the subject, it destroys itself as well."[24]

In this passage, David characterizes hectic fever as a mode of illness and defines it not as accident (either separable or inseparable) but as disproportion and something opposite to due proportion, which is the healthy mixture of the elements that belong to a substance by nature. The term used by David to define hectic fever is *anch'ap'ut'iwn* (corresponding to the Greek *ametria*, and opposed to

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[23] Among the scholars who elaborated an alternative chronology for the activity of the last representatives of the Alexandrian Neoplatonic School, G. Furlani, Il *Libro delle Definizioni e Divisioni* di Michele l'Interprete. Rome 1926, 147–149; W. Wolska-Conus, Stéphanos d'Aléxandrie et Stéphanos d'Athènes. Essai d'identification et de biographie. *REB* 47 (1989) 5–89; M. Roueché, The *Definitions of Philosophy* and a new fragment of Stephanus the Philosopher. *JÖB* 40 (1990) 71–98. Cf. also Contin, David l'Arménien 46–51.
A salient example of the static nature of taken-for-granted assumptions in the field, C. Wildberg, David, in: The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (Summer 2018), ed. E. N. Zalta. URL: <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2018/entires/david/> (Last access: 12th June 2019).

[24] Dav, inIs. 29.8 (ed. G. Muradyan, David the Invincible. Commentary on Porphyry's Isagoge [*Philosophia Antiqua* 137. *Commentaria in Aristotelem Armeniaca. Davidis Opera*. Volume 3]. Leiden – Boston 2015, 268–269: For the Greek: Dav, *inIs* 206.17–32 [Busse]).

ch‘ap‘akts‘ut‘iwnk‘/summetria). Even if the discussion of contraries has not come down to us, we can suppose that the Armenian translator of David’s *Commentary on Categories* would have used the same term *anch‘ap‘ut‘iwn* to define evil, in accordance with Philoponus and Simplicius as well as in keeping with David’s thought. In fact, it is worth reflecting on the striking similarity between the definition of hectic fever in the Greek version of David’s *inIs* and the definition of evil in the Greek version of David’s *Commentary*. In both cases, *ametria* is the common term used to denote a state of disproportion and privative negation. Even more interesting is the fact that the Armenian version of David’s *inIs* denotes the two opposite modes of disproportion and symmetry (or proportion) as ընդդէմ միմեանց. I would suggest translating ընդդէմ միմեանց into “opposite to each other” rather than into “contrary to each other” as the editor of the Armenian *Commentary on Porphyry’s Isagoge* does. The terms “opposite” and “contrary” could sometimes be used interchangeably by the commentators, but not in the context of the logical discussion about the contrary modes of being. As already mentioned, in the commentaries on *Categories*, Simplicius, Philoponus and David define evil as something opposed (*antikeitai/ta antikeimena*) to good by privation rather than as something contrary (*enantios*) to it. Contraries, in fact, have intermediate stages and middle terms, whereas opposites are categorically contradictory. In this case, proportion and disproportion imply an antithesis of possession and privation and not an antithesis of contrariety. In fact, when growing and reaching the last stage of its own generation, contrary becomes an absolute contrary, whereas privation (and disproportion) when growing and reaching the last stage of their development lead to destruction and death[25].

Ammonius	Olympiodorus	Simplicius	Philoponus	David (Elias)
1. A certain evil is wholly contrary to what is good	1. goods are contrary only to evils (and evils are contrary to both goods and evils)	1. contraries are under the same genus	1. contraries are subsumed under one and the same genus	1. good is contrary to evil alone, and evil is contrary to both good and any other evil
2. A certain good is not wholly contrary to what is evil	2. contraries do not co-exist in the same subject at the same time	2. contraries are under contrary genera	2. contraries are subsumed under contrary genera	2. contraries can co-exist <in the same subject> by genus and by species
3. Either a certain good or a certain evil is contrary to what is evil	3. contraries can exist in the same subject either by genus or by species	3. contraries are genera by themselves (e.g. good and evil)[26]	3. contraries are genera by themselves (e.g. good and evil)	3. contraries are subsumed under either one genus or opposed genera, or they are not subsumed under one genus, but are themselves genera (e.g. good and evil)
	4. contraries are subsumed under either the same genus or contrary genera, or they are the most general genera (e.g. good and evil)			

Table 1: Contrary modes of being according to the ‘Neoplatonic’ commentators on Aristotle’s *Categories*

[25] Cf. Simplicius, inCat. 417.23–27 (Kalbfleisch)

[26] The same classification of three contrary modes of being is attested in, Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq, inCat. 11.13–18 (ed. J. T. Zenker, Aristotelis Categoriae graece cum versione arabica Isaaci Honeini Filii et variis lectionibus textus graeci e versione arabica ductis. Leipzig 1846, 80).

The influence of Proclus (412–485), who had possibly had access to the Library of Alexandria and may also have consulted the writings of the Church Fathers, is particularly stunning in the cases of Philoponus and David. Both of them, in fact, detached themselves from Ammonius and sketched their own view about the ontological status of evil within a logical framework, borrowing more from Proclus than from the head of their school. Simplicius and Philoponus introduced the idea of privation (*steresis*) and asymmetry into the *Categories*, because they sought to elaborate logical arguments in order to refute the ontic and theological dualism of their adversaries. Their me-ontological position on the nature of evil is, in fact, expressed in other works, notably the *De Opificio Mundi* by Philoponus and the *Commentary on the Enchiridion of Epictetus* by Simplicius, where both philosophers disprove Manichean dualism. In the case of David, there is no work formally devoted to the refutation of either onto-cosmological or theological dualism. Yet, an interesting literary piece has come down to us—the Armenian version of pseudo-Gregory's syllogisms against Manicheans—which the Armenian manuscript tradition generally ascribes to David the Invincible and inserts just after David's *Book of the Definitions and Divisions of Philosophy*[27].

The Cappadocian perspective on Evil

The question of evil and its activity in God's creation is already broached in the Old and New Testaments as far as it represents a crucial event in the order of creation. In the Bible, the emergence of evil is connected to the free will of the creatures. The latter, in fact, choose, by a voluntary act of separation, to break their primordial ontological condition, that of having been created good by the Creator[28]. The reason for the existence of evil lies in the voluntary activity of the creatures which, by acting according to evil and vice, turn away from their Creator and the whole creation, which is substantially good and positive. The problem was also dealt with by the Church Fathers who responded to the ontological and cosmological dualism of the Manicheans and other heterodox sects (Basil of Caesarea, Didymus the Blind, Methodius of Olympus, Titus of Bosra), and undertook it to harmonize the (neo)Platonic theories with the Christian faith (Gregory of Nyssa, pseudo-Dionysius). Polemic emerges as one of the first reasons that prompted the Church Fathers to get involved in the ontological analysis of good and evil. This was especially the case for the Egyptian and Syro-Palestinian theologians, probably because of the prevailing proselytism and consequent diffusion of the gnostic and dualistic trends within the Church. By contrast, Basil of Caesarea and Gregory of Nyssa are less concerned, even if the former occasionally disparages the opinions of the Marcionites, the Valentinians and the Manicheans as, for instance, in the *Homily II on the Hexameron* where the Church Father condemns the heretics for their false and literal interpretation of Genesis 1.2 ("and darkness was upon the face of the deep" [KJV]) and their false opinion on the origin of evil[29]. By contrast,

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[27] For instance, M 1746 (XIII c.), M 1747 (a. 1243), W 353 (a. 1325), W 263 (a. 1705–1714), and the five manuscripts (of which the eldest dates to AD 1310) held in the Library of the Mechitarist Fathers of Venice and used for the *editio princeps* of David's works: see, Կորիւն Վարդապետի, Մամբրէ Վերծանողի եւ Դաւիթ Անյաղթի մատենագրութիւնք [The works of Koriwn Vardapet, Mambrē the Commentator and David the Invincible]. Venice 1833, 9 (*Praefatio*). Abbreviations = M (Matenadaran, Yerevan); W (Mekhitarist Library, Vienna).

[28] For a discussion of the problem in the Bible and in Greek Patristic literature, E. S. Mainoldi, Il non-essere volontario: la concezione del male nella tradizione teologica e ascetica bizantina. *Chôra. Revue d'Études anciennes et médiévales* 6 (2008) 181–210.

[29] Basilius (*PG* 29, 4.24–25): Οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ παρὰ Θεοῦ τὸ κακὸν τὴν γένεσιν ἔχειν εὐσεβές ἐστι λέγειν, διὰ τὸ μηδὲν τῶν ἐναντίων παρὰ τοῦ ἐναντίου γίνεσθαι. Οὔτε γὰρ ἡ ζωὴ θάνατον γεννᾷ, οὔτε τὸ σκότος φωτός ἐστιν ἀρχή, οὔτε ἡ νόσος ὑγιείας δημιουργός, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν μὲν ταῖς μεταβολαῖς τῶν διαθέσεων ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων πρὸς τὰ ἐναντία αἱ μεταστάσεις· ἐν δὲ ταῖς γενέσεσιν οὐκ ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκ τῶν ὁμογενῶν ἕκαστον τῶν γινομένων προέρχεται. Εἰ τοίνυν, φησὶ, μήτε ἀγέννετον, παρὰ Θεοῦ γεγονὸς, πόθεν ἔχει τὴν φύσιν; Τὸ γὰρ εἶναι τὰ κακὰ οὐδεὶς ἀντερεῖ τῶν μετεχόντων τοῦ βίου. Τί οὖν φαμεν; Ὅτι τὸ κακὸν ἐστιν οὐχί οὐσία ζῶσα καὶ ἔμψυχος, ἀλλὰ διάθεσις ἐν ψυχῇ ἐναντίως ἔχουσα πρὸς ἀρετήν, διὰ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ καλοῦ

Gregory of Nyssa is more interested in investigating the problem from an ontological perspective. In his *Homilies on Ecclesiastes*, he considers evil as privation (*steresis*) of being and not depending on God. In the fifth *Homily*, in particular, Gregory of Nyssa offers his interpretation of the text of *Ecclesiastes* 2, 12–13 where the Biblical author creates an analogy between wisdom and light on the one hand, and folly and darkness, on the other:

> "When I saw these things, he says, and weighed, as in a balance, what is, against what is not, I found that the difference between wisdom and folly was the same as one would find if light were measured against the dark. I think it is appropriate that he uses the analogy of light in the discernment of the good. Since darkness is in its own nature unreal (for if there were nothing to obstruct the sun's rays, there would be no darkness), whereas light is of itself, perceived in its own essence, he shows by this analogy that evil does not exist by itself, but arises from deprivation of good, whereas good is always as it is, stable and steadfast, and does not arise from the deprivation of anything which is prior to it. What is perceived as essentially opposed to good, is not; for what in itself is not, does not exist at all; for evil is the deprivation of being, and not something existing."[30]

Though Gregory of Nyssa was greatly indebted to Platonism, he formulates his own hermeneutics about the existence of evil and vice. Thus, evil as well as its temporal and concrete corollary which are sin and passions, are a consequence of the rational soul's enslavement to evil. The rational soul, in fact, is charmed by evil, and being subjected to time, it can also act badly and commit mistakes. The Biblical idea that evil produced a fundamental shift between the creature and the Creator by means of the original sin is not questioned by Gregory of Nyssa. Yet, he offers ontological arguments in favor of his main idea that evil has no substance and is opposed to good because of its non-being. And because of its not being good, evil is also outside of the plenitude of being[31].

FROM CAPPADOCIA AND ALEXANDRIA TO ARMENIA

Eznik of Koghb's "Against the Sects"

The first Armenian author to reflect on the ontological status of evil is Eznik of Koghb in his treatise *Against the Sects*, which dates to the middle of the 5th century, just a few decades after the creation of the native script. Eznik deals with the topic from a theological perspective and develops his arguments with the purpose of refuting the false opinions both of the pagan philosophers and of the false sects inspired by gnostic and docetic opinions (Valentinians, Zoroastrians, Marcionites)[32]. At the very beginning, Eznik spells out his main ontological ideas: evil does not come from the good

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ἀπόπτωσιν τοῖς ῥαθύμοις ἐγγινομένη.

"Neither is it proper to affirm that evil is generated by God, for nothing among contraries is generated by what is contrary. In fact, neither life generates death nor darkness gives beginning to light nor illness produces health, but whenever the dispositions change, it means that there are changes from contraries towards contraries. In the generation, every reality that comes into existence is not produced by what is contrary, but by the realities that share the same genus. Therefore, if evil is not created as something generated by God, from where does it receive its nature? None of those who are alive, in fact, will deny that evil exists. What shall we say? That evil is not a living and animate substance, but a disposition of the soul contrary to virtue, which appears in the negligent because he falls away from good." Translation by me.

[30] Gregorius Nyssenus, InEccl. V 356.1 (Translated by S. G. Hall – R. Moriarty, in: Gregory of Nyssa. Homilies on Ecclesiastes, ed. S. G. Hall. Berlin – New York 1993, 31–144).

[31] Gregorius Nyssenus, InEccl. VII 406.17. Cf. S. Taranto, L'esegesi morale di Gregorio Nisseno nelle "Omelie sull'Ecclesiaste" (VI–VIII). *Annali di studi religiosi* 5 (2004) 441–462.

[32] For the identification of the heretics refuted by Eznik on the basis of Methodius of Olympus' *De Autexousio*, with the 2nd-3rd centuries sect of the Valentinians, A. Orengo, Eznik of Kołb as a translator of Methodius of Olympus, in: Greek Texts and Armenian Traditions. An Interdisciplinary Approach, ed. F. Gazzano – L. Pagani – G. Traina. Berlin 2016, 31–45.

Creator, and evil things are not evil by nature, for the Creator creates only good things[33]. At the end of the first chapter, God is defined as the source of goodness, and amongst all his creatures only those who are intelligible and rational are receptive of goodness according to their respective virtues and degrees. Yet, they are not receptive of beauty as well, but they are rather endowed with it, because the whole of God's creation has already been provided with beauty from the very beginning of creation. Here Eznik emphasizes the basic difference between beauty and goodness, for the former depends on God's benevolent providence, whereas the latter depends on the soul's voluntary activity. All the intelligible and rational creatures are endowed with it. Doing good or doing bad, therefore, are up to the posterior activity of the will of rational beings[34]. It is worth remarking on the Armenian term used by Eznik to denote the voluntary faculty, *antsnishkhanut'iwn* (անձնիշխանութիւն, a calque of the Greek *to autexusion*). To the best of my knowledge, Eznik is the first Armenian author to introduce the term into the native theological vocabulary[35]. By contrast, David the Invincible does not adopt Eznik's term *antsnishkhanut'iwn* to define the voluntary activity that he calls instead *yōzharut'iwn* (յօժարութիւն/*promptitudo animi*), including it amongst the rational soul's practical faculties[36].

According to Eznik, therefore, if created beings are receptive of goodness, but not originally endowed with it, they can choose either good or evil or both of them! This idea clearly depends on biblical exegesis, particularly of the New Testament, but is transformed by Eznik into a creative and fresh paradigm[37]. The same term *antsnishkhanut'iwn* is usually used by Nonnus of Nisibis (early 9th cent.) in the only extant Armenian version of his original Arabic *Commentary to Saint John's Gospel*, where it implies the idea that creatures deliberately chose to detach themselves from God the Fa-

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[33] Eznik of Koghb, *Against the Sects* (Venice, 3° ed., 1926), I 1, 8–9: Զի ոչ ոք է առաջին քան զնա, եւ ոչ ոք է յետոյ նման նմա, եւ ոչ ընկեր հաւասար նորին, եւ ոչ էութիւն հակառակ նմա, եւ ոչ գոյութիւն ընդդիմակաց, եւ ոչ բնութիւն հիւթաբեր ի պէտս նորա, եւ ոչ նիւթ ինչ՝ յորմէ առնիցէ զոր առնելոց իցէ. Այլ ինքն է պատճառ ամենայնի, որ ի լինելն եւ գոյանալ եկին ի չգոյէ եւ ի գոյէ:
"Because no one is prior to Him, and no one after Him is similar to Him, and He has no equal companion, no existence is contrary to Him, and no substance is opposite to Him. And He does not need anything endowed with matter nor any matter from which He should create what was to be created. But, He is the only reason for all things which came into existence and received substance among non-existents and existents." Translation by me.
For the textual references to the *Against the Sects*, I use the edition of the Mechitarist Fathers of Venice: Եզնկայ Կողբացւոյ Բագրեւանդայ Եպիսկոպոսի Եղծ Աղանդոց. Venice [3]1926.

[34] Eznik of Koghb, *De Deo*, I 1, 11: […] Որ զամենայն զոր արար՝ գեղեցիկս արար, այս ինքն զբանաւորս եւ զանբանաւորս, զմտաւորս եւ զանմտաւորս, զխօսունս եւ զանխօսունս, զասունս եւ զանասունս: Եւ բանաւորաց եւ մտաւորաց յիւրաքանչիւր առաքինութեանց կարգեաց ստանալ զբարութիւն, եւ ոչ զգեղեկցութիւն. Զի գեղեկցութեանն տուիչ ինքն է, եւ բարութեանն՝ զանձնիշխանութիւնն արար պատճառ:
"He made beautiful everything He did, namely rationals and irrationals, and those which are endowed and those which are not endowed with intellect, as well as those which are endowed and those which are not endowed with word. And among the rational and intelligible virtues, He arranged that <everything He created> receive goodness, but not beauty; because He himself is the giver of beauty. And He made the free will the cause of goodness." Translation by me.

[35] *Antsnishkhanut'iwn* occurs in other but later translations and original works of the Armenian literature as, for instance, in the collection of *Homilies* called *Yachakhapatum* Յաճախապատում [Sermons] VI 14 (ed. Y. K'ēōsēian, Գրիգոր Լուսաւորչի Յաճախապատումի ճառերը, in: Մատենագիրք Հայոց [Library of Armenian Literature]. Antelias 2003, I 20). This collection of homilies was ascribed to St. Gregory the Illuminator, but was probably composed between 485 and 510 for the sake of coenobitic instruction within the Armenian monasteries at the turn from the 5th and 6th centuries, B. L. Zekiyan, Back to the Sources of Armenian Spirituality. *Hachakhapatum* as a Doctrinal and Practical Vademecum for Introduction to Christian Life and Monastic Spirituality, in: In Search of the Precious Pearl (Proceedings of the 5th Encounter of Monks from East and West 31st May–7th June 2001), ed. E. G. Farrugia. Rome 2005, 139–153.

[36] For instance: David, Def. 85.13–15 (ed. S. S. Arevshatyan, Դաւիթ Անյաղթ. Երկասիրութիւնք փիլիսոփայականք. Սահմանք եւ տրամատութիւնք իմաստասիրութեան [David the Invincible. Philosophical Works. Definitions and Divisions of Philosophy]. Yerevan 1980, 85). In the Greek *Prolegomena* by David, there is no mention of a term corresponding to the Armenian *yōzharut'iwn* in the parallel passages in which David speaks about the functions of the rational soul's practical capacity: cf. Contin, David l'Arménien 178–182.

[37] For some considerations on the tradition held in the New Testament, Mainoldi, Il non-essere volontario 191–192.

ther[38]. The idea of detachment and separation as the consequence of badness emerges also in David's *Prolegomena* and *Definitions of Philosophy* (cf. below).

In order to introduce his main thesis that evil is basically produced by the unevenness (or anomaly) of any mixed and composite element, Eznik assumes the paradigm of the four elements. Thus, Eznik argues that all beings, if not mixed with their own associates, become evil and dangerous, even if originally created good and useful:

> "Thus, what do they [i.e. the pagan Greeks, the Magians and the Sectarians] confess to be good among the created beings, and what evil? In fact, many times what they believe to be good is harmful, if taken alone without being mixed with its own companion, as it is generally shown from all the elements. The sun which is good, becomes in turn burning and drying if not mixed with air. The moon, too, which has a moist nature, becomes in turn harmful and corrupting if not mixed with hotness. And the earth becomes dried and cracked without water, but waters only deluge and corrupt the earth. Thus, if divided, the four natures by which the world is constituted and exists, corrupt each other, but if mixed with their own companion, they are useful and beneficial. […] There is necessarily a certain hidden power that by mixing together the corrupting things transformed it into what is useful to each other."[39]

Eznik then states that those who are healthy must confess that what is changeable is not essential, but is caused by something or someone else, or again, shaped by what is non-existent (զի որ շարժին եւ փոփոխի՝ չէ էական. այլ կամ լեալ յումեքէ եւ յիմեքէ, եւ կամ հաստատեալ ի չգոյէ). By contrast, the One who is and moves the whole reality is unique, indivisible, unchangeable and unmovable. The One who causes things to exist has no opposite in himself and to himself (արդ եթէ մի էութիւն է՝ որ զամենայն յամենայնի ազդեցուցանէ եւ չիք ինչ նմա հակառակ […])[40]. To assess the priority of God's creative activity with respect to matter and space, Eznik puts forward interesting cosmological arguments that deserve serious consideration. The context is Eznik's response to those who suppose that either evil is co-eternal with God or evil's existence depends on matter by means of which God created the universe.

> "Thus, how will they consider God? Either as existing in the whole matter (*hyle*) at some point or as existing in a certain part of the same (matter)? If they say that all of God is in the whole matter—it does not matter how immense they say God is—the matter would be more immense than He. And if He existed only in a certain part of it, in this case too, the matter would be more immense than He, because a little part of the matter became able to receive all of God. But, if He is not in the matter and not in a certain part of it, it is evident that there is a space between both of them which is more immense than they. Thus, it comes forth that the principles without beginning are not only two, but three: God, matter and the space, which should be yet more immense than the two."[41]

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[38] Nonnus of Nisibis, Commentary on the Gospel of Saint John, ed. R. W. Thomson. Atlanta 2014, 139–140.

[39] Eznik of Koghb I 2 (Venice 1926, 14).

[40] Eznik of Koghb I 3 (Venice 1926, 15).

[41] Eznik of Koghb I 5 (Venice 1926, 26): Արդ զիա՞րդ համարիցին զԱստուած. Իբրեւ ի տեղւոջ ինչ յամենայն ի հիւղն լինել, եթէ ի միում ինչ ի մասին նորա: Եթէ զամենայն զԱստուած յամենայն ի հիւղն լինել ասիցեն, որչափ մեծ եւս ասիցեն զԱստուած, գտանի հիւղն մեծ քան զնա: Քանզի յորում իցէ ոք, յայն յորում էն, քան զայն որ ի նմա էն՝ մեծ գտանի, զի բաւական եղեւ տանել բոլոր զնա: Եւ եթէ ի մասն ինչ միայն ի նմանէ, եւ այնպէս բիւրապատիկ իսկ մեծ քան զնա հիւղն գտանի, զի սակաւ ինչ մասն նորա բաւական եղեւ ընդունել զամենայն զնա: Եւ եթէ ոչ ի նմա, եւ ոչ ի մասին ինչ նորա, յայտ է՝ թէ այլ ինչ էր անջրպետ ընդ մէջ երկոցուն մեծ քան զերկոսին, եւ ոչ միայն երկու անսկզբնակիցք գտանին, այլ երեք. Աստուած, եւ հիւղն, եւ անջրապետն, եւ մանաւանդ մեծ եւս անջրպետն քան զերկոսին: Translation by me.

Then, Eznik rejects the idea that God transformed matter from its primordial and unshaped state into evenness and form, for it would imply that God worked confusedly and by necessity as matter does. Here, Eznik depends on the post-Nicene Church Fathers' interpretation of Plato's legacy, affirming the contingency rather than the necessity of the existence of the world[42]. The distinction between the eternal generation of the Son of God and the creation of the world from a certain temporal beginning-point is already unequivocal in Eznik's Christology.

For Eznik evils are not endowed with substance or personhood, but rather depend on voluntary activity, for they are products of the personhood (Չարիքս որ լինին ուստի՞ իցեն: Հարցցուք եւ մեք. Չարիք որք լինին՝ անձի՞նք ինչ իցեն, թէ արգասիք անձանց)[43].

> "Because they (i.e. men) are unable to make something entirely out of nothing, the stones which they fashion into buildings no longer are called stones, but cities or temples. For it is not that the nature makes towns or temples, but rather the art which is in the nature. And the art does not happen as if from something adjacent which might exist in the natures. And the art does not come to be from some among the adjacent things that exist in the natures, from which he (i.e. the artist) takes his artistic knowledge, but rather from accidents which come about from the natures. Because it is not the case that some self-existent is able to manifest art from the self-existents, but from the accidents which occur: just as from the art of ironmongering, the ironmonger, and from carpentry, a carpenter. Because man is a being prior to art, but art is not before man. Art would not exist if man did not exist first. […] And how can that matter which they call fruitless and formless be midwife to such fruits unless evils have come into being by accident and not from matter? For killing is not a substance (անձն/*hypostasis*), nor is adultery a substance, nor again other things from those evils come one after another. […] Likewise, evils too receive the denomination from the accidents. […] But it is necessary to know that someone who does something is not the same as what he does, just as the potter, when he makes a vase, does not himself become a vase, but is a constructor of vases, whence he receives a name from the art. Likewise one who accomplishes evil receives the name 'evil' from doing evil, whether he is an adulterer or a murderer. Therefore, men are duly said to be the doers of evil, for they are the cause of doing and not doing by themselves. And we must not designate evils as substances, but as products of the substance, and evil."[44]

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[42] Cf. M. Chase, Discussion on the Eternity of the World in Antiquity and Contemporary Cosmology. *ΣΧΟΛΗ* 7, 1 (2013) 20–68, part. 41–45. For Eznik's Christology and Incarnation, R. D. Young, Notes on Eznik of Kolb's Discussion of the Incarnation. *The St. Nersess Theological Review* 1, 2 (1996) 169–180.

[43] Eznik of Koghb I 7 (Venice 1926, 31).

[44] Eznik of Koghb I 6–7 (Venice 1926, 30–33): Նոքա քանզի ամենեւին յոչընչէ չկարեն ինչ առնել, քարիւքն՝ զոր ի շինածսն յորինեն՝ ոչ եւս քարիւք կոչին, այլ կամ քաղաք կամ տաճարք. Զի ոչ եթէ բնութեան գործ է քաղաքս կամ տաճարս, այլ արուեստին է՝ որ ի բնութեանն: Եւ արուեստն ոչ եթէ յընթերակացէ ինչ իմեքէ՝ որ ի բնութիւնսն իցէ՝ առնու զարուեստագիտութիւնն, այլ ի դիպացն որ դիպին ի բնութեանցն: Քանզի ոչ եթէ անձնաւոր ինչ յանձնաւորաց զարուեստն կարէ ցուցանել, այլ ի դիպացն որք դիպինն. Որպէս ի դարբնութենէ դարբինն, եւ ի հիւսնութենէ հիւսն: Զի մարդ եւ յառաջագոյն քան զարուեստն է. Եւ հիւղն, զոր ասեն անարգասաւոր եւ անկերպարան, զիա՞րդ անարգասաւորն եւ անկերպարանն յայլս կարէր արդիւնս ծնուցանել, եթէ ոչ ի դիպացն լինիցին չարիքն, եւ ոչ ի նմանէ: Զի սպանութիւնն չէ անձն ինչ, եւ ոչ դինութիւնն անձն ինչ է, եւ ոչ դարձեալ այլքն մի ըստ միոջէ ի չարեացն. այլ որպէս ի դպրութենէն դպիր կոչի, եւ ի ճարտարութենէ ճարտար, եւ ի բժշկութենէ բժիշկ, եւ այն ոչ եթէ անձինք ինչ են, այլ յիրաց անտի առնուն զանուանս, նոյնպէս եւ չարիքն ի դիպացն առնուն զանուանումս: Բայց զայն պարտ է գիտել, թէ զոր գործէ ինչ ոք՝ ոչ ինքն նոյն է. որպէս բրուտն յորժամ անօթս գործիցէ՝ ոչ ինքն անօթ լինի, այլ գործիչ է անօթոցն, ուստի եւ զանուանումն արուեստին առնու, նոյնպէս եւ չարագործն ի չարն գործելոյ առնու զանուն չարութեանն՝ եթէ շուն իցէ եւ եթէ սպանող: Ապա ուրեմն յիրաւի ասին մարդիկ արարիչք չարեաց, զի ինքեանք են պատճառք առնելոյ եւ չառնելոյ: Եւ զչարիսն ոչ պարտիմք անձինս անուանել, այլ արգասիս անձանց եւ չար: Translation from Eznik of Koghb, On God, ed. M. J. Blanchard – R. D. Young. Leuven 1998, 46–47, slightly modified by me.

Even if he does not make it explicit, Eznik draws upon two clear-cut ontological distinctions that cannot be explained but as a veiled Aristotelian influence, despite the author's criticism of the Greek philosophical doctrines. There is a distinction between substances (in this case, individuals) and accidents, and between the substances as efficient causes and the products of their activity. Only man is responsible for the coming into existence of evils. Following the Cappadocians' footsteps, Eznik rejects any interdependence between matter and evil. He states, in fact, that if matter were subsumed under disorder, weakness and deformity, we should suppose that God would also cause evils to exist, but this is not tenable at all[45]. Evil is, therefore, not uncreated and self-existent, but comes into existence because of the arrogance of the Liar and his jealousy of the honors with which man is endowed. The coming into existence of sufferings is caused by the sins, which are in turn caused by the Liar and Adversary. Yet, their existence also reveals the glory and benevolence of God, because if a person rejects his guilty condition, makes repentance and converts, God rescues him from the sufferings in order that the healed can praise the Healer. Yet, there are also sufferings which depend on a given unevenness of the mixed elements as, for instance, when one of the four elements that the human body is made up of is in excess or deficient because of wrong habits:

> "And there are sufferings which are produced neither for sins nor for some glory of God, but for the unevenness of the due mixture. In fact, the human body is made up of four elements: humidity, dryness, coldness and hotness. If one of them diminishes or grows, it causes pains in the body. It happens in this way when one eats or drinks too much, practices a strict fasting or nourishes himself with unproper food, works in extremely hot conditions or tortures himself in extremely cool conditions, <or keeps himself> in such other contrary states by which anomalies should come up in the body."[46]

Then, sufferings, and namely injustices and vices, come into existence because of transgression, that is the disrespect of the boundaries, which causes evils, such as wars and fornication[47]. Even if Eznik does not use either a Christian or a non-Christian Neoplatonic vocabulary to define evil as disproportion (*ametria*/*anch'ap'ut'iwn*) and privation (*steresis*), there is a striking conceptual similarity between Eznik's idea of anomaly (*anhart'ut'iwn*) and unevenness (*ch'kshṙel*) of due mixture as the source of illness and David's idea of disproportion of due mixture as the source of hectic fever (cf. above).

David the Invincible

David's discussion of evil is an interesting starting point for examining his opinion about the problem and for assessing how original his contribution was with respect to his own Alexandrian colleagues. It also allows us to substantiate the thesis of the linguistic and theoretical influence of Eznik on David himself[48]. In the *Definitions and Divisions of Philosophy*—the Armenian re-writing of the *Prolegomena to Philosophy* by David which was probably translated into Armenian by the author himself or by one of his disciples—David deals with evil when discussing two of the six definitions of philosophy:

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[45] Eznik of Koghb I 7 (Venice 1926, 33).

[46] Eznik of Koghb I 20 (Venice 1926, 89–91): Եւ են գայք՝ որ ոչ վասն մեղաց են, եւ ոչ յԱստուծոյ ինչ ի փառս, այլ ի չկշռելոյ խառնուածոցն: Քանզի մարդոյ մարմին ի չորց տարերց խառնեալ է, ի խոնաւութենէ, ի ցամաքութենէ, ի ցրտութենէ եւ ի ջերմութենէ. Եւ թէ մի ինչ պակասիցէ կամ յոլովիցէ, ցաւս գործէ ի մարմնի, եւ այն կամ ի շատ ուտելոյ եւ յրմպելոյ լինի, կամ ի սաստիկ պահոց, կամ յանխտիր կերակրոց, կամ յոյժ ի տօթի աշխատելոյ, կամ կարի ի ցրտոյ լկելոյ, կամ յայլոց ինչ այնպիսեաց հակառակորդաց՝ որովք անհարթութիւնք ի մարմինս գործիցին: Translation by me.

[47] Cf. David, Def. 45.13–18 (Arevshatyan).

[48] For a general and preliminary overview of the influence of Eznik on David: B. Contin, Alle origini del pensiero filosofico armeno. Eznik di Koghb e Dawith l'Invincibile. *Annali di Ca' Foscari* XLIV 3 (2005) 69–79.

"Philosophy is the meditation on death" and "Philosophy is the imitation of God to the best of man's possibilities" borrowed from *Phaedo* 64A and *Theaetetus* 176A-B. David's hermeneutics when dealing with this topic is generally indebted to Ammonius and Olympiodorus, but shows also some original features, which set it apart from his predecessors and from Elias himself who is generally considered to be a contemporary of David and closest to him[49]. The first definition is discussed in the eighth lesson, where David replies to those who claim that Plato's statement on the need to practice death is embarrassing, for if the philosopher loves knowledge and truth, he cannot intentionally take his own life. *Phaedo* 64A is explained in positive terms as a response to those who, according to the Neoplatonic Alexandrians, misinterpreted Plato's idea such as, for instance, the Stoics. David develops his arguments depending on Plotinus and Porphyry, Ammonius and Olympiodorus[50]. Above all, David is convinced that by philosophizing every man can attain happiness and well-being, for only philosophy provides the epistemic and ethical tools that can lead human beings to happiness by means of *theoresis* and practice:

> "But, with regard to theology, we affirm that, even though the divine is inconceivable by itself, we arrive at the judgement and the conclusion that the Creator exists by looking at the creation, the creatures and the ordered movement of the world."[51]

The discussion about the similarity to God is again based on the Alexandrian interpretation of Plato's *Phaedo* 64a and *Theaetetus* 176a–b. Plato's statements prompted the Alexandrian Neoplatonists, and particularly its Christian exponents, to tackle the idea that the philosopher should think ceaselessly about dying and being dead. This implied also the idea of suicide, as was mainly theorized by the Stoics. I will not deal with this topic in the present paper, for Michael Papazian has already undertaken a meticulous analysis of the question of suicide in the Alexandrian commentators, and even challenged the main thesis of Christian Wildberg according to which the Christian dominance was not yet relevant in the Neoplatonic school of Alexandria in the second half of the sixth century[52].

After having discussed the question of suicide, David offers his interpretation of the fourth definition of philosophy: "Philosophy is the meditation on death."

> "It must be known that being alive is possession and causes being, whereas death is privation and causes non-being. Each of these <forms> is said to be in a twofold manner, for there is a twofold manner of being alive: a natural one and a voluntary one. Then, being alive is said to be natural when the soul and the body are conjugated, for we say that the soul gives the sensation and the movement to the body. […] Whereas, being alive is voluntary; when the worst one defeats the best one, that is when the soul is defeated by the bodily passions, and life is called luxurious, that is not moderate. The natural death is the separation of the soul from the body since we are all subjected

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[49] This theory has been challenged by M. Roueché (1990) and B. Contin (2018): footnote 23. Nonetheless, Mossman Roueché seems to have a different opinion in later contributions: M. Roueché, Stephanus the Philosopher and Ps. Elias: a case of mistaken identity. *BMGS* 36, 2 (2012) 120–138, part. 129, and M. Roueché, A Philosophical Portrait of Stephanus the Philosopher, in: Aristotle Re-Interpreted: New Findings on Seven Hundred Years of Ancient Commentators, ed. R. Sorabji. London 2016, 541–563, part. 550–551.

[50] M. G. Mouzala, Olympiodorus and Damascius on the Philosopher's Practice of Dying in Plato's Phaedo. *Peitho/Examina Antiqua* 1, 5 (2014) 177–198; S. P. Gertz, Death and Immortality in Late Neoplatonism: Studies on the Ancient Commentators on Plato's Phaedo. Leiden – Boston 2011.

[51] David, Def. 35.17–20 (Arevshatyan): Իսկ յաղագս աստուածաբանականին ասեմք թէպէտ եւ աստուածայինն անգիտելի է ըստ ինքեան, այլ սակայն, տեսանելով զստեղծուածս եւ զարարածս նորա եւ զբարեկարգապէս շարժումն աշխարհի, ի մտածութիւն եւ ի կարծիս զամք ստեղծչին: Translation by me.
This passage of the *Definitions* is very close to Eznik's words as expressed in the first chapter of his *Against the Sects* where all the living and created beings reveal the benevolent existence of God: Eznik of Koghb I 3 (Venice 1926, 17).

[52] M. Papazian, Late Neoplatonic Discourse on Suicide and the Question of Christian Philosophy Professors at Alexandria. *JHSt* 135 (2015) 95–109.

to death, whereas the voluntary death is the life carried out by virtue, that is the being saved of the living being when he performs the meditation of death in order to realize the mortification of the passions. By considering it, four consequences come out: being, non-being, being good, and being evil. Therefore, being is the natural life, non-being the natural death, being good the voluntary death and being evil the life conducted according to the appetite."[53]

Thus, being evil is caused by a voluntary act of the living being when it decides to live according to what is bad, disregarding what is good. The idea of voluntarism in relation to the problem of evil is not fully developed by David, but there are some hints that permit us to reconstruct his opinion. In fact, some lines before, when arguing against those who disapprove of what is allegedly considered to be Plato's idea on death (a necessary means to free the soul from the prison of the earthly body), David unfolds four arguments that neither Elias nor Olympiodorus nor Ammonius know. According to the third argument, David affirms that evils, vices and badness are caused by the inaptitude of the living beings, just as the sun seems to be more or less bright according to the recipient of the sunlight, whose eyesight can be either good in someone or weak[54]. Vice and badness are therefore the consequences of a given degree of weakness and imperfection in the human soul, which actually seems to be detached from the divine nature to which it is originally and naturally similar, because of the similarity between the attributes of God and man (goodness, knowledge and potency). David does not spell out that evil has no existence of its own, but it is quite clear that he agrees with this theory, when defining evil as the outcome of an individual disposition of the soul:

"Thus, the happiest person is the one who lives according to virtue, and does not become sad about the corporeal trials or the external <temptations>, that are the material goods. And the one who does not become sad about either the corporeal adversities or the external <temptations>, never takes his own life. Similarly, the philosopher who behaves by virtue, becomes sad neither about the corporeal adversities nor about the external <temptations>, whereas those who suffer for the corporeal and external adversities, lend their ears to listen to Hippocrates who says 'Because of external temptations, they generate a personal sadness to/by themselves'."[55]

It is worth pointing out that here the Armenian uses the significant term *p'ordzut'iwn* to describe both the inner and the exterior adversities. The meaning of *p'ordzut'iwn* is much closer to *peirasmos* than to *symphora*. In Greek, the former is more frequently used in the New Testament, meaning

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[53] David, Def. 62.22–32, 63. 1–6 (Arevshatyan): Պարտ է գիտել եթէ կենդանութիւն է ունակութիւն եւ պատճառք գոլոյ, իսկ մահ՝ պակասութիւն եւ պատճառք ոչ գոլոյ, եւ իւրաքանչիւր ոք ի սոցանէ երկակի ասի գոլ. քանզի եւ է իսկ երկակի կենդանութիւն. Է՝ որ բնական, եւ է՝ որ յօժարական: Արդ, բնական ասի շարամերձութիւն հոգւոյ եւ մարմնոյ, ըստ որում զգայութիւն ասի տալ հոգի մարմնոյ եւ շարժումն. [...] Իսկ յօժարական կենդանութիւն է յորժամ յոռեգոյնն յաղթէ լաւագունին, այսինքն յորժամ հոգին յաղթի ի մարմնականաց հեշտախտութեանց. ընդ որս եւ անառակ կեանք կոչեցան, այսինքն ոչ ողջախոհ: Իսկ բնական մահ է անջատումն հոգւոյ ի մարմնոյ, ըստ որում ամենեքեան վախճանիմք: Իսկ յօժարական մահ է ըստ առաքինութեան կենցաղավարութիւն, այսինքն ապրիլ կենդանւոյն, յորժամ խոկումն լինի մահու վասն մեռելութիւն գործելոյ ախտից: Translation by me.

[54] David, Def. 61. 7–23 (Arevshatyan): Իսկ յերրորդ ձեռնակութենէ յայսմանէ թէ խստուածային բնութիւնն ոչ երբէք որոշէ զինքն յերկրորդէն, այսինքն ի մարդոյ, բայց եթէ յանպատկանաւորութենէ մարդոյն. քանզի յայնժամ թուի որոշել զինքն ի նմանէ: Եւ արդ որպիսի ինչ է, զոր ասեմքս. որպէս արեգակնային լոյս առ հասարակ զամենեսեան լուսաւորէ. բայց թէ յանպատկանաւորութենէ տեսարանացն թուի զոմանս առաւել լուսաւորել եւ զոմանս նուազ: Քանիզ են ոմանք որ առողջ ունին զտեսարանն, եւ են որ տկար, եւ յայսմանէ թուի զոմանս առաւել լուսաւորել եւ զոմանս նուազ: Translation by me.

[55] David, Def. 61.34–35, 62.1–8 (Arevshatyan): Իսկ բարերջանիկն է այն, որ ըստ առաքինութեան կեայ, ոչ տրտմի, ոչ ի վերայ մարմնականաց փորձութեանց եւ ոչ ի վերայ արտաքնոցն, այսինքն ընչից. իսկ որ ոչ տրտմի ի վերայ մարմնականացն փորձութեանց եւ ոչ ի վերայ արտաքնոցն, այսպիսին եւ ոչ արտահանէ զինքն. նոյնպէս եւ իմաստասէրն ըստ առաքինութեան կենցաղավարելով՝ ոչ տրտմի, ոչ վասն մարմնականացն փորձութեանց եւ ի վերայ արտաքնոցն, լսեն զասացեալսն առ ի Հիպոկրատայ, վասն օտար փորձութեանց իւրական ստանան զտրտմութիւնն: Translation by me.

either “trial” or “temptation” with a moral connotation, whereas the latter means more generally a negative “event” or “misfortune”, and is attested in the corresponding Greek passage[56]. Further, the Armenian *p‘ordzut‘iwn* was used by the Ancient translators of the Bible to render the Greek *peirasmos* as we read, for instance, at the end of the *Pater* in the Gospel of St. Matthew: *Et ne inducas nos in temptationem, sed libera nos a malo* (Mt 6:13)—Եւ մի տանիր զմեզ ի փորձութիւն, այլ փրկեա ի չարէն:

This offers a further proof of the “veiled” Christianity of the author. It is not unusual for David to use the same word with different meanings, as, for instance, in the passage attributed to Plotinus (“Thus, tell me, o Plotinus: if someone suffered in his life all the adversities that happened to Priam and saw the conquest of Troy by trickery and, after his death, was thrown unburied, should he be happiest or not?”), in which the word *p‘ordzut‘iwn* corresponds to *symphora* (“misfortune”) rather than to *peirasmos*, whereas the word *ch‘ar* is used by metonymy and means “trickery” rather than “evil/bad”. Yet, in the previous passage on the internal and external trials/temptations, the Armenian version is more faithful to David’s philosophical view that considers the inner and exterior trials as the most productive means to strengthen the soul and to avoid either excess or privation. In fact, if the excess of a desire produces vice, the unfulfillment of desires even leads to privation and sadness[57]. Passion as opposed to virtue is a lack of proportion[58], and evils and sufferings are meant for the sake of the virtuous soul.

> “Thus, as much as the good captain of a ship is tested not when the sea is calm but when the waves swell, the great soul is also challenged by trials. In respect of this, the Peripatetics too, wishing to show the self-control over their own souls, were used to pronounce this prayer ‘Zeus, inundate us with trials!’”[59]

The Armenian again shows more consistency in rendering the Greek version and confirms the reading of both “trial” and “temptation” for the word *p‘ordzut‘iwn* rather than “misfortune” when the author speaks about evil on ontological and teleological grounds.

The pairs of contraries—being alive/being dead, on the one hand, and natural/voluntary, on the other—used by David in order to explain what ultimately is the connection between death and being good, can be summarized in a diagram, where the combination of the four terms implies a pair of contrary propositions, a pair of subcontrary propositions, two pairs of contradictory propositions, and two pairs of subaltern propositions[60]:

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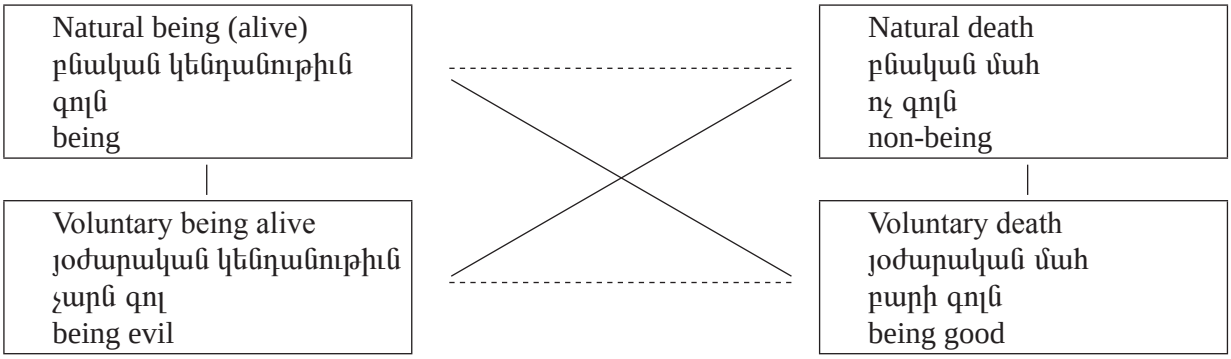
[56] David, Prol. 30.25–30 (Busse): […] δῆλον ὅτι καὶ ὁ φιλόσοφος ὡς κατ’ ἀρετὴν ζῶν ἑαυτὸν οὐκ ἀναιρεῖς <οὐκ ἀνιώμενος> οὔτε ἐπὶ ταῖς σωματικαῖς συμφοραῖς οὔτε ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐκτός, ἐπεὶ οἱ ἀνιώμενοι ἐπὶ ταῖς σωματικαῖς συμφοραῖς καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐκτὸς ἀκούσονται τοῦ ἐκ τοῦ Ἱπποκράτους λεγομένου ἐπ’ ἀλλοτρίαις γὰρ συμφοραῖς ἰδίας καρποῦνται λύπας.

[57] For instance: David, Def. 47.35, 48.1; Def. 69.9–10 (Arevshatyan).

[58] The same concept is attested in the *History of the Armenians* by Movsēs Khorenats‘i. For a synoptic analysis of the terms “proportion” and “disproportion” in David and Movsēs, P. Pontani – B. Contin, Osservazioni preliminari sul rapporto tra armeno “ban” e greco “logos” e sue implicazioni nell’elaborazione del pensiero etico e politico armeno, in: Il Logos di Dio e il Logos dell’uomo. Concezioni antropologiche nel mondo anticoe riflessi contemporanei, ed. A. M. Mazzanti. Milan 2014, 29–43.

[59] David, Def. 66.2–6 (Arevshatyan): Քանզի որպէս լաւ նաւապէտն ոչ ի հանդարտութեան ծովուն, այլ ի յուցման ալեացն փորձի, նոյնպէս եւ վեհագոյն հոգի ի փորձութեան նահատակի: Ուստի եւ ճեմականքն, կամելով զժուժկալութիւն հոգւոյ ցուցանել՝ աղօթէին ասելով, Ձեւ́ս, տեղայ ի մեզ փորձութիւն: David, Prol. 34.8–12 (Busse): […] ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ ἄριστος κυβερνήτης οὐκ ἐν γαλήνῃ ἀλλ’ ἐν ζάλῃ δοκιμάζεται, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ ἡ ἀρίστη ψυχὴ ἐν ταῖς περιστάσεσι δοκιμάζεται. ὅθεν οἱ Περιπατητικοὶ καὶ βουλόμενοι τὸ καρτερικὸν τῆς ψυχῆς ἐνδείξασθαι ἔλεγον “ὦ Ζεῦ, ὄρεξον ἡμῖν περιστάσεις” (“Thus, as much as the noblest skipper is tested not in the still sea but in the storm, the noblest soul is similalry tested in critical circumstances. Therefore, the Aristotelians, too, wishing to show the soul’s temperance, were used to say: ‘Oh Zeus, send us hardships’”). Both translations by me.

[60] Cf. Elias, Prol. 13.18–23 (Busse): for Elias, the natural life combines with the voluntary life, and with the voluntary death,



1. Natural being alive = life → being	2. Natural death = death → non-being
3. Voluntary being alive = vice → being evil	4. Voluntary death = virtue → being good

It emerges clearly that the ontological conditions of being evil and being good depend on the voluntary act of the soul. Even though David does not touch upon the question of evil's existence (because his treatise is not meant to be a theodicy, but a general introduction to philosophical questions), there is a very significant passage—absent in Elias, Olympiodorus and Ammonius—in the tenth praxis where David discusses the concept of similarity and its application to the relation between God's essence and human essence:

> "For good is existent in God and His Essence is good, in order that He is also incapable of receiving evil through an excess of good as, for instance, the sun which does not participate of the darkness through an excess of light. On the contrary, since man has good(ness) by possession, he is also receptive of evil as, for instance, when affirming that the air is receptive of light by possession, for it shines at the sunrise, but it is also said to be receptive of the darkness, for it darkens at the sunset."[61]

In the seventh lesson of the Armenian *Commentary on Prior Analytics*, David refers to God as the highest Good when explaining the difference between demonstrative and dialectical propositions:

> "Thus, they differ in both use and matter, because everything that is true, even if it is paradoxical, may be the subject of the demonstrative. For instance, the sun is much bigger than the earth, and the earth, than the moon, though the sun seems to be the size of a foot; for this is true, though paradoxical, whereas everything that is reputable, though false, may be the subject of the dialectical. It is reputable (because many people think so) but false to say that God can do everything. It is false, because God cannot do something bad due to the infinite good existing in him according to nature and above nature."[62]

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whereas the voluntary life combines with the natural death. On the other side, the natural life does not combine with the natural death, and the voluntary life does not combine with the voluntary death.

[61] David, Def. 68.14–23 (Arevshatyan): Վասն զի բարին էակացեալ է առ աստուծոյ, եւ էութիւն աստուծոյ է բարին, ուստի եւ անկարութիւն է ընդունակ լինել չարին վասն առաւելութեան բարւոյն. որպէս արեգակն անընդունակ ասի լինել խաւարի վասն առաւելութեան լուսոյն: Իսկ մարդ ունակութեամբ ունի զբարին, ուստի եւ ընդունակ է չարութեան. որպէս եւ յօդդ ըստ ունակութեան ասի ունել զլոյս, վասն զի ի ծագել արեգականն լուսաւորի, ուստի եւ ընդունակ ասի գոլ խաւարի. քանզի ի մտանել արեգականն խաւարի: The corresponding Greek passage is: David, Prol, 36.8–14 (Busse): Translation by me.

[62] David, inAPr. 76.4–13: Արդ այսպէս պիտոյիւք զանազանին, այլ եւ նիւթով, զի բացացուցականումն ենթակայանայ, ամենայն որ ինչ ճշմարիտ է, թէ եւ անկարծելի է. Որգոն, թէ՝ արեգակն կարի յոյժ մեծ է քան զերկիր, եւ երկիր՝ քան զլուսինն, թէպէտ եւ ոտնաչափ երեւի արեգակն: Քանզի այս թէպէտ եւ անկարծելի է, այլ սակայն ճշմարիտ գոյ: Իսկ տրամաբանականումն ամենայն որ ինչ կարծելի է՝ ենթակայանայ, թէպէտ եւ սուտ գոյ: Իսկ ներկարծելի է եւ սուտ

The subject of the demonstrative propositions is what is true, whereas what is reputable is the subject of the dialectical propositions since in their case the assumption can also be false and is not necessarily true. In the twelfth lesson of his *Definitions*, David had already stated that the hypothetical science uses demonstrative premises by means of fundamental postulates in order to prove its theses, whereas non-hypothetical science uses common notions which do not need demonstration (but should be subjected to enquiry in order to establish their validity)[63].

Both David and Eznik, even if from different perspectives, transmitted some of the main ontological and cosmological questions discussed within Christian Platonism as well as non-Christian and Christian Neoplatonism to the early Armenian literature. Both of them sought to introduce original conceptual and linguistic tools that were to be useful and productive in the later medieval literature. In Eznik the theological argument based on voluntary activity, already present in the Bible, in the Church Fathers, and also in some "pagan" later authors such as Simplicius, is the main way of showing the non-existence of evil. David, too, considers evil as caused by the voluntary activity of the soul, but his arguments are based on ontological, logical and anthropological considerations.

A NEGLECTED PSEUDEPIGRAPHICAL TEXT ON EVIL BY WAY OF SYLLOGISM

The works attributed to David the Invincible have received due attention from modern scholarship in relatively recent times[64]. Yet, the main focus has been on the philosophical works pertaining to Aristotelian logic—and even limited to the *Prolegomena*, the *Commentary on Porphyry's Isagoge*, the *Commentary on Aristotle's Categories* and the *Commentary on Aristotle's Prior Analytics*—excluding the variety of the other pseudepigraphical works that have been incorporated in the so-called *Corpus Davidicum* by the Armenian tradition[65]. One of these works deserves particular attention for its content and stylistic features. In fact, the short composition known as *ACH* ("Every Evil Is Punishable") offers a discussion of the ontological status of evil in relation to good, and, what is even more interesting, presents it by means of logical syllogisms.

The attribution to David the Invincible seems to be quite late, since the first Armenian text in which it is found is a *Commentary on ACH* by the catholicos Nersēs the Gracious (catholicos from 1166 to 1173)[66]. Yet, we cannot exclude the possibility that the work had been attributed to David

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ասելն, եթէ՝ Աստուած զամենայն ինչ կարէ ներգործել, վասն զի բազմաց ամենեցուն այսպէս թուի: Բայց սուտ է, վասն զի ի չարիս անկարութիւն ունի նոյնպէս եւ Աստուած՝ սակս անչափ բարւոյն, որ բնութեամբ եւ ի վեր քան զբնութիւն գոյ գոյացեալ ի նմա: (ed. A. Topchyan, David the Invincible. Commentary on Aristotle's Prior Analytics [*Philosophia Antiqua* 122, *Commentaria in Aristotelem Armeniaca. Davidis Opera*]. Leiden – Boston 2010).

[63] David, Def. 77.10–18 (Arevshatyan): Առ որս պարտ է ասել թէ երկակի է մակացութիւն. մին ներստորադրական եւ միւսն աններստորադրական: Եւ ներստորադրական է որ առնու սկիզբունս որք պէտս ունին ապացուցութեան եւ որոց զպատճառսն անգիտանայ. [...] Իսկ աններստորադրական մակացութիւն է, որ առնու սկզբունս զհասարակաց մտածութիւնս, որք ոչ ունին պէտս ապացուցութեան:
Cf. also Aristotle, Top 100b18–25 (ed. G. Colli, Aristotele. Organon. Milan 2003, 407).

[64] V. Calzolari, Aux origines de la formation du corpus philosophique en Arménie : quelques remarques sur les versions arméniennes des commentaires grecs de David, in: The Libraries of the Neoplatonists, ed. C. D'Ancona Costa. Leiden 2007, 259–278; Calzolari– Barnes, L'œuvre de David l'Invincible (n. 2).

[65] V. Calzolari, David et la tradition arménienne, in: Calzolari– Barnes, L'œuvre de David l'Invincible 15–36. A critical edition of many philosophical and theological pseudepigrapha known under the name of David, has recently been published: Յաւելուած. Դաւիթ Անյաղթին վերագրուող եւ նրա անուանն առնչուող գրուածքներ [Supplement. The Writings Attributed to David the Invincible and Related to His Name], ed. G. Muradyan, in: Մատենագիրք Հայոց [Library of the Armenians] 20. Yerevan 2014, 614–782.

[66] For a preliminary interesting study on the reception of *ACH* in several early manuscripts: A. Melkonyan, Դաւիթ Անհաղթի կերպարը հայերեն որոշ ձերագրերի հիշատակարաններում [The figure of David the Invincible in the colophons of some Armenian manuscripts], in: Proceedings of the International Conference on Armenian Studies for the Centennial Anniversary of the Birth of the Academician Levon Khachikyan Yerevan 2018. Yerevan 2019, 392–403. The main thesis of the paper, with which I agree, is that the ACH was attached to the *Definitions* because of the strong conceptual similarities and continuities

before Nersēs' time, even if the small number of Armenian codices (particularly containing philosophical texts) prior to the 11th–12th centuries is an obvious obstacle in this field of research. Nonetheless, it is worth pointing out that a wide variety of early and late manuscripts place the *ACH* after the *Definitions*, even if the research on this topic is insufficient as yet[67]. In any case, the translation of the Greek original into Armenian is necessarily prior to Nersēs himself who commented it, in all likelihood, before his appointment to the catholicosate[68]. Even if from a codicological and historical viewpoint the early mid-12th century is a sure *terminus post quem non* for the chronology of the *ACH*: its linguistic features show several Grecisms which coexist with more genuinely Armenian options which display the translator's linguistic competence.

According to the catholicos Nersēs, David wrote his main work, the *Definitions,* in order to refute those who denied the existence of philosophy, and the *ACH* to disprove the false opinions of those who affirmed that evil was uncreated and acting in God as well as in man's heart. For the catholicos Nersēs the Gracious, the interdependence of both works attributed to David is unambiguous because of the conceptual similarities between the *Definitions* and the *ACH*: they both deal with the problem of the ontological status of evil and its implications for ethics. At the end of the *Definitions*, in fact, we find some lines that, in the manuscript tradition of David's work, generally precede (or rather, introduce) the first lines of the *ACH*:

> "Thus, things being in this manner, [we affirm that] God gave the philosophy in order to ornament the human soul. He adorns theoretical potencies with theory, and animal potencies with practice in order that we do not acquire the false knowledge that comes from opinions and do not behave in a bad way."[69]

Another significant reference is a passage from the first section of David's Armenian *Commentary on Aristotle's Prior Analytics,* a treatise concerned with syllogism and demonstration:

> "And the demonstrative syllogism is useful in all of philosophy, both theoretical and practical, in order that we should regard as true what is truly shown in theoretical philosophy, and in order that we should not acquire false knowledge and should do nothing bad."[70]

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between the two texts. Arminè Melkonyan (Researcher at the Mesrop Mashtots Research Institute of Ancient Manuscripts) had the courtesy to share with me the very latest outcomes of her current research on the reception of the *ACH* in the Armenian manuscript tradition. According to the manuscript evidence, the *ACH* comes immediately after the *Definitions* in 53 among the 57 mss. that Melkonyan has scrutinized, whereas the *Commentary on the ACH* by Nersēs Shnorhali comes after the *ACH* in four manuscripts.

[67] The manuscripts which contain both works and which I could check personally or through the catalogues, are: W263 (a. 1705–1714), V94 (16th c.), V875 (16th c.), V805 (a. 1314), V2168 (15th c.), V1254 (14th c.), M1747 (a. 1243), M1746 (13th c.); J522 (a. 1734); J434 (17th c.); J989 (18th c.). W= Library of the Mechitarist Fathers of Vienna; V= Library of the Mechitarist Fathers of St. Lazarus in Venice; M= Institute of the Ancient Manuscripts of Yerevan; J= Library of the Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem, St. James. The outcomes of the research carried out by Arminè Melkonyan will undoubtedly contribute to advance our knowledge on this topic.

[68] B. Contin, L'*editio princeps* delle "Definizioni e divisioni della filosofia" di Davide l'Invincibile e il breve trattato "Ogni male fa soffrire" (Costantinopoli 1731), in: Al-Ġazālī (1058–1111), la prima stampa armena, Yehudah ha-levi (1075–1141), la ricezione di Isacco di Ninive, secondo Dies Academicus, 7–9 Novembre 2011 (*Orientalia Ambrosiana* 2), ed. C. Baffioni – R. B. Finazzi – A. Passoni Dell'Acqua – E. Vergani; Sezione di Armenistica: La prima stampa Armena, ed. C. R. B. Finazzi. Milan 2013, 139–159.

[69] David, Def. 104.18–22 (Arevshatyan): Արդ այսոցիկ այսպէս ելոց, շնորհեաց աստուած զիմաստասիրութիւն վասն զարդարելոյ զմարդկային հոգի: Արդ զգիտնական զօրութիւնսն զարդարէ եւ ի ձեռն տեսականին, իսկ զկենդանականսն՝ ի ձեռն գործականին, որպէս զի մի զսուտ գիտութիւն ի կարծեաց ընկալցուք եւ մի չար ինչ գործեսցուք:

[70] David, inAPr. I 6 (Topchyan 36–38): Իսկ ապացուցական հաւաքումն պաիտանացու գոյ յամենայն իմաստասիրութեան՝ ի տեսականն եւ ի գործականն. Որպէս զի զցուցեալսն ի տեսականումն ճշմարտապէս՝ ճշմարիտ կարծեսցուք, որպէս զի մի զսուտ գիտութիւն ընկալցուք եւ մի չար ինչ գործեսցուք:

Both passages show that the conceptual and textual relation between David's works and the *ACH* was so evident and strong for the Armenians that, at some point in their tradition, they were induced to attribute the *ACH* to one of the main authorities of their own intellectual history, David the Invincible. Nonetheless, in the absence of other data, it is very hard to establish which sources the catholicos Nersēs used, as well as on which grounds the catholicos himself declares David to be the author of the *ACH*[71]. Overall, according to modern Armenian scholarship, the text is recognized as a translation into Armenian made by David the Invincible from a Greek original that is attributed to Gregory of Nyssa or to a certain Nemesius[72].

Under the name of Gregory of Nyssa, the Greek tradition has handed down a text entitled *Si quid sit* or *Contra Manicheos* (hereafter, *CMg*), which has been edited by Jacques Paul Migne among the works of the Church Father (*PG* 46, t. III, 541–542). Although not questioning the attribution to Gregory of Nyssa, the editor points to the similarity between the *CMg* and the *Contra Manicheos* by Didymus the Blind (Alexandria, 313–398; hereafter, *CMdid*). In addition, there is another text with the incipit *Omne malum puniendum est* (Πᾶν κακὸν κολαστέον; hereafter, *OM*), which has the same textual structure as the *CMg*. The *OM* can be read in the fourth volume of Angelo Mai's *Nova Patrum Bibliotheca* (Rome 1847), which contains several apologetical works by Gregory of Nyssa, Eusebius, Didymus of Alexandria, John Chrysostom, Nicetas of Byzantium and Peter of Sicily. The *OM* is in the third part of the volume after a quite long text on the *Controversies of the Manichean Photinus with Paul, a Christian of Persia,* which also includes a *Disputatio cum Manichaeo* (*Dialexis*). The latter was attributed to John of Damascus by the editor on the basis of the title in the manuscript *Vaticanus* gr. 1838 (13th c.) that reads *Joannis Orthodoxi disputatio cum Manichaeo* (Διάλεξις Ἰωάννου ὀρθοδόξου πρὸς Μανιχαῖον). The *OM* (or "Syllogisms of the Saint Fathers") was edited as an appendix to the *Dialexis*. Both the latter and the former were re-edited by M. Richard and M. Aubineau in the first volume of the *Corpus Christianorum* (*Series Graeca*) in an appendix to the homilies of John of Caesarea, on the basis of three unedited manuscripts more ancient than the one used by Angelo Mai. The manuscripts used by the editors were *Sinaiticus* gr. 383 (10th cent.; *Diktyon* 58758), *Parisinus* gr. 1111 (11th cent.; *Diktyon* 50707), *Athous Vatopedi* 236 (11th cent.; *Diktyon* 18380). In all these codices the text is attributed to a certain John the Orthodox who, according to the editors, should be John of Caesarea, known also as John the Grammarian (early 6th cent.)[73].

The *OM* is made up of thirteen propositions which roughly correspond to what we read in the *CMg*. The hypothesis of Marcel Richard and Michel Aubineau is that John of Caesarea, after having authored three works against the Manicheans, composed a collection of syllogisms on the basis of the *CMdid*, excerpting and elaborating the latter. In the Greek tradition, we thus have two texts, the *CMg* and the *OM*, attributed respectively to Gregory of Nyssa and John of Caesarea, both depending on the second chapter of the *CMdid* (*PG* 39, 1088C–1089A–B). It is possible that the Armenian *ACH* depends either on one of the three texts or on all of them, partly or entirely. In order to asses which one among the three Greek texts is the *Vorlage* for the Armenian *ACH*, I will examine all three Greek texts. In the process, I will also assess how the Greek texts relate to each other.

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[71] Even though numerous Armenian texts are preserved only in later manuscripts, this should not be assumed as an *a priori* argument for diminishing their value and their authenticity, see T. Greenwood, "New Light from the East": Chronography and Ecclesiastical History through a Late-Seventh Century Armenian Source. *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 16, 2 (2008) 107–254, part. 201.

[72] Կորիւն Վարդապետի Մամբրէի Վերծանողի եւ Դաւթի Անյաղթի Մատենագրութիւնք [Library by Koriwn Vardapet, Mambrē the Interpreter and David the Invincible]. Venice 1833, 215; G. Zarbhanelean, Մատենադարան Հայկական Թարգմանութեանց Նախնեաց (Դար Դ – ԺԳ) [Library of the Armenian Translations by the Ancestors (4th–13th cc.)]. Venice 1889, 373–374.

[73] A. Grillmeier, Jesus der Christus im Glauben der Kirche, Band 2, 2. Die Kirche von Konstantinopel im 6. Jahrhundert. Freiburg – Basel – Vienna 1989, 54–74.

Although the Armenian renders the source text(s) almost *verbatim*, there are some lexical differences that imply a process of re-elaboration and adaptation of the inherited material. Moreover, the textual and lexicographical analysis of the Armenian version represents by itself an interesting case-study not only for the translation technique which reveals some Hellenizing features, but also for the ontological lexicon related to some relevant terms, especially in the Late Antique Christological debates, as "essence", "substance", "accident", "property", "voluntary", and "natural". Here, I will provide several comparisons: first of all, between the Armenian *ACH* and its alleged Greek *Vorlage*, the *CMg*, and secondly, between the *ACH*, on the one hand, and *CMdid* and *OM*, on the other. For the *ACH*, I will provide a diplomatic edition on the basis of two manuscripts, namely W263 (a. 1705–1714; Vienna, Mechitarist Library) and V875 (16th century; Venice, Mechitarist Library); the *editio princeps* (Constantinople 1731, designated as "Const 1731"), and the 1833 edition published by the Mechitarist Fathers of Venice (designated as "Ven 1833")[74]. For the Greek texts, I will rely on the available editions. Even though the *ACH* is not generally structured as a list of syllogisms as it clearly is in the case of *OM*, I propose a division of the Armenian text on the basis of *CMg* for the sake of clarity and convenience.

[74] Կորիւն Վարդապետի Մամբրէի Վերծանողի եւ Դաւիթ Անյաղթի Մատենագրութիւնք [Library by Koriwn Vardapet, Mambrē the Commentator, and David the Invicible]. Venice 1833, 215–16. The text edited by the Mechitarist Fathers was collected on the basis of 5 manuscripts held in the Library at that time, among which the most ancient dates to 1310 and is written in *bolorgir*. Instead, the other ones are undated and written in both *bolorgir* and *nōtragir*. The codex V875 I included in the present edition of the *ACH* was possibly acquired by the Mechitarist Library of Venice after 1833, because it is not mentioned in the printed edition.

Amenayn ch‘ar tanjeli (Const 1731, p. 204–5, W263 fol. 318r–318v, V875 fol. 185r–185v)	*Si quid sit malum, puniendum est* (*PG* 46, III.541–2)
1. Ամենայն չար տանջելի. ոչ ոք տանջե[ա]լ[75] անապական է:	1. Εἴ τι ἂν κακὸν, κολαστέον· οὐδὲν δὲ κολαζόμενον ἄφθαρτον. Οὐδὲν ἄρα κακὸν ἄφθαρτον.
2. Ոչ ոք ապականացու անեղ, է չար ապականացու: Չար ուրեմն ոչ է անեղ:	2. Οὐδὲν φθαρτὸν ἀγέννητον· ἔστι δὲ τὸ κακὸν φθαρτόν. Τὸ ἄρα κακὸν οὐκ ἀγέννητον.
3. Ոչ ոք ըստ բնութեան չար եւ վասն զի չար առարկութիւն է, ոչ ոք առարկութիւն գոյացութիւն է. ապա ուրեմն չար[76] ոչ է գոյացութիւն[77]:	3. Οὐδὲν κατ’οὐσίαν κακόν· τῷ τὸ κακὸν ποιὸν εἶναι. Οὐδὲν δὲ ποιὸν οὐσία. Τὸ ἄρα κακὸν οὐκ οὐσία.
4. Ամենայն ընդդիմակքն միմեանց ապականիչք. հակառակք ուրեմն ոչ են անապականք:	4. Πάντα τὰ ἐναντία ἀλλήλων φθαρτά· τὰ δὲ ἀγέννητα ὄντα οὐ φθαρτά. Τὰ ἄρα ἐναντία οὐκ ἄφθαρτα.
5. Ոչ ինչ անեղ փոփոխելի եւ փոփոխելի[78] բարին պարտե[ա]լ ի չարէն. բարի ուրեմն ոչ է անեղ:	5. Οὐδὲν ἀγέννητον τρεπτόν· τρέπεται δὲ τὸ ἀγαθὸν κρατηθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ κακοῦ. Τὸ ἄρα ἀγαθὸν οὐκ ἀγέννητον.
6. Անեղն[79] ոչ է ցանկացօղ ապականութեան ուրուք եւ ոչ ապականիչ: Իսկ չարն փափագօղ է ապականութեան. չար ուրեմն ոչ է անեղ:	6. Τὸ ἀγέννητον οὐκ ἔστιν ὀρεκτικὸν φθορᾶς τινος, οὐδὲ γε φθαρτικόν· τὸ δὲ γε κακὸν ὀρεκτικὸν φθορᾶς. Τὸ ἄρα κακὸν οὐκ ἀγέννητον.
7. Իսկ աստուածային գիրք տանջանաց մատնեն ոչ միայն զայլ չարսն, այլ եւ զնոյն ինքն զբանսարկուն: Ասեն եւ ամենայն տանջանաց մատնեալն այլայլելի է. ոչ ոք այլայլելի անեղ. ապա ուրեմն ոչ ինչ ի չարեացն է անեղ:	7. Αἱ θεῖαι Γραφαὶ ταῖς κολάσεσι παραδίδοσθαι οὐ τοὺς ἄλλους μόνους κακοὺς, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν διάβολου λέγουσι· πᾶν δὲ τὸ κολάσει παραδιδόμενον τρεπτόν· οὐδὲν δὲ τρεπτὸν ἀγέννητον. Οὐδὲν ἄρα τῶν κακῶν ἀγέννητον.
8. Որք բոլորովին ընդդիմակք[80] են՝ ոչ ինչ ունին հաւասար: Որպէսզի ամենայն հարկաւորութեամբ որ միումն է գոյացեալ միւսումն եւս ոչ գոյանայ: Եւ է գոյացեալ բարութեան[81] գոլ անեղն. չար ուրեմն ոչ ինչ յայսցանէ գոյանայ, բայց միայն չարութիւն:	8. Τῶν δι΄ὅλου ἐναντιουμένων, οὐδὲν κοινόν. Ὥστε πᾶσα ἀνάγκη τὸ ἀγαθὸν ὑπάρχει, μὴ ὂν ἄρα τὸ κακόν.

[75] <տանջեալ> տանջելի W263
[76] <չար> չարն Ven 1833
[77] <ապա […] գոյացութիւն> om. W263
[78] <եւ փոփոխելի> om. Const 1731
[79] <անեղն> անեղքն W263
[80] <ընդդիմակք> ընդդիմակքն V875, Ven 1833
[81] <բարութեան> բարութեանն V875

1. Every evil is punishable. Nothing subjected to suffering/punishment is uncorrupted.	1. If something is evil, it must be chastened. But nothing that is chastened is incorruptible. Therefore, no evil is incorruptible.
2. Nothing corruptible is uncreated, and as evil is corruptible, then evil is not uncreated.	2. Nothing corruptible is unbegotten, and evil is corruptible. Evil, then, is not unbegotten.
3. Nothing is evil by nature, and because evil is an accident and no accident is substance, and consequently evil, too, is no substance.	3. Nothing is evil by essence, because evil is a quality and no quality is essence. Therefore, evil is not essence.
4. All the contraries are destructive of each other. Then, contraries are not incorruptible.	4. All the contraries can corrupt/be corrupted by one another, and the uncreated beings are not corruptible. Therefore, contraries are not incorruptible.
5. No uncreated being is mutable, and the good which is defeated by evil is liable to be changed. Good, then, is not uncreated.	5. No uncreated thing is liable to be changed, but the good which is prevailed over by evil, is subjected to changing. Good, then, is not uncreated.
6. What is uncreated does not desire the corruption of anything and does not produce corruption, whereas evil desires corruption. Evil, then, is not uncreated.	6. What is uncreated does not desire any corruption, and is not what corrupts, but evil desires corruption. Consequently, evil is not uncreated.
7. Then, the Divine Writings condemn to the sufferings not only what is evil, but also the liar himself. (They say that) everything which is subjected to suffering is also alterable [and] nothing which is alterable is uncreated. Consequently, nothing coming from what is evil is uncreated.	7. The Divine Writings do not consign to chastisement only evils, but also say it for the slanderer himself. Anything which is given over to chastisement is mutable, but nothing mutable is uncreated. Therefore, nothing among evils is uncreated.
8. Realities which are wholly opposite, have no equality, because what exists by necessity in one, does not exist in the other. And what is uncreated exists in goodness. Hence, evil does exist from either of the two, but only evilness <exists from evil>.	8. Among things which are wholly contrary, nothing is common, for it is absolutely necessary that good exists and evil does not.

9. Ամենայն որ իրաւացի փափաքէ[82] ումեք[83], առ այն[84] յարմարե[ա]լ ունի զփափագումն[85] եթէ դիւրաբ[ա]նութեամբ բաղձայցէ: Ապա եւ յապականացուացն է չարութիւն: Եւ եթէ յապականացուացն է չարութիւն, ապականի եւ ինքն: Եւ ապականե[ա]լն ոչ է անեղ:	9. Πᾶς ὁ εὐλόγως ὀρεγόμενός τινος ἐπιτετευγμένη ἔχει τὴν ὄρεξιν, ᾗ εὐλόγως ὀρέγεται· τῶν φθαρτῶν ἄρα ἐστὶν ἡ κακία· τῶν φθαρτῶν οὖσα ἀφανισθήσεται. Ἀφανιζομένη δὲ, οὐκ ἔστιν ἀγέννητος.
10. Եւ եթէ անեղ իցէ չարութիւն՝ ըստ[86] բնութեան նմա գոյանայ չարն[87] գոլ. ոչ ոք ըստ[88] բնութեան գործելով մեղանչէ. <չար ուրեմն մեղանչէ.>[89] եւ որ ոչն մեղանչէ՝ ոչ է ընդ բանբասանօք է եւ ընդ բամպասանօք է սատանայ. <սատանայ>[90] ապա <ուրեմն> եւ ոչ է անեղ[91]: <ո՛վ ոք անեղ ստորոգ է, ճշմարտապէս եւ ինքն է չար>[92]	10. Ἀγέννητον τὸ κακὸν, κατὰ φύσιν αὐτῷ ὑπάρχει τὸ κακὸν εἶναι. Οὐδεὶς δὲ κατὰ φύσιν ἐνεργῶν ἁμαρτάνει· τὸ ἄρα ἀγέννητον οὐχ ἁμαρτάνει. Τὸ μὴ ἁμαρτάνον οὐχ ὑπαίτιον· ὑπαίτιος δὲ ὁ Σατανᾶς. Οὐκ ἄρα ἀγέννητον.

First syllogism (corresponding to the first syllogism in *CMg*, *CMdid* and *OM*).

Here, the terms are arranged in such a way that they form a categorical syllogism in the mood AaB—BaC—(therefore) AaC. In the Armenian *ACH*, however, the syllogism is lacking and formulated with different terms. In the Greek *CMg*, the major premise is in the form "All A is B" with the introduction of the hypothetical particle ("If something is evil, it must be chastened") and is formulated from universal propositions, whereas the minor premise is in the form "No B is C" and the conclusion in the form "No A is C". The minor premise and the conclusion are indeed formulated from universal propositions: Εἴ τι ἂν κακόν, κολαστέον· οὐδὲν δὲ κολαζόμενον ἄφθαρτον. Οὐδὲν ἄρα κακὸν ἄφθαρτον. By contrast, in *CMdid* and *OM* the major premises are formulated from universal propositions in the form "All A is B": (<Ἄλλως τε> in *CMdid*) πᾶν κακὸν κολαστέον· οὐδὲν κολαστέον ἄφθαρτον· οὐδὲν ἄρα κακὸν ἄφθαρτον, (<τῷ μὴ ἀφθάρτως ὑπάρχειν φθαρτόν> in *CMdid*).

The *ACH* depends on *CMdid* and *OM*, for the major premise is in the form "All A is B" without any use of the hypothetical particle εἴ ἂν as attested in *CMg*. However, the syllogism is not complete, for the conclusion is absent. If complete and valid, it should have been:

1) Every evil is punishable (Ամենայն չար տանջելի <է>)

2) Nothing which is to be punished is incorruptible/Everything which is to be punished is corruptible ոչ ոք տանջեալ անապական է/ <ամենայն տանջեալ ապականացու է>

3) No evil is incorruptible/Every evil is corruptible <ոչ ոք չար անապական է>/<ամենայն չար ապականացու է>

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[82] <փափաքէ> փափագէ Ven 1833|փափագի Const 1731
[83] Իմիք NBHL s.v. *diwrabanut'iwn*
[84] <առ այն> om. W263, Ven 1833
[85] <յարմարեալ ունի զփափաքումն> W263
[86] <ըստ> ընդ W263
[87] <չար> Const 1731, V875
[88] <ըստ> ընդ W263
[89] <չար ուրեմն մեղանչէ> W263, V875
[90] <սատանայ> om. Const 1731, Ven 1833
[91] <ոչ է անեղ> ոչ է անմեղ Const 1731
[92] <ո՛վ ոք անեղ ստորոգ է, ճշմարտապէս եւ ինքն է չար> om. Const 1731, Ven 1833

9. Everything which duly desires something, adapts its own desire to the [desired] thing, if it desires reasonably. But evilness comes from corruptible things and if it derives from corruptible things, it is corrupted. And what is corrupted is not uncreated.	9. Everyone who has a reasonable desire of something, achieves his desire well, if he has a reasonable desire. Among the corruptible things there is evil. What is among the corruptible things is subjected to destruction. What is subjected to destruction, then, is not uncreated.
10. So, if evil was uncreated, evil should subsist in it by nature. Nothing that acts according to nature, commits sins. <Therefore, evil commits sins> What does not commit sins, is not subjected to reprehension, but Satan is subjected to reprehension. Therefore, Satan, too, is not uncreated	10. [If] evil is uncreated, then it exists by itself in nature, but nothing that acts according to nature, commits sins. In fact, what is uncreated does not commit sin. What does not commit sin, is not guilty. But Satan is guilty. Then, <evil> is not uncreated.

In the first syllogism, the main noteworthy difference between the Greek *CMg* and the Armenian *ACH* lies in the predicate term. In the major premise of *CMg*, in fact, the predicate term is formulated from the passive verbal adjective κολαστέος (translated into Latin by a gerundive in Migne's edition), whereas the Armenian *ACH* has the predicate տանջելի which can be rendered either by an active intransitive form ("to cause suffering"/"to cause punishment") or by a passive form ("to be subjected to suffering"/"to be subjected to punishment or to be punishable"). Therefore, the latter can be translated into English either by a gerundive ("to be suffered", "to be punished", "must be punished") or by a present active participle ("causing suffering", "causing punishment")[93]. In this case, we should render the Armenian verbal adjective տանջելի by the passive form not only on the basis of the Greek texts by Didymus (*CMdid*), pseudo-Gregory (*CMg*) and John of Caesarea (*OM*), but also for the sake of the syllogism's consistency. In fact, the minor premise of the Armenian *ACH* has the passive (past) participle տանջեալ for the subject term. Generally, the subject term of the minor premise derives from the predicate term of the major premise as follows: A (Ամենայն չար "Every evil") is B (տանջելի "punishable"), and (not-)B (ոչ ոք տանջեալ "Nothing which is to be punished") is C (անապական "incorruptible"). We could suppose a misreading between the terms տանջելի and տանջեալ, that could derive from the misinterpretation of the scribal abbreviations at some point in the manuscript tradition. Yet this hypothesis is not very convincing, because the manuscript tradition is unanimous in relating the term տանջելի in the first sentence of the *ACH*: Ամենայն չար տանջելի. Instead, the minor premise reads: ոչ ոք տանջեալ անապական է, where the subject term տանջեալ (passive participle from տանջիմ) must be translated by the periphrasis "subjected to suffering" or "subjected to punishment".

Second syllogism (corresponding to the second syllogism in *CMg*, *CMdid* and *OM*).

It is formulated from universal propositions, although the quantifier of the major premise is negative. The terms of the syllogism are arranged in the mood: A (Ոչ ոք ապականացու/Οὐδὲν φθαρτὸν) is B (անեղ/ἀγέννητον), C (չար<ն>/τὸ κακόν) is A (ապականացու/φθαρτόν), then C (չար/τὸ κακόν) is not B (ոչ է անեղ).

1) Οὐδὲν φθαρτὸν ἀγέννητον·
   Ոչ ոք ապականացու անեղ

[93] A. Bagratuni, Տարերք Հայերէն Քերականութեան դպրատանց տղոց համար [Elements of Armenian Grammar for the Young Students], 8° ed. Venice 1874, 121.

2) Ἔστι δὲ τὸ κακὸν φθαρτόν.
Է չար<ն> ապականացու
3) Τὸ ἄρα κακὸν οὐκ ἀγέννητον.
Չար ուրեմն ոչ է աներ:

Concerning the term ἀγέννητον (աներ in Armenian), *CMdid* and *OM* have a more adequate reading < ἀγένητον > ("uncreated") instead of < ἀγέννητον > ("unbegotten"): Didymus 1088C, 4–5 (*PG* 39); John of Caesarea 131 (Richard–Aubineau). On the other hand, the Armenian reads < աներ > which is the privative form of the aorist root of the verb եղանիմ corresponding to the Greek γίγνομαι. According to the NBHL, it can also mean "unbegotten" corresponding to the Greek ἀγέννητον from γεννάω, albeit in different contexts[94]. In all likelihood, the reading < ἀγέννητον > attested in *CMg* is a misreading for the adequate reading < ἀγένητον > as we read in *CMdid* and *OM*. In this case, the Armenian shows the correct reading, and seems to depend once again on Didymus and John of Caesarea.

Third syllogism (corresponding to the sixth syllogism in *OM*, and to the third in *CMdid*: the formulation is identical in *CMdid*, *OM* and *CMg*).

ACH and *CMg* formulate the same syllogism (which belongs to the same type as the first one) by the use but of different terms:

ACH	**CMg**
1) Nothing is evil by nature	1) Nothing is evil by essence
2) Evil is an accident and no accident is substance	2) Evil is a quality and no quality is essence
3) Evil is not substance	3) Evil is not essence

It is worth reflecting on the lexical differences between the two texts: 1) In the major premise we read ըստ բնութեան vs. κατ᾽οὐσίαν. In this case, the Armenian does not translate *ousia* into *ēut'iwn*, which we would expect to be used here, but into the term *bnut'iwn*, which renders both *physis* and *ousia*. In the latter case, the word բնութիւն and its cognates recur more frequently in the early Armenian translations from the Greek (but also from the Syriac) as, for instance, in the Nicene Creed and in the Bible, in order to translate both *physis* and *ousia*, whereas the word էութիւն occurs only once in *Heb* 1.3 and corresponds indeed to *hypostasis* and not to *ousia*, as argued by Igor Dorfmann-Lazarev[95]. According to the scholar, a sharp distinction between "nature" (in the sense of "hereditary" essence) and "essence/substance" becomes a common feature in Armenian theological literature after the beginning of the sixth century, and especially after the second Council of Dvin in 553/555. This linguistic peculiarity could be assumed as a chronological indicator to date the *ACH* prior to the mid-6th century. Yet, the use of the term *goyats'ut'iwn* both in the minor premise and in the conclusion suggest to us that the *ACH* would have been translated after the beginning of the 6th century or later, for *goyats'ut'iwn* ("substance") penetrates into the Armenian theological literature in the first half of the sixth century[96]. Nonetheless, the use of the same term in the Armenian philosophical literature is attested only at the time of David the Invincible, from the second half of the 6th century

[94] G. Awetik'ean – K. Siwrmêlean – M. Awgerean, Նոր բառգիրք հայկազեան լեզուի [New Dictionary of Armenian Language]. Venice 1836, *sub voce* աներ (abbreviated as NBHL).

[95] See I. Dorfmann-Lazarev, Christ's 'Being' and 'Activity': Some Aspects of the Development of Armenian Christological Vocabulary from its Origins to the Tenth Century. *The Journal of Eastern Christian Studies* 68 (3–4; Christ in Armenian Tradition: Doctrine, Apocrypha, Art [Sixth–Tenth Centuries]) 231–254.

[96] Dorfmann-Lazarev, Christ's 'Being' 238–239.

onwards[97]. According to the catholicos Nersēs Shnorhali, the term *bnut'iwn* should be interpreted as "nature" in its first sense of "matter": "Men should not be deceived by the opinion that something has [the disposition to] badness by nature, for the whole nature has been created by God and God's creation is always good"[98]. At the beginning of his *Against the Sects*, Eznik states: "There is no evil which is evil by nature, and there is no creator of evil things but of good ones"[99]. The me-ontological status of evil is re-assessed, once more, on the basis of the strong claim to the benevolence of God's creative activity. 2) In the minor premise, we read առարկութիւն vs. ποιόν, and գոյացութիւն vs. οὐσία. The Armenian seems to depend neither on *CMg* nor on *OM* nor on *CMdid* (all of them read: Οὐδὲν κατ᾽ οὐσίαν κακόν, τῷ τὸ κακὸν ποιὸν εἶναι· οὐδὲν δὲ ποιὸν οὐσία. Τὸ ἄρα κακὸν οὐκ οὐσία), because it does not translate the Greek terms *to poion* and *ousia* in the manner we would expect. In fact, instead of *orakut'iwn* for *to poion* and *ēut'iwn* for *ousia*, we find respectively *aṙarkut'iwn* and *goyats'ut'iwn*. The former term has a wide range of meanings, but in this context, it means "something which is put beside the nature of the reality and does not belong to its essence" or "something which happens to be" as confirmed by Nersēs Shnorhali in his *Commentary on the ACH*[100]. Should it be regarded as a doublet of the term դէպ(ք) ("accident(s)") as opposed to ընթերակաց/առ ընթեր ("adjacent" corresponding to the Greek *pareimi*), which is used by Eznik?[101] For Eznik, in fact, the former means something that happens to come into being but does not exist by itself, whereas the latter means something which is self-existent, as, for instance, matter is supposed to be according to some false opinions[102]. On the other hand, the definition of evil as something "added to the substance" or "thrown beside the substance" recalls the vocabulary of Gregory of Nyssa, as well as the linguistic context of the sophisticated theory on evil elaborated by Proclus and then developed by Simplicius. Linguistic evidence may substantiate the hypothesis that the Armenian term *aṙarkut'iwn* has been used in the context of the *ACH* as a synonym of *parhypostasis*. In fact, the prepositional suffix *aṙ-* can also render the Greek *para-*, as, for instance, in the *Definitions*, where David uses the periphrasis *aṙənt'er golov* in order to render the Greek *paron* (in this case David uses the Eznikian vocabulary but in a different manner), but also in the Bible[103]. Yet, the second term of the compound is *arkut'iwn*, which derives from the verb *arkanem* (corresponding to the Greek *ballo*–βάλλω), which would have sounded less technical than a compound calqued on the Greek *hypostasis* (*parypostasis*).

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[97] Contin, David l'Arménien 46–51.

[98] Nersēs Shnorhali 297 (Const 1731): Մի խաբեսցին մարդիկ կարծել զոք բնութեամբ ունել զչարութիւն. Զի բնութիւն ամենայն աստուծոյ է ստեղծուած. Եւ ստեղծեալքն յաստուծոյ բարի են յոյժ: Translation by me.

[99] Eznik I 2 (Venice 1926, 12): [...] եւ չիք ինչ չար որ բնութեամբ չար իցէ. Եւ ոչ է արարիչ չարաց իրաց, այլ բարեաց: Translation by me.

[100] Nersēs Shnorhali 298 (Const 1731): *Եւ վասն զի չար առարկութիւն է*: Զառաջին ասացեալսն յաջորդօքս հաստատէ. Չարն ոչ է բնութիւն ասէ, այլ առարկութիւն. Այսինքն արկումն ի բնութիւնս: Որպէս յանօթ արկեալ իրս ինչ՝ օտար է եւ ոչ յանօթոյն բնութենէ. Այսպէս չարութիւնն թէպէտ մտանէ յոք բնակիլ՝ ոչ է ի նորին բնութենէ:

[101] Eznik of Koghb I 6 (Venice 1926, 29–30): Արդ հարկ է ի պատճառս չարեացն գալ եւ ցուցանել՝ թէ ուստի՛ լինին չարիքն, եւ չէ պատճառ չարեաց Աստուած՝ այնու զի առ ընթեր նմա զհիւղն դնեն: [...] Իսկ եթէ արարչի այն գործ է՝ զբնութիւնս առնել, ոչ միայն արդս եւ զարդս եւ կերպարանս, յայտ է եթէ աւելորդ է կարծել՝ թէ ի նիւթոյ ինչ իմեքէ յընթերակացէ արար Աստուած զաշխարհս, այլ յոչընչէ եւ ի չգոյէ:
"Thus, it is necessary to come to the causes of evils, and to demonstrate where evils come from; and also to show that because they posit matter alongside Him <it is impossible to say He is not> the cause of evils. But if this work is the creator's—to make natures and not just smoothness and ornaments and forms—it is manifestly superfluous to consider that God made the world from nearby matter, instead of thinking that He made it from nothing and from non-being" (Blanchard–Young 45–46)

[102] Eznik of Koghb I 7 (Venice 1926, 31–32): Եւ հիւղն, զոր ասեն անարգասաւոր եւ անկերպարան, զիա՞րդ անարգասաւորն եւ անկերպարանն յայլս կարէր արդիւնս ծնուցանել, եթէ ոչ ի դիպացն լինիցին չարիքն, եւ ոչ ի նմանէ: Զի սպաննութիւնն չէ անձն ինչ, եւ ոչ շնութիւնն անձն ինչ է, եւ ոչ դարձէալ այլքն մի ըստ միոջէ ի չարեացն. Այլ որպէս դպրութենէն դպիր կոչի, եւ ի ճարտարութենէ ճարտար, եւ ի բժշկութենէ բժիշկ, եւ այն ոչ եթէ անձինք ինչ են, այլ յիրաց անտի առնուն զանուանս, նոյնպէս եւ չարիքն ի դիպացն առնուն զանուանումս: The reader can find an English translation of this passage above, n. 44.

[103] NHBL, s.v. առ.

The early 8th-century theologian and philosopher Catholicos John of Ōdzun (717–728) provides a clear distinction between the natural dispositions and the post-substantial dispositions in his treatise *Against the Phantasiasts*, which is largely addressed to the Aphthartodocetists:

> "Because some among these ones [i.e. dispositions] are called 'natural' for they have been arranged in us by nature as hunger and thirst, sleep and work, grief and fear, anger and ignorance. Others, instead, are post-substantial in us. Among the latter there is one disposition which has been received by us from the beginning, that is sin, which taught us to disparage the commandment. And the chastisement disposed by the Creator for the transgressions is death. Thus, corruption is said to be the consequence of death. It was not added by us and by the Creator to our nature, but in it (i.e. in our nature) it [i.e. corruption] has found and constituted as nourishment our being subjected to death. For, [corruption] is opposite to generation, as previously I stated that it corrupts the thing, and indeed strives to guide the being to non-existence."[104]

Here, the catholicos John uses the rare adjective յետամտական ("adjacent" "joined to the substance") to define sin and evil. This term is a compound from two roots: the prefix յետ- and the verbal root մուտ ("to go into") to which is joined the final adjective suffix -ական. It is attested also in the Armenian translation of Porphyry's *Isagoge* to define the nature of the accidents ("Accidents are disposed by nature after the genus, and are joined *a posteriori* [after the many/the *praedicamenta*] to the substance")[105]. From a theoretical viewpoint, *yetamtakan* is a synonym of *makeghut* ("post-substantial", a calque of the Greek compound *ephousiodes*), very frequently used by David in the *Commentary to Porphyry's Isagoge*. The passage shows how deeply the logical vocabulary—likely through the mediation of David (but not necessarily, for the catholicos could have had on his desk the Armenian version of the *Introduction* by Porphyry)—penetrated in the Christological argumentations and discussions. The catholicos John considers sin and evil as something which has been added to the substance, but does not affect the substance of the individual. Yet what affects the substance of the being and provokes its destruction is corruption (the main effect of sin) as something opposite and contrary to generation and life. Thus, the adjective *yetamtakan* is not used in the sense of "post-substantial", which we find in David's *Commentary on Porphyry's Isagoge*, but rather as the author of the *Amenayn* uses the term *aṙarkut'iwn* to define evil in the third syllogism[106].

To sum up, it is evident that the term *aṙarkut'iwn* does not correspond to *poion* but is a compound of the prefix *aṙ-* (*pros-*) *arkumn* (deriving from *arkanem* corresponding to *ballo*). The term *goyats'ut'iwn* is a synonym for *goyut'iwn* which means *ousia* in the sense of primary essence (individual), at least if we consider as reference vocabulary the philosophical one introduced in Armenia by David the Invincible (cf. above). The Armenian could depend on one of the three Greek texts

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[104] Yovhan of Ōdzun, Ընդդէմ Երեւութականաց [Against the Phantasiasts] (Յովհաննու Իմաստասիրի Աւձնեցւոյ Մատենագրութիւնք. Երկրորդ տպագրութիւն [The Works by Yovhan the Philosopher of Ōdzun. Second Edition]. Venice 1953, 91–92: Քանզի ոմանք ի նոցանէ բնականք ասին՝ ըստ բնութեան ի մեզ տրամադրեալք. որպէս քաղցն եւ ծարաւն եւ քունն եւ աշխատութիւնն, տրտմութիւնն եւ երկիւղն եւ ցասումն եւ անգիտութիւնն: Իսկ ոմանք յետամտականք ի մեզ եղեն. յորոց մին ի նոցանէ ի մէնջ ընկալաւ զսկզբնաւորութիւնն, այս ինքն մեղքն, որ զպատուիրանն ուսոյզ արհամարհել. Իսկ ոմն յարարչէն պատուհաս ընդ յանցանացն ի վերայ եղաւ մահն: Իսկ ապականութիւն հետեւանք ասին մահուն. ոչ ի մէնջ եւ ոչ արարչէն յարեալ եղեւ ի բնութիւնս, այլ որս գտեալ եւ կերակուր արարեալ իւր զընտ մահուամբ անկանեալսն. քանզի ներլինելութեանն է ներհական, որպէս յառաջն ասացի, որ ապականէ զիրն, եւ զոգցես թէ յանգոյութիւն զգոյն խնդրէ ներածել: For a general overview on John of Ōdzun's Christology, P. Cowe, Armenian Christology in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries with Particular Reference to the Contributions of Catholicos Yovhan Ōjnec'i and Xosrovik T'argmanič'. *Journal of Theological Studies*, NS 55 (2004) 30–54.

[105] Quoted by NHBL (s.v. յետամտական): Պատահմունքն վերջասէռք բնաւորեցան, եւ յետամտական բնութիւն ունին:

[106] Dav, inIs. 2.7 (Muradyan 74–75): "Now we have to know what is substantial and what is post-substantial. The substantial is that which, when present, preserves a thing and, when absent, destroys it, like the rational. The post-substantial is that which, if present, does not preserve a thing nor does, if absent, destroy it, like black and white."

on logical and formal grounds, because they all formulate the terms of the syllogism in the same way. Nonetheless, on linguistic and conceptual grounds, the Armenian has some textual peculiarities which show how the translator strove to adapt the source text to his religious and theological landscape.

Fourth syllogism (corresponding to the fourth syllogism in *CMg* and *CMdid*, and to the seventh in *OM*).

This syllogism has many problematic features: in *CMg* it is not valid on logical grounds, whereas in the *ACH* we do not read the major premise of the argumentation. Before surveying the Armenian, it is worth comparing the Greek *CMg*, *CMdid* and *OM*:

CMg	**CMdid**	**OM**
Πάντα τὰ ἐναντία ἀλλήλων φθαρτά· τὰ δὲ ἀγέννητα ὄντα οὐ φθαρτά. Τὰ ἄρα ἐναντία οὐκ ἄφθαρτα.	Πάντα τὰ ἐναντία ἀλλήλων φθαρτικά· τὰ δὲ ἀγένητα ἄφθαρτα· οὐκ ἄρα ἐναντία· τὰ γὰρ ἐναντία οὐκ ἄφθαρτα	Πάντα τὰ ἐναντία ἀλλήλων ἐστὶ φθαρτικά· τὰ δὲ ἀγένητα ἄφθαρτα· τὰ ἄρα ἐναντία οὐκ ἀγένητα

CMg does not seem to depend on either *CMdid* or *OM*, or to depend on a corrupted version of either of them because of some logical and linguistic anomalies. On logical grounds, in *CMg* the terms are formulated from the third syllogistic figure (AaB, Ca{not-}B, Aa{not-}C) but not in an appropriate mood, for it reads: A (Πάντα τὰ ἐναντία) is B ([ἀλλήλων] φθαρτά), C (τὰ δὲ ἀγέννητα/* ἀγένητα ὄντα) is not-B (οὐ φθαρτά), therefore A (Τὰ ἄρα ἐναντία) is not-D (οὐκ ἄφθαρτα/or we can suppose "is not-non-B"). If the syllogism were valid on formal grounds, we would expect to find the following formulation: A (Πάντα τὰ ἐναντία) is B ([ἀλλήλων] φθαρτά), C (τὰ δὲ ἀγέννητα/*ἀγένητα ὄντα) is not-B (οὐ φθαρτά), therefore A (Τὰ ἄρα ἐναντία) is not-C (οὐκ ἀγέννητα/*ἀγένητα). On linguistic grounds, we can point out that the term ἀγέννητα takes the place of the more likely term ἀγένητα as already discussed (cf. below), and that the term φθαρτά takes the place of φθαρτικά as we read in *CMdid* and *OM*. The term φθαρτικά that is used in both *CMdid* and *OM*, seems to be more appropriate in the context: the minor premise, in fact, reproduces almost *verbatim* Aristotle's *Physics* I.21–22 (φθαρτικὰ γὰρ ἀλλήλων τὰ ἐναντία "the contraries are, in fact, destructive one of another")[107]. The Armenian text (Ամենայն ընդդիմակքն միմեանց ապականիչք) corroborates this hypothesis, for instead of reading *apakanats'u*/ապականացու (φθαρτός in Greek), it reads *apakanich'*/ապականիչ (φθαρτικός in Greek)[108]. In *CMdid* and *OM*, the minor and the major premises are formulated in the same way, but in *CMdid* we find one more term which belongs to the major premise: οὐκ ἄρα ἐναντία. The latter is necessary to justify the conclusion: τὰ γὰρ ἐναντία οὐκ ἄφθαρτα, in order not to invalidate the syllogism. By contrast, in *OM*, the syllogism seems to be formulated in the more appropriate mood: A (Πάντα τὰ ἐναντία) is B (ἀλλήλων φθαρτικά), C (τὰ δὲ ἀγένητα) is {not-}B (ἄφθαρτα), A (τὰ ἄρα ἐναντία) is {not-}C (οὐκ ἀγένητα). For the Armenian, it is evident that it depends on *CMdid*, even if the major premise (underlined in the Greek text) is lacking:

ACH	***CMdid***
Ամենայն ընդդիմակքն միմեանց ապականիչք. հակառակք ուրեմն ոչ են անապականք	Πάντα τὰ ἐναντία ἀλλήλων φθαρτικά· τὰ δὲ ἀγένητα ἄφθαρτα· οὐκ ἄρα ἐναντία· τὰ γὰρ ἐναντία οὐκ ἄφθαρτα

[107] Aristotle, Phys. I 9 (ed. I. Bekker, Aristotelis Physica. Berlin 1843, 18, l. 14). Cf. Olympiodorus, InCat. 74.4–13.
[108] NHBL, s.v. *apakanats'u* vs. *apakanich'*

Fifth syllogism (corresponding to the fifth syllogism in *CMg* and *CMdid*, and to the fourth in *OM*). In this case, *ACH* depends on *CMg* and *CMdid*, but not on *OM*:

CMg	***CMdid***	***ACH***	***OM***
Οὐδὲν ἀγέννητον τρεπτόν· τρέπεται δὲ τὸ ἀγαθὸν κρατηθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ κακοῦ. Τὸ ἄρα ἀγαθὸν οὐκ ἀγέννητον.	Οὐδὲν ἀγένητον τρεπτόν· τρέπεται δὲ τὸ ἀγαθὸν κρατηθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ κακοῦ. Τὸ ἄρα ἀγαθὸν οὐκ ἀγένητον.	Ոչ ինչ աներ փոփոխելի եւ փոփոխելի բարին պարտեալ ի չարէն. բարի ուրեմն ոչ է աներ	Οὐδὲν ἀγένητον τρεπτόν· τρέπεται δὲ τὸ κακὸν κρατηθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ· τὸ ἄρα κακὸν οὐκ ἀγένητον

On logical grounds, both groups of syllogisms are valid in the mood: A (Οὐδὲν ἀγένητον) is B (τρεπτόν), B (τρεπτόν) is C (τὸ ἀγαθὸν κρατηθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ κακοῦ/τὸ κακὸν κρατηθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ), therefore C (τὸ ἄρα ἀγαθὸν/τὸ ἄρα κακὸν) is {not-}A (οὐκ ἀγένητον), but it is worth remarking the different perspective of the authors. In fact, in *CMdid*, *CMg* and *ACH* there is no hint at the mutability of the creatures which have been created not necessarily good but still good. Instead, John of Caesarea (*OM*) seems to have intentionally modified the *Vorlage* (very likely *CMdid* on the basis of chronological priority), probably in order to maintain consistency and coherence across the text. This was meant, in fact, to refute the Manichean arguments in favor of the existence of an engendered negative principle that is opposed to the highest good.

Sixth syllogism (corresponding to the sixth syllogism in *CMg* and *CMdid*, and with slight differences to the twelfth syllogism in *OM*).

The syllogism is arranged in the same mood in *ACH*, *CMdid* and *CMg*: A (Τὸ ἀγέννητον in pseudo-Gregory, Τὸ ἀγένητον in Didymus) is not-B (οὐκ ἔστιν ὀρεκτικὸν φθορᾶς τινος, οὐδὲ γε φθαρτικόν), C (τὸ δὲ γε κακὸν) is B (ὀρεκτικὸν φθορᾶς), therefore C (Τὸ ἄρα κακὸν) is not-A (οὐκ ἀγέννητον in *CMg*, οὐκ ἀγένητον in *CMdid*).

Seventh syllogism (corresponding to the seventh syllogism in *CMg* and *CMdid*, and to the third in *OM*).

The syllogism is introduced by a sentence which provides the context and the terms for the major premise: Իսկ աստուածային գիրք տանջանաց մատնեն ոչ միայն զայլ չարսն, այլ եւ զնոյն ինքն զբանսարկուն/Αἱ θεῖαι γραφαὶ ταῖς κολάσεσι παραδίδοσθαι οὐ τοὺς ἄλλους μόνους κακούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν διάβολον λέγουσι· In fact, the sentence explains that what is consigned to suffering and punishment is not only the evil activity, but also the original cause of any evil activity which is Satan, the Liar. This sentence stands for the subject term of the first premise and makes sense of the conclusion, for if "Everything which is consigned to suffering/punishment is evil", we can substitute the term "evil" for the subject term of the first premise ("everything which is handed down to suffering/punishment"). Thus we will obtain a syllogism arranged as follows: A (ամենայն տանջանաց մատնեալն, that is ամենայն չար "everything which is consigned to suffering/punishment", that is "every evil") is B (այլայլելի "alterable"), no B (ոչ ոք այլայլելի "no alterable") is C (աներ "uncreated"), therefore no A (ոչ ինչ ի չարեացն "no evil") is C (աներ "uncreated").

It is worth reflecting on the Armenian verbal adjective այլայլելի that is preferred here to փոփոխելի ("mutable"), which is used in the fifth syllogism in order to render the Greek *treptos*. The Armenian translator seems to have intentionally modified the Greek term and adopted a synonym of the Greek *treptos* and the Armenian *p'op'okheli*. The Armenian doublet for *p'op'okheli/treptos* corresponds to

the Greek present participle ἀλλοιούμενος and its use is attested in the Armenian translation of the treatise "On the Divine Names" by pseudo-Dionysius[109].

Eighth syllogism (corresponding to the eighth syllogism in *CMg* and *CMdid*, but to the thirteenth syllogism in *OM*).

The formulation that *CMg* adopts for his argument differs markedly from the formulation as found in *CMdid* and *OM*. The latter depends on *CMdid*, whereas *CMg* seems to rely on another source. The Armenian text, in turn, depends on either of or both the last two, although with several noteworthy lexical divergences.

CMg	***CMdid***	***OM***	***ACH***
Τῶν δι᾽ὅλου ἐναντιουμένων, οὐδὲν κοινόν. Ὥστε πᾶσα ἀνάγκη τὸ ἀγαθὸν ὑπάρχει (sic !), μὴ ὂν ἄρα τὸ κακὸν.	Τῶν δι᾽ ὅλων ἐναντιουμένων οὐδὲν κοινόν. Ὥστε πᾶσα ἀνάγκη τὸ θατέρω ὑπάρχον, τῷ λοιπῷ μή ὑπάρχειν· ὑπάρχει δὲ τῷ ἀγαθῷ τὸ εἶναι ἀγένητον· τῷ ἄρα κακῷ οὐδέτερον τούτων ὑπάρχει. μὴ ὂν ἄρα τὸ κακόν	Τῶν δι΄ὅλων ἐναντιουμένων οὐδὲν κοινόν. Ὥστε πᾶσα ἀνάγκη τὸ θατέρω ὑπάρχον, τῷ λοιπῷ μή ὑπάρχειν· ὑπάρχει δὲ τῷ ἀγαθῷ τὸ εἶναι ἀγένητον· τῷ ἄρα κακῷ οὐδέτερον τούτων ὑπάρχει. μὴ ὂν ἄρα τὸ κακόν	Որք բոլորովին ընդդիմակք են՝ ոչ ինչ ունին հաւասար: Որպէսզի ամենայն հարկաւորութեամբ որ միումն է գոյացեալ միւսումն եւս ոչ գոյանայ: Եւ է գոյացեալ բարութեան գոլ աւեղն. չար ուրեմն ոչ ինչ յայսցանէ գոյանայ, բայց միայն չարութիւն:

The first main divergence between the Greek texts and the *ACH* is the term ընդդիմակ which means "opposite" and corresponds to the Greek *antikeimenon*. As already argued, this term is not a simple synonym of հակառակ ("contrary") in the Armenian philosophical vocabulary, and especially in the vocabulary shaped by David the Invincible. As I tried to demonstrate, in the Armenian *Commentary on Porphyry's Isagoge* by David, there is a clear conceptual distinction between the terms pertaining to the semantic sphere of ընդդիմակ and the terms pertaining to the semantic sphere of հակառակ, especially when David discusses the problem of "opposition" and the correlated concepts of "privation" (and "abundance"). With respect to the Greek texts, the translator of the Armenian text (*ACH*) displays his command of philosophical and logical knowledge when he prefers the term ընդդիմակ to հակառակ (corresponding to the Greek *enantios*) in the context of the discussion about the opposition between good and evil. The premise of the syllogism in question affirms, in fact, that there is no possibility of equality in something wholly opposed, for the opposites do not admit middle terms and intermediary stages as the contraries do. Here, the term հաւասար ("equal") that we read in the sentence instead of the most common terms հասարակ that we would expect to find for the Greek *koinos*, should be regarded as a technical term and not a general synonym of *koinos*[110].

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[109] Pseudo-Dionysius, De Divinis Nominibus IV 18–35 (716A–736B) (ed. B. R. Suchla, Corpus Dionysiacum 1. Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita, De divinis nominibus [*Patristische Texte und Studien* 33]. Berlin – New York 1990, 162–180): Καίτοι ἄτοπον ἐξ ἑνὸς καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ δύο παντελῶς ἐναντία προιέναι καὶ εἶναι καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐχ ἁπλῆν καὶ ἑνιαίαν, ἀλλὰ μεριστὴν καὶ δυοειδῆ καὶ ἐναντίαν ἑαυτῇ καὶ ἠλλοιωμένην. Cf. also NBHL (as in fn. 94), s.v. այլայլելի.

[110] The term *hawasar* also means "common" (*koinos*) and we cannot exclude *a priori* that the translator intended to render just the Greek term *koinos*. Yet, it is necessary to verify which nuance the translator gives when translating from the source language to the target one, and to evaluate his technical competence when intentionally modifying the source text. Since the context of the present syllogism is philosophy and logic, the point of reference to the Armenian technical vocabulary in these

The use of *hawasar* in relation to the opposites reveals the translator's linguistic and philosophical competences, which allowed him to modify the source text and reveals his attempts to be consistent with Aristotle's thought. In *Metaph.* 1056a 22–24, in fact, the equal is defined as "that which is neither great nor small but is naturally fitted to be either great or small; and it is opposed to both as privative negation (and therefore is also intermediate)"[111], being therefore the balance or the middle term between two contraries. But the opposites do not admit intermediate terms and therefore do not admit any equality among them. The translator of the *ACH* intentionally modifies the source text (or texts) in order to keep the coherence with what comes after the first premise of the syllogism. Because of the contradiction implied by the opposites, among which good and evil are included, there must be no equality, namely no intermediate term, between good and evil. As the uncreated being is substantially goodness and not evil—evil, in fact, is not uncreated because its nature is mutable and alterable—it is inconceivable that good be equal to evil, and vice-versa. Evil is equal and substantial only to evilness.

The Greek text that goes under the name of Gregory, Didymus and John of Caesarea raises several problems: pseudo-Gregory (*CMg*) is the shorter one and does not depend on either Didymus (*CMdid*) or John (*OM*), whereas John ostensibly reports *verbum de verbo* Didymus' passage. Pseudo-Gregory's syllogism seems to be lacking, because there is no relation between the premise and the conclusion: "Among things which are wholly contrary, nothing is common, for it is absolutely necessary that good exists and evil does not". Didymus' and John's formulation, in turn, is quite strange because of syntactic incorrectness: ὑπάρχει δὲ τῷ ἀγαθῷ τὸ εἶναι ἀγένητον· τῷ ἄρα κακῷ οὐδέτερον τούτων ὑπάρχει. μὴ ὂν ἄρα τὸ κακόν ("The being uncreated exists in good, but neither of the two exist in evil. Therefore, evil does not exist"). If correct, the sentence should have been formulated as follows: ὑπάρχει δὲ τῷ ἀγαθῷ τὸ εἶναι ἀγένητον· τῷ ἄρα κακῷ οὐχ ὑπάρχει. μὴ ὂν ἄρα τὸ κακόν. On the other hand, it is very likely that either the Armenian translator changed the source text because of its syntactic incorrectness (either as by Didymus or by John of Caesarea) or he had access to Greek models different from those which have been handed down to us. In fact, instead of the dative τῷ (ἄρα) κακῷ we read a nominative form չար (ուրեմն), the verb *hyparkhein* is rendered by գոյանամ which generally corresponds to the Greek *ousioumai*, and the Greek partitive οὐδέτερον τούτων is expressed throughout by a marked ablative (the preposition *y-* used to mark the ablative as in Classical Armenian) preceded by ոչ ինչ which reproduces the Greek indefinite neut. pronoun *ouden*. Therefore, we should translate the conclusion of the syllogism into English as follows: "Hence, evil becomes existent (or comes into existence) from neither of the two [i.e. neither from goodness nor from the uncreated]". The Armenian differs once again as regards the rendering of the last sentence in the conclusion. In fact, in Greek we read μὴ ὂν ἄρα τὸ κακόν (unanimously reported by the three Greek Fathers), whereas in Armenian we read բայց միայն չարութիւն which would suppose an underlying Greek ἀλλὰ μόνον ἡ κακία. Here, the Armenian omits ի չարէ(ն), which, if present, would have clarified the general sense of the sentence, that means "only evilness comes into existence from evil".

Ninth syllogism (corresponding to the ninth syllogism in *CMg* and *CMdid*, but to the eighth syllogism in *OM*).

In all likelihood, this syllogism is a syllogism of the second figure according to the Aristotelian combinations (*Prior Analytics* I 4–6). Yet, it raises several difficulties on formal grounds. In fact,

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fields must be David's philosophical works. In David's commentaries, including the *Definitions*, the term *hasarak* generally renders the Greek *koinos*, whereas the abstract term *koinoia* is rendered by *haghordut'iwn*.

[111] Aristotle, Metaph. 1056a 20–24 (The Complete Works of Aristotle. The Revised Oxford Translation, ed. by J. Barnes, vol. 2 [*Bollingen Series* 71, 2]. Princeton NJ 1884, 1668).

if valid and duly arranged, we would expect to read something along the lines of the following: A ("Among the corruptible things") is B ("evil"), and A ("Among the corruptible things") is C ("what is not uncreated/what is created"), therefore B ("evil") is C ("among what is not uncreated/among what is created"). In this latter case, however, the order of the terms of the conclusion is inverted in an unexpected manner, because the subject term of the first premise comes before the predicate term of the conclusion. Instead of the second premise: Եւ եթէ յապականացուացն է չարութիւն, ապականի եւ ինքն/τῶν φθαρτῶν ἄρα ἐστὶν ἡ κακία. Τῶν δὲ φθαρτῶν οὖσα, ἀφανισθήσεται), we should have read: Եւ եթէ յապականացուացն է ոչ աւեղն/եղականն, ապականի եւ ինքն/τῶν φθαρτῶν ἄρα ἐστὶν οὐδὲν ἀγένητον. τῶν δὲ φθαρτῶν οὖσα, ἀφανισθήσεται).

The formulation of the syllogism differs in the three Greek authors, and the Armenian seems to rely upon *CMg* rather than *CMdid* and *OM*, because the whole sentence Θεὸς δὲ τοῦ φθεῖραι τὴν κακίαν ὀρέγεται has been omitted. Yet, the use of the conditional particle եթէ in the sentence եթէ դիւրաբանութեամբ բաղձայցէ suggests that the underlying Greek text was as *CMdid*: εἰ εὐλόγως ὀρέγεται.

CMg	***CMdid***	***OM***	***ACH***
Πᾶς ὁ εὐλόγως ὀρεγόμενός τινος ἐπιτετευγμένη ἔχει τὴν ὄρεξιν, ᾗ εὐλογως ὀρέγεται· τῶν φθαρτῶν ἄρα ἐστὶν ἡ κακία· τῶν φθαρτῶν οὖσα ἀφανισθήσεται. Ἀφανιζομένη δέ, οὐκ ἔστιν ἀγέννητος.	Πᾶς ὁ εὐλόγως ὀρεγόμενός τινος, ἐπιτετευγμένην ἔχει τὴν ὄρεξιν, εἰ εὐλόγως ὀρέγεται. Θεὸς δὲ τοῦ φθεῖραι τὴν κακίαν ὀρέγεται· τῶν φθαρτῶν ἄρα ἐστὶν ἡ κακία. Τῶν δὲ φθαρτῶν οὖσα, ἀφανισθήσεται· ἀφανιζομένη δέ, οὐκ ἔστιν ἀγένητος.	Πᾶς ὁ εὐλόγως ὀρεγόμενός τινος, ἐπιτετευγμένην ἔχει τὴν ὄρεξιν, ἧς εὐλόγως ὀρέγεται. Θεὸς δὲ φθεῖραι τὴν κακίαν ὀρέγεται· τῶν φθαρτῶν ἄρα ἐστὶν ἡ κακία. Τῶν δὲ φθαρτῶν οὖσα, ἀφανισθήσεται· ἀφανιζομένη δέ, οὐκ ἔστιν ἀγένητος.	Ամենայն որ իրաւացի փափագի ումեք, առ այն յարմարե[ա]լ ունի զփափագումն եթէ դիւրաբանութեամբ բաղձայցէ: Ապա եւ յապականացուացն է չարութիւն: Եւ եթէ յապականացուացն է չարութիւն, ապականի եւ ինքն: Եւ ապականե[ա]լն ոչ է աւեղ:

Tenth syllogism (corresponding to the tenth syllogism in *CMg* and *CMdid*, but to the ninth syllogism in *OM*).

CMg	*CMdid*	*OM*	*ACH*
Ἀγέννητον τὸ κακὸν, κατὰ φύσιν αὐτῷ ὑπάρχει τὸ κακὸν εἶναι. Οὐδεὶς δὲ κατὰ φύσιν ἐνεργῶν ἁμαρτάνει· τὸ ἄρα ἀγέννητον οὐχ ἁμαρτάνει.	Εἰ ἀγένητον τὸ κακὸν, κατὰ φύσιν αὐτῷ ὑπάρχει τὸ κακὸν εἶναι. Οὐδεὶς δὲ τὸ κατὰ φύσιν ἐνεργῶν ἁμαρτάνει· τὸ ἄρα κακὸν οὐχ ἁμαρτάνει.	Εἰ ἀγένητον τὸ κακὸν, κατὰ φύσιν αὐτῷ ὑπάρχει τὸ κακὸν εἶναι· οὐδεὶς δὲ τὸ κατὰ φύσιν ἐνεργῶν ἁμαρτάνει· τὸ ἄρα κακὸν οὐχ ἁμαρτάνει.	Եւ եթէ աւեղ իցէ չարութիւն՝ ըստ բնութեան նմա գոյանայ չարն գոլ. ոչ ոք ըստ բնութեան գործելով մեղանչէ. <չար ուրեմն մեղանչէ.>
Τὸ μὴ ἁμαρτάνον οὐχ ὑπαίτιον· ὑπαίτιος δὲ ὁ Σατανᾶς. Οὐκ ἄρα ἀγέννητον	Τὸ δὲ μὴ ἁμαρτάνον, οὐχ ὑπαίτιον· Ὑπαίτιος δὲ ὁ Σατανᾶς. οὐκ ἄρα ἀγέννητον	Τὸ δὲ μὴ ἁμαρτάνον, οὐχ ὑπαίτιον· Ὑπαίτιος δὲ ὁ Σατανᾶς. οὐκ ἄρα ἀγέννητον	եւ որ ոչն մեղանչէ՝ ոչ է ընդ բանբասանօք է եւ ընդ բամբասանօք սատանայ. <սատանայ> ապա <ուրեմն> եւ ոչ է աւեղ: <ո՛վ ոք աւեղ ստորոգէ, ճշմարտապէս եւ ինքն է չար>

This last syllogism is very complicated on logical, intra- and inter-linguistic grounds. From an intra-linguistic comparison among the three Greek texts, we can argue that *OM* depends on *CMdid*, whereas *CMg* shows some slight textual modifications in respect of the source text that is likely to have been *CMdid*. Except for the conditional εἰ whose omission could be explained as the result of a misreading or of a corruption in the manuscript transmission, there is a discrepancy among the three authors in the second premise: τὸ ἄρα ἀγέννητον οὐχ ἁμαρτάνει ("therefore, what is uncreated does not commit sin", *CMg*) or τὸ ἄρα κακὸν οὐχ ἁμαρτάνει ("therefore, evil does not commit sin", *CMdid* and *OM*). By contrast, *ACH* modified the sentence τὸ ἄρα κακὸν οὐχ ἁμαρτάνει as referred to in *CMdid* and *OM*, into չար ուրեմն մեղանչէ (*τὸ ἄρα κακὸν ἁμαρτάνει) for the sake of inner consistency in the syllogism. In fact, *CMdid*'s and *OM*'s statements that evil does not commit sin, sounds quite uncommon, whereas the same reading without the negative οὐχ would have been more reasonable: τὸ ἄρα κακὸν ἁμαρτάνει—that seems to be the reading the Armenian had at its disposal. In this case, *CMg*'s reading τὸ ἄρα ἀγέννητον οὐχ ἁμαρτάνει, seems to be more reasonable than the one that we read in *CMdid* and *OM*.

Apart from these textual discrepancies in the three Greek texts that could be explained as the result of a corruption in the manuscript transmission, there is still something lacking in all the four texts. There is, in fact, no inference from the premises. If valid, the first part of this categorical syllogism arranged according to the third Aristotelian figure, should be ordered in the following mood: A ("Nothing who acts according to nature") is C ("commits sins"), then B ("evil") is C ("commits sins"), therefore A ("nothing which acts according to nature") is B ("evil"). A possible reconstruction of this syllogism would be: Εἰ ἀγένητον τὸ κακὸν, κατὰ φύσιν αὐτῷ ὑπάρχει τὸ κακὸν εἶναι. Οὐδεὶς δὲ κατὰ φύσιν ἐνεργῶν ἁμαρτάνει· τὸ δὲ κακὸν ἁμαρτάνει. Οὐδεὶς κατὰ φύσιν ἐνεργῶν ἄρα ἐστὶν κακόν, in Greek and Եւ եթէ աւեղ իցէ չարութիւն՝ ըստ բնութեան նմա գոյանայ չարն գոլ. ոչ ոք ըստ բնութեան գործելով մեղանչէ. <եւ>չար<ն> մեղանչէ. *ապա ուրեմն ոչ ոք ըստ բնութեան գործելով չար է, in Armenian.

The second part of the syllogism provides the correct conclusion and the refutation of the hypothetical clause that we read at the beginning of the tenth syllogism: "Satan, that is evil, is not uncreated because he does not act according to nature (first conclusion), and is guilty because he

commits sins (secondo conclusion)". It is worth pointing to the Armenian "free" rendering of the Greek compound *hypaitios* which is not translated with a lexical calque according to the translation technique of the Hellenizing school, but with the preposition *ənd* accompanied by the instrumental case (*bambasanōk'*) to mean "subjected/under reprehension" according to the linguistic features of the Classical Armenian.

On the whole, we have the impression that there are more linguistic and textual similarities between the *ACH* and Didymus the Blind than between the *ACH* and pseudo-Gregory. Hence, we should reassess the traditional scholarly opinion that regards the *ACH* as a translation of Gregory of Nyssa's *Contra Manicheos* made by David. In our opinion, in fact, the *ACH* is more likely a re-elaboration of Didymus' Greek text in Armenian in a period prior to the mid-12th century and later than the mid-6th century. In the absence of external evidence coming from other literary works or from the manuscript tradition, it is not possible to date the text more precisely. Concerning the paternity, one should not disregard the attribution of the *ACH* to David, since there are strong textual and linguistic similarities between this text and David's Armenian works, especially the *Definitions*. Whoever is the author of the *ACH* and whenever he composed his text on the basis of Didymus' text, one is stunned by the complexity and tremendous variety of the transmission of Greek thought to Armenian philosophy and theology. Ideas developed by Christian and non-Christian philosophers were absorbed and re-elaborated in an original manner according to the Armenian cultural and religious world that was continuously being challenged by various political and religious actors in a period marked by intense intellectual, diplomatic and political changes between Armenia and Byzantium, on the one hand, and between Armenia and the Caliphate, on the other.

CONCLUSIONS

This article has sought to trace the trajectories in the transmission of the debate on evil from the Greco-Hellenistic thought to Armenia. In philosophy, the question received more and more attention from Plotinus onwards because it had strong implications for several fields of philosophy, such as logic, ontology, cosmology and ethics. On the whole, we have two different tendencies in the philosophical arguments: the ontological one developed by Plotinus and Proclus, and the logical one set out by their heirs in Athens and Alexandria, namely Simplicius, Ammonius, Philoponus, Olympiodorus and David. As regards the ontological arguments, Plotinus and Proclus elaborated two different theories about evil and matter: for the former, evil is brought into existence by matter which, in turn, is produced by the lower soul that generates matter because of the intrinsic imperfection of its nature. For the latter, matter cannot be a principle of evil for if one believes that there is a principle of any sort of evil one should consequently admit an ontological dualism, something that Proclus wanted to avoid at all cost. Plotinus himself had sought to solve this problem by claiming that matter is evil not as something generated and caused by the Good principle but as the last product and stage of the decline in the process of emanation. Hence, matter and its effect, evil, are the absolute privation of the good. Proclus objects to this theory, arguing that matter is produced by the good and therefore cannot be other than good. In order to advance arguments that would allow him to refute Plotinus' anti-Aristotelian argument (according to which there can be something contrary to substance), Proclus reassessed the Platonic theory of evil as something subcontrary to good (*Theaetetus* 176A) by introducing the concept of *parhypostasis*[112]. Thus evil is a parasitic existence that stands beside substance but has no substance, and therefore cannot be contrary to its own principle within the context of the theory of causation. In fact, in the context of causation, effects are endowed with existence

[112] For the concept of *parhypostasis*, Proclus and Simplicius were largely indebted to Iamblichus, and probably also to some Platonic Church Fathers, as, for instance, Basil of Caesarea and Gregory of Nyssa, see: Opsomer, Proclus vs Plotinus 186–7.

if they reach the goal for which they are destined by nature. Effects that are not of this kind are not endowed with existence, and thus parasitical. In this context, evils are not meant to be by any cause and principle, but they are rather caused by accident and properly defined as *parhypostaseis*. Proclus' ontological argument, which, however, implies strong logical tenets, is applied to pure logic by the Neoplatonic commentators, especially Simplicius on the Athenian side, and Philoponus and David on the Alexandrian side. Nonetheless, we could point at two different tendencies in the bosom of the Alexandrian school: on the one hand, Ammonius and Olympiodorus confine the analysis of the problem to the matter in question, that is the analysis of Aristotle's *Categories* lemma by lemma. On the other hand, Philoponus and David apply Proclus' ontological argument and linguistic peculiarities to their own analysis of the problem of evil in the context of the *Categories*. Concerning the question of evil and its definition in a logical context, it is worth highlighting the remarkable epistemic similarities between the school of Alexandria and Athens, especially between Simplicius and Philoponus. On the whole, despite the fact that some of the arguments advanced by Simplicius, Philoponus and David overlap with those of Proclus, they are discussed from a different viewpoint and reframed in terms of pure logical reasoning. Finally, in Simplicius and Philoponus, the logical argument of evil as something opposed by privation and asymmetry to good because of its "being aside" substance (*parhypostasis*) became a powerful argument in order to refute the ontic and theological dualism of the Manicheans.

The debate about evil reverberated across Armenia in a twofold manner. We have ascertained that the reception of the debate on evil followed two main trajectories: the first one can be traced back to the Armenian Church Father Eznik of Koghb and takes a two-pronged approach. On the one hand, he relies on the Bible and the Cappadocian exegesis for the theory on voluntarism in order to justify the existence of evil in the context of divine creation; and on the other hand, he shows interesting conceptual similarities with the ontological argument as developed by the philosophers, and partly also by Gregory of Nyssa. As already mentioned, there is a striking similarity between Eznik's idea of anomaly and unevenness of due mixture as the source of illness and the idea of a disproportion of due mixture as the source of hectic fever, as we read in David's *Commentary on Porphyry's Isagoge*. Despite the fact that Eznik does not use the terms disproportion (*ametria*/*anch'ap'ut'iwn*) and privation (*steresis*/*anliwt'iwn*) as David does, Eznik seems to refer to the idea of disproportion and privation in relation to evil by the use of synonyms such as "anomaly" (*anhart'ut'iwn*) and "unevenness" (*ch'kshřut'iwn*) that belong the same semantic area as the former. The second trajectory of reception was traced back to David and to the process of "translating" his works into Armenian. The standard argument of the accidentality of evil and its parasitical existence in relation to substance, is attested in two contexts: in the Armenian version of David's commentaries; and in the Armenian version of a Greek pseudepigraphical text, which deals with the issue through syllogistic reasoning, and whose *Vorlage* is a section of the *Contra Manicheos* by Didymus the Blind. Nonetheless, the Armenian version of this text or *ACH* shows both a respectful and a creative approach to the source text, for the Greek syntactical and morphological elements are rendered in a systematic but not slavish way, and sometimes indeed in a very original one, as in the case of the third syllogism. Finally, the *ACH* reveals also the strong influence that both the Aristotelian demonstrative method and the Neoplatonic logical argument as developed by Simplicius in Athens and Philoponus in Alexandria, had on Armenian philosophical and theological literature.

JAHRBUCH DER ÖSTERREICHISCHEN BYZANTINISTIK, 69. Band/2019, 99–112
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DOI: 10.1553/joeb69S99

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Another True Cross: Psellos, Heraklios, and the Cross of the Archangel Michael at Sykeon[*]

Abstract: This paper reads Psellos' *Oration to the Archangel Michael* as a pointed political piece couched as a pious sermon about Christian miracles. It argues that, under the narrative of the theft of the "holy cross" from the shrine at Sykeon, Psellos veils a reference to a contemporary event, namely, the rebellion of Roussel of Bailleul against Michael VII. The aim of the oration is to restore credibility to the monastic community after their misplaced support of the Norman rebel. The allusion is constructed rhetorically through an elaborate etiology for the monastery, combining the dedication to the Archangel with the True Cross through the agency of Emperor Heraklios. This unexpected reference to the precious relic has so far gone unnoticed.

Keywords: Michael Psellos, Emperor Heraklios, Archangel Michael, Holy Cross, Sykeon, Roussel de Bailleul "Phrangopoulos"

As a hagiographical composition, Psellos' fifth oration in honor of the Archangel Michael[1] has attracted limited attention. No translation is yet available and the literature about it is restricted to two articles: Cyril Mango inserted some incidental observations on the cross mentioned in this text in a paper examining the so-called cross of Keroularios[2] and Elizabeth Fisher dedicated an article to this oration before publishing her critical edition[3]. Both Fisher and Mango examine a narrative about the theft of a miraculous cross inserted towards the end of the text. This passage, which will also be the focus of the present article, provides key information to locate the site of Psellos' oration at Sykeon in Galatia, and more precisely at the confluence of two rivers: the Siberis (also called Hieros) and the Sangarios[4]. Furthermore, the episode contains an intriguing allusion to a contemporary usurper (αὐτοκράτωρ) that has drawn the attention of both scholars. Neither, however, chose to address the dilemma about this person's identity.

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* Work on this article was carried out during a National Endowment for the Humanities Fellowship at the Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, St Louis University, MO. Thanks are due to Thomas Madden for inviting me to the Center and to Warren Treadgold for precious feedback. I would also like to thank Joseph Munitiz SJ and Marianne Wifstrand Schiebe for help with the Greek text. The constructive remarks of the two anonymous referees have, I am sure, greatly improved the final version of this article.

[1] Michael Psellos, Or. 5 (ed. E. Fisher, Michaelis Pselli Orationes hagiographicae [*Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana*]. Leipzig 1994, no. 5, 230–256) = ITER [937] ORA.43 in P. Moore, Iter Psellianum: A Detailed Listing of Manuscript Sources for All Works Attributed to Michael Psellos, Including a Comprehensive Bibliography (*Subsidia Mediaevalia* 26). Toronto 2005. Line numbers in this article refer to Fisher's edition and are also found in the TLG database.

[2] C. Mango, La croix dite de Michel le Cérulaire et la croix de Saint-Michel de Sykeon. *CahArch* 36 (1988) 41–49. In a passing comment, Mango casts some doubt on the authorship: 'attribué à tort ou à raison à Psellos' (48). I take the question of authorship as settled by Fisher's edition.

[3] E.A. Fisher, Nicomedia or Galatia? Where was Psellos' Church of the Archangel Michael?, in: GONIMOS. Neoplatonic and Byzantine Studies Presented to Leendert G. Westerink at 75, ed. J. M. Duffy – J. Peradotto. Buffalo, NY 1988, 175–187. References in Fisher's article are to the *editio princeps* by E. Kurtz – F. Drexl, Michaelis Pselli Scripta Minora. Milan 1936, I 120–141.

[4] Fisher, Nicomedia or Galatia? 176–178, discusses the matter in detail. For the exact location of Sykeon, see now D. Barchard, Sykeon Rediscovered? A site at Kiliseler Near Beypazari. *Anatolian Studies* 53 (2003) 175–179; see also *TIB* 4: Galatien und Lykaonien, ed. K. Belke – M. Restle. Vienna 1984, 228–229; D. H. French, Roman Roads and Milestones of Asia Minor: The Pilgrim's Road = Haci Yolu. Oxford 1981, 17, 31, 40, 42–45, 108f.

In this paper, I review the passage in question[5] and suggest an identification for this unnamed usurper in the turbulent arena of Byzantine politics during the third quarter of the eleventh century. Understanding this character's identity is a little like cracking a code. What is necessary is not just a mechanical matching between Psellos' narrative and contemporary historical fact, but also a broader perception of the author's rhetorical construction of that narrative and ultimate purpose of the oration as a whole. In order to capture some of these key resonances, I propose to read the theft of the cross episode together with Psellos' etiology of the site as a foundation by Emperor Heraklios (610–641), as stated towards the beginning of the oration. Although the two passages are not placed in proximity to one another, they are knitted together by their common focus on the cross.

Reading the theft of the cross episode in the light of the Heraklian etiology on the one hand, and together with the contemporary situation in Asia Minor on the other, positions Psellos' text at the forefront of commentary on the political events in the region. On such a basis, I argue that this apparently abstrusely hagiographical and nearly folkloristic oration is all but disengaged from the networks of power politics which were Psellos' uppermost and vexing concern in the 1070s. Couching his message through pious themes, but still using very pointed language, Psellos expressed his position regarding the critical situation in Asia Minor in veiled terms. By using indirect references, he effectively rallied in support of the monks of Sykeon, protecting them, as we shall see, from possible accusations of heresy and enfranchising their stance before the Byzantine state. Psellos' attention to this shrine, to which he may have had particular personal ties[6], stakes a wider claim for the continuing Byzantine presence in that area of Asia Minor based on its ancient tradition of Christian cult.

IDENTIFYING THE MYSTERIOUS USURPER

> "And so it was that a certain man among those who happened to live here not too long before us, called Euthymios, dared a most terrible deed. For while the tyranny had cracked (so to speak) for the one who held at that time power over the Romans, this wretched man, who should have been bound by devotion to this ruler to be supportive of him, if not through anything else, by praying for him, or (something even more moderate) by remaining inoperative in his own private life, without weighing up his intentions immediately set off at full sail towards the usurper. In order to stand by him with a more propitious military standard, [Euthymios] secretly introduced himself in the temple and sacrilegiously stole the divine cross, intending to provide the cross as a truly powerful and invincible ally for the usurper."[7]

Unlike other relic thefts, this act was perpetrated not out of religious piety or gain, but rather with the precise aim of supporting a political cause. Euthymius is presented as an unscrupulous, impulsive man, who rushed to this usurper's help in order to secure victory for him through this powerful standard—the cross itself—that could be displayed in battle. In this paragraph, Psellos criticizes the thief not only for his action, but also for his disloyalty to the legitimate power, with respect to which he should have instead shown allegiance through prayers or, at least, by keeping out of this matter altogether. Fisher summarizes the story in the following way:

Psellos remarks that the cross once left the church to accompany the (unidentified) emperor on campaign against an (unnamed) rebel. The miracle at the River Sangaris occurred to thwart the at-

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[5] My English translation with parallel Greek text from Fisher's edition is printed as the Appendix to this article.

[6] See Fisher, Nicomedia or Galatia? 186. The suggestion was first made by F. Halkin in the review of E. Kurtz – F. Drexl, Michaelis Pselli Scripta Minora. Milan 1936. *AB* 55 (1937) 407.

[7] Psellos, Or. 5, ll. 479–489 (250 Fisher), Greek text in the appendix.

tempts of a certain unscrupulous Euthymios to carry off the cross, "intending to provide the cross as a truly powerful and invincible ally for a usurper"[8].

Neither Mango nor Fisher speculate about a possible historical background for this narrative, though it is clear that both of them consider it the most significant episode in the oration[9].

I propose to set the emblematic theft of the cross side to side with an event that happened at that very place in Psellos' own times: the rebellion of Roussel de Bailleul. Roussel de Bailleul 'Phrangopoulos' was a Norman mercenary ally of the Byzantines who became an independent prince in Anatolia after defecting at the Battle of Mantzikert (1071). In 1073, he declared himself the head of an independent principality in Galatia, which became the theater of action of several Byzantine attempts to repress him. At the Sangarios river, Roussel's adversary, Nikephoros Botaneiates, himself soon after to become the successful "usurper", showed little taste for military action, retreating instead to his comfortable estates[10]. In 1074, however, precisely at the Zombou bridge on the Sangarios river, Roussel was defeated by the forces of Isaak Komnenos in the person of John Doukas, commander in charge on behalf of Emperor Michael VII Doukas (1071–78)[11].

It is significant that Michael VII even tried to enlist the help of the Turk Tutush I to defeat Roussel. This strategy of resorting to an alliance with the Turks against Roussel increased the criticisms against this unpopular Byzantine emperor. It is likely that the local population was ready to recognize in Roussel, a Byzantinized Westerner, a defender of the Christians and to lend him support. The clipeate image of the Theotokos on Roussel's seal bears witness to the extent of the Norman's inculturation into the Byzantine system of titles and emblems[12]. Nevertheless, only shortly after, Alexios Komnenos outmaneuvered him even in the territories where he had withdrawn after the defeat at the Sangaris river: let down by his people, Roussel's stronghold in Anatolia was overrun at once by both Byzantine and Seljuk powers. As Skylitzes summarized the event, in an often-quoted ominous sentence: "The Emperor thought best to leave to the Turks the Greek lands than to let Rousselios find a place in a region of his Empire."[13]

If the mysterious usurper that Euthymios wanted to stand by with the standard of the holy cross at Sykeon can be identified with Roussel, the political point of the oration becomes clearer. By providing strong Byzantine credentials for this place, Psellos attempts to redeem the local population from the guilt of having supported an unwanted ally, whose ultimate defeat had probably become a foregone conclusion by the time Psellos was writing (and perhaps even reading out *in situ*) his oration. Can more details from this narrative point to how Psellos himself judged these events?

PSELLOS' 'ALLIANCE' WITH THE THIEF

Does Psellos show support, or at least some sympathy, towards Roussel's cause? Or is he simply trying to cover up an unfortunate event in Sykeon's recent past? Although Psellos' own opinion is al-

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[8] Fisher, Nicomedia or Galatia? 185.

[9] Mango's particular interest is that of determining the dimensions of this object with respect to other extant bronze crosses. Since the thief could carry it in a pouch, it cannot have been too large.

[10] Botaneiates' inaction is perhaps alluded to in l. 484: τῷ καθ' ἑαυτὸν βίῳ ἐφησυχάζειν.

[11] D. Krallis, Michael Attaleiates and the Politics of Imperial Decline in Eleventh-Century Byzantium (*Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies* 422). Tempe, AZ 2012, 160. See Michael Attaleiates, Historia, 136.20–25 (ed. E. Th. Solakis. Athens 2011, 143 = ed. Bekker 184); transl. A. Kaldellis – D. Krallis, Michael Attaleiates, The History. Washington DC 2012, 337. See also J. Shepard, The Uses of the Frank in Eleventh-Century Byzantium. *Anglo-Norman Studies* 15 (1993) 275–305, 277 and n. 9, noting that Roussel's precise origins remain undetermined.

[12] G. Schlumberger, Deux chefs normands des armées byzantines au XI[e] siècle. Sceaux de Hervé et de Roussel de Bailleul. *Revue historique* 16, 2 (1881) 289–303.

[13] H. Antoniadis-Bibicou, Un aspect des relations byzantine-turques en 1073–74, in: Actes du XII Congrès international d'Études byzantines, Ochride 10–16 Septembre 1961. 2 vols. Ochrid 1964, II, 15–25 at 18 with reference to other primary sources that feature Rousselius/Ourselius.

ways difficult to pinpoint, there are some signs in the conclusion to this episode that show that Psellos might not be casting univocal condemnation upon these events. Despite the rising tone of horror before the sacrilege of the abduction of the cross from its church, the innkeeper, who discovers the crime, avoids punishment for the thief and intends to restore the cross to its due place without making its temporary absence public. While forgiveness is usually dependent on confession and repentance, neither of these obligatory steps are imposed here on the guilty thief. Rather, public shaming and trial for the crime are explicitly set aside in favor of a silent restoration.

Implicitly, the innkeeper recognizes that the removal of the relic for the purposes of assisting the usurper could not have taken place without the consent of the Archangel Michael, to whom the cross was dedicated, as he exclaims in his emotional speech:

> "O totally daring and shameless in counsel, it's true, you have stolen the cross! Why did you dishonor it in this way? Why did you add evil to evil? It should indeed be necessary to reveal you and to inflict on you many punishments. But since I do not know if this has happened with the consent of the great Archistrategos, whose temple you have robbed, as if you had confessed I will avoid the interrogations and the penalties: but I will return the divine cross to the church when I go there."[14]

The suspension of judgement on the theft comes as a surprise after the impetuous opening invectives. The innkeeper unexpectedly entertains the possibility that the cross had been stolen with the consent of the archangel, and therefore, indirectly, that the cause of the usurper may have had divine support. The implication is that the divine powers of the cross were willing to follow the thief's wishes. The innkeeper's acknowledgement insinuates a first window of doubt as to the sides taken by the local population on the episode of the rebellion.

We may regard Psellos' story within a larger tradition of holy thefts, where the perpetrator can be struck and stopped (literally, paralyzed) by the object unwilling to be moved. For example, a canon in Lucca was paralyzed for stealing the finger of St Davin, until, after confessing, he was absolved with the help of the prayers of his congregation[15]. A measure of negotiation between the will of the object (or of the saint through the object) and that of the people (both ecclesiastical and lay) surrounding the action of relic abduction is normally expected. Where thefts are successful, even a certain degree of leniency can therefore be contemplated. Only in extreme cases is the punishment final: the unfortunate archbishop's acolyte who decided to steal the finger of John the Baptist with the noble intent of displaying it in a more popular venue was struck dead on the spot[16]. Psellos' cross also talks, or at least produces a sound, to make the innkeeper aware of its presence. This feature of a talking object is a folkloristic motif, yet one developed metaphorically in recent scholarship interested in the power of inscriptions on relics and reliquaries to proclaim their identity[17].

The Western ambiance of relic thefts may reflect an aspect of our mysterious rebel's provenance, as does his designation as "one of the Celts". This ethnic appellation is transferred to Asia Minor, where it is applied to people practicing incubation there in Late Antiquity[18]. Its use as a learned designation for a Westerner introduces us at one stroke both into the realm of the ethnic "other", and into the thaumaturgical setting of the precinct at Sykeon in which the story was set. Psellos has just

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[14] Psellos, Or. 5, ll. 509–517 (p. 251 Fisher). Greek text in the appendix at the end.

[15] P. Geary, Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages. Princeton, PA 1990, 150 (*Bibliotheca hagiographica latina* 2114).

[16] Geary, Furta Sacra, 114, 152 (*Bibliotheca hagiographica latina* 8290).

[17] C. Hahn, The Voices of the Saints: Speaking Reliquaries. *Gesta* 36.1 (1997) 20–31; 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. by B. M. Bedos-Rezak – J. F. Hamburger. Washington, DC 2016, 51–70.

[18] G. Renberg, Where Dreams May Come: Incubation Sanctuaries in the Greco-Roman World. Leiden 2017, 107, 563–564 and n. 113.

described a number of healing miracles attributed to the power of this cross and of the Archangel Michael. The name of the thief, Euthymios, is the same as that of a saint who also patronized a famous healing shrine by incubation[19].

The notion of 'otherness' is further underscored in the story by the figure of the godly innkeeper, who welcomed Euthymios at the 'xenon'. This act is not only marked by the performance of the innkeeper's "job" but is also portrayed simultaneously as an act of piety towards a stranger (*xeniteia*)[20]. This aspect of the amusing story enhances the moral value of welcoming foreigners and pilgrims.

Another clue as to Psellos' endorsement of the theft may lie hidden in the rhetorical reduplication of the final verb in this scene: καὶ αὐτίκα τὸ σχῆμα ἱερῶς περιπτύξας καὶ μεγαλοπρεπὼς τῷ ὄντι τετιμηκὼς ἐλθὼν ἀποτίθησιν ἢ ἀνατίθησι τῷ νεῷ[21]. The effect of this verbal hendyadis in the theft story is to insert a kind of pun into the meaning of the innkeeper's action. The more common meaning of *apo-tithemi* is, in fact, 'to bury', and the contrast with *ana-tithemi*, 'to set up high', is underscored by the juxtaposition. This meaning of the verb *apotithemi* is, besides that of 'to store', appropriate to a context where a cemetery was also included, apparently a common feature of dedications to the Archangel Michael[22].

Thus, by returning the sacred object to the church, the innkeeper is not only restoring it to its proper place for public veneration (ἀνατίθησι), but also subtracting it from use (or abuse) in support of the rebellion (ἀποτίθησιν). As the function of being paraded outside of the sacred precinct for political ends is denied to it, so is its usefulness confined to the religious sphere. Such a move opens a gap for Psellos' critical voice on the affair to be heard. Psellos is effectively introducing his own subtle criticism on this apparently simple and pious action of returning the cross to its proper place. He implies that the cross might well have been more useful performing the function for which Euthymios had removed it, namely, the support of the rebel Roussel against a weak Byzantine ruler. In this role, it would have granted the people of Sykeon a better defense against the invading Turks.

THE CROSS OF HERAKLIOS

A key to providing a better understanding of the point which Psellos is trying to make is found in his treatment of this object, the "divine cross", at the beginning of the oration. There, too, the cross exhibits a will of its own. It refuses to follow Heraklios, its conqueror and rightful owner, to the Byzantine capital, Constantinople. The outcome of this confrontation is most unexpected. As if adopting a parallel rhetorical strategy, here too Psellos describes the cross's movements through a double verbal hendiadys, closely echoing his choice of verbs at the end of the theft narrative: Τίθησι μὲν οὖν ἢ ἀνατίθησιν ὁ βασιλεὺς τῷ νεῷ τὸν σταυρόν. ἔμελλε γὰρ τοῦτον αὐτίκα μετακομίσασθαι καὶ μεταθήσειν πρὸς τὴν μεγαλόπολιν[23].

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[19] The Lives of the Monks of Palestine by Cyril of Scythopolis, transl. R. M. Price. Kalamazoo, MI 1991, 1–83; J. Binns, Ascetics and Ambassadors of Christ: the Monasteries of Palestine, 314–631. Oxford 1996, 34–35. Cyril was writing at the end of the sixth century, not long before the brutal Persian conquest of Jerusalem in 614 that was to mark a deep hiatus in the life of the region, despite Heraklios' efforts.

[20] J. McGuckin, Aliens and Citizens of Elsewhere: Xeniteia in East Christian Monastic Literature, in: Strangers to Themselves: the Byzantine Outsider, Papers from the Thirty-Second Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Sussex, Brighton, March 1998, ed. D. C. Smythe. Aldershot 2000, 23–38.

[21] Transl.: "And straightaway he piously wrapped the cross and fittingly having paid honor to it, he went and put it back or, rather, he dedicated it in the church." (Psellos, Or. 5, ll. 517–519 [251 Fisher])

[22] P. Canivet, Le "Michaelion" de Huarte et le culte des anges en Syrie. *Byzantion* 50, 1 (1980) 85–117; Fisher, Nicomedia or Galatia? 184. Psellos twice calls the place a σηκός, which can mean both sacred precinct and burial ground.

[23] Transl.: "The emperor placed or better 'set up [for adoration]' the cross in the church. For he was about to 'translate' it and to take it with him to the megalopolis." (Psellos, Or. 5, ll. 158–163 [238 Fisher]).

For Heraklios, the refusal of the cross to budge from the church at Sykeon thwarted his plans to take it with him to the capital. Psellos captures the changes through the variation in the verb, designating at first a temporary placing (τίθημι – *tithemi*) and then settling for a longer-term location, where the cross was set up for worship (ἀνατίθημι – *anatithemi*). Heraklios' subverted hopes are further marked by another matching pair of verbs of "taking": the first one, μετακομίζομαι – *metakomizomai*, bears a technical connotation and is used specifically for the translation of relics, while the second, μετατίθημι – *metatithemi*, more generically indicates a change of place, meaning "taking with". In this case, this group of verbs echoing each other underlines the emotional impact of the change imposed on the emperor by the relic's own idiosyncratic wishes.

According to Psellos, Heraklios was carrying his 'trophy' of victory over the Persians back with him to Constantinople, when he stopped at Sykeon[24]. The meaning of the term 'trophy' has a broad semantic range. As something conquered as a mark of victory, it can concretely translate into a set of disparate objects. In the appropriate context, it can even refer to the bodies of the martyrs or to the containers of their relics[25]. It becomes clear from this passage, however, that Heraklios must be holding the relic he is most famous for, namely, that of the True Cross. During this stop, Heraklios temporarily placed the holy cross in the church at Sykeon dedicated to the Theotokos. However, when he tried to pick it up again to carry it with him to its final destination, Constantinople, the cross refused to move beyond that spot, which became the permanent setting for it, apparently up to Psellos' own time.

Psellos draws a lively vignette of the tug-of-war between cross and emperor in the vain struggle to drag it further, likening the cross to a rocky promontory unshaken by the crashing waves[26]. Thus, surrendering to such show of power from the object itself, the emperor was forced to acknowledge its will to remain at Sykeon to be venerated there.

What cross was this trophy, if not the "True Cross"? This seems to be the obvious conclusion, though this inference was carefully avoided by both Mango and Fisher. Evidently, Psellos' narrative contradicts all accounts of the arrival of the True Cross in Constantinople in 630 or 631, after Heraklios' several failed attempts to return it safely back to Jerusalem[27]. In vain would we therefore seek news about the True Cross at Sykeon in current scholarship[28]. Nevertheless, a topographical location named "Timiou Stavrou" is in fact recorded in the ancient map of Galatia[29]. Psellos could be availing himself of such local knowledge. Although the story speaks clearly about Heraklios, Psellos nowhere states explicitly that this is the "true" cross. Cunningly, though, he raises the possibility that some people would indeed not be able to believe in the "truth" of his story[30]. What are we to make of

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[24] ὁ δὲ γε Ἡράκλειος τοὺς γενναίους κατὰ τῶν Περσῶν ἄθλους διηνυκὼς καὶ μέγιστον κατ'ἐκείνων ἀνειληφὼς τρόπαιον ἐπὶ τὴν ῥωμαίων ἐπάνεισι γῆν τροπαιοφόρος ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ μυρίαις νίκαις κατεστεμμένος τὴν κεφαλήν. (Psellos, Or. 5, ll. 121–125 [236 Fisher]) Transl.: "And Heraklios, having brought to an end the contests against the Persians and having recovered the greatest 'trophy' from them returned to the land of the Romans truly as a trophy-bearer and crowned with a myriad victories."

[25] J. Bernardi, Le mot ΤΡΟΠΑΙΟΝ appliqué aux martyrs. *Vigiliae christianae* 8, 2 (1954), 174–175. See also G. Noga-Banai, The Trophies of the Martyrs: an Art-Historical Study of Early Christian Silver Reliquaries. Oxford 2008.

[26] Καὶ οἱ μὲν πάσαις ἐχρῶντο δυνάμεσι, χερσὶν ἕλκοντες, ποσὶν ἀντερείδοντες, ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν ἧττον εἱστήκει ὥσπερ τις πρόβολος πέτρα τοῖς ἐμπίπτουσιν ἀτίνακτος κύμασι. (Psellos, Or. 5, ll. 169–171 [238 Fisher]).

[27] L. van Tongeren, Exaltation of the Cross: Toward the Origins of the Feast of the Cross and the Meaning of the Cross in Early Medieval Liturgy (*Liturgia Condenda* 11). Leuven 2000, 58.

[28] The literature on this question is, of course, vast. Notably, there is no entry for Sykeon in the index to H. A. Klein, Byzanz, der Westen und das 'wahre' Kreuz: Die Geschichte einer Reliquie und ihrer künstlerischen Fassung in Byzanz und im Abendland, Spätantike, Frühes Christentum (*Byzanz. Studien und Perspektiven* 17). Wiesbaden 2004.

[29] See *TIB* 4, Galatien und Lykaonien, ed. K. Belke – M. Restle. Vienna 1984, 235: "Timios Stauros ist jedoch … von dem in Siricha in Kappadokien (TIB 2) verehrten Kreuz (stauros, timios stauros) zu trennen." It lies in East Galatia, but the precise location is unknown. I owe this information to Warren Treadgold, who had the patience to read an earlier version of this paper.

[30] This phrase strictly refers to belief in the miracles of the cross, rather than to the cross itself: Psellos, Or. 5, ll. 198–203 (239 Fisher).

Psellos' rhetoric? Can we simply ignore this myth when writing about the True Cross of Heraklios? Is Psellos mocking us, as he did his contemporaries?

HERAKLIOS' FOUNDATION AT SYKEON

Psellos constructs a detailed narrative around the event of Heraklios' return stop at Sykeon, elaborating it into a foundation myth. According to Mango, Psellos' attribution of the site's foundation to Heraklios rests on the historical fact that Heraklios stopped at Sykeon in 613 on the way to Jerusalem. The emperor's meeting with the local saint, Theodore, is recorded in the latter's *Life*[31].

Heraklios' visits to Galatia, made en route to Jerusalem from Constantinople and vice-versa, delineated his profile as defender of Byzantium against the Persians. It is a parallel role that Psellos seeks to outline in the present via his flash-backs to Heraklios' time. Since Heraklios had promised Saint Theodore, on that first occasion[32], to stop at Sykeon again on his way back, he did so in 628 after his victory over the Persian king Chosroes II. Apparently Heraklios' previous defeat had been caused by his refusal, during a hasty departure, to accept 'eulogia' from Saint Theodore, while his victory eventually came to fulfill the saint's promises of success.

Part of the purpose of the encounters of the saint with Heraklios in the *Life* is to enact a *rapprochement* between the saint and this emperor, redressing Theodore's previous support for the Phokas ruling family which became unwelcome at Heraklios' accession. Among the episodes that support this transition, the one dealing with the donation of a golden cross interests us here. The cross was given to Theodore by Domnitziolos or Komentiolos, a general leading troops through Anatolia and a relative of the emperor Phokas, who had usurped the throne in 602. Komentiolos gave the cross as a gift to the saint in gratitude for Theodore's help in military campaigns. Theodore went on to protect his devotee when his life was in danger at the accession of Heraklios[33]. This situation almost perfectly mirrors that of the rebellious Roussel. As Kaegi puts it,

> "Presumably Komentiolos feared for his own life, … so he saw little future for himself if he surrendered or came to a negotiated settlement. He also had no hope of fleeing to the Persians, who had announced a strong opposition to the Phokas regime. Hence his desperate if senseless effort to prolong resistance to the newly established regime of Heraclius. He probably hoped to see if other opposition rose against it. But even his brief interlude of separate power caused a potential crisis and complicated any Heraclian efforts to make peace with the Persians and to gain control of the Byzantine armies that were in a position to resist the Persians. St Theodore of Sykeon predicted what occurred: his swift end. The Persians … made the most of their opportunity."[34]

Neither the central nor the peripheral landscapes had changed several centuries on. In the eleventh century, when Psellos was writing, the mountainous region surrounding Ankyra, with its impetuous

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[31] Mango, La Croix 48; see W. E. Kaegi, Heraclius: Emperor of Byzantium. Cambridge – New York 2003, 73; A. J. Festugière, Vie de Théodore de Sykéôn (*Subsidia hagiographica* 48). 2 vols. Bruxelles 1970, ch. 155, I: 125–6, II: 130–1. The translation by E. Dawes – N. H. Baynes stops at ch. 148 where Heraklios is mentioned only as a chronological point of reference: "This holy, thriceblessed and saintly servant and faithful follower of Christ, Theodore, died in the third year [613 CE] of the reign of our pious and Christloving Emperor, Heraclius, and in the first year of the reign of his divinely protected and divinely crowned son Heraclius, the new Constantine, the eternal Augusti and Emperors, in the first indiction in the month of April at dawn of the twentysecond day, a Sunday, it being the first Sunday after Easter" (Three Byzantine Saints: Contemporary Biographies of St. Daniel the Stylite, St. Theodore of Sykeon and St. John the Almsgiver. London 1948). Fisher is more cautious in attributing historical value to this meeting (Fisher, Nicomedia or Galatia? 177 and n. 8).

[32] See ch. 166; Festugière, Vie de Théodore, I: 153–154; II: 157–158.

[33] C. Rapp, Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity: the Nature of Christian Leadership in an Age of Transition. Berkeley 2005, 163.

[34] Kaegi, Heraclius 55.

rivers, still provided the backdrop for similar military actions, while the Seljuk Turks, closing in on these territories, played a parallel game of alliances with both Normans and Byzantines in turn, to draw from their internecine contrasts the greatest advantage. Just as at the time of Heraklios, when St Theodore had threatened to foster the seedbed of dissent to the Byzantine ruler, so in the eleventh century Sykeon and the area surrounding it had been at the center of a rebellious movement against Michael VII. Moreover, just as St Theodore had then played both a prophetic and an apotropaic role against the Persians, so the political contrasts of Psellos' time presented similar dynamics, which the object-subject cross could represent with like power and significance.

THE MIRACULOUS FIRE

After the experience of the immoveable cross, the emperor Heraklios was dismayed by the occurrence of a great miraculous fire that took place at the church while he was still there[35]. The fire is at the same time cathartic, as it cleanses the premises, and miraculous, since despite the conflagration the places themselves are not destroyed by it. For this latter feature, Psellos likens it to Moses' burning bush[36]. One may point out that the typology of Roussel's seal featured the clipeate image of the orans Mary, which is the same as that represented in the icons of Mary in the Burning Bush[37]. The comparison is appropriate because of the Marian denomination of the church that Psellos underlines in his oration. Further, the agency of Michael is perceived in the kindling of the miraculous fire of Moses' bush[38], as it was in the archangel's agency through the cross at Sykeon:

> Καὶ ὥσπερ ἐπὶ θεμελίῳ τῷ θείῳ σχήματι, εἰπεῖν δὲ καὶ ἀγγελωνύμῳ, ἐπικοσμεῖ μὲν καὶ τῇ θεομήτορι τὸν νεών, οἰκοδομεῖ δὲ καὶ τῷ ἀρχαγγέλῳ οἶκον εὐκτήριον.[39]

The connection between Michael, Heraklios and the cross is made visible in a miniature from a lectionary from Mont-Saint-Michel dated 1060[40]. The miniature shows Heraklios receiving the True Cross from an oversized archangel standing on the walls of Jerusalem. While giving the cross at Sykeon a prestigious ancestry through the choice of Heraklios may have been obvious in the Byzantine context, this combination found in Northern France alerts us to the network active through the confederation

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[35] See G. Peers, Subtle Bodies: Representing Saints in Byzantium. Berkeley 2001, 171–175. Peers offers one of the rare English translations of the fire miracle passage. He remarks that "the ambiguity of Michael's appearance is … noteworthy… Michael's will … asserts itself through a kind of immanence and an effect on the shrine that purifies through invisible contact with the Archangel" (175). For the question of the legitimacy of the cult of angels in Christianity, see ibid., 126–141.

[36] Εἰ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὴν θείαν ἐκείνην βάτον ἀντισυγκρίνοι τὸ ἐνταῦθα γινόμενον, οὐκ ἂν παρ' ἔλαττον ἔλθοι τοῦ εἰκότος· μήποτε γὰρ καὶ τότε ἀγγελικὸν πῦρ τὸ ἄφλεκτον ἐκεῖνο φυτὸν κατεφλογίζεν. (Psellos, Or. 5, ll. 217–219 [240 Fisher]) Transl.: "Should one wish to compare what happened there to that famous divine bush [of Moses], one would not come too far from likelihood; for perhaps also then it was an angelic fire that burned the unburnable plant." See Exodus 3:1–17.

[37] Schlumberger, Deux chefs normands 296. On the typology of Mary as the Burning Bush, see K. Linardou, Depicting the Salvation: Typological Images of Mary in the Kokkinobaphos Manuscripts, in: The Cult of the Mother of God in Byzantium: Texts and Images, ed. L. Brubaker – M. Cunningham. Farnham 2011, 133–149, at 139–141 and nn. 36–37. An eleventh-century example is found in the striking series of Marian typologies in the Smyrna Physiologos: see M. Bernabò – R. Tarasconi – G. Peers, Il Fisiologo di Smirne. Le miniature del perduto codice della Biblioteca della Scuola Evangelica di Smirne. Florence 1998, 61–62 fig. 81.

[38] The presence of the angel is warranted by the biblical narrative and depicted in the twelfth-century Octateuchs: Linardou, Depicting the Salvation, 139 n. 29. See also the reference to Pantaleon Diaconus, Encomion in Michael, *PG* 98, 1262C1–5, given in the *apparatus fontium* of Fisher's edition *ad loc*. I once more thank Marianne Wifstrand Schiebe for having drawn my attention to this source.

[39] Transl.: "And as if [using this] as a foundation, [Heraklios] adorned the church dedicated to the Mother of God with the divine sign [i.e. the cross] named after the angel [Michael], and he also built a shrine to the archangel." (Psellos, Or. 5, ll. 206–209 [240 Fisher]).

[40] B. Baert, Héraclius, l'Exaltation de la Croix et le Mont-Saint-Michel au XIe s. Une lecture attentive du ms. 641 de la Pierpont Morgan Library à New York. *Cahiers de civilization médiévale* 51 (2008) 3–20.

of monasteries dedicated to the archangel, among which Mont-Saint-Michel in the northernmost part of Normandy was a signal exponent. The Norman abbey was keen to preserve its autonomy from the papal reformers, even sending its unwanted abbot, whose task was to enforce reform, on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the middle of the eleventh century[41]. Thus, capturing an aspect of these relations between Michaelite foundations operative between Northern France and the Middle East may have been part of the inspiration behind Psellos' oration. Such a background would have played a determinant role in the local support for the claims of the Norman Roussel to usurp the Byzantine throne.

THE MONASTERY AT SYKEON

Taking the cue from the angelic denomination, Psellos adds that Heraklios, furthermore, founded a monastery on that site:

> Καὶ ἵνα πρὸς τὸ θαῦμα διαμιλλήσηται, καὶ Ναζιραίων ἐνταῦθα ἐφιστάνει χοροστασίαν, ὥσπερ τάξεις ἀγγελικὰς ἐπὶ γῆς τῷ ἀρχαγγέλῳ ποιούμενος καὶ ψυχὰς αὐτῷ ἀνθρωπίνας ἀναπτερῶν καὶ μεταβιβάζων πρὸς τὸν θεόν· καὶ ἡ ὀφθεῖσα πρὶν φλὸξ ταῖς τῶν ἀσκούντων ἐκεῖσε καρδίαις εἰσέτι ἐνάπτεται καὶ πάντα τούτοις ὁ ἀρχάγγελος γίνεται.[42]

In constructing a continuity between the far-gone past of Heraklian times and the present predicament, Psellos is careful in choosing his words. He uses his favorite designation for monks, the Nazirites, a term which may in the context not be as neutral as commonly perceived[43]. Moreover, he stresses the theme of angelic life in describing the monks at Sykeon as a winged choir. Psellos stresses the monks' purity in an attempt to lift up the resident community to a level of irreproachable spirituality and well-intentioned direction of souls.

Psellos elaborates upon the imagery of the flame kindled by the fire, now transformed into a spiritual flame in the heart of each monk burning with the love of God. Flames are an important theme for our philosopher-monk and the use of this imagery can be retraced in his writings. It places this community, if not also Psellos himself, in a well-defined but not uncontroversial tradition of Eastern "mysticism", together with his contemporaries, Symeon the New Theologian and Niketas Stethatos[44].

TROUBLESOME INTIMATIONS

Asia Minor was not only the theater for Roussel's rebellious feats but was also famously a breeding-ground for heresies. Psellos has a double-headed hydra to fight against in order to affirm the site as a stronghold of Byzantine power and orthodox faith. This affirmation was key to providing the region,

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[41] C. Potts, Monastic Revival and Regional Identity in Early Normandy (*Studies in the History of Medieval Religion* 11). Woodbridge 1997, 99–102.

[42] Transl.: "And as if to contend with the prodigy, he established there also a choir of monks, setting up, as it were, angelic ranks on earth for the archangel and giving wings for him to human souls and making them turn towards God. And the flame that was formerly seen is still now kindled inside the hearts of those who practice the ascetic life there and the archangel is everything for them." (Psellos, Or. 5, ll. 209–215 [240 Fisher]).

[43] On this term, see M. Bacci, The Many Faces of Christ: Portraying the Holy in the East and West, 300 to 1300. London 2014, 118 n. 229. The Jewish background to this word may be relevant to a context where the cult of Michael is in the substratum; see also the following note. For the use in Psellos, see A. Kaldellis, The Argument of Psellos' Chronographia. Leiden 1999, 84, together with my comment in B. Crostini, Eleventh-Century Monasticism between Politics and Spirituality, in: Being in Between: Byzantium in the Eleventh Century: Proceedings of the 45th Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Oxford, ed. by M. Lauxtermann – M. Whittow. London 2017, 216–230, at 226.

[44] A. Golitizin, Earthly Angels and Heavenly Men: the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, Niketas Stethatos, and the Tradition of "Interiorized Apocalyptic" in Eastern Christian Ascetical and Mystical Literature. *DOP* 55 (2001) 125–53, esp. 131, 137.

with strong ties to Constantinople, with the necessary ideological background to secure its defense against Turkish encroachment.

Somewhere in Lykaonia was situated the dubious foundation of Morokampos[45], where at the end of the tenth century the founder Eleutherios, despite various suspicions about his ethics and beliefs, underwent a process of canonization that spelled trouble in the Constantinopolitan church. The case was examined under the patriarch Alexios Stoudites. It expanded into condemnations of "mystics" such as Symeon Stoudites and his disciple, Symeon the New Theologian, whether justifiably or not. According to Gouillard, for example, "En criant au Messalianisme, l'épiscopat confondait un courant profond d'expérience spirituelle avec une de ses variants de fâcheux renom, et qu'au demeurant il connaissait mal à travers des compilations d'hérésiologues."[46] It is possible that the shrine at Sykeon and its monastic community had fallen under similar suspicions.

Indirect proof of the potential for equivocation comes from a later source which reports the bogus miracles of a famous cross. The trial of two 'Bogomil' bishops recorded in 1143 somewhere in Cappadocia includes among the charges "that, as concerns the holy cross of the Archistrategos [of the heavenly host], they claimed that the many miracles which it performs result from diabolic activity" (τὸ περὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ τοῦ Μεγάλου Ἀρχιστρατήγου ἀπειροπληθῆ ποιοῦντος θαυμασία λέγειν ὅτι ἐκ διαβολικῆς ἐνεργείας ταῦτα ποιεῖ)[47]. While Gouillard consistently underplays the evidence from these Acts as providing any convincing links with Bogomilism[48], the document has nonetheless merited inclusion in an anthology of texts concerning such dualist heresies[49]. So far, none of the scholars who have studied this document and referred to the miraculous cross mentioned therein have identified this object[50]. Only Bernard Hamilton, in a footnote, tentatively suggested its location at the Michaelic sanctuary at Chonai[51]. It is now possible to propose an alternative identification with the holy cross at the church of the Theotokos and the shrine of St Michael at Sykeon described in the Fifth Hagiographical Oration by Michael Psellos. We may understand, however, why Psellos had to be so careful in formulating the legitimacy of this dedication of the cross to Michael. Moreover, he goes to great lengths in certifying how its miraculous powers are due to the overlapping dedication of the cross to the archangel[52].

In her article, Elizabeth Fisher is at pains to explain why in this oration Psellos is intent on making the case, plainly absurd in the face of tradition, that Sykeon is the most important shrine to Michael, when Chonai should clearly be the pre-eminent one in that region[53]. Fisher tries to explain this incongruous attitude by detecting parallel trajectories in the miracles of St Theodore of Sykeon, comparing this hagiography with the choice of episodes of Psellos' narrative. In pointing to these similarities, she detects a kind of "holy rivalry" between the local saint, Theodore, and the cult of Michael the archangel with its miraculous cross at the same site. According to Fisher, in trying to negotiate a delicate balance between these rival powers through his sophisticated rhetoric, Psellos ends up overstating the case for this secondary Michaelic shrine, in which he had vested interests.

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[45] The name has a curious Latin-Greek etymology unusually reported in the Acts of the trial: J. Gouillard, Quatre procès de mystiques à Byzance (vers 960–1143). Inspiration et autorité. *REB* 36 (1978), 5–81, at 47 n. 6.

[46] Gouillard, Quatre procès 19.

[47] Gouillard, Quatre procès 68–81 at 74.

[48] Gouillard, Quatre procès 39–43.

[49] J. Hamilton – B. Hamiton – Y. Stoyanov, Christian Dualist Heresies in the Byzantine World, c. 650–c. 1450. Selected Sources (*Manchester Medieval Sources Series*). Manchester 1998, 218 n. 10.

[50] Gouillard, Quatre procès 4, refers to it as "l'énigmatique « croix du grand archistratège »".

[51] Gouillard, Quatre procès 218 n. 10.

[52] The overlap of the Michaelic power with that of the cross can perhaps be visualized as the winged cross that appears to St Francis of Assisi in the stigmata iconography in early medieval Italy. See for example Jan van Eyck, Saint Francis of Assisi Receiving the Stigmata, c. 1430–1432, Sabauda Gallery, Turin, Italy.

[53] Fisher, Nicomedia or Galatia? 181–183.

The relationship between this oration and the *Life* of St Theodore of Sykeon is undoubtedly worth pursuing further, if perhaps in a slightly different direction[54]. In particular, the similar defensive power against the 'Persians' was passed on from Theodore's body to that of the True Cross and vice-versa, in an intricate game of relic-power that only further study can disentangle[55]. But the historical context suggests a more straightforward answer to the need to establish Sykeon's preeminence over Chonai as a Michaelic shrine: while the sanctuary at Chonai had been the center of Michaelic cult in the region, it had, by then, succumbed to destruction at the hands of the Turks who had conquered this area in 1070[56]. Psellos' task is therefore to support Sykeon's ascendancy by providing a plausible, but also powerfully significant, etiology for the origins of this shrine and its dedication to Michael. He does this by affirming that its founder was none other than the emperor Heraklios[57]. He also takes care to explain how the cult of the archangel overlaps with, or is seen through, the agency of the cross.

By looking at the text in this way, it also becomes clear that the tension that Fisher had sensed between local saint and archangel was more likely based on an uneasy awareness of the monastic community's recent involvement in local political affairs. In conclusion, by focusing on this shrine rather than any other, Psellos is not only affirming Sykeon as a pivotal center in Seljuk-besieged Anatolia, but he is also staking a claim for the continuing Byzantine presence in that area based on its venerable Christian tradition.

PSELLOS AT THE BYZANTINE COURT

Psellos' close friend and colleague, Michael Attaleiates, was openly supportive of the Norman Roussel of Bailleul and of his plans to establish a semi-independent principate on Byzantine lands in Anatolia, on the model of the Norman conquest of Southern Italy[58]. As we have seen, Roussel had become an honorary Byzantine and received noble titles that would have made him fit to claim power in the empire. Psellos' shifting allegiances are more difficult to pinpoint. In 1072, Psellos was negotiating the marriage alliance with Robert Guiscard on behalf of Michael VII. In the two letter drafts written for the emperor to this end, he stressed "Michael's pacifism … and his wish for alliance and *philia* with likeminded Christian rulers like Guiscard"[59]. Finally, there is no evidence of Psellos' association with the following emperor, Nikephoros Botaneiates[60]. Although the absence of positive

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[54] Fisher's strategy has been questioned by Peers, Subtle Bodies 174–178. Peers also pointed to more cogent comparisons with other narratives.

[55] This study depends on the text of Theodore's translation to Constantinople (*BHG* 1749): C. Kirch, Nicephori sceuophylacis encomium in S. Theodorum Siceotam. *AB* 20 (1901) 249–72. The work is found in only one manuscript written at the Prodromos Petra Monastery in Constantinople in the second quarter of the twelfth century: Monac. gr. 3 (*Diktyon* 44446), fols. 65^{v}–80^{r}.

[56] A. D. Beihammer, Byzantium and the Emergence of Muslim-Turkish Anatolia, c. 1040–1130 (*Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Studies*). London – New York 2017, 151 and n. 91: "the Turkish invaders reached the westernmost point of their incursion in Asia Minor, namely the city of Chonai (Honaz) in the Upper Meander Valley, where the famous church of the Archangel Michael was pillaged and partly destroyed."; I have not considered the Michaelic shrine at Germia, about which see now Ph. Niewöhner – K. Rheidt, Die Michaelskirche in Germia (Galatien, Türkei). Ein kaiserlicher Wallfahrtsort und sein provinzielles Umfeld. *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 6/1 (2010) 137–160.

[57] Kaegi, Heraclius. See also J. Howard-Johnston, The Official History of Heraclius' Persian Campaigns (in Memory of L. Sternbach), in: The Roman and Byzantine Army in the East, Proceedings of a Colloquium held at the Jagiellonian University, Krakow, ed. E. Dabrowa. Cracow 1994, 57–87. Howard-Johnston considers the picture of Heraklios as defender of Christians and the narrative of his Persian campaigns as "a generally reliable historical account" (82).

[58] Krallis, Michael Attaleiates 161–163, tries to minimize Attaleiates' support by limiting his appreciation to the function Roussel had as a bulwark against the Turkish threat. Nonetheless, Attaleiates seems to endorse Roussel even in his campaign as a rebel against Michael VII Doukas, whose ineffective rule was widely criticized.

[59] Epp. S 143–144, summarized in M. Jeffreys – M. Lauxtermann, The Letters of Psellos: Cultural Networks and Historical Realities. Oxford 2017, 380.

[60] S. Papaioannou, Michael Psellos: Rhetoric and Authorship in Byzantium. Cambridge 2013, 13 and n. 37. Papaioannou discusses the arguments for and against Psellos' identification with Michael of Nikomedia, citing A. Kaldellis, The Date of

evidence does not necessarily indicate hostility, it could reinforce the possibility of Psellos' negative stance towards the establishment expressed in a veiled manner in this oration.

While Psellos casts indirect doubt on the wisdom of the Byzantines in antagonizing such a strong ally as Roussel, his diplomacy, working through the rhetoric of this oration, is still aimed at consolidating Byzantine claims on Anatolia. He does so by creating an etiology, via Heraklios, for a healing shrine and its monastery threatened by the uncertain fate in the region in the last quarter of the eleventh century.

CONCLUSION

In his oration on the cross of the Archangel Michael, Psellos has at heart the status of the monastic community at Sykeon, to whom, it has been suggested, he himself might have belonged[61]. By identifying the unnamed usurper with Roussel de Bailleul, a chronology for the oration can be established with greater precision. It must date sometime after Roussel's defeat on the River Sangarios in 1074. Fisher's suggestion that Psellos used this monastery as his refuge after being dismissed from the court of Michael VII would fit both this dating and the broader purpose of the piece as outlined in this paper.

Fisher notes that the oration displays "an exact and detailed knowledge of the church described". She concludes:

> "It is tempting to hypothesize that Psellos left Constantinople and took up residence at the monastery of the Church of the Archangel Michael in Galatia, at once placing himself at a considerable distance from the imperial court and also gaining the protection of the Archangel whose name Michael Psellos himself bore."[62]

Ignoring in his narrative the cult of the local saint, St Theodore, and concentrating instead on the church of the Theotokos with the miraculous cross dedicated to the archangel and the annexed Michaelion, Psellos supported the activity of the community by celebrating the miracles at this site. By inserting at the end of his narrative the intriguing story of the theft of the cross, with its many layers of historical allusion and significance, Psellos may have hinted at his own sympathies for the Norman rebel, Roussel of Bailleul, whom he must have known from the court at Constantinople. The story also veiled the support of the local population, including its monastic community, for the "usurper". Psellos' aim in the oration was therefore also that of redeeming the local establishment from accusations of disloyalty in the aftermath of the Byzantine clamp-down on Asia Minor. Psellos' oration raised a strong voice in support of Byzantium's desperate attempt not to lose its grip on this vital hinterland for Constantinople[63].

Psellos' Death, Once Again: Psellos Was Not the Michael of Nikomedeia Mentioned by Attaleiates. *BZ* 104 (2011) 651–664, for the absence of evidence of Psellos' association with Botaneiates. On Botaneiates' early career, see O. Karagiorgou, On the Way to the Throne: the Career of Nikephoros III Botaneiates before 1078, in: Hypermachos: Studien zu Byzantinistik, Armenologie und Georgistik. Festschrift für Werner Seibt zum 65. Geburtstag, ed. C. Stavrakos – A.-K. Wassiliou – M. K. Krikorian. Wiesbaden 2008, 105–132, at 131; for his claims of descent from the Phokades, and in general questions of veridicity of such genealogical claims, see N. Leidholm, Nikephoros III Botaneiates, the Phokades, and the Fabii: Embellished Genealogies and Contested Kinship in Eleventh-Century Byzantium. *BMGS* 42, 2 (2018) 185–201.

[61] Halkin in the review of E. Kurtz – F. Drexl, Michaelis Pselli Scripta Minora. Milan 1936. *AnBoll* 55 (1937) 407, also discusses the disputed question of Psellos' origins from Nicomedia.

[62] Fisher, Nicomedia or Galatia? 186.

[63] On aspects of this vital symbiosis one can still refer to the seminal volume, Constantinople and Its Hinterland, Papers from the Twenty-Seventh Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Oxford, April 1993, ed. by C. Mango – G. Dagron. London 1995.

APPENDIX: THE THEFT OF THE HOLY CROSS AT SYKEON

(Michael Psellos, Or. hag. 5, ll. 472–519 [249–251 Fisher])

Οὐδὲν ἄρα χεῖρον γνώμης θρασείας καὶ πάντα τολμώσης. ὥσπερ γάρ τισι τῶν ἀπίστων ἐθνῶν καὶ ἱστορεῖται παρὰ τοῖς Κέλτοις τοῦτο, ὅτι οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς τῶν πάντων φοβερὸν καὶ ἀπόρρητον, ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲν μέλον αὐτοῖς, εἰ καὶ πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐπιτοξάσαιντο, βεβηλοῦσί τε θυσιαστήρια καὶ ποσὶν ἀνάγνοις ἱερὸν κατακροτοῦσιν ἔδαφος, οὕτω δή τις ἀνὴρ τῶν οὐ πολὺ πρὸ ἡμῶν τὴν οἴκησιν ἐνταῦθα λαχών, Εὐθύμιος τοὔνομα, πρᾶγμά τι τολμᾷ φρικωδέστατον·	There is nothing worse than a bold resolve that dares anything. Just as among some of the pagan nations it is also told among the Celts, that there is nothing that is for them frightening or forbidden, nor do they care if they shoot arrows against the sky, and defile the holy sacrifices and trample with dirty feet over the sacred earth. And so it was that a certain man among those who happened to live here not too long before us, called Euthymios, dared a most terrible deed.
Τυραννίδος γάρ (ἵν᾽ οὕτως εἴπω) καταρραγείσης τῷ τηνικαῦτα κρατοῦντι τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς ὁ δεινὸς οὗτος ἀνήρ, δέον προσκεῖσθαι τῷ αὐτοκράτορι καὶ εὐμενῶς ἔχειν, εἰ μή τι ἄλλο, εὐχὰς ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου ποιούμενος, ἤ (τό γε μετριώτερον) τῷ καθ᾽ ἑαυτὸν βίῳ ἐφησυχάζειν, ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν ἀντιταλαντεύσας τὰς γνώμας εὐθὺς ὅλοις ἱστίοις πρὸς τὸν τυραννήσαντα φέρεται.	For while the tyranny had cracked (so to speak) for the one who held at that time power over the Romans, this wretched man, who should have been bound by devotion to this ruler to be supportive of him, if not through anything else, by praying for him, or (something even more moderate) by remaining inoperative in his own private life, without weighing up his intentions immediately set off at full sail towards the usurper.
Καὶ ἵνα μετὰ χρηστοτέρου τούτῳ συνθήματος παραγένοιτο, λαθραίως ἔνδον τοῦ ναοῦ γενόμενος ἱεροσυλεῖ τὸν θεῖον σταυρόν, συμμαχικὴν ὄντως καὶ ἀκαταμάχητον δύναμιν κομιούμενος τοῦτον τῷ τυραννήσαντι.	In order to stand by him with a more propitious military standard, [Euthymios] secretly introduced himself in the temple and sacrilegiously stole the divine cross, intending to provide the cross as a truly powerful and invincible ally for the usurper.
Εἰς γοῦν πήραν ἐνθεὶς ὥσπερ ἄλλο τι τῶν εὐκολωτάτων τὴν πρὸς ἐκεῖνον διῆει. ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς τῷ Σαγγάρει ποταμῷ ἐγεγόνει, ξεναγεῖ τοῦτον ἀνὴρ τῷ ὄντι θεοσεβὴς καὶ τὰ θεῖα πεπαιδευμένος τιμᾶν, ὥς γε ἡ πρᾶξις παρέστησε. ὡς γὰρ τὸν ἄνδρα ἐν τῇ ξενίᾳ καταγαγὼν ἀνέπαυσε καὶ τὰ τοῦ φόρτου αὐτῷ διετίθετο καὶ ἐν καλῷ ἐτίθετο, ἐπειδὴ αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐσπούδαστο πήρα, ἤχου τινὸς ἀθρόον ᾐσθάνετο· καὶ τοῦτο καταπλαγεὶς τὸν ἱερόσυλον ἤρετο·	So placing it in his pouch like any other ordinary object, he set off on the way towards him. But when he arrived at the Sangarios river, a truly pious man who was well instructed to honor divine things received him as a guest, as the matter went. For as he led the man into the hostel, he let him rest and arranged his luggage and placed it properly; and when the pouch of the man came into his care, he immediately perceived a kind of sound. Astonished by this, he asked the sacrilegious thief:
“Μή τί γε, ἄνθρωπε, θεῖον ἐνταῦθα κατακρύπτεις σταυρὸν ἢ τοῦ θείου καταφρονῶν σχήματος;”	“Sir, you don’t hide here a divine cross, or are treating the divine image with contempt?”

Ὁ δὲ πάντα δεινὸς ἐκεῖνος καὶ ἀναιδὴς τὴν ψυχὴν μηδὲν τοιοῦτον ἔχειν ἐν τῇ πήρᾳ ἐπώμνυτο. ὁ δὲ θεῖος τύπος αὖθις ὑπήχει· καὶ ὁ ξενίσας τὸν ἀσεβῆ ἔτι μᾶλλον περιεργότερον ἐζήτει τὸ πρᾶγμα· καὶ τοῦ θύλακος πυκνῶς ἐφαπτόμενος, εἶτα δὴ καὶ διελὼν τὸν θεῖον ἑωράκει σταυρόν, εἴδεσί τισιν αἰσχίστοις ἀτιμαζόμενον, ἃ δὴ ἐπικαλύμματα τούτῳ ἐπέκειτο.	But the man, being completely evil and shameless, swore that he had nothing of the sort in his pouch. But the divine image again cried out. And the host even more inquisitively asked the impious man about the matter. And grasping the bundle closely, he opened it and saw the divine cross, although dishonored by some ugly shapes, which he had placed in order to disguise it.
Ἔγνω γοῦν αὐτίκα, ὡς ἱερόσυλος ὁ δεινὸς ἐκεῖνος ἀνὴρ ἐτύγχανεν ὤν. καὶ δεινῷ πρὸς τοῦτον ἀπιδὼν βλέμματι, "ὦ πάντα", ἔφησε, "τολμηρὲ καὶ τὴν γνώμην παντάπασιν ἀναιδέστατε, ἔστω, κέκλοφας τὸν σταυρόν· τί δὲ καὶ οὕτως ἠτίμωκας; τί δὲ τῷ κακῷ κακὸν προστέθεικας ἕτερον; ἔδει μὲν οὖν αὐτίκα σε ποιῆσαι καταφανῆ καὶ πολλοῖς ἐτάσαι κολαστηρίοις· ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ οὐκ οἶδα, εἰ κατὰ γνώμην τοῦτο τυγχάνει τῷ μεγάλῳ ἀρχιστρατήγῳ, οὗ δὴ σὺ τὸν νεὼν σεσύληκας, ὥσπερ διωμολογήκοτα σὲ μὲν ἀφίημι τῶν ἐλέγχων καὶ τῶν ἐτάσεων, ἐγὼ δὲ τὸν θεῖον σταυρὸν ἀποδώσω τῷ νεῷ ἀφικόμενος."	At once, he immediately recognized that that terrible man was a sacrilegious robber. And gazing at him with a scourging look (the host) said: "O totally daring and shameless in counsel, it's true, you have stolen the cross! Why did you dishonor it in this way? Why did you add evil to evil? It should indeed be necessary to reveal you and to inflict on you many punishments. But since I do not know if this has happened with the consent of the great Archistrategos, whose temple you have robbed, as if you had confessed I will avoid the interrogations and the penalties: but I will return the divine cross to the church when I go there."
Καὶ αὐτίκα τὸ σχῆμα ἱερῶς περιπτύξας καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῶς τῷ ὄντι τετιμηκὼς ἐλθὼν ἀποτίθησιν ἢ ἀνατίθησι τῷ νεῷ.	And straightaway he piously wrapped the cross and fittingly having paid honor to it, he went and put it back or, rather, he set it up in the church.

JAHRBUCH DER ÖSTERREICHISCHEN BYZANTINISTIK, 69. Band/2019, 113–133
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DOI: 10.1553/joeb69S113

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The Church of All-the-Saints (*olim* St Theophanô) at the Holy Apostles: a Reappraisal of the Dossier of Sources[*]

with nine figures

Abstract: The article provides a review of the textual evidence for the lost church of All-the-Saints (*olim* St Theophanô) added by Emperor Leo VI as an annex to the complex of the Holy Apostles. The consideration of a neglected passage in the Vat. gr. 163 version of Symeon Logothetes' *Chronicle*, which states that the church was joined (κεκολλημένος) to the mausoleum of Constantine, combined with a reappraisal of *De cerimoniis* II 6–7, allows situating the church in the southeast corner of the Holy Apostles. The analysis of textual evidence is followed by a discussion of the location of the church in the Fatih area.

Keywords: Constantinople, Church of All-the-Saints, Church of the Holy Apostles, Topography of Constantinople

The object of this article, the now vanished Constantinopolitan shrine of All-the-Saints (*olim* church of St Theophanô), appended to the mausoleum church of the East Roman emperors—the Holy Apostles—has posed special problems to scholars, not least because of the apparent ambiguity of indirect sources about it and the uncertainty regarding some archaeological remains that have been associated with it[1]. It may well be asked, before entering into a reappraisal of the relevant material on the subject, whether any worthwhile purpose can be served by reviving a discussion that has revolved around the same texts for the past century. The earliest studies by J. Ebersolt[2] and R. Janin[3] have been followed, over the years, by more focused contributions by G. Downey[4], W. Müller-Wiener[5], G. Dagron[6] and, more recently, N. Asutay-Effenberger and A. Effenberger[7], and J. M. Featherstone[8]. However, these have left the exact location of All-the-Saints in relation to the Holy Apostles unclear and have overlooked other aspects of its history and development. This study, therefore, drawing on

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[*] This article falls within the dissemination activities of the project *MYRICE*, which received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under the Marie Sklodowska-Curie G.A. no. 745869. I owe a word of thanks to Albrecht Berger for his comments on an early draft of this paper and to Rebecca Darley and Agostino Soldati for their help with specific issues. Thanks are also due to J. Featherstone for allowing the reproduction of his sketch plan of the Holy Apostles and the anonymous reviewers for their useful remarks. Unless stated otherwise translations of texts are my own.

[1] See W. Müller-Wiener, Zur Lage der Allerheiligenkirche in Konstantinopel, in: Lebendige Altertumswissenschaft: Festgabe zur Vollendung des 70. Lebensjahres von Hermann Vetters dargebracht von Freunden, Schülern und Kollegen. Wien 1985, 333–335 and pl. XL–XLI, fig. 1a–3.

[2] J. Ebersolt, Sanctuaires de Byzance. Recherches sur les anciens trésors des églises de Constantinople. Paris 1921, 36.

[3] R. Janin, La Géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin, Première partie: le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat œcuménique. Volume III: Les Églises et les monastères. Paris 1953, 253–254.

[4] G. Downey, The church of All Saints (church of St. Theophano) near the church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople. *DOP* 9/10 (1956) 301–305.

[5] See n. 1.

[6] G. Dagron, Théophanô, les Saints Apôtres et l'église de Tous-les-Saints. *Symm* 9 (1994) 201–218 (= Μνήμη Δ. Α. Ζακυθηνοῦ).

[7] N. Asutay-Effenberger – A. Effenberger, Die Porphyrsarkophage der oströmischen Kaiser. Versuch einer Bestanderfassung, Zeitbestimmung und Zuordnung (*Spätantike – frühes Christentum – Byzanz*, Reihe B: *Studien und Perspektiven* 15). Wiesbaden 2006, 134–145 and figs. 18–22.

[8] J. M. Featherstone, All Saints and the Holy Apostles: *De Cerimoniis* II, 6–7. *Nea Rhome* 6 (2009) 235–248.

recent work to re-evaluate the Holy Apostles' complex, and offering a new synthesis of textual material pertaining to the dedication and renovation of All-the Saints, proposes a new and more complete reconstruction both of the form and placement of the church, and its evolution under and beyond the Macedonian dynasty.

THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH

According to the 10th-century *Chronicle* of Symeon Logothetes, Emperor Leo VI (r. 886–912) built a church in memory of his first wife Theophanô (d. 895/896)[9] beside the Holy Apostles[10], after having

[9] According to the *Life of Patriarch Euthymius*, her death occurred on the tenth of November (P. Karlin-Hayter, Vita Euthymii patriarchae Cp. Text, translation, introduction and commentary [*Bibliothèque de Byzantion* 3]. Brussels 1970, 44–45, 166–167), while the Constantinopolitan Synaxarion commemorates her on the 16th December (Synaxarium Ecclesiae Cp. 314, 11–14 [ed. H. Delehaye, Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum Novembris, Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae. Bruxellis 1902 (repr. Louvain 1954)]). On the year of her death see P. Karlin-Hayter, La mort de Théophanô (10.11.896 ou 895). *BZ* 62 (1969) 13–19 (with discussion of other relevant hypotheses). In general, on the holy empress Theophanô see: G. da Costa-Louillet, Saints de Constantinople. *Byz* 25–27 (1955–1957) 753–852, esp. 823–836; B. Kotter, Theophanu, byzantinische Kaiserin († 897), in *LThK*^{2} X 57.

[10] There is a vast literature on the lost complex of the Holy Apostles, on its fourth-century structure comprising the mausoleum of Constantine the Great and an apostolic martyrium, and on its Justinianic reconstruction and subsequent additions, up to its dismantling in the 1460s for the construction of the Ottoman *külliye* of Fatih. For the sake of brevity, I limit myself here to essential references, which gather the sources concerning the foundation and contain the scholarly debate around it: A. Heisenberg, Grabeskirche und Apostelkirche. Zwei Basiliken Konstantins. Volume II: Die Apostelkirche in Konstantinopel. Leipzig 1908; G. Downey, The builder of the original church of the Apostles at Constantinople: a contribution to the criticism of the "Vita Constantini" attributed to Eusebius. *DOP* 6 (1951) 53–80; R. Krautheimer, Zu Konstantins Apostelkirche in Konstantinopel, in: Mullus: Festschrift Theodor Klauser (*JbAC*, Ergänzungsband 1). Münster 1964, 224–249; R. Krautheimer, A note on Justinian's church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople, in: Mélanges Eugène Tisserant. Volume II: Orient chrétien, première partie (*ST* 232). Città del Vaticano 1964, 265–270; C. Strube, Die westliche Eingangsseite der Kirchen von Konstantinopel in justinianischer Zeit: architektonische und quellenkritische Untersuchungen (*Schriften zur Geistesgeschichte des östlichen Europa* 6). Wiesbaden 1973, 131–147; W. Müller-Wiener, Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls: Byzantion-Konstantinupolis-Istanbul bis zum Beginn des 17. Jahrhunderts, unter Mitarbeit von R. und W. Schiele mit einem Beitrag von N. Firatlı. Tübingen 1977, 405–411; A. Wharton Epstein, The rebuilding and redecoration of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople: a reconsideration. *GRBS* 23.1 (1982) 79–92; M. Falla Castelfranchi, Il complesso di San Giovanni ad Efeso nel quadro dell'architettura giustinianea dell'Asia Minore, in: Efeso paleocristiana e bizantina / Frühchristliches und byzantinisches Ephesos, Referate des vom 22. bis 24. Februar 1996 im Historischen Institut beim Österreichischen Kulturinstitut in Rom durchgeführten internationalen Kongresses aus Anlaß des 100–jährigen Jubiläums der österreichischen Ausgrabungen in Ephesos, hrsg. von R. Pillinger – O. Kresten – F. Krinzinger – E. Russo. Vienna 1999, 89–99; Ead., Il paradigma della memoria: San Marco a Venezia e la chiesa dei Santi Apostoli a Costantinopoli, in: Medioevo: immagine e memoria, Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Parma, 23–28 settembre 2008, a c. di A. C. Quintavalle. Milan 2009, 127–131; K. R. Dark, F. Özgümüş, New evidence for the Byzantine Church of the Holy Apostles from Fatih Camii, Istanbul. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 21/4 (2002) 393–413. Since the middle of the 19th century scholars have also tried to reconstruct the Justinianic church and subsequent additions to the complex based on textual sources and comparative architectural material, most notably the sixth-century church of St John in Ephesus and the medieval basilica of St Mark in Venice. See: H. Hübsch, Die altchristlichen Kirchen nach den Baudenkmalen und älteren Beschreibungen und der Einfluss des altchristlichen Baustyls auf den Kirchenbau aller späteren Perioden. Karlsruhe 1863, XXIX, XXXIV, 78–79 and pl. XXXII nos. 5–7; Th. Reinach, Commentaire archéologique sur le poème de Constantin le Rhodien. *REG* 9 (1896) 66–103, esp. 94–99; C. Gurlitt, Die Baukunst Konstantinopels. Bd. I: Tafelband. Berlin 1912, 8 u. Bd. II: Textband. Berlin 1912, 29–31; G. A. Sotiriou, Ἀνασκαφαὶ τοῦ βυζαντινοῦ ναοῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Θεολόγου ἐν Ἐφέσῳ. *AD* 7 (1921–1922) 89–226, esp. 91–92 n. 1, 96, 205–216; K. Wulzinger, Die Apostelkirche und die Mehmedije zu Konstantinopel. *Byz* 7 (1932) 7–39; S. Bettini, L'architettura di san Marco. Origini e significato. Padova 1946, 53–84; P. A. Underwood, Justinian's church of the Holy Apostles: a reconstruction of architecture by means of texts, in: Id., Research Papers, MS.BZ.019–03.01.047, ICFA, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection (unpubl.); Id., The church of the Holy Apostles and its dependencies, in: Id., Research Papers, MS.BZ.019–03.01.045, ICFA, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection (unpubl.). See also below, n. 19.

purchased (and most likely cleared out) some properties next to it[11]. It is only thanks to later witnesses that we learn about the correspondence between the church of St Theophanô and the shrine of All-the-Saints. A hagiographical account of the life of the empress composed by the polymath Nikephoros Gregoras in the fourteenth century (*BHG* 1795) contains a hint at the shift in the church's dedication[12]:

> καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς πένθος μὲν ἐποιήσατο μακρὸν ἐπὶ συχναῖς ταῖς ἡμέραις, τὸ δὲ ταύτης ἱερὸν σῶμα μετὰ βασιλικῆς προπομπῆς καὶ δορυφορίας καὶ μεγαλοπρεποῦς εὐκοσμίας καὶ τάξεως ἐν τῷ τῶν ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων ἐκόμισε τηνικαῦτα ναῷ· ἐβούλετο γὰρ μικρὸν ὕστερον μεταθεῖναι, δυοῖν θάτερον, ἢ πρὸς τὸν τοῦ θείου Κωνσταντίνου νεών, ὃν ἐκείνη πρὸς ἀσκητήριον ἑαυτῆς ἐκ θεμελίων ἐδείματο, ἢ πρὸς ὃν αὐτὸς ἔμελλεν ἐγείρειν νεὼν δι᾽αὐτήν. ἀνήγειρε γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς μετὰ χρόνον πάνυ τοι δεξιᾷ φιλοτίμῳ καὶ γνώμῃ τῷ ὄντι βασιλικῇ περὶ τὰ πρὸς ἕω μέρη τοῦ τῶν θείων Αποστόλων ναοῦ νεὼν ἕτερον σχήματι καὶ θέσει καὶ μεγέθει λίαν διαπρεπέστατον καὶ βασιλικώτατον, οὗ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν εἰς τὸ Θεοφανοῦς τῆς ἁγίας ἐπέγραψεν ὄνομα, ὕστερον δ᾽εἰς τὴν τῶν Ἁγίων Πάντων μετήνεγκε κλῆσιν διὰ φθόνον οὐκ εὔλογον ἐπισκόπων τινῶν· συγγενικοῦ γὰρ ἔφασαν εἶναι πόθου τὸ πεπραγμένον ἐκεῖνο καὶ μὴ πάνυ τελέως ὁρῶν πρὸς ἔνθεον ζῆλον. διὰ δὴ ταῦτα καὶ δικαιότερον ἔδοξε τὸ μὲν ταύτης ὄνομα τῇ κοινῇ τῶν Ἁγίων Ἁπάντων συνηριθμῆσθαι κλήσει, τὸ δὲ σῶμα πρὸς τὴν τοῦ θείου Κωνσταντίνου μετενηνέχθαι μονήν.
>
> "And the emperor [i.e. Leo VI] drew out a public mourning over several days, and carried her [i.e. Theophanô's] holy body with a royal escort and guard, and with magnificent dignity and order, into the church of the Holy Apostles; as a matter of fact, a little after he wished to transfer her to one of two <places>, either to the church of the divine Constantine, which she built from the foundations as her own monastic retreat, or to the church that he himself intended to erect for her. Let me tell you that after a little while, with lavish hand and by authentic imperial decision, he indeed raised another church about the eastern part of the church of the divine Apostles, exceedingly distinguished for its plan, setting and size and most royal, which he entitled after the name of St Theophanô, but afterwards he changed it to the name of All-the-Saints, because of the unreasonable resentment of certain bishops. For they said that the episode pertained to family affection and did not quite look to be altogether divine zeal. For this reason, he thought it more advisable to count her name under the general appellation of All-the-Saints, and to transfer her body to the convent of the divine Constantine."

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[11] Symeon Logothetes 133 [33] (ed. S. Wahlgren, Symeonis magistri et logothetae Chronicon [*CFHB* 44, 1]. Berlin–New York 2006, 283, ll. 231–234); followed by: Leo Grammaticus 274, ll. 9–11 (ed. I. Bekker, Leonis Grammatici Chronographia, accedit Eustathii De capta Thessalonica liber [*CSHB*]. Bonn 1842); George the Monk 25 (ed. I. Bekker, Theophanes Continuatus, Ioannes Cameniata, Symeon Magister, Georgius Monachus [*CSHB*]. Bonn 1838, 860, ll. 12–14); Pseudo-Symeon Logothetes 703, ll. 7–10 (Bekker); John Zonaras XVI 13 [10] (ed. T. Büttner-Wobst, Ioannis Zonarae Epitomae historiarum libri XVIII [*CSHB*]. III. Bonn 1897, 446, ll. 11–14). On the location of the Holy Apostles' complex within Constantinople's urban fabric see: A. Berger, Streets and public spaces in Constantinople. *DOP* 54 (2000) 161–172; P. Magdalino, Aristocratic *oikoi* in the tenth and eleventh regions of Constantinople, in: Byzantine Constantinople. Monuments, topography and everyday life, ed. N. Necipoğlu. Leiden 2001, 53–69 (= P. Magdalino, Studies on the history and topography of Byzantine Constantinople [*Variorum collected studies series* 855]. Aldershot 2006, II.

[12] Nikephoros Gregoras, Life of St Theophano [24] (ed. E. Kurtz, Zwei griechische Texte über die Hl. Theophano, die Gemahlin Kaisers Leo VI. *Mémoires de l'Academie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Pétersbourg* [8e série] III/2 [1898] 25–45, here 42 l. 33–43 l. 13). On the text see: A. M. Talbot, Old wine in new bottles: the rewriting of saints' lives in the Palaeologan period, in: The Twilight of Byzantium. Aspects of Cultural and Religious History in the Late Byzantine Empire, Papers from the Colloquium held at Princeton University (8–9 May 1989), ed. S. Čurčić – D. Mouriki. Princeton NJ 1991, 15–26, esp. 21–23 (= A. M. Talbot, Women and religious life in Byzantium [*Variorum collected studies series* 733]. Aldershot 2001, IV); and most recently I. Paraskevopoulou, Το Αγιολογικό και Ομιλητικό Έργο του Νικηφόρου Γρηγορά (*Βυζαντινά Κείμενα και Μελέτες* 59). Thessaloniki 2013, 84–98. In general, for a still useful analysis of Gregoras' hagiographical production, see R. Guilland, Essai sur Nicéphore Grégoras. Paris 1926, 170–192.

It appears that the episcopal hierarchy objected to the church's consecration to Theophanô, and thus Leo changed its title into that of All-the-Saints and moved her body to St Constantine, the monastery his same wife set up towards the northeastern edge of the Holy Apostles, near the cistern of Bonos[13]; according to G.P. Majeska, the monastery was to be integrated by Romanos I Lekapenos (r. 920–944) into the architectural ensemble of the palace of Bonos[14]. As already remarked upon by others, Gregoras, who is otherwise well informed, appears inaccurate on the matter of the empress' burial[15]. His statement that Leo temporarily placed her body in the Holy Apostles, then transferred it to her namesake foundation and ultimately to St Constantine should be partially revised on the basis of other relevant pieces of sources, closer in time to the events in question.

First comes Symeon Logothetes, mentioned at the beginning of this article, who appears to be speaking only of a church dedicated by Leo to his first wife[16]. It is the tenth-century anonymous chronicler, referred to as Pseudo-Symeon, who adds that the church became the burial place of the empress[17]. But this information is not confirmed elsewhere. Most probably, the church erected in her name was never meant to hold her remains. In fact, a *Vita* (*BHG* 1794) composed by an anonymous author close to the death of the empress states that her body was rather laid to rest in a sarcophagus (λάρναξ) in the church of the Holy Apostles[18]. This information is confirmed by other tenth-century sources. The catalogue of imperial burials found in the *Book of Ceremonies* locates it specifically in the mausoleum of Constantine[19]: here, Theophanô is said to share a tomb of green Thessalian stone with her daughter Eudokia[20]. Another passage found in the same work, dated to the sole reign of Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (945–959) and concerned with the protocol for the commemo-

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[13] See G. P. Majeska, The Body of St. Théophanô the Empress and the Convent of St. Constantine. *BSl* 38 (1977) 14–21, esp. 14–17. On the placement of the cistern of Bonos with respect to the complex of the Holy Apostles see R. Janin, Études de topographie byzantine: Les citernes d'Aétius, d'Aspar et de Bonus. *Études byzantines* 1 (1943) 85–115, esp. 86 (map), 111–114. Cf. also A. Berger, Untersuchungen zu den Patria Konstantinupoleos (*Poikila Byzantina* 8). Bonn 1988, 611–615.

[14] Majeska, Body 17–19. The hypothesis has been recently rejected by A. Berger, Vom Pantokratorkloster zur Bonoszisterne: einige topographische Überlegungen, in: Byzantina Mediterranea. Festschrift für Johannes Koder zum 65. Geburtstag, hrsg. von K. Belke – E. Kislinger – A. Külzer – M. A. Stassinopoulou. Vienna 2007, 43–56, esp. 54–55. The palace, styled the "new palace of Bonos" (Constantine Porphyrogennetos, Book of Ceremonies II 6 [ed. J. J. Reiske, Constantini Porphyrogeniti imperatoris De cerimoniis aulae byzantinae libri duo [CSHB]. I. Bonnae 1829, 532]), was erected by Romanos Lekapenos as a summer residence: R. Janin, Constantinople byzantine: développement urbain et répertoire topographique (*Archives de l'Orient Chrétien* 4A). Paris 1964², 128–129. N. Asutay-Effenberger and A. Effenberger suggest that this palace, unknown to the sources after the tenth century, might have been incorporated into the complex of the Kecharitomene-Philanthropos: Eski İmaret Camii, Bonoszisterne und Konstantinsmauer. *JÖB* 58 (2008), 13–44, esp. 32.

[15] Kurtz, Zwei griechische Texte 64, n. 53; Downey, All Saints 304–305; Dagron, Théophanô 204.

[16] Symeon Logothetes 133 [33] (283, ll. 231–234 Wahlgren).

[17] Pseudo-Symeon Logothetes 703 ll. 7–10 (Bekker). Followed by John Zonaras in the 12th century: John Zonaras XVI 13 [10] (446, ll. 11–14 Büttner-Wobst).

[18] Life of St Theophanô [24] and [31] (resp. 16, ll. 25–26 and 22, l. 31–23, l. 2 Kurtz).

[19] Constantine Porphyrogennetos, Book of Ceremonies II 42 (642–646 Reiske). The compilation of the *Book of Ceremonies*, which contains, in its final redaction, material dating from the sixth century to the 960s, was commissioned by Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos as part of a revival of imperial ceremonial upon his sole rule. The catalogue of sepulchers was compiled at the time of Constantine VII but contains two interpolations, namely the references to Constantine VII's own tomb and to that of his mother Zoê, which were most probably added not long after Constantine's death, during the reign of his son Romanos II (959–963) or that of his successor Nikephoros Phokas (963–969).The catalogue is reprinted and translated in G. Downey, The tombs of the Byzantine emperors at the church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople. *JHSt* 79 (1959) 27–51, esp. 30–34 (commentary at 34–37). See also, for a thorough discussion of the imperial mausolea and their successive layouts: P. Grierson, The tombs and obits of the Byzantine emperors (337–1042). With an additional note by Cyril Mango and Ihor Ševčenko. *DOP* 16 (1962) 3–63. On the mausoleum of Constantine and related issues see: C. Mango, Constantine's mausoleum and the translation of the relics. *BZ* 83 (1990), 51–56; Asutay-Effenberger–Effenberger, Porphyrsarkophage 54–56; M. J. Johnson, The Roman imperial mausoleum in Late Antiquity. Cambridge 2009, 119–129; J. Bardill, Constantine, divine emperor of the Christian Golden Age. Cambridge 2012, 367–376.

[20] Constantine Porphyrogennetos, Book of Ceremonies II 42 (643, ll. 9–12 Reiske).

ration of St Constantine, confirms the location of the empress' burial[21]: while the emperors are inside the mausoleum, they proceed to cense the tombs of their ancestors Leo, Basil and Theophanô alongside that of the "holy and glorious emperor" Constantine the Great. The Holy Apostles is also the place where her annual commemoration is celebrated (16th December). In this respect, the recension H* of the *Synaxarion* of Constantinople (and of the *Typicon* of the Great Church), compiled at the instigation of Constantine VII between 946 and 956[22], identifies the Holy Apostles as both her burial site and the place of her annual *synaxis*[23]. However, already from the eleventh century onwards, the manuscript tradition of the *Synaxarion-Typicon* omits the rubric[24], thus confirming that the cult of the empress was specifically bound to the Macedonian dynasty[25].

According to this reconstruction[26], the translation of Theophanô's relics to the monastery of St Constantine near the cistern of Bonos should have happened at some time after the middle of the tenth century. This *terminus post quem* can be narrowed down further, considering that the redaction of the catalogue of imperial burials appended to recension C of the *Patria of Constantinople*, dating to the reign of Alexios I Komnenos (r. 1081–1118), still records that the empress's burial is at the Holy Apostles[27]. This information finds indirect support in the account of the so-called Anonymous Mercati, a pilgrim of English origin who, around the seventh or eighth decade of the eleventh century, drafted a description of the churches, monasteries and saints' relics found in Constantinople[28]. In the *monasterium feminarum* located *in fine cisternae Bonae*[29], the traveler did not notice the presence

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[21] Ibid. II 6 (532–535 Reiske), re-edited and transl. alongside II 7 (535–538 Reiske) by Featherstone, All Saints 236–248. Both chapters would appear to date from the time of Constantine VII's sole reign since the ceremonies recorded are said to follow "current" practice (ὡς τὰ νῦν ἐπιτελεῖται: De Cerimoniis II 6 [532, l. 6 Reiske]); a *terminus post quem* is also offered by the reference to the palace of Bonos, a recent construction by Emperor Romanos I Lekapenos (r. 920–944).

[22] Recension H* is transmitted by ms. Hierosolymitanus s. Crucis 40 (*Diktyon* 35936) dated to the 10th–11th century (see descr. in J. Matéos, Le Typicon de la Grande Église. Volume I: Le cycle des douze mois [*OCA* 165]. Rome 1962, iv). According to Matéos (ibid., xviii–xix), the recension would have been drafted between 950–961: the lower *terminus* would correspond to the transfer of the relics of Gregory of Nazianzos to Constantinople, while the upper one would derive from the omission of the translation of the hand of John the Baptist, which, according to the scholar, would have happened under Romanos II and Constantine VIII, in 961. And yet, both *termini* should be reviewed on the basis of further evidence. According to the homily composed by Constantine Porphyrogennetos on the translation of Gregory of Nazianzus to Constantinople (*BHG* 728), this event happened at the beginning of his sole reign (Constantine Porphyrogennetos, Homily on the translation of Gregory the Theologian [19] [ed. B. Flusin, Le Panégyrique de Constantin VII Porphyrogénète pour la translation des reliques de Grégoire le Théologien (BHG 728). *REB* 57 (1999), 5–97, here 55, ll. 246–248]): the editor of the text proposes the date of the translation as 19th January 946 (ibid., 12). As far as the transfer of the hand of the Baptist is concerned, it also occurred during the sole rule of Constantine Porphyrogennetos (945–959), during Theophylact Lekapenos' patriarchate (933–956): see Theodore Daphnopates, Homily on the translation of the hand of John the Baptist [17] (ed. V. V. Latyšev [В. В. Латышев], Две речи Феодора Дафнопата, изданные со введением о жизни и литературной деятельности автора и с русским переводом. *Православный Палестинский сборник* 59 [1910] 17–38, here 31, ll. 7–8 and 18–19). The recension H* of the Synaxarion-Typicon should therefore be redated between 946–956. On this recension of the Synaxarion-Typicon see A. Luzzi, Il semestre estivo della recensione H* del Sinassario di Costantinopoli, in: Studi sul Sinassario di Costantinopoli (*Testi e studi bizantino-neoellenici* VIII). Rome 1995, 5–90.

[23] Synaxarium Ecclesiae Cp. (16th December) 313–314 (app. cr. ll. 54–55 Delehaye). See also Matéos, Le Typicon I, 132 ll. 25–27 (16th December).

[24] See Synaxarium Ecclesiae Cp. (*Synaxaria Selecta*) 313–314 (Delehaye); Matéos, Le Typicon I, 132 ll. 25–27 (app. cr. ad loc.).

[25] G. Dagron, Emperor and Priest. The Imperial Office in Byzantium (1996), transl. by J. Birrell (*Past and Present Publications*). Cambridge 2003, 206–207.

[26] Cf. also the more cursory reconstruction by Majeska, Body 14–17.

[27] Published in two slightly divergent versions by Downey, Tombs 37–38 and 40–42.

[28] The Latin text, originally published by S. G. Mercati (Santuari e reliquie costantinopolitane secondo il codice Ottoboniano latino 169 prima della conquista Latina [1204]. *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia* 12 [1936] 133–156 =S. G. Mercati, Collectanea Byzantina. Volume II. Rome 1970, 464–489, here 471–487) has been re-edited, on the basis of a more detailed witness, by K. N. Ciggaar (Une description de Constantinople traduite par un pèlerin anglais. *REB* 34 [1976] 211–268). On the author and the date of the original Greek text and its Latin translation see ibid., 213–232.

[29] Ciggaar, Description 258, no. 32.

of Theophanô's body, but only a coffin with the remains of St Spyridon, later transferred to the Holy Apostles[30]. Likewise, towards the end of the twelfth century, in his oration dedicated to the latter church, Nicholas Mesarites still observed the empress' tomb in the mausoleum of Constantine[31]. The first witnesses, besides Gregoras, locating the empress' remains at the monastery of St Constantine are Stephen of Novgorod, who visited the capital in 1348/1349[32], and the Russian pilgrim Zosima the deacon, who did so around the years 1419–21[33]. A further confirmation that, by that time at least, Theophanô was to be found in her new resting place is offered by the topographical recension of the *Patria of Constantinople* transmitted in Par. gr. 1788 (*siglum* E, a. 1439/1440; *Diktyon* 51414)[34], in a gloss on the notice of her memorial (in square brackets)[35]:

> Τὴν ἁγίαν Θεοφανὼ ἔξωθεν τῆς παλαιᾶς κόγχης τῶν μνημοθεσίων, ἀνήγειρεν αὐτὴν Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ υἱὸς Λέοντος ὁ Πορφυρογέννητος· [ἥτις κατέκειτο εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους Ἀποστόλους, ἥτις μέχρι τῆς σήμερον ἀναπηγάζει κρουνοὺς θαυμάτων μεγίστων ἐν τῇ γυναικείᾳ μονῇ τῆς εἰς ὄνομα τιμωμένης τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ ἁγίου Κωνσταντίνου.]
> "Constantine Porphyrogennetos, the son of Leo, built St Theophanô outside the old apse (rotunda) of the <imperial> memorials. [She was laid to rest in the Holy Apostles, and to this day she produces streams of very great miracles in the nunnery which is honored by the name of the Great and Holy Constantine]."

The transfer of the empress' relics to the new site must therefore have taken place at a moment between the end of the 12th century and the date of the composition of Gregoras' hagiographical piece on Theophanô (c. 1341/1342)[36].

This said, let us now turn to the issue of when exactly the dedication of Theophanô's church, next to the Holy Apostles, was changed into that of All-the-Saints. The latter shrine makes its first appearance in sources dated to the middle of the tenth century. The *Book of Ceremonies* provides a description of a newly promoted feast dedicated to All-the-Saints, taking place on the first Sunday after Pentecost[37]. We may ask whether this fresh addition to the imperial ceremonial could in any way be connected to a concomitant reconsecration of the church. Perhaps a hitherto unexploited detail featured in the description of the ceremonial for the feast can offer a hint[38]:

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[30] See e.g. the account of Stephen of Novgorod, dated to 1348/1349, published by G. P. Majeska, Russian travelers to Constantinople in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (*DOS* 19). Washington DC 1984, 42.

[31] Nikolaos Mesarites, Description of the church of the Holy Apostles [39] (ed. Heisenberg, Grabeskirche und Apostelkirche 83, ll. 3–6; ed. G. Downey, Nikolaos Mesarites. Description of the Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople. *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 47/6 [1957] 855–924, here 915b and transl. 892a).

[32] Majeska, Russian travelers 42 and 296–298 (commentary).

[33] Ibid., 186. The pilgrim calls the monastery 'Philanthropos', which further supports the theory that the monastery, with the palace of Bonos, might have been incorporated into the complex of the Kecharitomene-Philanthropos: see Asutay-Effenberger–Effenberger, Eski İmaret Camii 32.

[34] See Th. Preger, Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum II. Leipzig 1907, xvi, no. 45. See also, more in general, on the topographical recension of the *Patria of Constantinople*: Berger, Untersuchungen 87–147.

[35] Patria of Constantinople III [212] (282, ll. 1–7 Preger). Transl. A. Berger, Accounts of Medieval Constantinople. The Patria (*Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library* 24). Cambridge MA – London 2013, 225 (slightly modified).

[36] The piece is praised in a letter by Gregory Akyndinos to Gregoras dated to 1341/1342, so the piece should have been written shortly before: A. C. Hero, Letters of Gregory Akyndinos (*CFHB* 21 / *DOT* 7). Washington DC 1983, no. 17, 339–341. See also Talbot, Old wine 22. But cf. Kurtz, Zwei griechische Texte viii, who dates the piece around the 1320s. Theophanô's relics ended up in the church of St George at the Orthodox Ecumenical Patriarchate in the Fener district of Istanbul, where they are still kept to this day: Majeska, Body 17.

[37] Constantine Porphyrogennetos, Book of Ceremonies II 6 (532–535 Reiske; 236–248 Featherstone, All Saints). For the dating of the protocol at the time of Constantine Porphyrogennetos' sole rule see above, n. 20.

[38] Ibid., II 7 (537, ll. 3–8 Reiske; 240 Featherstone, All Saints with transl. 247 here slightly modified).

τῶν δὲ δεσποτῶν ἐξερχομένων τὸ βῆμα, λαμβάνουσι παρὰ τῶν πραιποσίτων κηρία λιτανίκια, καὶ ἅμα τοῦ πατριάρχου λιτανεύουσι μέχρι τῶν ἁγίων πάντων, καὶ τῆς ἀκολουθίας τῶν ἀνοίξεων τελεσθείσης, ἤγουν τῶν ἐγκαινίων, εἰσοδεύουσι καὶ εἰσέρχονται ἐν τῷ βήματι, καθὼς ἡ συνήθεια ἔχει.

"And when the emperors come out of the sanctuary, they receive processional tapers from the *praepositi*, and with the patriarch they go in procession to All-the-Saints. And when the office of opening the doors, that is the dedication (*encaenia*) is completed, they enter and they go into the sanctuary, as is the custom."

It would seem, from the passage just quoted, that the ceremonial envisaged the "dedication" (*encaenia* or *dedicatio*) of the church, the rite that normally inaugurates and consecrates (or celebrates a renovation of) a Christian building[39]. The section of the *Book of Ceremonies* under consideration might therefore represent the document drafted, sometime during Constantine Porphyrogennetos' sole rule, to define the protocol for the *encaenia* of the shrine[40]. In fact, on the annual celebration of the feast, the *Typicon* prescribes instead a procession to the church departing from Hagia Sophia and a liturgy to be performed there[41]. If this interpretation is correct, it would appear that in the middle of the tenth century the church underwent a reconsecration. It is reasonable to infer that it was on such an occasion that its old dedication to St Theophanô was changed to the "more appropriate" dedication to All-the-Saints. From that time afterwards, the church founded by Leo VI would come to be known under the name of All-the-Saints, as the *Patria of Constantinople* attest[42]:

Τὸν δὲ ἅγιον Στέφανον εἰς τὸ Σίγμα πλησίον ὁ μέγας Κωνσταντῖνος ἀνήγειρεν. Ὁ δὲ Λέων ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀνήγειρεν αὐτὴν μικράν, καὶ τὴν ὕλην πᾶσαν τῶν χρυσῶν ψηφίδων καὶ τῶν πολυποικίλων λίθων καὶ κιόνων ἀπέθετο εἰς τοὺς Ἁγίους Πάντας.

"Constantine the Great erected Saint Stephen near the Sigma. Emperor Leo (VI) rebuilt it on a small scale and stored all the materials—the golden mosaic cubes, the multicolored <marble> stones and the columns—at the Holy Apostles, and built a church, that of All Saints."

Besides changing the name of the church, Constantine Porphyrogennetos established within it an oratory (εὐκτήριον) dedicated to Empress Theophanô, a place where she could be venerated alongside her tomb[43]. The *Patria of Constantinople* confirm that the chapel built by Porphyrogennetos had

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[39] See H. Emonds, Enkainia-Weihe und Weihegedächtnis, in: Enkainia. Gesammelte Arbeiten zum 800jährigen Weihegedächtnis der Abteikirche Maria Laach am 24. August 1956. Düsseldorf 1956, 30–57.

[40] A prescription at the beginning of the section states that the procession of All-the-Saints is celebrated according to the order of Mid-Lent (*Mesonestimos*) and as currently celebrated on the Monday of New Week (*Diakainesimos*) and the Sunday after Easter (*Antipascha*): Constantine Porphyrogennetos, Book of Ceremonies II 7 (535, ll. 6–9 Reiske; 239 Featherstone, All Saints). As already noted by Featherstone (n. 49, 245–246), in the chapter on the Sunday of Mid-Lent found in the Book of Ceremonies I 38 (29) (ed. A. Vogt, Constantin VII Porphyrogénète Le Livre des Cérémonies. I. Paris 1935, 149–150) the complex of the Holy Apostles is not included in the ceremonial, nor is there any mention of it in the *Typicon* (J. Mateos, Le Typicon. Volume II: Le cycle des fêtes mobiles [*OCA* 166]. Rome 1963, 46). Likewise, no mention of the Holy Apostles is found in the celebrations of Sunday after Easter (Book of Ceremonies I 25 [16], 90–91 Vogt; Mateos, Le Typicon II 108), but only a gloss added to the text states that the visit to the Holy Apostles is a new addition (91 Vogt). This confirms that the feast of All-the-Saints had been just introduced.

[41] Mateos, Le Typicon II 144, ll. 21–26.

[42] Patria of Constantinople III [209] (280–281 Preger); transl. Berger, Accounts 223. To 'refresh' the memory of later readers, a gloss appended to the topographical recension of the text (Par. gr. 1788, *siglum* E, copied in 1439/1440) explains that the emperor founded this church "because of the wonderworking and holiness of his wife, I mean the first Theophanô, the holy and miracle working empress" (ivi). Cf. also, at the end of the 12th century the witness of Nikolaos Mesarites (Description of the church of the Holy Apostles [8] [19 ll. 1–4 Heisenberg; 899a (transl. 866a) Downey]).

[43] Constantine Porphyrogennetos, Book of Ceremonies II 7 (537 ll. 14–15 Reiske; 240 [transl. 247–248] Featherstone, All Saints). A passage in the narrative concerning the church of the Holy Apostles found in the fourth book of the *Patria of Con-*

been set up "outside the old apse of the <imperial> memorials" (ἔξωθεν τῆς παλαιᾶς κόγχης τῶν μνημοθεσίων), i.e. outside the mausoleum of Constantine[44].

But not only that—thanks to a couple of hitherto neglected witnesses, it would seem that the church's *encaenia* corresponded not only to a change in its dedication, but also included a refurbishment. A passage found in the chronicle of Theophanes Continuatus, referring to the years of Porphyrogennetos' self-rule, speaks of the renovation of a church next (πλησίον) to the Holy Apostles, carried out thanks to the support of Theodore Belonas: [45]

> Καὶ οἷος ὁ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων πλησίον νεουργηθεὶς ναός, καλὸς μὲν ἰδεῖν, ὡραῖος δὲ θαυμάσαι καὶ τὴν ἐντὸς εὐπρέπειαν ἀναλογίσασθαι. Εἰ γὰρ καὶ τοῦ μεγέθους τῆς παλαιότητος ἀποδεῖ, ἀλλά γε τῆς ἔνδον φαιδρότητος πόρρω καθέστηκεν. Τί δὲ ὁ πιστὸς βασιλεύς; πατρίκιον τὸν Βελωνᾶν Θεόδωρον ὡς συνεργὸν τοῦ λαμπροῦ καὶ κατηγλαϊσμένου ναοῦ ἐποίησεν.
>
> Conspectus siglorum: Codices: V (Vat. gr. 167) Ba (Barb. gr. 232) | **1** καὶ *om.* Ba ἁγίων *om.* Ba | **2** καὶ τὴν ἐντὸς εὐπρέπειαν ἀναλογίσασθαι *om.* Ba
>
> "And the church next to the Holy Apostles, renewed, is beautiful to see, graceful to admire and to take into consideration for its interior comeliness. For if it is deprived of the magnitude of antiquity, nevertheless it stands to a high point of inner brilliance. What then did the faithful emperor do? He made the patrician Theodore Belonas his collaborator <in the rebuilding> of the bright and radiant church."

A similar but more circumstantial passage is provided by Symeon Logothetes, who specifies the exact location of this church: [46]

> Ἔκτισε δὲ καὶ ἕτερα εἰς βασιλίδας παλάτια ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἱερείας σχήματι. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ πλησίον τῶν ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων ναὸς παρ᾽αὐτοῦ ἐνεουθργήθη, ὅς ἐστι κεκολλημένος τῷ τάφῳ τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου· Θεόδωρον τὸν Βελονᾶν ποιήσας πατρίκιον ὡς συνεργὸν τῆς οἰκοδομῆς γενόμενον τοῦ τοιούτου λαμπροτάτου ναοῦ.
> "He [*i.e.* Constantine Porphyrogennetos] built also other palaces for the empresses in the form of the one of Hiereia. But also, the church next to the Holy Apostles, which is joined together with the tomb of the Holy and Great Constantine, was renovated by him; he made the patrician Theodore Belonas his collaborator in the building of this most radiant church."

The church in question cannot be any but All-the-Saints. The detail that it was "joined together" or physically "attached" (κεκολλημένος) to the mausoleum of Constantine matches the information we possess on the εὐκτήριον dedicated to the empress Theophanô, which we know was set up within

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stantinople claims that the μνημοθέσιον (memorial) of the empress Theophanô was built by Constantine the Great, probably a mistake for Porphyrogennetos: Patria of Constantinople IV [32] (288 ll. 8–10 Preger); transl. Berger, Accounts 279.

[44] See above, n. 33. Ebersolt (Sanctuaires 36 n. 5; followed by C. Strube, Die westliche Eingangsseite der Kirchen von Konstantinopel in iustinianischer Zeit: architektonische und quellenkritische Untersuchungen. Rome 1973) thinks that the παλαιᾶ κόγχη refers to the mausoleum of Justinian. His argument has been persuasively refuted by Dagron, Théophanô 206–207.

[45] The text proposed here is based on ms. Vat. gr. 167 (f. 159r; *Diktyon* 66798), the readings of which slightly differ from Barb. gr. 232 (ca. 1628; *Diktyon* 64778) which is the basis for the critical edition of Theophanes Continuatus VI [27] (452 ll. 3–12 Bekker). For a detailed description of Vat. gr. 167 see: S. Serventi, Il Vat. gr. 167, testimone della Continuatio Theophanis, e i marginalia di un anonimo lettore bizantino. *Aevum* 75/2 (2001) 267–302. On Barb. gr. 232 see Codices Barberiniani graeci. Tomus II. Codices 164–281, recensuit J. Mogenet, enarr. complevit I. Leroy, addenda et indices curavit P. Canart. Vatican City 1989, 75–76. On Theodore Belonas, vested by Constantine Porphyrogennetos with the dignity of patrician and the office of eparch of the city, see *PmbZ* 27707.

[46] Symeon Logothetes (*ex* Vat. gr. 163) [8] (ed. A. Markopoulos, Le témoignage du Vaticanus gr. 163 pour la période entre 945–963. *Symm* 3 [1979] 83–119, here 94, ll. 22–26).

the church of All-the-Saints and located "outside the old apse of the <imperial> memorials", that is precisely outside the mausoleum of Constantine[47]. The information provided by our source is confirmed by the Anonymous Mercati, who describes the church of All-the-Saints as *mixta cum templo sanctorum Apostolorum*[48].

THE LOCATION OF THE CHURCH

Having established these points, we shall now review, on the basis of all the information at our disposal, the topographical reconstructions of the area defined by the Holy Apostles, the mausoleum of Constantine and the church of St Theophanô/All-the-Saints and, if necessary, emend them. It is useful, for this purpose, to sum up the relevant details about the location of All-the-Saints:

1. The church stood *in partibus orientalibus* of the Holy Apostles, according to Nikolaos Mesarites (πρὸς τὴν ἕω)[49] and Nikephoros Gregoras (περὶ τὰ πρὸς ἕω μέρη τοῦ τῶν θείων Αποστόλων ναοῦ).
2. According to Theophanes Continuatus and Symeon Logothetes, the church was "next to the Holy Apostles" (πλησίον τῶν ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων).
3. According to the Anonymous Mercati, All-the-Saints was *mixta cum templo sanctorum Apostolorum*.
4. According to Symeon Logothetes, the church was "joined together" or physically "attached" (κεκολλημένος) to the mausoleum of Constantine.

The layout defined by P.A. Underwood [**Fig. 1**], which places All-the-Saints on the northwestern side of the Holy Apostles, can be dismissed *a priori* as inaccurate, on the basis of the aforementioned textual evidence[50]. Müller-Wiener, on the contrary, locates All-the-Saints at a distance from the Fatih *külliye*, where the archaeological remains of a vaulted cistern of the middle-Byzantine epoch (ninth-tenth c.) have been found. The cistern (32.5 m × 16.6 m) is situated approximately at the corner of Mıhçılar caddesi and Keserciler sokağı, with a southeastern orientation [**Fig. 2**]. The cistern incorporates the substructures of a church now lost, which Müller-Wiener proposes identifying with All-the-Saints[51]. His layout of the complex, which assumes an old theory envisaging the placement of the Holy Apostles underneath the Fatih mosque[52], has All-the-Saints at a certain distance from it [**Fig. 3**].

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[47] See above, 6. Moreover, these indications conform to the information given by the earliest sources on the church of St Theophanô. See e.g. John Zonaras XVI 13 [10] (446, ll. 11–14 Büttner-Wobst): τιμῶν δὲ τὴν πρώτην αὐτοῦ γαμετὴν τὴν μακαρίαν Θεοφανὼ τέμενος ἀνήγειρεν εἰς ὄνομα ἐκείνης *ἔγγιστα τοῦ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων ναοῦ*, ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν ἐκείνης κατέθετο (emphasis mine). St Theophanô is indeed described as ἔγγιστα (*proxime*), meaning "in connection with, the nearest, next, most nearly to" the Holy Apostles: cf. *LSJ* s.v. ἐγγίων, ον / ἔγγιστος, η, ον. The same expression is used by Nikolaos Mesarites to describe All-the-Saints: Description of the church of the Holy Apostles [8] (19, ll. 1–2 Heisenberg; 899a [transl. p. 866a] Downey).

[48] Ciggaar, Description 258 no. 28. Cf. Mercati, Santuari 485 no. 26.

[49] Nikolaos Mesarites, Description of the church of the Holy Apostles [8] (19, ll. 1–2 Heisenberg; 899a [transl. p. 866a] Downey).

[50] Drawing MS.BZ.019–BF.F.1993.F2825, Image Collections and Fieldwork Archives, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection. The drawing is found within P. A. Underwood's documentation on the project dedicated to the lost Constantinopolitan complex of the Holy Apostles, on which see: https://www.doaks.org/resources/online-exhibits/holy-apostles (02.01.2020).

[51] Müller-Wiener, Zur Lage 333–335. The cistern is identified as D 5/9 in J. Crow – J. Bardill – R. Bayliss, The water supply of Byzantine Constantinople (*JRSt Monographs* 11). London 2008, 148.

[52] Following Wulzinger, Apostelkirche 33 fig. 14, but with an orientation that follows the alignment of the aqueduct of Valens (the long solid black line in fig. 8). Despite it being feebly supported by archaeological evidence, the superimposition of the two buildings is also maintained by Dark – Özgümüş, who conjecturally interpret the eroded limestone course along the base of the mosque as belonging to structures earlier than the fifteenth-century Ottoman building. This, despite the fact that "without an inscription incorporated into them it is, of course, impossible to be certain what these features represent" (New evidence 406); the same is reiterated in a more recent publication, with a similar *caveat*: "topographical and archaeological evidence suggest that the church of the Holy Apostles stood on the site later used for the Fatih Camii, although no traces

If we were to accept his hypothesis, which is, *inter alia*, mostly unsubstantiated by archaeological evidence[53], we would have to disregard textual information about the placement of All-the-Saints with respect to the Holy Apostles. Some of the layouts put forward by Asutay-Effenberger and Effenberger have the merit of shifting the Holy Apostles closer to the cistern identified by Müller-Wiener and thus to the hypothetical church of All-the-Saints [**Fig. 4a-c**]. They take into account the orography of the area and offer solutions that put the church either on the eastern axis of the Holy Apostles or to the northeast of it[54]. The southeastern alternative is not considered, although it is the most likely option based on written sources. This is worthy of review, through a reconsideration of the two sections of the *Book of Ceremonies* (II 6–7) concerned with the ceremonial for the feast of St Constantine and All-the-Saints respectively.

According to the text, on the day of the commemoration of St Constantine[55], the emperors go from the nearby palace of Bonos to the Holy Apostles, they enter the narthex of the church, and then, after changing their vestments, they proceed as far as the holy doors of the sanctuary, where they give thanks to God by a triple bow, but do not enter. They go straight to the mausoleum of Constantine, in the eastern end of the church, where the patriarch waits in order to hand them the thurible for censing the altar of the mausoleum and the tombs of the Macedonians Leo, Theophanô and Basil alongside Constantine the Great. After a prayer and the singing of a *troparion* the patriarch takes leave from the emperor and this latter "traverses the terrace of the apse of the church of All Saints and the road that leads off from there and goes into the court of the palaces (*sc*. of Bonos)" (διὰ τοῦ ἐξαέρου τῆς κόγχης τῶν Ἁγίων Πάντων καὶ τῆς ἐκεῖσε ἀπαγούσης ὁδοῦ, καὶ εἰσέρχεται εἰς τὴν αὐλὴν τῶν παλατίων)[56]. Dagron emends the first part of the passage to "the terrace of the apse of the Holy Apostles" (διὰ τοῦ ἐξαέρου τῆς κόγχης τῶν Ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων) in order to support his placement of All-the-Saints directly behind and on top of the mausoleum of Constantine [**Fig. 5**][57]. By contrast, Featherstone rightly retains the passage as it is, and situates All-the-Saints on the southeastern side of the complex, stating that in this case "the terrace around its back side and extending to the space between the two churches could indeed have been called after its apse" [**Fig. 6**][58]. The alternative positioning of the shrine compatible with this interpretation, the northeastern edge of the Holy Apostles [**Fig. 4c**], is dismissed as not fitting the path described on the occasion of the feast of All-the-Saints (see below)[59]. In order to accept Featherstone's solution and at the same time take into due consideration the remains of the cistern identified by Müller-Wiener, one would have to shift the church of the Holy Apostles towards the north-east of it, in the direction of Tetimmeler sokak [**Figs. 8, 9**]. Based on these considerations, one of the possible layouts of the architectural ensemble could be the one offered in **Fig. 7**. Taking the cistern as a fixed point, the complex would be located approximately within the neighborhood delimited by Hattat Nafiz caddesi (N), Tetimmeler sokak (E), Mıhçılar caddesi (S) and Fatih Türbesi (W), covering more or less half of it. Nowadays, the terrain of the area

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of its structure have been found by other scholars. Indeed, even the recent restoration of Fatih Camii undertaken by Ahmet Gülec has found nothing that he would identify as part of the Byzantine structure" (A. Gülec, Constantinople, archaeology of a Byzantine megalopolis. Final report on the Istanbul Rescue Archaeology Project 1998–2004. Oxford – Oakville 2013, 90 and 91–92 for a discussion of the archaeological material). The hypothesis of the superimposition of the two structures has been dismissed, based on a reconstruction of the Byzantine street grid, by Berger, Streets 169.

[53] See n. 52.

[54] Asutay-Effenberger – Effenberger, Porphyrsarkophage 134–145 and fig. 18–22.

[55] Constantine Porphyrogennetos, Book of Ceremonies II 6 (532–535 Reiske; 236–239 [transl. 241–245] Featherstone, All Saints).

[56] Ibid. (533, ll. 20–22 Reiske; 238 [transl. 243] Featherstone, All Saints)

[57] Dagron, Théophanô 212.

[58] Featherstone, All Saints 243–244 n. 41.

[59] The placement has been dismissed as not compatible with the indications of the Book of Ceremonies II 7: Ibid., 244 n. 41 and 246 n. 51.

is sloping but less steep than the corresponding southwestern face of the Fatih hill [**Fig. 8**]. Such a positioning of the Holy Apostles to the northeast of the cistern would match the location indicated by a tenth-century rhetorical description which places the church on the hill[60]. Likewise, its placement on the southern edge of the Fatih mosque can be confirmed by a Greek vernacular chronicle covering the years from the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople to around 1543[61]. Furthermore, the placement of the complex to the southeast of the Fatih mosque would not have interfered either with the course of the aqueduct of Valens (conjecturally extended along its extant line) or with the passage of a water conduit that seems to have existed, in Ottoman times at least, to bring the supply feeding the same aqueduct across this area [**Fig. 10**][62].

To complete our analysis, we shall now reconsider the second section of the *Book of Ceremonies* indicated above, dedicated to the feast of the *encaenia* of All-the-Saints[63]. On this occasion, the sovereigns arrive on horseback and dismount at the so-called (monumental?) gate of the Holy Apostles (ἡ πύλη τῶν Ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων) that leads towards the Horologion (sundial). Then, they

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[60] Constantine the Rhodian, Ekphrasis on Constantinople and the church of the Holy Apostles vv. 437–441 (ed. I. Vassis in L. James, Constantine of Rhodes On Constantinople and the Church of the Holy Apostles. Farnham – Burlington 2012, 48–49). Note that the source describes the church as placed on the hill, not specifically on its top. On the seven hills of Constantinople see W. Brandes, Sieben Hügel. Die imaginäre Topographie Konstantinopels zwischen apokalyptischem Denken und moderner Wissenschaft. *Rechtsgeschichte* 2 (2003), 58–71, esp. 65–66.

[61] Ἔκθεσις Χρονικὴ [40] (ed. S.P. Lampros, Ecthesis Chronica and Chronicon Athenarum. London 1902, 56): ὑπῆρχε γὰρ ὁ ναὸς ἐκεῖνος ὃς νῦν ἐστι ἡμαράτιον τοῦ σουλτὰν Μεχεμέτη ἐν τῷ νοτιαίῳ μέρει· ἵστανται γὰρ καὶ ἐκ τῶν κτισμάτων αὐτοῦ ἕως τοῦ νῦν, "there was indeed that church [*i.e.* the Holy Apostles], which now is the *imāret* of sultan Mehmet, on the southern side [*sc.* of the mosque]". Cf. Patriarchica Constantinopoleos Historia, ed. M. Crusius, Turcograecia libri octo …, tomus II. Basel [1584], 109: ὁ τῶν Ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων ναὸς ποῦ ἐκαθέζετο προτήτερα ὁ πατριάρχης τὸν ἔκαμαν ἰμαρέτιο τοῦ αὐτοῦ σουλτὰν Μεχεμέτη, "the church of the Holy Apostles, where previously the patriarch resided, they made it the *imāret* of sultan Mehmet". See: C. Mango, Le Développement urbain de Constantinople (IVe–VIIe siècles) (1990). Paris 2004[3], 27, 76; M. Philippides – W. K. Hanak, The siege and the fall of Constantinople in 1453: historiography, topography and military studies. Farnham 2011, 69 n. 176. The *imāret* (charitable kitchen) of the Fatih complex stood in the southeast corner of the mosque precinct (see Z. Ahunbay, Fatih complex tabhane. Istanbul. Turkey, in: Secular medieval architecture in the Balkans 1300–1500 and its preservation, ed. S. Ćurčić, E. Hadjitryphonos. Thessaloniki 1997, 296; Dark – Özgümüş, Constantinople 86) confirming our conjectural location of the Holy Apostles. The reliability of the sources under discussion is questioned by Dark – Özgümüş, Constantinople 87. On the 15th-century Fatih complex, see E.H. Ayverdi, Fâtih devri mimarisi. İstanbul 1953, no. 43, 125–171.

[62] The existence of the conduit may be inferred on the basis of an Ottoman drawing dated 1673 (A. H. 1083) and kept at the Köprülü Library in Istanbul (no. 1027). The drawing is part of a scroll a few meters long showing the water conduits of Constantinople laid out during the vizirate of Köprülü-Zade Mehmet Pasha. The relevant section shows the water supply system between the mosques of Sultan Bayezid II (on the left-hand side of the drawing) and the one of Fatih (on the right-hand side). Proceeding from right to left, the legends read as follows: (1) *Cāmi' şerīf* | *Abū al-Fetiḥ sulṭān* | *Meḥmed Ḫān-I ṯānī* ("Great Mosque of the sultan Abū al-Fetiḥ Mehmed II"); (2) *cāmi' şerīfiñ medrese dīvārıñ altından geçüb* | *ṭaşra ḥaremiñ ortayerinden geçüb büyük* | *qaraman icrā' olmuşdur* ("passing below the wall of the school of the Great Mosque, after having traversed the outer harem, there was the great drug market of Karaman"); (3) *maṣlāq* | *büyük Qaramanda 'attār dükkānınıñ* | *yanından geçmişdir* ("a water conduit passed by the great market of the spices at Karaman"); (4) *at pāzārınıñ olan büyük kemerdir* ("great aqueduct of the horse market"); (5) *kemer üstünde olan ṣuterāzisidir* ("water sluice over the aqueduct"); (6) dub. leg.: *iki kemer arasıdır* ("between the two aqueducts"); (7) *ikinci kemer üstünde olan ṣuterāzileridir* ("water sluices over the second aqueduct"); (8) *eski serāy dīvārı gūşesinde* | *olan demir qapılı tepedir* ("hill of the iron gate at one of the corners of the wall of the old palace"); (9) *quşbāzlar içinde* | *olan ṣuterāzisidir* ("water sluice amidst the merchants of birds"); (10) *cāmi' şerīf* |*sulṭān Bāyezīd* | *Ḫān Velī* ("Great Mosque of the sultan Bayezid II"). Thanks to the second and third legends we learn that a water conduit passed by the market-place of (Büyük) Karaman near the Fatih *külliye*. According to the drawing, the conduit would seem to lie within the *külliye*'s precincts, on the left-hand side of the mosque (*i.e.* on its southwestern edge). The remains of the complex of the Holy Apostles, therefore, if placed to the southeast of the Fatih mosque, would not have impeded the passage of the conduit. The drawing is mentioned and reproduced in K. O. Dalman, Der Valensaquädukt in Konstantinopel (*Istanbuler Forschungen* 3). Bamberg 1933, 33–34 and plate 16 fig. 46. I owe the transcription of the legends and their translation to Agostino Soldati, to whom my thanks are due.

[63] Constantine Porphyrogennetos, Book of Ceremonies II 7 (535–538 Reiske; 239–241 with emend. [transl. 245–248] Featherstone, All Saints).

turn towards the right[64] and head on to the narthex of the Holy Apostles, from where they ascend to the galleries of the same church[65]. When the patriarch joins in with his procession, he stands inside the Holy Apostles, outside the sanctuary, waiting for the emperors. Then, the latter descend through the ramp and narthex of the Holy Apostles[66], exit the church and head towards the gate of the Horologion, through which they enter again the Holy Apostles. Once inside, they go to the doorway of the *gynaeceum*, where they are received by the Green and Red factions. Then they reach the patriarch at the chancel of the sanctuary.

Before proceeding further with the description of this ceremony, we should discuss the location of the Horologion. Dagron and Featherstone agree in placing it on the southern side of the narthex of the Holy Apostles, at a certain distance from All-the-Saints [**Figs. 5 and 6**][67], but it seems that they do not take into account its placement with respect to the entrance of the *gynaeceum*. Following the processional path of the emperors during another celebration, that of Easter Monday (Monday of the "New Week" or *Diakainesimos*)[68], we learn that the *gynaeceum* is located "on the left-hand side of the church", and as they leave behind them the mausoleum of Constantine, we understand this topographical indication as being, in relative terms, the southern arm of the church[69]. Combining all topographical evidence together, the door of the Horologion should therefore be located in the southern arm of the church instead of the southwestern corner of its narthex [**Fig. 5**]. This placement is also more convenient, because it puts it at a shorter distance from All-the-Saints.

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[64] The procession in question follows the protocol defined for other ceremonies, e.g. the one of Monday of the New Week or *Diakainesimos*, which starts from the Great Palace. On that occasion, the emperors reached the Holy Apostles from the south, following the northwestern branch of the Mesê. From there, to approach the complex, they would have had to turn right. Perhaps the gate was placed at the crossing of the Mesê with a perpendicular street leading to the Holy Apostles. For an idea of the Byzantine street grid around the area see the reconstruction offered by Berger, Streets 174–175 fig. 3–4.

[65] Both Dagron (Théophanô 213), and Asutay-Effenberger–Effenberger (Porphyrsarkophage 131 and n. 167), following Strube (Westliche Eingangsseite 143) assume that one must emend the text to read that the emperors go through the narthex of the Holy Apostles (τῶν Ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων *pro* τῶν Ἁγίων Πάντων). The hypothesis is the most plausible for the following reasons: (1) the first part of the ceremony is said to follow the protocol of other processions, among them that of Monday of the New Week or *Diakainesimos* (Constantine Porphyrogennetos, Book of Ceremonies I 10 [65–77 Vogt]), which involves the Holy Apostles but not the church of All-the-Saints; (2) it does not make sense for the procession to enter All-the-Saints before the solemn service of its *encaenia* takes place. Moreover, it is known that the church of the Holy Apostles had galleries: see e.g. Constantine Porphyrogennetos, Book of Ceremonies II 7 (538, ll. 4–7 Reiske; 241 [transl. 248] Featherstone, All Saints); but also: Procopius, Buildings I 4, [12] (ed. G. Wirth, Procopii Caesariensis Opera omnia. Bd. IV: Περὶ κτισμάτων libri VI sive De aedificiis. Leipzig 1964, p. 24, ll. 3–5); Theophanes 461, ll. 17–19 (ed. C. de Boor, Theophanis Chronographia. Tomus I. Lipsiae 1883); Nikolaos Mesarites, Description of the church of the Holy Apostles [5] (14, ll. 10–11 ed. Heisenberg, Grabeskirche und Apostelkirche; 898a [transl. p. 864a] Downey). The same is not certain for All-the-Saints: coeval Constantinopolitan churches, although smaller in scale as compared to the conjectural size of All-the-Saints (32.5 m × 16.6 m based on the dimensions of the cistern), do not have galleries (cf. e.g. the Myrelaion church, now Bodrum Camii, built c. 920, on which see at least R. Krautheimer, Early Christian and Byzantine architecture, revised ed. by R. Krautheimer and S. Ćurčić. New Haven – London 1986, 356–358) or, if they have them, they are limited to the narthex (cf. e.g. the North Church of the present Fenari İsa Camii built by Constantine Lips and dedicated in 907: Krautheimer, Architecture 358–360). The text under discussion refers to "galleries of the church" not of the narthex (καὶ ἀνέρχονται *ἐν τοῖς κατηχουμενίοις τῆς αὐτῆς ἐκκλησίας*: Constantine Porphyrogennetos, Book of Ceremonies II 7 (535, ll. 13–14 Reiske [my emphasis]; 239, transl. 246 Featherstone, All Saints). So, if one does not adopt the emendation discussed, one necessarily postulates the existence of galleries in the church of All-the-Saints: In this sense: Featherstone, All Saints 246 n. 51. I thank the anonymous reviewer of the article for the very helpful remarks upon the passage under discussion.

[66] We keep the text as it is, and reject the emendation proposed by Featherstone, All Saints 239, transl. 246 (τῶν Ἁγίων Πάντων *pro* τῶν Ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων). Our location of the Horologion on the southern arm of the church (see below) makes Featherstone's emendation unnecessary.

[67] Dagron, Théophanô 216; Featherstone, All Saints 246 n. 50. Vertical sundials are usually installed on walls facing south. For an overview of ancient clock technology and horologia see A. Rehm, Horologium, in: *RE* XVI 2416–2433.

[68] Constantine Porphyrogennetos, Book of Ceremonies I 10 (65–77 Vogt).

[69] Ibid. (70 Vogt).

To come back to where we left off, the ceremony of the *encaenia* of All-the-Saints proceeds with the sovereigns and patriarch entering the sanctuary of the Holy Apostles and performing the usual acts of devotion. Then they come out of the sanctuary and go in procession to All-the-Saints, where the rite of the dedication is celebrated. Once in the church of All-the-Saints, the emperor and the patriarch enter the sanctuary, pass to the right into the chapel dedicated to a martyr named Leo, and then, after having performed their rites of obeisance to God, they follow again the round end of the principal apse and enter into the symmetrically opposite chapel dedicated to St Theophanô (the *oratorium* set up by Constantine Porphyrogennetos), where they change their vestments and sit down to await the reading of the Gospel. From there, they pass through the narthex of the chapel of St Hypatios and the terrace outside it and "through the wooden staircase that leads out, outside St Constantine, and goes up to the galleries of the Holy Apostles" (διὰ τῆς ξυλίνης σκάλας τῆς ἐξαγούσης ἔξω τοῦ Ἁγίου Κωνσταντίνου τῆς ἀναγούσης εἰς τὰ κατηχούμενα τῶν Ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων)[70]. Eventually they head on to the rooms of the palace where the usual banquet takes place[71]. According to the path followed during the ceremony, the chapels dedicated to Leo the martyr and St Theophanô appear to be located on either side of the central apse of All-the-Saints, the former on the south, the latter on the north. St Hypatios is accessed directly from the side of the oratory of St Theophanô and thus is most likely an annex attached to the northern flank of the church. The wooden staircase to the galleries is probably adjacent to the eastern wall of the Holy Apostles, on its northern side.

In conclusion, the placement of the church of All-the-Saints that matches both the topographical indications from the textual dossier and the archaeological evidence corresponds to the south-eastern edge of the Holy Apostles.

NOTE ON THE CONJECTURAL PLAN PROPOSED

The proposed plan [**Fig. 7**] is an elaboration which combines the scholarly reconstruction of the complex of the Holy Apostles by Underwood (with emendations)[72] with new insights from the sources concerning the location of the church of All-the-Saints. The church of the Holy Apostles is outlined based on a combination of elements gained from textual sources—namely Procopius, Constantine the Rhodian and Nikolaos Mesarites[73]—and comparative architectural material, most notably the sixth-century church of St John in Ephesos and the medieval basilica of St Mark in Venice[74]. The mausoleum of Constantine is drawn according to the form and scale of the fourth-century mauso-

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[70] Ibid. II 7 (538, ll. 4–7 Reiske; 240–241, transl. 248 Featherstone, All Saints, slightly modified).

[71] Asutay-Effenberger–Effenberger place the palace "im Obergeschoß des Narthex" (Porphyrsarkophage 132); Featherstone locates it on one side of the narthex/atrium (as in the case of the patriarchal palace on the southern side of Hagia Sophia) (All Saints 248 n. 57). I have adopted the second solution, placing the palace on the southern side of the church. This location seems to be confirmed by the description of the ceremony of Easter Monday (Constantine Porphyrogennetos, Book of Ceremonies I 10 [70–71 Vogt]): the emperor, coming out from the narthex of the church of the Holy Apostles, turns towards the left side of the atrium (so towards the southern side of the church) in the direction of a spiral staircase (κογχλιός) and from there he ascends to the church's galleries; then, from the passages that stand "before" (or precede: ἔμπροσθεν) the galleries he accesses the palace.

[72] See n. 50.

[73] Respectively: Procopius, Buildings I 4, [9]–[16] (23–24 Wirth); Constantine the Rhodian, Ekphrasis on Constantinople and the church of the Holy Apostles vv. 548–750 (57–69 Vassis); Nikolaos Mesarites, Description of the church of the Holy Apostles (10–96 Heisenberg).

[74] Respectively: Forschungen in Ephesos, veröffentlicht vom Österreichischen Archäologischen Institut. Bd. 4, Heft 3: Die Johanneskirche. Vienna 1951, 17–178; E. Vio (ed.), La Basilica di Venezia. San Marco. Arte, storia, conservazione. Vols. I–III. Venice 2019.

leum of Santa Costanza in Rome[75]. The plan of All-the-Saints has been outlined according to the information drawn from (1) textual sources and (2) coeval comparative architectural material:

Textual sources

a. According to John Skylitzes, who refers to damage caused by an earthquake that occurred in 1010, during the joint reign of Basil II and Constantine VIII, the church was a domed building[76].
b. Following the processional path described in the *Book of Ceremonies* for the *encaenia* of All-the-Saints, the church appears to have a tripartite sanctuary with two side chapels, one on the right of the main apse, dedicated to Leo the martyr, and one to the left of it, dedicated to St Theophanô. It can be inferred, from the same path, that a further chapel dedicated to St Hypatios, with narthex, is accessible from the side of St Theophanô: it may therefore be located on the northern side of All-the-Saints[77].

Coeval comparative architectural material

a. The North Church of the monastic complex founded by Constantine Lips, now Fenari İsa Camii (907): it is a quincunx (cross-in-square) church with a domed center bay resting on four columns and groin-vaulted corner bays; the cross arms are covered by barrel-vaults; the three apses are polygonal; the narthex, surmounted by a gallery, terminates in shallow niches at either end; two *parekklesia*, one on the northern side, one on the southern, flank the church[78].
b. The Myrelaion church, now Bodrum Camii (c. 920): it is a quincunx (cross-in-square) church, similar to the preceding one, but with a scalloped dome, without a gallery over the narthex and without *parekklesia*[79].

The structure of All-the-Saints reflects a combination of the textual information and of elements from comparative architectural evidence. Based on the two extant *comparanda*, we have opted for a single dome, but the five-domed solution cannot be excluded on textual grounds and it is plausible considering the lost precedent of the Nea Ekklesia, dedicated by Basil I in 880[80]. The church has been placed adjacent to the mausoleum of Constantine: the idea conforms with our textual witnesses and is in line with middle-Byzantine constructive practices (see e.g. the Fenari İsa Camii). The size of All-the-Saints (excluding the chapel of St Hypatios) corresponds to that of Müller-Wiener's cistern (32.5 m × 16.6 m). The conjectural orientation of the whole complex (ESE), determined by the cistern, is in line with that of other Justinianic church buildings (e.g. Hagia Sophia, Hagia Eirene).

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[75] In this way also Asutay-Effenberger–Effenberger, Porphyrsarkophage 54–55. On the mausoleum of Santa Costanza see most recently J. J. Rasch – A. Arbeiter (mit Beiträgen von F. W. Deichmann u. J. Rohmann), Spätantike Zentralbauten in Rom und Latium. Bd. 4: Das Mausoleum der Constantina in Rom. Mainz 2007.

[76] John Skylitzes [34] (ed. J. Thurn, Ioannis Scylitzae Synopsis historiarum [*CFHB* 5]. Berlin 1973, 348, ll. 95–97).

[77] Constantine Porphyrogennetos, Book of Ceremonies II 7 (537–538 Reiske; 240 [transl. 247–248] Featherstone, All Saints).

[78] See Krautheimer, Architecture 358–360 (plan 312).

[79] Ibid., 356–358 (perspective section and plans 309).

[80] Theophanes Continuatus V (*Vita Basilii*) [84] (ed. I. Ševčenko, Chronographiae quae Theophanis Continuati nomine fertur. Liber V quo Vita Basilii imperatoris amplectitur [*CFHB* 42]. Berlin 2011, 274–277).

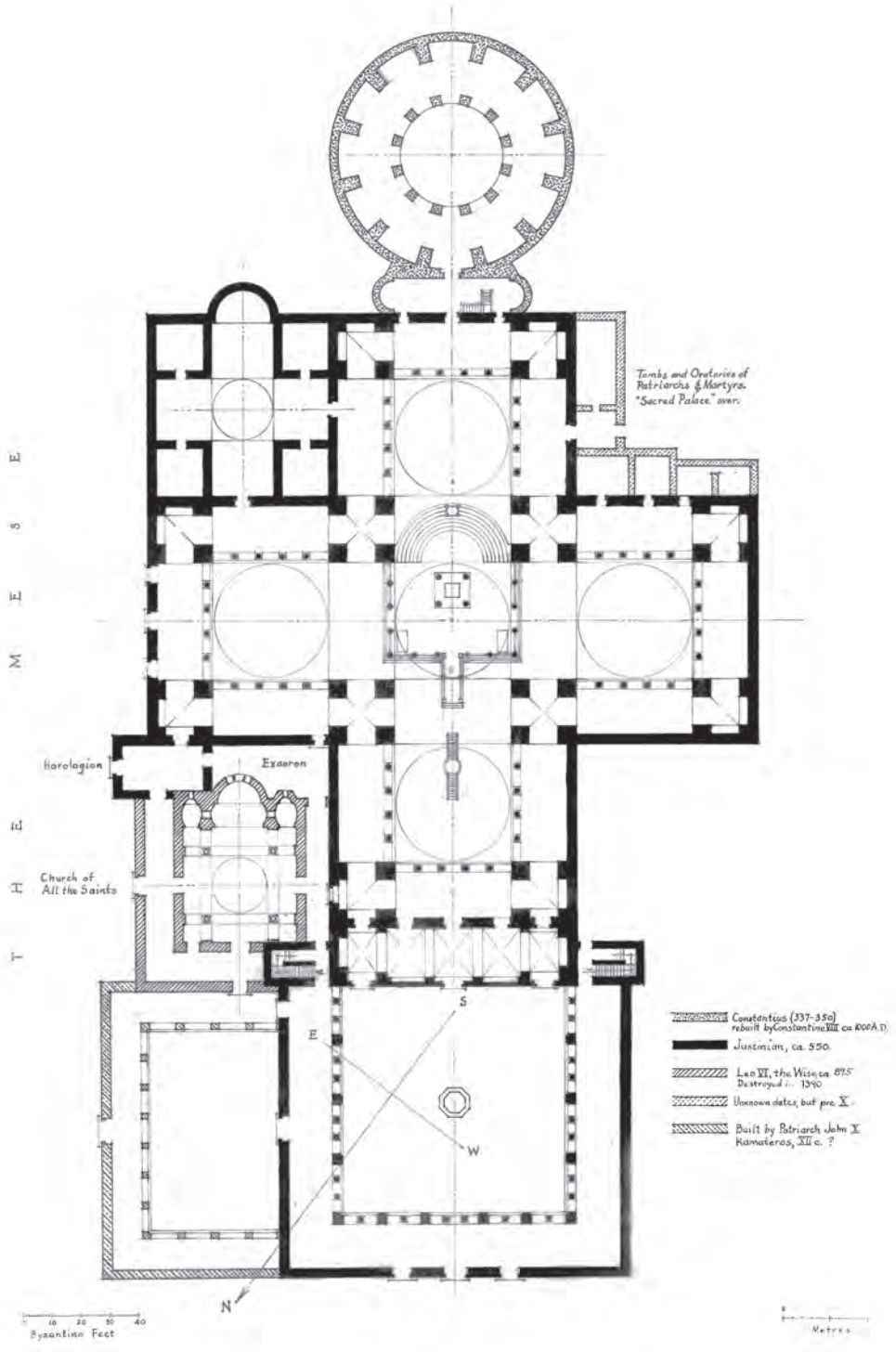


Fig. 1: Ground plan of the complex of the Holy Apostles (© P. Underwood)

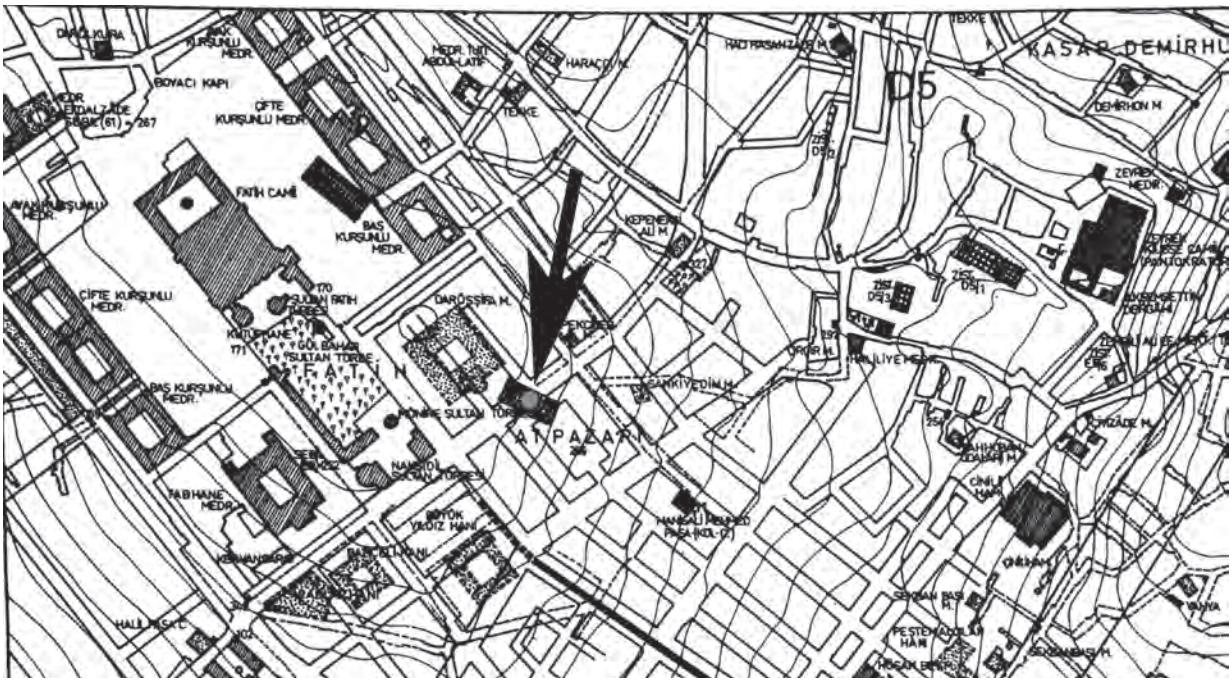


Fig. 2: Istanbul, map of the Fatih area with localization of Müller-Wiener's cistern (cistern D 5/9 Crow–Bardill–Bayliss (© W. Müller-Wiener)

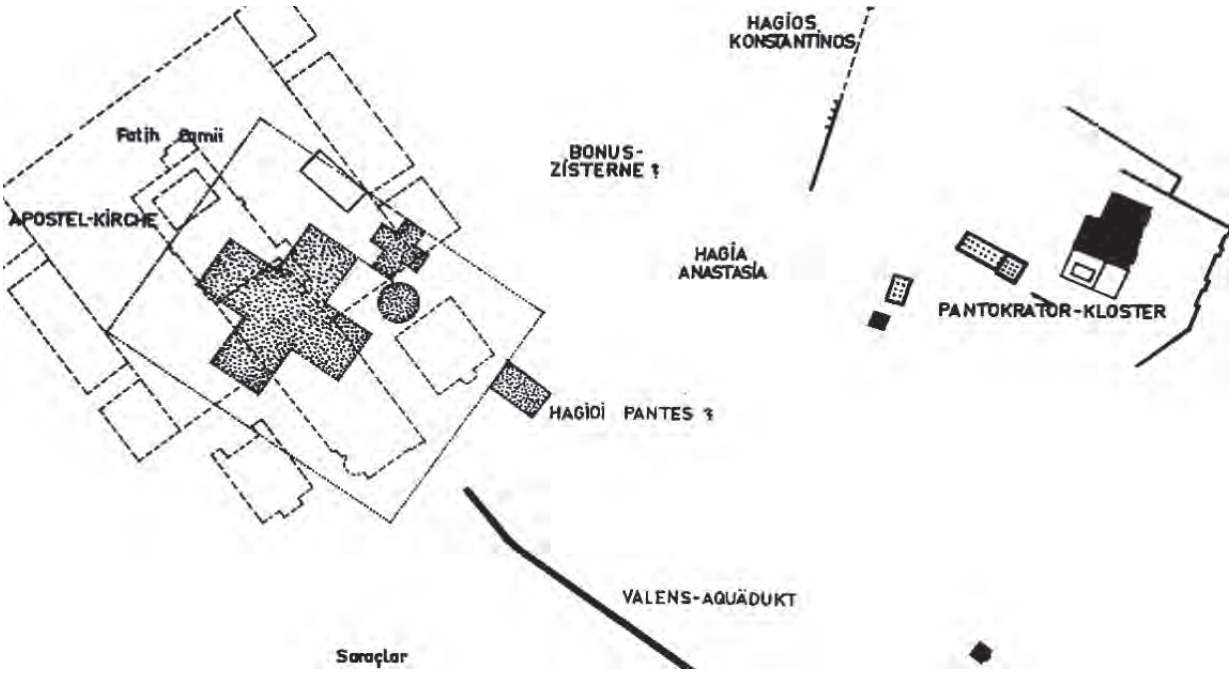


Fig. 3: Conjectural placement of the complex of the Holy Apostles in the Fatih area (© W. Müller-Wiener)

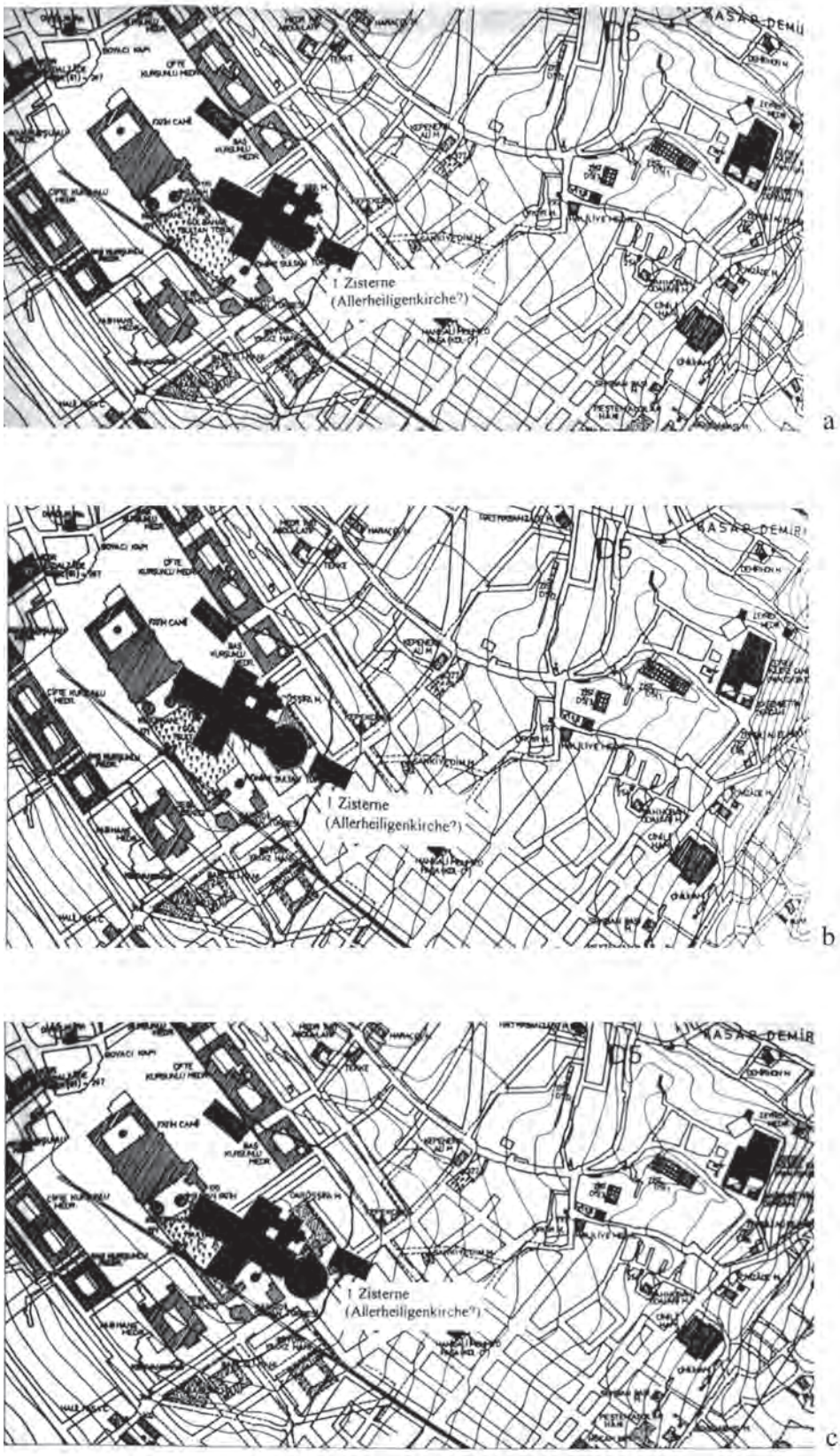
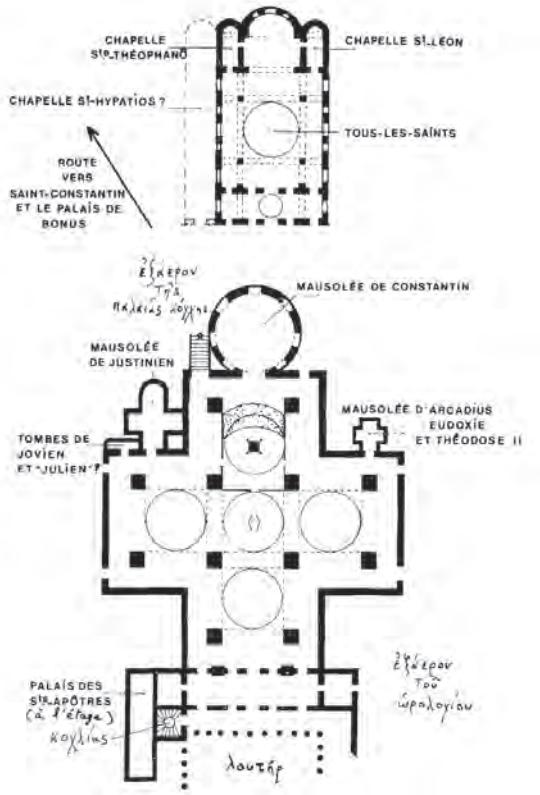


Fig. 4: Alternative conjectural placements of the complex of the Holy Apostles in the Fatih area (© N. Asutay-Effenberger – A. Effenberger)

Fig. 5
Sketch of the complex of the Holy Apostles
(© G. Dagron)



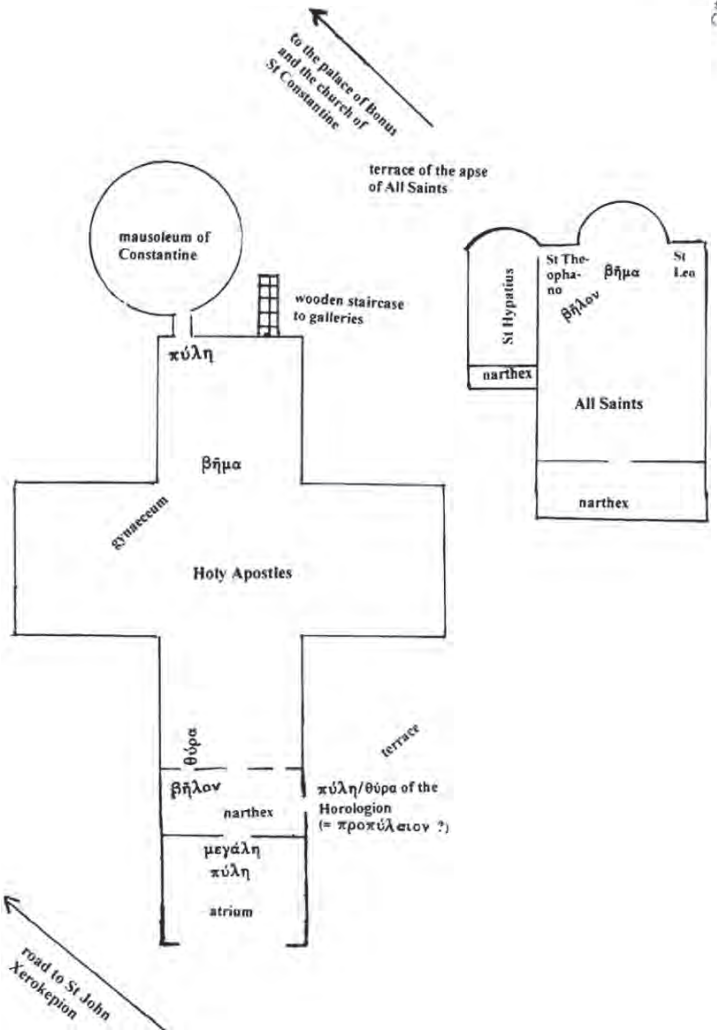


Fig. 6
Sketch of the complex of the Holy Apostles
(© J. Featherstone)

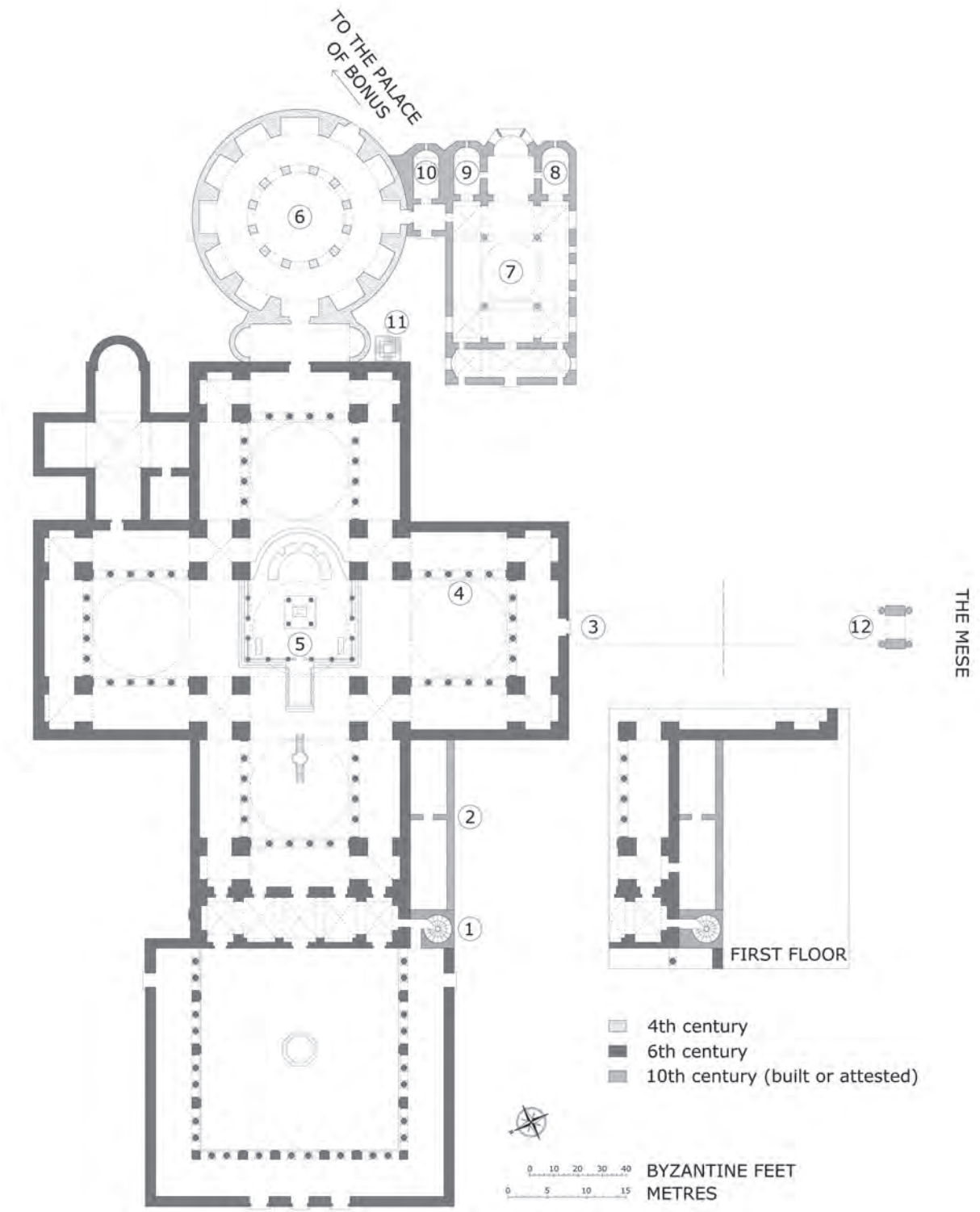


Fig. 7: Ground plan of the Holy Apostles complex (© L. Carmagnola, B. Daskas).
Legend: (1) Spiral staircase (κογχλιός) | (2) palace | (3) horologion | (4) gynecæum | (5) sanctuary | (6) mausoleum of Constantine | (7) church of All-the-Saints | (8) chapel of Leo the martyr | (9) chapel of St Theophanô | (10) chapel of St Hypatios | (11) wooden staircase | (12) "gate of the Holy Apostles" (πύλη τῶν Ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων)

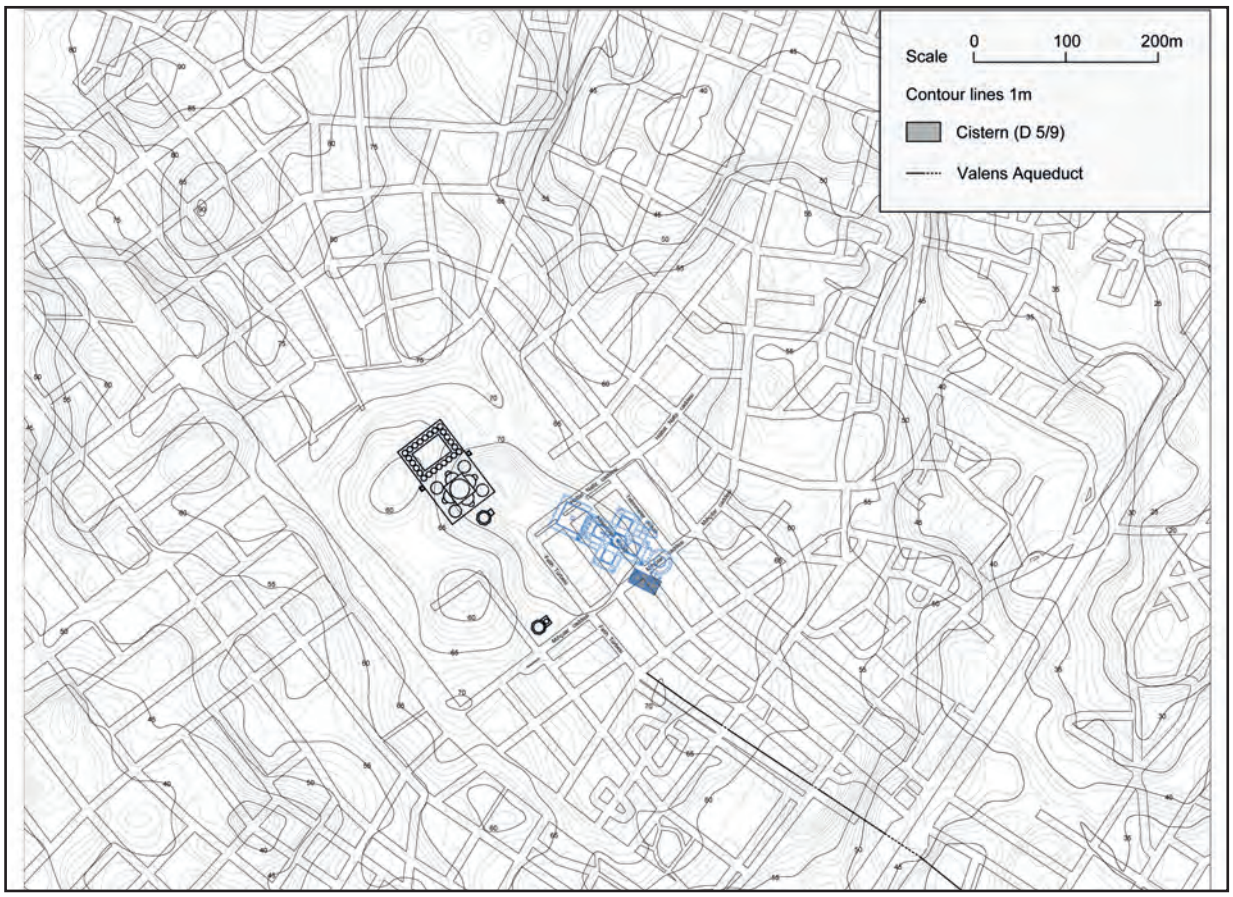


Fig. 8: Conjectural placement of the complex of the Holy Apostles in the Fatih area (© M. Grimaldi, G. Vaglietti, B. Daskas)

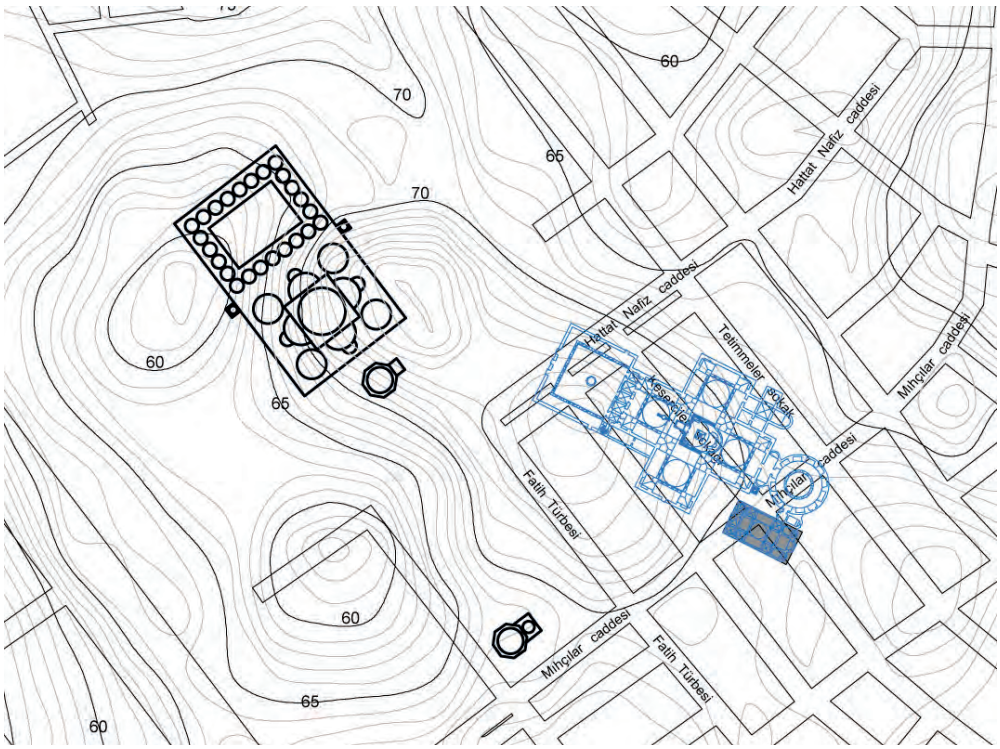


Fig. 8a: Detail

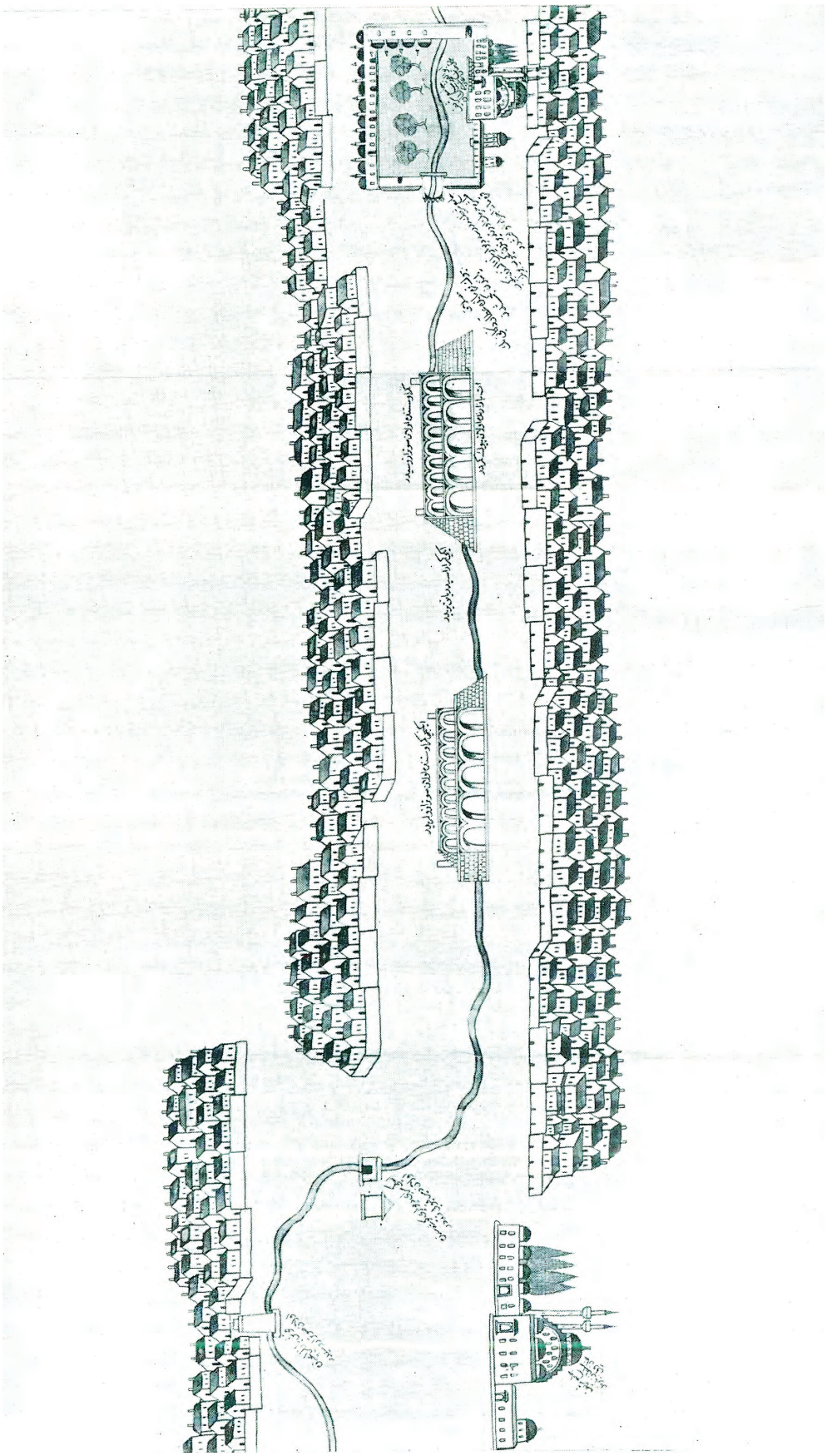


Fig. 9: Water system of Istanbul (1673, A. H. 1083). Drawing, no. 1027, Köprülü Library, Istanbul.

JAHRBUCH DER ÖSTERREICHISCHEN BYZANTINISTIK, 69. Band/2019, 135–154
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DOI: 10.1553/joeb69S135

Tomasz Derda[a] – Adam Łajtar[b]

Organization of the Church in Medieval Nubia in the Light of a Newly Discovered Wall Inscription in Dongola[*]

with four figures

Abstract: The paper offers an edition of a Greek inscription written on a wall of the so-called Church B.V in Dongola, the capital of the Christian Nubian Kingdom of Makuria. The inscription commemorates the inauguration or a renovation of the church, accomplished by the archbishop of Dongola Aaron. It says that the ceremony of the church consecration was attended by nine bishops in addition to Aaron, and lists their names and the names of their sees. The bishops stayed in Dongola for seven days, probably taking part in a synod of the local Church. The content of the inscription casts light on the organization and functioning of the Makurian Church. Prosopographical indications, especially the mention of Ioannes bishop of Faras, suggest that the event took place either between AD 804 and c. 815 or AD 999 and 1002.

Keywords: Greek Wall Inscriptions, Church Organization, Nubia, Dongola

It is a well-known fact that Nubia, the southern neighbour of Egypt stretched along the Middle Nile Valley, was Christian in the period corresponding more or less to the European Middle Ages[1]. Christianity started to infiltrate the area already in the fourth century and was formally established as a state religion in the sixth century. At the time of the area's Christianization, Nubia was divided into three independent kingdoms: Nobadia in the north—between the first and the third Nile cataracts—with its capital first at Qasr Ibrim (Greek and Coptic Phrim, Nubian Silmi) and later in Faras (Greek and Coptic Pachoras, Nubian Para), Alwa in the south—below the fifth Nile cataract—with its capital at Soba, and Makuria lying between these two kingdoms, with its capital at Dongola (Greek and Coptic Timikleos, Nubian Tungul). The process of the formal Christianization of the Nubian kingdoms is

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[*] The authors wish to thank Włodzimierz Godlewski, Director of the Dongola excavations between 2007 and 2018, for the permission to publish this interesting epigraphic find and for discussion. They also express their gratitude to Grzegorz Ochała for information, Szymon Maślak for drawing the map of Makurian bishoprics, Dorota Dzierzbicka, Giovanni Ruffini, and Dorothy Thompson for correcting the English of the paper, and two anonymous reviewers for valuable remarks that contributed to the final version of the paper.

The following abbreviations are used throughout this paper: I.KhartoumCopt. = J. van der Vliet, Catalogue of the Coptic Inscriptions in the Sudan National Museum at Khartoum (I. Khartoum Copt.) (*Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 121). Leuven – Paris – Dudley, Ma. 2003; I.KhartoumGreek = A. Łajtar, Catalogue of the Greek Inscriptions in the Sudan National Museum at Khartoum (I. Khartoum Greek) (*Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 122). Leuven – Paris – Dudley, Ma. 2003; I.QasrIbrim = A. Łajtar, J. van der Vliet, Qasr Ibrim. The Greek and Coptic Inscriptions (*Journal of Juristic Papyrology Supplement* 13). Warsaw 2010; I.Varsovie = A. Łajtar, A. Twardecki, Catalogue des inscriptions grecques du Musée National de Varsovie (*Journal of Juristic Papyrology Supplement* 2). Warsaw 2003; P.QI III = G. M. Browne, Old Nubian Texts from Qasr Ibrim III (*Egypt Exploration Society, Texts from Excavations* 12). London 1991; P.QI IV = G. R. Ruffini, The Bishop, the Eparch, and the King. Old Nubian Texts from Qasr Ibrim (P.QI IV) (*Journal of Juristic Papyrology Supplement* 22). Warsaw 2014.

[1] For Nubians and Nubia, with a focus on its medieval history, see W. Y. Adams, Nubia, Corridor to Africa. Princeton – London 1977, *passim*, especially 433–546; D. A. Welsby, The Medieval Kingdoms of Nubia. Pagans, Christians and Muslims along the Middle Nile. London 2002; R. Werner, Das Christentum in Nubien. Geschichte und Gestalt einer afrikanischen Kirche (*Studien zur Orientalischen Kirchengeschichte* 48). Münster 2013.

poorly known[2]. It appears that there were three official evangelization missions, sent from Constantinople but involving mainly Egyptian forces and support. The first, in the 540s, and the second, at the turn of the 560s, aimed at Nobadia, while the third, in the 580s, had Alwa as its destination. The exact date of the evangelization of Makuria is unknown; we know, however, that its king was Christian at the time of the second mission to Nobadia.

In the period immediately following Christianization, when the group of adherents to the new faith was rather small and consisted, it seems, mainly of members of the elite, each of the three kingdoms apparently had only one bishop. As a matter of fact, this situation is attested only for Nobadia, which became a bishopric in 566 with the ordination of the Egyptian priest Longinos, but it can easily be assumed also for two other kingdoms. One can suppose that the sees of these "state" bishops were royal capitals: for Makuria—Dongola, for Alwa—Soba, and for Nobadia—Qasr Ibrim or Faras, but probably the former since there is no sign of a bishopric in Pachoras (Faras) before c. 610 (see below). With the progress of Christianization and in response to growing pastoral needs, a network of bishoprics emerged in the Middle Nile valley. The exact date of this change is unknown; it could have occurred some time in the first half of the seventh century, when the bishopric of Pachoras was created[3].

At a certain moment, perhaps around 630, Makuria absorbed Nobadia and their Churches merged into one Makurian Church[4]. From that moment on, only two kingdoms—Makuria and Alwa—with their two Churches (Makurian and Alwan) existed in the Middle Nile valley. Both Churches were subordinated to the Alexandrian Miaphysite Patriarchate in pastoral terms but otherwise seem to have retained their autonomous status. Their existence can be traced up to the end of independent Nubian Christian statehood, which for Makuria came towards the end of the 15th and for Alwa at the beginning of the 16th century.

Very little is known about the history and organization of the Christian Church in Alwa. Much more can be said about the structure and the functioning of the Church in Makuria thanks to intensive archaeological research in southern Egypt and northern Sudan, largely in conjunction with major dam construction projects. Basic information on this subject, however, comes from written sources,

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[2] For the Christianization of Nubian Kingdoms, see S. G. Richter, Studien zur Christianisierung Nubiens (*Sprachen und Kulturen des christlichen Orients* 11). Wiesbaden 2002; J. H. F. Dijkstra, Philae and the End of Ancient Egyptian Religion. A Regional Study of Religious Transformation (298–642 CE) (*Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 173). Leuven – Paris – Dudley, Ma. 2008, 271–304. Our main source here is the chronicle of John of Ephesus, a Monophysite bishop and historian of the sixth century, contemporary of the events. His account is strongly influenced by his religious attitude and therefore must be taken with great caution.

[3] That the bishopric of Pachoras was established in the first quarter of the seventh century may be calculated on the basis of the list of Pachoras bishops with additional use of data provided by other sources; for the list of Pachoras bishops, see S. Jakobielski, La liste des évêques de Pakhoras, *Études et Travaux* 1 (1966) 151–170; with improved text: S. Jakobielski, A History of the Bishopric of Pachoras on the Basis of Coptic Inscriptions (*Faras* 3). Warsaw 1972, 190–195. The cathedral of Faras discovered by Polish archaeologists in the 1960s was founded in AD 707 by bishop Paulos, as indicated by foundation inscriptions in Greek (I.Varsovie 101) and Coptic (I.KhartoumCopt. 1). Paulos was the fifth bishop of Pachoras according to the list of bishops. Assuming that every predecessor of Paulos officiated for 25 years (i.e. one generation), this means that the bishopric was created c. 610; see also Jakobielski, A History 27–28. This calculation is, of course, purely theoretical and should be taken with caution.

[4] On the incorporation of Nobadia into Makuria, see most recently W. Godlewski, The Rise of Makuria (late 5th–8th cent.), in: Nubian Studies 1998: Proceedings of the Ninth Conference of the International Society of Nubian Studies, August 21–26, 1998, ed. T. Kendall. Boston 2004, 58–61. The date of this event is a matter of controversy. The earliest indubitable proof of the existence of a greater Makuria that also encompassed Nobadia is the reign of Merkurios (late seventh–early eighth century) who is attested also in the north as king in Dongola. It is assumed that the incorporation of Nobadia by Makuria occurred long before the reign of Merkurios, most probably still prior to the Arab raid on Dongola in 652; all Arabic reports of this event are completely silent about Nobadia, as though this kingdom did not exist. Recently Włodzimierz Godlewski (personal communication) put forward a hypothesis that Nobadia ceased to exist as an independent political organism as early as the end of the sixth century.

namely lists of Nubian bishoprics transmitted by Coptic *scalae*, a kind of dictionary that has circulated among Copts since late medieval times. One such list was copied in 1673 from an "old Coptic manuscript" in the possession of the then bishop of Assiut by a Dominican friar, Johann Michael Wansleben (Jean-Michel Vansleb), who published it shortly after this date in his account of the Alexandrian Patriarchate[5]. Five other lists, preserved in Coptic and Arabic manuscripts now in the libraries of London, Manchester and Paris, were identified and published recently by Robin Seignobos[6]. These manuscripts were copied at the very end of the 18th and the first half of the 19th century, but the lists of Nubian bishoprics in them rely on much earlier, probably late medieval sources. The lists can be divided into two groups, labelled A and B by their editor, of which the latter represents the same tradition as the list of Vansleb. Robin Seignobos was able to identify yet another list of the same type (list C), preserved exclusively in Arabic. That list of bishoprics is attached, together with some other compositions, to a copy of the *History of Churches and Monasteries of Egypt* by Abū al-Maqārim (the manuscript is now split between Paris and Munich). According to the colophon, that copy was prepared in 1338, and its attachments were added at an unknown date but before 1672, when part of the manuscript (already divided) was purchased for the collection of the king of France.

According to the lists of group A there were seven bishoprics in the land of the Makurians (ϫωρⲁ ṅⲛⲓⲙⲁⲕⲱⲣⲉⲟⲥ): Kourte, Ternekhi (correctly Terpekhi), Silme of Ethiopia (?), Narasi (correctly Parasi), Sinklôtta, Ephrim, and Sinkir. Lists of group B (including that of Vansleb) also attribute seven bishoprics to Makuria (Maracu, Markou or Mārākū). These were: Korta (Kourta, Qurṭa), Ibrim (Pirimnēn, Ibrīm), Bucoras (Pakhōras, Būḫ.rās which is also called al-Dū), Sai (Saēl, Ṣāy), Dunkala also called Dungala (Temklē, Dunqulā)[7], Termus (Onadour, B.r.nūs), and Scienkur (Shenkour, Š.t.kī)[8]. List C, under the heading "Land of the Nubians" (*bilād al-Nūba*), has nine bishoprics: Bilāq, M.l.ḥ.s.ṭ.s, Qurtā, [Ba]hūras, Dunqūla, [- -]āda, Ak.d.[-]l, Ifrīm, and Y.k.sār. It is easy to observe that the lists are internally inconsistent, contradictory, and sometimes give false information[9]. The lists of group A feature Ibrim twice (once described as Silme, once as Ephrim) and omit Dongola, which (as Tougoun) is placed among the bishoprics of the "Land of the Nubians", ϫωρⲁ ṅⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲁⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲓ, a designation referring to Alwa in this case. List C includes the Egyptian Bilāq (= Philae), which most probably was never a Nubian bishopric. The most reliable of these lists seem to be those of group B. Their reliability is confirmed by the fact that five out of seven bishoprics mentioned in them—Kourte, Ibrim, Pachoras, Sai and Dongola—are well attested in internal Nubian sources. Ibrim, Pachoras, and Dongola have left behind an important archaeological record, which demonstrates that they were fortified settlements with densely built living quarters and numerous churches including cathedrals[10].

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[5] J.-M. Vansleb, Histoire de l'Église d'Alexandrie: fondée par S. Marc, que nous appelons celle des Jacobites coptes d'Égypte, écrite au Caire même, en 1672 et 1673. Paris 1677, 29–30.

[6] R. Seignobos, Les évêchés nubiens: nouveaux témoignages. La source de la liste de Vansleb et deux autres textes méconnus, in: Nubian Voices II. New Texts and Studies on Christian Nubian Culture, ed. A. Łajtar – G. Ochała – J. van der Vliet (*Journal of Juristic Papyrology Supplement* 27). Warsaw 2015, 151–230.

[7] For Temklē as a name for Dongola, see A. Łajtar, The Mystery of Timikleos solved!, in: Łajtar–Ochała–van der Vliet, Nubian Voices II, 231–244.

[8] The basic forms of the names are those given by Vansleb. The forms in parentheses come from Copto-Arabic lists edited by Seignobos.

[9] See commentary of Seignobos, Les évêchés.

[10] For Christian Qasr Ibrim, see W. Y. Adams, Qasr Ibrîm. The Late Mediaeval Period (*Egypt Exploration Society, Excavation Memoir* 59). London 1996; W. Y. Adams, Qasr Ibrim. The Earlier Medieval Period (*Egypt Exploration Society, Excavation Memoir* 89). London 2010; for its cathedral, see F. Aldsworth – H. Barnard – P. Drury – P. Gartkiewicz, Qasr Ibrim. The Cathedral Church (*Egypt Exploration Society, Excavation Memoir* 97). London 2010. For Christian Faras and the cathedral there, famous for its painted decoration, see K. Michałowski, Faras. Die Kathedrale aus dem Wüstensand, Einsiedeln – Zürich – Cologne 1967; W. Godlewski, Pachoras. The Cathedrals of Aetios, Paulos and Petros. The Architecture (*Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean Supplement Series* 1). Warsaw 2006; S. Jakobielski et al., Pachoras/Faras. The Wall Paintings from the Cathedrals of Aetios, Paulos and Petros (*Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean Monograph Series* 4).

Christian-period Sai has never been an object of systematic study, even if we know the putative location of its cathedral[11]. Kourte can plausibly be identified with present-day Qurta or Qurṭah, a locality in Lower Nubia opposite the entrance to Wadi al-Allaqi; however, no archaeological survey was undertaken there before the area was flooded by the waters of Lake Nubia. Inscriptions and documents written on perishable materials give us insight into the episcopal *fasti* of all these sees which, in the case of Pachoras, are uninterrupted between the beginning of the seventh and the second half of the 12th centuries[12]. The two remaining bishoprics of the lists of group B—Termus and Scienkur—are unknown to us except for their general location, which was to the east and southeast of Dongola, given the topographical arrangement of the lists proceeding up the Nile. Scienkur has recently been tentatively identified with the present-day Shemkhiya, a locality upstream of the fourth cataract[13]; however, this identification, though attractive, is not entirely certain (see below).

Fortunately, our source base for the structure and functioning of the Makurian Church has recently been enriched by an extraordinary discovery made by Polish archaeologists in Dongola, the capital of Makuria. This is an ink inscription written on a wall of so-called church B.V. The church in question is located in the southern part of the medieval town, to the south of a large residential building (B.I), probably the palace of Makurian kings[14], and a small cruciform building of commemorative character (B.III), transformed into a church at a later stage of its existence (**Fig. 1**)[15]. According to the hypothesis of Włodzimierz Godlewski, all three buildings—the palace, the commemorative building, and church B.V—could have formed a single complex with both royal and state connections[16]. Archaeological evidence and formal criteria show that church B.V was built at the end of the eighth or the very beginning of the ninth century. Its plan, which may be described as a "cross over rectangle", was typical for Dongolan sacred architecture of the ninth century and the radiocarbon examination of a wooden beam used in its construction has provided a date in the second half of the eighth century[17]. The church functioned throughout the period of Nubian Christianity until the 14th/15th century. It was

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Warsaw 2017. For Dongola, see W. Godlewski, Dongola – Ancient Tungul (*Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology Archaeological Guide* 1). Warsaw 2013; for its cathedral, see P. M. Gartkiewicz, The Cathedral in Old Dongola and its Antecedents (*Nubia* I, *Dongola* 2). Warsaw 1990.

[11] On Christian Sai, see H. Hafsaas-Tsakos – A. Tsakos, First Glimpses into the Medieval Period on Sai Island. *Beiträge zur Sudanforschung* 10 (2009) 77–85; H. Hafsaas-Tsakos – A. Tsakos, A Second Look into the Medieval Period on the Sai Island. *Beiträge zur Sudanforschung* 11 (2012) 75–91; H. Hafsaas-Tsakos – A. Tsakos, A Note on the Medieval Period of Sai Island, in: The Fourth Cataract and Beyond. Proceedings of the 12th International Conference for Nubian Studies, ed. J. R. Anderson – D. A. Welsby (*British Museum Publications on Egypt and Sudan* 1). Leuven 2014, 985–988; H. Hafsaas-Tsakos – A. Tsakos, Nubian Cathedrals with Granite Columns, in: Aegyptus et Nubia Christiana. The Włodzimierz Godlewski Jubilee Volume on the Occasion of his 70th Birthday, ed. A. Łajtar – A. Obłuski – I. Zych. Warsaw 2016, 389–410.

[12] For the episcopal *fasti* of Christian Nubia, see A. Łajtar, Nubian Bishops: A Study of a Group of the Christian Nubian Society, forthcoming.

[13] B. Żurawski, Where the Water is Crying. Survey and Excavations in Shemkhiya, Dar el-Arab (Suegi al-Gharb) and Saffi Island Carried out by the Polish Expedition to the Fourth Cataract in the Winter of 2004/2005. Preliminary Report, in: Proceedings of the Second International Conference on the Archaeology of the Fourth Nile Cataract, Berlin, August 4th–6th, 2005, ed. C. Näser – M. Lange (*Meroitica* 23). Wiesbaden 2007, 180–184.

[14] For building B.I, see Godlewski, Dongola – Ancient Tungul (see n. 10), 26–29 (with earlier bibliography); W. Godlewski with contributions by K. Danys and M. Osypińska, Palatial Building SWN.B.I and Earlier Relics of Buildings SWN.B.IV and SWNB.X, in: Dongola 2012–2014. Fieldwork, Conservation and Site Management, ed. W. Godlewski – D. Dzierzbicka (*Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology*, *Excavation Series* 3). Warsaw 2015, 65–84.

[15] For building B.III, see D. Zielińska, Edifice without Parallel: Cruciform Building on the Old Dongola citadel, in: Between the Cataracts. Proceedings of the 11th Conference for Nubian Studies, Warsaw University, 27 August – 2 September 2006, vol. II: Session Papers, ed. W. Godlewski – A. Łajtar (*Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean Supplement Series* 2, 2). Warsaw 2010, 695–704; Godlewski, Dongola – Ancient Tungul, 35–39.

[16] Godlewski, Dongola – Ancient Tungul 25.

[17] For the architecture of church B.V, see W. Godlewski, The Church of Raphael (SWN.B.V), in: Dongola 2015–2016. Fieldwork, Conservation and Site Management, ed. W. Godlewski – D. Dzierzbicka – A. Łajtar (*Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology*, *Excavation Series* 5). Warsaw 2018, 115–132.

probably dedicated to Archangel Raphael, whose representations feature prominently in the painted decoration.

The inscription under consideration was discovered during the 2016 work season of the Polish mission[18]. It is located on the western pilaster supporting the arcade that separates two parts of the southern *pastophorium*—the smaller square section to the north from the larger rectangular part to the south (**Fig. 2**). The start (top) of the inscription is 295.5 cm above the floor, which means that it was not destined for reading but had only a symbolic function. 72 cm wide, it occupies almost the entire width of the pilaster, leaving a margin of only 6.5 cm on the left-hand side. The height of the inscription is 23 cm (31 cm including the initial symbol A † Ω). Letters are c. 1.5 cm high, though some of them, for example ϕ, are considerably higher. The inscription was executed with black ink by a well-trained hand, which, however, is not a particularly good one. The script may be classified as Biblical majuscule slightly inclined to the right (**Fig. 3**).

The inscription can be transcribed as follows:

A † Ω
† ἐ̣γ̣εκ̣α̣ι̣γ̣ί̣σ̣θ̣η̣ ἡ ἐ̣κ̣κλησία α̣ὕτη ὑπὸ θ(εο)ῦ π[αν]τοκ̣[ράτ]ωρος . [. .]. . . . [. . . . .]ω.
τοῦ φιλοχ(ρίστο)υ καὶ φιλαγάθου καὶ φ[ι]λ̣ε̣κκλ̣ησί̣[ο]υ Γεωργίου β(ασι)λ(έω)[ς]
δ̣ι̣ὰ τοῦ [ἀβ(βα)]
4 Ἀαρων ἀρχ(ι)επισ̣κ̣(όπου) μ[ητ]ροπολίτου ἐν μηνὶ Χοιὰκ κδ τῇ τετάρτ̣ῃ
ἡμέρ̣α̣. ἐνδι̣[ῆ]-
γο̣ν̣ ἀνεκλάλ[ητο]ν̣ ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας̣ συνηγμένων ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Παχωρας ἀβ(βα)
Ἰω(άννο)υ (καὶ) ἀβ(βα) {ἀβ(βα)} Ἀδ̣[α]μ Ἄνω Οὐγγερ (καὶ) ἀβ(βα) Χαὴλ Ζαη (καὶ)
ἀβ(βα) Μηνᾶ Φριμ (καὶ) ἀβ(βα) Μ̣ά̣[ρ]-
κου Κουρτε (καὶ) ἀβ(βα) Μηνᾶ ἐπισκ(όπου) . . . . [. . .]. . ` . ´ (καὶ) ἀ̣β(βα)
[. . .]. . . (καὶ) ἀβ(βα) Χρισ[τοδού]λ̣ου̣ [. . .]
8 καὶ ἀβ(βα) Ἰγνατίου . . [.] . . ε[ἰ]σ̣[ι]ό̣ντες ἀπε̣. [.]. τ̣ε̣[.] . . [. . . . .]
εὐφραινομένων τ̣[ὸ] αὐτό.

2 ϑ̄ϒ̄ || **3**. φιλοχ̄ϒ̄ | ϐχ̄[c || **4** ⳁρ̀χ́επιϛ̀κ́ || **6** ιω̄ϒ̄ ϛ ⳁϐ̄ ⳁϐ̄ | ϛ ⳁϐ̄ | ϛ ⳁϐ̄ | ϛ ⳁϐ̄ || **7** ϛ ⳁϐ̄ | επιϛ̀κ́ | ϛ ⳁϐ̄ | ϛ ⳁϐ̄ || **8** ⳁϐ̄
2 παντοκράτορος

Translation

Alpha + omega.
+ This church was inaugurated/renovated by the Almighty God … of the Christ-loving, good-loving, Church-loving Georgios the King, through abba Aaron, metropolitan archbishop, in the month of Choiak (day) 24, on Wednesday. Indescribably assembled and spending seven days together were bishop of Pachoras abba Ioannou, and abba Adam (bishop) of Upper Unger, and abba Chael (bishop) of Saï, and abba Mena (bishop) of Phrim, and abba Markou (bishop) of Kourte, and abba Mena, bishop of ..., and abba Christodoulou (bishop) of ..., and abba Ignatiou (bishop) of ..., (and) ... came … enjoyed this.

1. The reading A † Ω is not entirely certain but is assured by the context.

[18] The authors wish to thank the restorer Urszula Kusz for all her efforts in cleaning and consolidating the inscription immediately following its discovery.

2. The final part of the line, now badly damaged, might have continued the preceding characteristics of God or opened the following mention of the king. The second possibility has the advantage of explaining genitives in the royal presentation. One can, for example, hypothesise a regnal date: "in year so-and-so of the Christ-loving, good-loving, Church-loving Georgios the King". Another possibility is that the text explained the role of the King in the construction/renovation of the church, e.g. that it was accomplished through his zeal (σπουδῇ).

3. The royal titulature, which occupies the entire first half of the line, consists of three compound adjectives with φιλο- as the first element. Adjectives in φιλο- open the pompous titulature of King Moses Georgios as in the first Greek subscript to his Coptic letter to Patriarch Mark (AD 1187) found at Qasr Ibrim[19]. The list includes: φιλόχριστος, φιλεκκλήσιος, φιλόπτωχος, φιλάνθρωπος, and φιλόξενος. The epithet φιλόχριστος, which opens the lists of titles of both Georgios and Moses Georgios, was a common title of Eastern Roman emperors, especially popular in late antique times (fifth–sixth century)[20]. It is well attested as part of the titulature of Nubian kings. In addition to this inscription and to Moses Georgios' letter, it is found in an inscription commemorating the erection of the defences of Ikhmindi (sixth century) as an epithet of the Nobadian king Tokiltoeton[21]; in the Greek foundation inscription of the Faras cathedral (AD 707) as an epithet of the king of Makuria, Merkourios[22]; in the foundation inscription of the church in Tafa (AD 710) as an epithet of the same king[23], and in two legal documents of Lower Nubian provenance, once in the Graeco-Roman Museum in Alexandria (early ninth century), as an epithet of King Chael[24]. The Coptic (Sahidic) counterpart of φιλόχριστος—ⲙⲛⲁⲓⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ or ⲙⲛⲁⲓⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ—is found in the Coptic foundation inscription of Faras Cathedral as an epithet of King Merkourios[25]; in a sale document of Lower Nubian provenance, now in Vienna (mid-eighth century); as an epithet of King Kyrikos[26], and as an epithet (largely supplemented) of King Georgios in a fragmentarily preserved document from Qasr Ibrim (AD 1071)[27]. Two sale contracts in Coptic, originating from Lower Nubia and now kept in London

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[19] The letter, together with its three subscripts (two in Greek, one in Coptic), remains unpublished. An English translation is found in Adams, Qasr Ibrîm. The Late Mediaeval Period 228–229. The first Greek subscript was transcribed by J. M. Plumley, New Light on the Kingdom of Dotawo, in: Études Nubiennes. Colloque de Chantilly, 2–6 juillet 1975 (*Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Bibliothèque d'étude* 77). Cairo 1978, 238. The titles of the king were studied by A. Łajtar, Georgios, Archbishop of Dongola († 1113) and his Epitaph, in: ΕΥΕΡΓΕΣΙΑΣ ΧΑΡΙΝ. Studies Presented to Benedetto Bravo and Ewa Wipszycka by their Disciples, ed. T. Derda – J. Urbanik – M. Węcowski (*Journal of Juristic Papyrology Supplement* 1). Warsaw 2002, 171–173.

[20] G. Rösch, ΟΝΟΜΑ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑΣ. Studien zum offiziellen Gebrauch der Kaisertitel in spätantiker und frühbyzantinischer Zeit (*BV* 10). Vienna 1978, 65.

[21] S. Donadoni, Un' epigrafe greco-nubiana da Ikhmindi. *Parola del passato* 14 (1959) 458–465; A. G. Woodhead, Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum, vol. 18. Amsterdam 1962, 724; J. Bingen, Un roitelet chrétien des Nobades au VIe siècle. *Cahiers d'Égypte* 36 (1961) 431–435 (reprinted in: J. Bingen, Pages d'épigraphie grecque: Attique – Égypte. 1952–1982 [*Epigraphica Bruxellensia* 1]. Brussels 1991, 16–162); E. Kiessling, Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten, vol. 8: nos. 9642–10208. Wiesbaden 1965–67, no. 10074; F. W. Deichmann, Die Bauinschrift von Ihmindi, in: F. W. Deichmann – P. Grossmann, Nubische Forschungen (*Archäologische Forschungen* 17). Berlin 1988, 81–88; see also J. van der Vliet, Gleanings from Christian Northern Nubia. *Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 32 (2002) 191–194.

[22] I. Varsovie 101, l. 4 (see commentary to this line).

[23] The most recent edition of this inscription is: A. Łajtar, Varia Nubica XII: Zum nubischen König Merkurios (7./8. Jh.). *Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 39 (2009) 83–89.

[24] J. Krall, Ein neuer nubischer König. *WZKM* 14 (1900) 236 and 238. φιλόχριστος is used as a Greek loanword in these documents edited in Sahidic Coptic.

[25] I.KhartoumCopt. 1, l. 3.

[26] J. Krall, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Blemmyer und Nubier (*Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie Wien, Philosophisch-historische Classe* 46). Vienna 1898, 15–20; W. Till, Die koptischen Rechtsurkunden der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek (*Corpus Papyrorum Raineri* IV). Vienna 1958, 28 (with ⲙⲛⲁⲓⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ in line 3).

[27] J. M. Plumley, A Coptic Precursor of a Medieval Nubian Protocol. *Sudan Texts Bulletin* 3 (1981) 5–8.

(probably from the first quarter of the ninth century) have both φιλόχριστος and ⲙⲛⲁⲓⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ as epithets of King Ioannes[28]. φιλάγαθος, listed in the second position among Georgios' titles, is found only here as an epithet of a Nubian king. It is paralleled by the titles ἀγαθός and ἀνδράγαθος, which occur in Moses Georgios' titulature. The third epithet of Georgios—φιλεκκλήσιος—is attested as a title of Moses Georgios and, outside of the royal titualture, as an epithet of Georgios, bishop of Dongola, in his epitaph dated AD 1113[29].

3–4. The reading δι̣ὰ τοῦ [ἀβ(βα)] | Ἀαρων ἀρχ(ι)επισκ̣(όπου) μ[ητ]ροπολίτου is not entirely certain but is corroborated by another wall inscription in church B.V, which undoubtedly mentions the same man. This other inscription is written across the *epitrachelion* of a church dignitary (clearly the bishop Aaron) represented in a painting on the west wall of the southern section of the south *pastophorium*. It is executed in black paint, with small letters, palaeographically resembling a bookhand, and reads: Ἀαρων [ἀ]ρ[χ](ι)επίσκ(οπος) μητροπ(οιλίτης) | Μιχαήλ[30]. Aaron must have been a bishop of Dongola even if his see is named neither here nor in the other inscription.

4. τῇ τετάρτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, "on Wednesday". References to weekdays are rare in Nubian sources, as observed by Grzegorz Ochała[31].

5. The reading ἐνδι[ῆ]γο̣ν is not entirely certain but we find it hard to suggest anything else that would fit the context both palaeographically and semantically. The compound ἐνδιάγω is very rare. We can cite only Justinus Martyr, *Dialogus cum Tryphone* 74.3 (ed. E. J. Goodspeed, Die ältesten Apologeten. Göttingen 1915); Joannes Anagnostes, De extremo Thessalonicensi excidio narratio 14 (ed. G. Tsaras, Ἰωάννου Ἀναγνώστου Διήγησις περὶ τῆς τελευταίας ἁλώσεως τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης. Μονῳδία ἐπὶ τῇ ἁλώσει τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης. Thessalonica 1958), and Joannes Cantacuzenus, *Historiae* (ed. L. Schopen, vol. I [*CSHB*]. Bonn 1828, 510, l. 23).

The reading ἀνεκλάλ[ητο]ν̣ seems certain. One wonders how this adjective, probably used adverbially, should be understood in the given context. Does it mean that the bishops remained silent throughout their meeting or that their meeting was a *mysterium* of which it is not permitted to speak, or that is indescribable because of its magnificence? We are inclined towards the last interpretation.

The genitive συνηγμένων is strange in this context, as one expects the nominative συνηγμένοι. The same holds true for εὐφραινομένων in line 8.

τῆς Παχωρας is a brachylogy for τῆς Παχωρας πόλεως, "of the city of Pachoras". Pachoras (Faras) is called πόλις in the Coptic foundation inscription of the cathedral there built by Bishop Paulos in AD 707[32], and in the epitaph of Bishop Thomas of AD 862[33]. In several sources of the ninth to the eleventh centuries, both Greek and Coptic[34], it is designated as μητρόπολις, which indirectly confirms its description as a πόλις.

6. The writer of the inscription mistakenly repeated the abbreviated word ⲁ̅ⲃ̅ = ἀβ(βα) in the presentation of the bishop of Upper Ounger. In doing so, he was probably misled by the sequence of syllables consisting of ⲁ followed by a consonant: ⲁⲃ, ⲁⲇ, ⲁⲙ.

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[28] P.Lond.Copt 449–450.

[29] Łajtar, Georgios (see n. 19) 165, l. 14, with commentary.

[30] Adam Łajtar's reading from the original. The inscription remains unpublished.

[31] G. Ochała, Chronological Systems of Christian Nubia (*Journal of Juristic Papyrology Supplement* 16). Warsaw 2011, 327–343.

[32] I.KhartoumCopt. 1, l. 9.

[33] Jakobielski, History (see n. 3), 75–79, l. 12.

[34] For a collection of evidence, see below, p. 147.

The designation Ἄνω, "Upper", most probably refers to the topographical situation of Οὐγγερ: this was located upriver in relation to Lower Ounger. Alternatively, Upper Ounger would have been located on high ground, possibly on a raised, rocky bank of the Nile valley, as, for instance, in the case of Qasr Ibrim. One notes the spelling Οὐγγερ, in which the two *gammas* are most probably an attempt to represent the Nubian /ŋ/[35]. The place name (Upper) Ounger is otherwise unattested. A visitor's inscription in the upper church at Banganarti records the name Ougêrri (ογгнρρι), which may be either an anthroponym or a toponym[36]; its resemblance, however, to Ounger (ογггєр) is somewhat distant and apparently accidental. Medieval Ounger may possibly be identified with the present day Ungri, a locality on the east bank of the Nile opposite the Island of Argo; the arguments for such identification are discussed below.

Qasr Ibrim is mentioned either as ϕριм or cιλмι in Christian Nubian sources, the former name being found in Greek texts and the latter in Old Nubian ones. The present inscription, written in Greek, has the name ϕριм as expected.

6–7. The reading Μ̣ά̣[ρ]|κου at the turn of the lines is near to certain. The only problem with this reading is that there is no place for ρ on the wall. Perhaps this ρ was written on the north face of the pilaster at right angles to the rest of the text. The plaster is damaged in this spot, which makes verification of this hypothesis impossible. Another possibility is that the ρ was omitted by the scribe, giving the reading Μ̣ά̣⟨ρ⟩|κου.

7. In contrast to other entries in the list of bishops, the office of Bishop Mena, different from Mena of Phrim, was introduced with the word ἐπίσκοπος. Because of the damage to the inscription, we do not know if this was only a stylistic variation or a reflection of the special character of his office; the first possibility seems more probable to us.

The third letter of Mena's see is likely an γ and the second an ο. The first letter has a bowl on the left-hand side as if in a c. Traces of a letter, perhaps a χ or κ, are visible above the penultimate (?) letter of the toponym, which suggests that it was recorded in an abbreviated form. Perhaps it consisted of two elements, of which the second was a common word normally abbreviated in writing.

The name of the bishop listed between Mena and Christodoulou and the name of his see were rather short considering the available space. Each probably consisted of only three letters. Perhaps these words, or at least one of them, were recorded in abbreviated form.

As far as we can see, the name Χριστοδούλου (Χριστόδουλος) is here attested for the first time in Christian Nubian sources. Theophoric names with Χριστός as the first element are generally rather rare in Christian Nubia. A certain Χριστόφορος was buried in grave 246 in cemetery 55 at Ginari/Tafah[37], and another man with the same name was commemorated with a tombstone found in Sakinya[38]. The name of Abba Χριστόφορος, archimandrite of the Great Monastery of Anthony, is recorded on

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[35] A similar spelling occurs in the place-name τογггογλ (= Dongola). For the name of Dongola, see A. Łajtar, On the Name of the Capital of the Nubian Kingdom of Makuria. *Przegląd Humanistyczny* 57/2 (2013) 127–134.

[36] Cf. A. Łajtar, The Late Christian Pilgrimage Centre at Banganarti: The Evidence of Inscriptions. Forthcoming, no. 617: ϣογλλιєλ ογгнρρι ῃєλπι тотн.

[37] C. M. Firth, The Archaeological Survey of Nubia, Report for 1908–1909. Cairo 1912, I 46, left column, second inscription from the bottom.

[38] T. Mina, Inscriptions coptes et grecques de Nubie. Cairo 1942, no. 300. Another epitaph of the same collection (no. 119) commemorates a man with the name Χριστέ.

a plate discovered in the monastery on Kom H in Dongola[39]. There are also two attestations of the name Χριστοφορία[40].

8. The name of the bishop mentioned at the beginning of the line read Ἰγνατίου rather than Ἰγνάτιος. Names following rules of Greek declension have forms of the genitive of the second declension in this inscription (Ioannou, Markou, Christodoulou)[41]. Ignatios is the name of a bishop of Pachoras who died in AD 802 after 36 years in post and was buried in a tomb attached to the west wall of the cathedral, marked with a sophisticated epitaph in Greek[42]. Otherwise the name Ignatios has not been attested in Christian Nubia. Both the bishop of Pachoras and the man occurring in the inscription discussed here could have been named after Saint Ignatios, bishop of Antioch and second-century martyr.

The final letter of Ignatios's see resembles the round element of a ⲣ; however, it could also be a somewhat clumsily executed ⲥ. The penultimate letter was a round one: either an ⲉ or an ⲟ.

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The inscription obviously commemorates an event connected with church B.V, on the wall of which it is written. The exact nature of the event cannot be known with certainty as the verb ἐγκαινίζω has the meaning of both "inaugurate" and "renovate". The first meaning prevails in post-Classical Greek, especially when the verb is used in the passive, thus suggesting that the inscription was made in connection with the inauguration of the church. However, the possibility of its connection to a renovation at some stage cannot totally be ruled out. The character of ἐγκαινισμός—either inauguration or renovation—is directly related to the question of the dating of the inscription. This issue is discussed in detail at the end of the present article. For now, it suffices to say that it dates either to the beginning of the ninth century, between AD 804 and c. 815, or to the turn of the tenth century, between AD 999 and 1002.

Interestingly, the inscription states that the church was constructed/renovated by God Almighty himself. This should most probably be understood as signifying that, in the perception of the inscription's author, the construction/renovation of the church represented the fulfilment of divine plans. If so, the expression ὑπὸ θεοῦ παντοκράτορος, otherwise unattested in such a context, should be regarded as a counterpart of the more common θεοῦ προνοίᾳ, "through the providence of God", or θεοῦ βουλήσει, "through the will of God"[43]. The church's inauguration/renovation was accomplished through (διά) the metropolitan bishop of Dongola, Aaron. The role played by King Georgios in this event is unclear due to the damage to the final part of line 2. It could have been non-existent or could have involved his support through patronage (see the line commentary).

The church was formally consecrated after its construction/renovation on Wednesday, 24 Choiak (20 December in regular years, 21 December in leap years). This date was probably not accidental. It immediately preceded the Feast of the Nativity, which falls on 29 Choiak in the Egyptian (Coptic)

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[39] S. Jakobielski, The Holy Trinity Monastery in Old Dongola, in: Between the Cataracts. Proceedings of the 11th Conference for Nubian Studies, Warsaw University, 27 August – 2 September 2006, vol. I: Main Papers, ed. W. Godlewski – A. Łajtar (*Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean Supplement Series* 2, 1). Warsaw 2008, 288, fig. 8 (top).

[40] M. G. Tibiletti Bruno, Iscrizioni nubiane. Pavia 1962, nos. 20 and 37.

[41] For the interpretation of this phenomenon, common in Christian Nubia, see A. Łajtar – J. van der Vliet, Empowering the Dead in Christian Nubia. The Texts from a Medieval Funerary Complex in Dongola (*Journal of Juristic Papyrology Supplement* 32). Warsaw 2017, 226–227.

[42] For Ignatios, see Jakobielski, A History (see n. 3), 67–72; for his epitaph, see I.Varsovie 106.

[43] These two formulae are found in Greek epitaphs from Christian Nubia in which they are used as a justification for one's death.

calendar. Archbishop Aaron (and possibly the King) may have wanted the church to be ready for the celebration of the Nativity.

The ceremony of the church's consecration was attended by nine high ecclesiastics in addition to the archbishop of Dongola, Aaron. The list of bishops, unfortunately badly damaged, occupies almost the entire second part of the inscription (lines 5–8). Five of these individuals, whose names open the list, are explicitly described as bishops of Makurian sees: Ioannou of Pachoras, Adam of Upper Ounger, Chael of Saï, Mena of Phrim, and Markou of Kourte. Yet another man, listed as sixth, was surely a bishop, but the name of his see has not been preserved: Mena, bishop of (. . .). The three men listed last escape secure identification; the logic of the list, however, suggests that they too were bishops. In fact, all of them bear the title of ἀββα, which was generic for bishops in Christian Nubia (see below). The question arises which sees these unidentifiable bishops belonged to. Possibly, they were not bishops of the Makurian Church but strangers coming, for example, from Egypt or from Alwa. In our opinion, however, this possibility should be ruled out. If these unidentifiable hierarchs were bishops of foreign sees, on the principle of hospitality they would have been mentioned at the beginning of the list rather than its end. In our view, all ten bishops mentioned in the Dongola inscription were bishops of the Makurian Church and their number corresponds to the number of Makurian bishoprics at the time of the consecration of church B.V in the Capital of Makuria. Clearly the ceremony of the church consecration was an important event in the life of the Makurian Church and was attended by the entire Makurian episcopate of the time.

The number of bishops who took part in the ceremony commemorated by the inscription is interesting in the context of lists of Nubian bishoprics transmitted by Coptic *scalae*. We should remember that the most reliable of these lists, those representing group B, contain the names of seven bishoprics, namely Kourte, Ibrim, Pachoras, Sai, Dongola, Termus, and Scienkur. Of these bishoprics, five are recognisable in the inscription from Dongola: Kourte, Ibrim, Pachoras, Sai, and Dongola[44]. Two further bishoprics—Termus and Scienkur—could have been in the damaged part of the text in lines 7 and 8. However, the inscription listed three further sees, of which one is known by name (Upper Ounger), and two remain anonymous. The difference in number of bishoprics between the inscription and the lists contained in Coptic *scalae* is due to chronological reasons. The Makurian Church had ten bishoprics at the time of the meeting in Dongola (either the first quarter of the ninth century or around AD 1000; see below), but there were only seven Makurian bishoprics at the time the *scalae* were compiled (no earlier than the 12th/13th century). The decrease in the number of bishoprics between the ninth/tenth century and the 12th/13th century may have been due to ordinary changes in the church administration: in medieval Nubia, as in other times and places, bishoprics were founded, dissolved, divided, etc. Another reason could be the territorial contraction of the Kingdom of Makuria and its church. In the ninth/tenth century, in the southeast the territory of Makuria perhaps stretched to the fifth cataract[45], whereas in the 12th/13th century, its eastern part—roughly between the fourth and the fifth cataract—probably formed a separate political entity known by its Arabic name as Al-Abwab (literally: "The Doors"). The bishopric(s), if any, of this kingdom were clearly not counted among the Makurian ones[46]. In the latest period, when the Christian Kingdom of Makuria split into

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[44] It is probably pure coincidence that the sees in question are those which are otherwise well attested in internal Nubian sources.

[45] On the southeastern border of the Kingdom of Makuria, see M. Drzewiecki, The Southern Border of the Kingdom of Makuria in the Nile Valley. *Études et Travaux* 24 (2011) 93–107.

[46] Very little is known about this Kingdom. It is constantly mentioned in Arabic accounts of the conflicts between Mamluk Egypt and Makuria in the last quarter of the 13th century as a place of refuge for kings of Makuria fleeing from Dongola before the Egyptian invaders. The king of Abwab assumed a somewhat ambiguous position in these conflicts. He usually harboured the fugitive, but then arrested him and finally sent him in chains to Cairo. This behaviour suggests that, although Nubian, he was probably no longer Christian.

a series of smaller political entities and Christian Nubian culture shrank under the pressure of Islam, bishoprics must have been less numerous still. Thus, the Arabic version of the letters testimonial for Bishop Timotheos of Pachoras, drafted in Cairo in 1372 on the occasion of his consecration, suggests that the bishoprics of Pachoras and Ibrim could by then have been merged into one[47].

Assuming that the Church of Makuria was organized into ten bishoprics at the time of the consecration of Church B.V in Dongola, let us now consider the question of their location (**Fig. 4**). The inscription seems to yield some information on this subject, even if this is not precise. The sequence in which the bishops are listed at first sight looks accidental, but a closer look reveals an obvious logic. The organizer of the event, the metropolitan bishop of Dongola, Aaron, is mentioned as the first in a separate passage immediately following information on the reigning king. The actual list of participants of the event is headed by Ioannou (Ioannes), bishop of Pachoras (Faras), capital of the once independent Kingdom of Nobadia, and continues with mention of the bishops of Upper Ounger, Sai, Ibrim, and Kourte. The last three bishoprics, also otherwise well known to us, occur in topographical order from south to north, with the omission of Pachoras, which was already mentioned earlier. This suggests that the list was organized topographically in a somewhat peculiar, quasi-symmetrical way, with Dongola as its reference point. The first part of the list gave names of bishops administering sees downriver from the capital; the second part, bishops of the sees upriver of Dongola. Provided this observation is correct, one has to conclude that the otherwise unknown bishopric of Upper Ounger should be placed immediately to the north of that of Dongola[48]. The bishopric in question would have been the northernmost bishopric in the territory of the Kingdom of Makuria, at the time before its union with Nobadia. It would have encompassed the northern part of the Dongola Reach and the densely populated Kerma basin as far as the third cataract, where it bordered on the bishopric of Sai. The episcopal see in question is possibly to be identified with present-day Ungri, a place between Kadruka and Kudi on the east bank of the Nile opposite the centre of the Argo Island[49]. The identification, however attractive, is only tentative, the more so as we know next to nothing about the antiquities of Ungri[50]. Nothing is known about any ruins of a large church, which would be expected in a place that had once functioned as an episcopal see. As for the bishoprics situated upriver of Dongola, little can be said given the fragmentary nature of this part of the list. Assuming that Makuria of the ninth/tenth century extended as far as the fifth cataract and the area between the kingdom's capital and its southeastern frontier was divided more or less proportionally, one can hypothetically place the episcopal sees in (1) the neighbourhood of present-day Karima, (2) the area of the fourth cataract, especially its eastern part, (3) the neighbourhood of Abu Hamed, and (4) somewhere in the so-called Abu Hamed Reach, i.e. the area between Abu Hamed and the fifth cataract. The locations suggested here find justification in the relevant settlement patterns. The area of Karima always encompassed important centres of human occupation, and at times, as for instance in the Napatan period, even the capital. It was most probably the cradle of the Kingdom of Makuria in the late fourth/

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[47] The letters testimonial state that Timotheos was nominated as bishop of Pachoras (Faras); however, whenever the name Pachoras occurred in the Arabic version it was provided secondarily with the name Ibrim written above it; cf. J. M. Plumley, The Scrolls of Bishop Timotheos. Two Documents from Medieval Nubia (*Egypt Exploration Society, Texts from Excavations* 1). London 1975, 22, commentary to l. 6, and see further W. Godlewski, The Bishopric of Pachoras in the 13th and 14th Centuries, in: Divitiae Aegypti: koptologische und verwandte Studien zu Ehren von Martin Krause, ed. C. Flück – L. Langener – S. Richter – S. Schaten – G. Wurst. Wiesbaden 1995, 115–117.

[48] If so (Upper) Ounger cannot be identified with Onadour mentioned in one of the lists of group B as a counterpart of Termus, since this latter bishopric should, according to the logic of the list, be placed upriver of Dongola.

[49] C. Armbruster, Dongolese Nubian. A Lexicon. Cambridge 1965, 211, *s.v.* úŋgur. The entry relies on a Sudan Survey map from the beginning of the 20th century. In later maps the locality is called Anguri, maintaining Nubian /ŋ/.

[50] Fragments of Christian gravestones were noted in the neighbourhood by A. H. Sayce, Egyptian and Nubian Greek Inscriptions from the Sudan. *Proceeding of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 32 (1910) 267.

early fifth century, before the foundation of Dongola towards the end of the fifth century[51]. The region is rich in Christian remains, including the fortress at Merowe East and the monastery at Ghazali[52]. Alternatively, the see of this hypothetical bishopric could have been Bakhit, situated 30 kilometres downriver of Karima, a fortified settlement of impressive size second to only Dongola[53]. As far as the fourth cataract area is concerned, the archaeological survey carried out between 1996 and 2009 as part of the Merowe Dam Archaeological Salvage Project demonstrated that this area was not a backwater, as thought before, but a lively occupational zone that did not fall behind the rest of the Middle Nile valley. It is dotted with numerous remains from the Christian period[54], of which three seem to be especially pertinent from our point of view: the twin fortresses Suweigi East and West dominating the two sides of the river immediately behind the cataract[55], the stronghold at Redab upstream of the fourth cataract, which encompasses important remains of buildings[56], and the fortified settlement at Al-Ar, accompanied by two smaller forts and extensive cemeteries in the locality called Shemkhiya[57]. In the environs of Abu Hamed, the possible candidates for an episcopal see would seem to be several fortified settlements on Mograt Island[58] or Kuweib, the largest of the local strongholds situated on the right side of the Nile near the southeastern end of Mograt[59]. In the Abu Hamed Reach, the episcopal see should probably be sought in either Kurgus or the area of Gandeisi—Wadi Dam al-Tor. The first of these locations, marking the southern border of Egyptian influence in Nubia in the second millennium BC, finds justification in the presence of a medieval fortress and cemeteries[60], the

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[51] For the formative period of the Kingdom of Makuria, see W. Godlewski, MtoM. Early Makuria Research Project. *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean* 16 (2004 [2005]) 385–388; W. Godlewski, MtoM. Early Makuria Research Project, Season 2006. *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean* 18 (2006) 463–476.

[52] For the fortress of Merowi East, built in the formative period of the Kingdom of Makuria and used extensively in later times, see Godlewski, MtoM. Early Makuria Research Project. Season 2006 465–469; M. Drzewiecki, Mighty Kingdoms and Their Forts. The Role of Fortified Sites in the Fall of Meroe and Rise of Medieval Realms in Upper Nubia (*Nubia* 6). Warsaw 2016, 114–115. For the monastery of Ghazali as seen through the results of the recent work of the Polish mission, see A. Obłuski – G. Ochała, La redécouverte d'un monastère nubien: premiers résultats des fouilles polonaises à Ghazali, Ouadi Abu Dom, in: Études coptes XIV. Seizième journée d'études (Genève, 19–21 juin 2013), ed. A. Boud'hors – C. Louis (*Cahiers de la Bibliothèque copte* 21). Paris 2016, 63–77; A. Obłuski et al., The Winter Seasons of 2013 and 2014 in the Ghazali Monastery, *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean* 26/1 (2017) 367–398; A. Obłuski, The Monasteries and Monks of Nubia (*Journal of Juristic Papyrology Supplement* 36). Warsaw 2019, 64–70.

[53] B. Żurawski et al., Survey and Excavations between Old Dongola and Ez-Zuma (*Nubia* 2, *Southern Dongola Reach Survey* 1). Warsaw 2003, 369–373; Drzewiecki, Mighty Kingdoms 112–113. Ruins of a large church can be detected in the southwest part of the fortress.

[54] Generally on the subject, see B. Żurawski, The Fourth Cataract in the Medieval Period, in: The Fourth Cataract and Beyond. Proceedings of the 12th International Conference for Nubian Studies, ed. J. R. Anderson – D. A. Welsby (*British Museum Publications on Egypt and Sudan* 1). Leuven 2014, 135–154.

[55] M. Wiewióra, Suegi: A Fortified Settlement near the Fourth Cataract. Preliminary Results of Archaeological and Architectural Survey, in: Proceedings of the Archaeology of the Fourth Nile Cataract, Gdańsk – Gniew, 23–25 July 2004, ed. H. Paner – S. Jakobielski (*Gdańsk Archaeological Museum African Reports* 4). Gdańsk 2005, 167–180; Drzewiecki, Mighty Kingdoms 124–127.

[56] H. Paner, The Christian Fortress at Redab, GAME Survey, 2002. *Gdańsk Archaeological Museum African Reports* 3 (2005) 179–201; Drzewiecki, Mighty Kingdoms 130–132. One of the buildings within the fortress was tentatively identified as a church.

[57] Żurawski, Where the Water is Crying (see n. 13), 180–184; Drzewiecki, Mighty Kingdoms 134–135. It is exactly at Shemkhiya that Bogdan Żurawski suggested locating the episcopal see of Scienkur.

[58] G. Rees – M. Lahitte – C. Näser, The Fortresses of Mograt Island Project. *Der Antike Sudan* 26 (2015) 177–200; cf. Drzewiecki, Mighty Kingdoms 136–137 (Ras al-Gezira), 138–139 (Mikeisir).

[59] O. G. S. Crawford, Castles and Churches in Middle Nile Region (*Sudan Antiquities Service Occasional Paper* 2). Khartoum 1953, 7–10; Drzewiecki, Mighty Kingdoms 140–141.

[60] I. Welsby Sjöström, New Fieldwork at Kurgus: The Cemetery and the Fort. *Sudan & Nubia* 2 (1998) 30–34; M. Nicholas, Excavations in the Fort, Site KRG 2. *Sudan & Nubia* 18 (2014) 148–155; Drzewiecki, Mighty Kingdoms 144–145.

second in the existence of two smaller forts and extensive necropoleis which yielded several fragments of funerary inscriptions in Greek[61].

The inscription further informs us that the bishop of Dongola carried the title of *metropolites*. The bishop of Pachoras could also have been a *metropolites* even if not actually designated as such. Putting him in an honorary position at the head of the list of bishops, outside of the topographical order, supports this view. That Dongola and Pachoras were Church *metropoleis* is known from elsewhere. Several bishops of Pachoras of the ninth/tenth centuries are labelled as *metropolitai* in inscriptions discovered by Polish archaeologists in and around the Faras cathedral. This title is attested for the following bishops: Kyros (AD 866–902)[62], Kollouthos (AD 903–923)[63], Elias (AD 926–952)[64], Aaron (AD 952–972)[65], and Petros (AD 972–999)[66]. Dongola (called Timikleos) is designated as a *metropolis* in the title of its bishop in the protocol of a Coptic legal document of AD 925 found at Qasr Ibrim[67]. The existence of two *metropoleis* in the Makurian Church is surely a remnant from the time when there were two independent kingdoms, Nobadia and Makuria, each with its independent Church. After the incorporation of Nobadia into Makuria, this administrative structure was retained while turning the formerly separate Churches into the ecclesiastical provinces of a single, united Church. The Pachoras province must have included bishoprics that existed in the formerly independent Kingdom of Nobadia (Kourte, Ibrim, Pachoras, and Sai), and the province of Dongola—all remaining bishoprics of the unified Makurian Church (Upper Ounger, Dongola, Termus, Scienkur, and two anonymous sees on the eastern frontiers of the Kingdom).

This suggestion, if correct, has serious consequences for our understanding of the history of the Christian Church in the Middle Nile valley. It implies that this area received its Church administration at a time prior to the incorporation of Nobadia by Makuria, regardless of when exactly this incorporation happened[68]. The division of the Makurian Church into two provinces administered from Dongola and Pachoras is attested for the ninth and tenth centuries. It undoubtedly existed earlier but left no traces in the sources at our disposal. One wonders how long it lasted, or, in other words, what the organization of the Makurian Church looked like after the tenth century. No direct evidence for *metropoleis* is available for this period, but some data seem to point indirectly to their existence. Sources of the 12th to 14th century mention the title of archbishop, usually given to *metropolites*. This title was borne by the following Church leaders: Georgios, who died in AD 1113 and was buried in a tomb under room 5 of the so-called Northwestern Annex to the monastery on Kom H in Dongola[69]; Lukas, who is known as the sender of an Old Nubian letter found at Qasr Ibrim (12th century?)[70];

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[61] Crawford, Castles and Churches 24–30; Drzewiecki, Mighty Kingdoms 146–147 (Wadi Dam al-Tor) and 148–149 (Gandeisi). For epigraphic material from Wadi Dam al-Tor, see I.KhartoumGreek, nos. 70–76.

[62] Jakobielski, A History (see n. 3), 86; Jakobielski et al., Pachoras/Faras (see n. 10), 192–193, no. 45 (inscription accompanying the portrait of Kyros in the cathedral). Two wall inscriptions in the Faras cathedral left by a certain Onnophrios mention an anonymous *metropolites* whom Jakobielski, A History (see n. 3), 89, identifies as Kyros.

[63] A. Łajtar – J. van der Vliet, CIG IV, 8952 Revisited ('Gebel Maktub' near Qasr Ibrim), in: Nubian Voices. Studies in Christian Nubian Culture, ed. A. Łajtar – J. van der Vliet (*Journal of Juristic Papyrology Supplement* 15). Warsaw 2011, 141–148 (graffito of Chael, son of Kollouthos, on the rocks of the so-called Gebel Maktub near Qasr Ibrim).

[64] I.KhartoumCopt. 2, l. 2 (foundation inscription of the Church on the South Slope at Faras).

[65] I.KhartoumCopt. 3, l. 8 (epitaph of Aaron); Jakobielski, History (see n. 3), 125 (inscription of Aaron in the Faras cathedral).

[66] Jakobielski, A History (see n. 3) 127–28; Jakobielski et al., Pachoras/Faras (see n. 10) 338–341, no. 108 (inscription accompanying the portrait of Petros in the cathedral); Jakobielski, History 134–135 (graffito of an ecclesiastic with the mention of Petros written on a wall of the cathedral); Jakobielski, History 135–38, l. 7 (epitaph of Petros).

[67] The document remains unpublished; its publication is under preparation by Joost L. Hagen. For a transcript of the fragment of the protocol with the title of the bishop of Dongola, see Łajtar, The Mystery (see n. 7), 232–233.

[68] See above, note 4.

[69] For Georgios and his dossier, see Łajtar, Georgios (see n. 19).

[70] P.QI IV 105 v°.

[- - -]ja, the sender of a letter found at Qasr Ibrim (12th/13th century)[71]; Joseph, the author of a commemorative inscription of AD 1322 in Deir Anba Hadra (St Simeon Monastery) near Aswan[72]; and perhaps Martyrophoros, the author of a visitor's inscription in the church in the temple of Horemhab at Abu Oda (date unknown, but apparently late)[73]. In addition, a visitor's graffito in the upper church at Banganarti (most probably first half of the 14th century) mentions a person from the entourage of an unnamed archbishop[74]. All these attestations most probably refer to the bishopric of Dongola, testifying that it retained its metropolitan status as late as the 14th century. Interestingly, bishops of Nobadian sees seem not to have carried the title of archbishop, not even the *metropolitai* of Pachoras of the ninth–tenth century. Yet another strange phenomenon can be observed in Nobadia in the 11th–12th century. Three bishops of Kourte (Petrou, Marianou I, and an *ignotus*) and one bishop of Pachoras (Marianou) were buried at Qasr Ibrim, as attested by their tombstones found in the bishops' cemetery located near the cathedral on the site[75]. The bishop of Kourte by the name of Iesou is listed next to the bishop of Phrim, coincidentally also Iesou, in the protocol of a legal document from Qasr Ibrim[76]. Two further bishops of Kourte (Marianou II and Darme) occur as witnesses to legal acts concluded in Phrim[77], and a bishop of Pachoras by the name of Merk[.]kouda drafted and witnessed a deed of sale from this town[78]. Qasr Ibrim also yielded an Old Nubian letter from Aaron, Bishop of Pachoras, to Iesou, Bishop of Sai[79]. These sources testify to the fact that bishops of Nobadian sees (Kourte, Pachoras, and Sai) frequently visited Phrim, resided there for some time, and even died there. What drew them to Phrim is unclear; it is possible, however, that they were visiting the head of their Church, the metropolitan bishop of the province of Nobadia. Were this the case, then the capital see of the province must have been transferred from Pachoras to Phrim in the 11th century[80].

The existence of *metropoleis* in the Makurian Church is worth viewing in the wider context of the universal Church. In the period under consideration (the first quarter of the ninth century or the end of the 10th / beginning of the 11th century; see below), the Church of Makuria was subordinated, in pastoral and administrative terms, to the Egyptian Church, which had no *metropoleis*. The authority of the bishop of Alexandria was so great in Egypt in late antique and early medieval times that it made the creation of a transitional step between him and his bishops in the *chora* impossible[81]. Outside Egypt, a similar situation existed only in *Italia suburbicaria*, which was subordinated to the bishop of Rome; everywhere else the institution of metropolitan bishop developed. Thus, the organization of the Makurian Church, different from the organization of the Egyptian Church, runs parallel to general trends in the universal Church.

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[71] The document remains unpublished. The address is known to us through a photo kept in the Qasr Ibrim Archive in the British Museum.

[72] For the reading and interpretation of the inscription in question, see A. Łajtar, The So-Called Kudanbes Inscription in Deir Anba Hadra (St. Simeon Monastery) near Aswan: An Attempt at a New Reading and Interpretation (in preparation).

[73] U. Monneret de Villard, La Nubia medioevale I, Cairo 1935, 175.

[74] For the publication of the graffito, see Łajtar, Pilgrimage Centre (see n. 36), no. 347.

[75] I.QasrIbrim 22 (Marianou of Pachoras), 23 (Petrou of Kourte), 24 (Marianou I of Kourte), 25 (*ignotus* of Kourte).

[76] P.QI IV 84.4–5.

[77] P.QI III 37.21–22 (Darme) and 41.8–9 (Marianou).

[78] P.QI IV 65.19.

[79] P.QI III 57.

[80] In general terms Qasr Ibrim appears to replace Faras as the leading political and cultural center of Nobadia starting from the 11th century.

[81] For the structure of the Egyptian Church in late antique and early medieval times, see E. Wipszycka, The Alexandrian Church. People and Institutions (*Journal of Juristic Papyrology Supplement* 25). Warsaw 2015, passim, especially Chapter Ten: The Patriarch of Alexandria and his Bishops (pp. 271–303). Metropolitan bishops appeared in the Egyptian Church only in late medieval times and exist until today; cf., e.g., E. M. Ishaq, Metropolitan sees, in: The Coptic Encyclopedia, ed. A. S. Atiya. New York 1991, V 1612–1614.

All participants in the Dongola meeting are designated *abba*. The title *abba* is used by default in Nubian sources when referring to bishops, which implies this was their regular practice. The term indicates their monastic state, which is in agreement with the Oriental practice of choosing bishops from among monks. Those names of bishops which survive in their entirety belong to the Christian onomastic repertoire. Among them we encounter Biblical names originating from both the Old and the New Testaments (Adam, Aaron, Ioannou [Ioannes], Chael [a shortened form of Michael], Markou [Markos]), names of Christian saints (Ignatiou [Ignatios], Mena), and Christian theophoric names (Christodoulou [Christodoulos]). That the bishops who participated in the ceremony of consecration of Church B.V in Dongola exclusively bore good Christian names reflects a wider Nubian phenomenon. The large majority of Nubian bishops known to us have names of either Biblical or Greek origin that are clearly identifiable as Christian. Names of Nubian origin occur very rarely in this group of people and only in the late period (12th to 13th century). This is in sharp contrast to the onomastics of commoners, known best from the Qasr Ibrim documents, in which epichoric names form a quantitatively important component. Does this mean that names with which bishops are presented in written sources were not their original names, given by parents at birth or at baptism, but rather their "professional" names, received at the moment of episcopal ordination? The hypothesis is attractive but requires further argument to be proven true.

The inscription states that the bishops stayed for the entire week at Dongola. The dates of this stay in their relation to the ceremony of consecration of church B.V are not indicated; it is tempting, however, to suppose that they followed it. This would give the bishops opportunity to celebrate, together with the local bishop and the king, the Feast of the Nativity in the newly consecrated church. The five-day span between these two important religious events (24 Choiak: consecration of Church B.V–29 Choiak: Feast of the Nativity) was possibly intended for a working meeting of bishops. Meetings of bishops of local Churches (synods) were important elements in the life of the universal Church in Late Antiquity. According to the Church canons[82], they should be held regularly, at least once a year, and should serve for the settlement of matters of organizational, disciplinary, pastoral or dogmatic character. There is no reason to suppose that the situation was any different in the Makurian Church, which, in many aspects, continued late antique traditions. Makurian bishops must have gathered regularly to discuss and settle actual problems of their Church. Our complete ignorance of these meetings is a consequence only of the state of preservation of our sources: no Church archives are known to us from Christian Nubia and inscriptions mention events in the life of the Church only occasionally. Dongola was obviously the most suitable place for such meetings. In addition to other advantages of the state capital and seat of the metropolitan bishop, it had a convenient location in the heart of the kingdom, which spared the bishops a long and burdensome trip. Perhaps the presence of all bishops of the Makurian Church in Dongola was in fact connected to a long-planned synod and the consecration of the newly-built/renovated Church B.V simply an event which accompanied this synod.

The final question that should be raised in connection with the inscription is its date. External evidence suggests that it was put up sometime between the late eighth–early ninth and the late tenth–early 11th century. The *ante quem* date is yielded by the construction of church B.V (see above), the *post quem* by the abandonment of Biblical majuscules in favour of Nubian-type majuscules in

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[82] See, for example, canon VIII of the council in Trullo of AD 692: H. Ohme – R. Flogaus – Ch. R. Kraus, Concilium Constantinopolitanum a. 691/2 in Trullo habitum (Consilium Quinisextum) (*Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum, Series Secunda* II: *Concilium Universale Constantinopolitanum Tertium* 4). Berlin – Boston 2013, 28. The canon stipulates that synods of local Churches should be held between Easter and the month of October, but this might have been difficult to follow in the Middle Nile Valley because of the climate.

Nubian Christian scribal practice around AD 1000. Internal evidence helps to narrow down the date still further.

The most important in this respect is the mention, among the bishops of the Makurian Church, of the Bishop of Pachoras Ioannou (Ioannes). Luckily we possess a complete list of the bishops of Pachoras between the establishment of the Pachoras bishopric in the first quarter of the seventh century and AD 1169. This has been preserved in the form of an ink inscription in a niche in the east wall of the south pastophorium of Faras Cathedral[83]. The list gives the names of bishops together with the length of their time in office (lacking for the first five entries), but without any absolute dates. These can be reconstructed on the basis of other epigraphic sources, notably epitaphs of some bishops. The bishops' list mentions three with the name Ioannou (Ioannes), labelled Ioannes I, Ioannes II, and Ioannes III by Stefan Jakobielski in his seminal study of the history of the Pachoras bishopric. Ioannes I and Ioannes II occur in the list as immediate successors to Bishop Ignatios, who died in AD 802 according to his Greek epitaph[84]. Ioannes I was probably bishop for seven years, while the length of the episcopacy of Ioannes II is unknown but must have been rather short to give space for Markos and Chael, the latter being already out of office in AD 827 when Thomas ascended the episcopal throne (a sequence which can be reconstructed thanks to Thomas' Coptic epitaph)[85]. Ioannes III is known from a number of attestations including, in particular, his entry in the list of bishops and his funerary inscription[86]. Thanks to these, we know he was bishop between 20 July AD 997 (death of his predecessor Petros) and 21 September AD 1005 (death of Ioannes III)[87]. After Ioannes III, the episcopal throne of Pachoras was occupied by his two sons, Marianou and Merkourios[88]. The mention of Ioannes of Pachoras allows us to date the inscription, and consequently the events described in it, to either AD 802–c. 815 or AD 999–1005.

Another chronological benchmark is the mention of King Georgios. Four kings of Makuria with the name Georgios are known in the ninth–tenth centuries. These were labelled Georgios A, Georgios B, Georgios C, and Georgios D by Grzegorz Ochała in his study of the Nubian royal *fasti*[89]. All of them belonged to the same dynasty, which was founded in the 820s by a certain Ioannes and probably remained in rule until the end of the 1080s. The hallmark of the dynasty was the alternation of the names Zacharias and Georgios in the royal onomastics throughout most of the period. Georgios A, grandson of the dynasty's founder (Ioannes), was ruler of Makuria between c. AD 860 and 887, Georgios B between AD 887 and 915, and Georgios C between AD 940/1 and 961/2 or 962/3. Georgios D ascended the throne around AD 969 and was still king during the patriarchate of Philotheos (AD 979–1003), provided he is the same as King Jirjis (Georgios) who mediated between the patriarch and an unnamed king of Ethiopia in the matter of the establishment of a new bishop for the Ethiopian Church as described in the *History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church*[90]. The date of the end of his rule is unknown, but it must have occurred sometime before AD 1002, when the throne in Don-

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[83] See n. 3.

[84] Jakobielski, A History (see n. 3) 74–75. The most recent edition of the Ignatios' epitaph is I.Varsovie 106.

[85] For Thomas' epitaph, see Jakobielski, A History 75–80.

[86] The most recent edition of the inscription is I.KhartoumGreek 2.

[87] Jakobielski, A History 140–147; see also I.KhartoumGreek, no. 2.

[88] M. Krause, Bischof Johannes III von Faras und seine beiden Nachfolger. Noch einmal zum Problem eines Konfessionswechsels in Faras, in: Études Nubiennes. Colloque de Chantilly, 2–6 Juillet 1975 (*Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Bibliothèque d'étude* 77). Cairo 1978, 153–164.

[89] G. Ochała, List of Nubian kings (in preparation). For a slightly different picture, see W. Godlewski, Introduction to the Golden Age of Makuria (9th–11th centuries). *Africana Bulletin* 50 (2002) 75–98.

[90] History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church Known as the History of the Holy Church, vol. II 2: Khaël II – Shenouti II (880–1066), transl. and annot. A. S. Atiya – Yassa Abd el-Masih – O. H. E. Khs-Burmester, Cairo 1948, 171–172; repeated in G. Vantini, Oriental Sources Concerning Nubia, Heidelberg – Warsaw 1975, 205–206; see also below, n. 92.

gola was occupied by a certain Raphael[91]. He could easily still have been king in AD 999, the year of the start of Ioannes III's episcopate. Theoretically, Georgios of the inscription here could have been a different ruler from Georgios D, his follower in either direct sequence or with another king between[92]. We already know that the kings of the dynasty that ruled over Makuria in the ninth–11th centuries regularly bore the name Georgios, and the space between the known dates of Georgios D and Raphael is long enough to fit in another ruler or rulers. Thus the coincidence of King Georgios with the bishop of Pachoras Ioannou (Ioannes) speaks in favour of dating the inscription under discussion to the episcopacy of Ioannes III (AD 999–1005), and more exactly to the very beginning of this period, prior to AD 1002. This does not, however, preclude dating the inscription to AD 802–c. 815. The sequence of the kings of Makuria in this period is not well known. Two fragmentary legal documents in Coptic originating from Lower Nubia and once kept in the Graeco-Roman Museum in Alexandria mention a king with the name Chael[93]. The protocol of one of these documents preserves traces of a dating formula consisting of the month, day (Phaophi, number not preserved), year according to the Diocletian Era (of three digits only the first two are visible: 5 and 2) and the regnal year (the numeral written in a partly visible word: "[. . .]teen"). Based on these incomplete data, one may conclude that Chael's rule began somewhere in the last two decades of the eighth century and lasted until at least AD 804/5. The next known king is Ioannes, the founder of the Georgios-Zacharias dynasty, who may have become the ruler c. AD 822. This gives enough space for an intervening king who may be identical with the Georgios in our inscription.

The above discussion shows that the data at our disposal do not allow us either to provide an unequivocal date for the inscription under consideration or to know the exact nature of the event it commemorates. The initial ἐνεκαινίσθη suggests the inauguration of the church and the date AD 802–c. 815, but the coincidence of the bishop of Pachoras named Ioannes and King Georgios found here speaks rather in favour of the years 999–1002 and a renovation of the building. In view these circumstances, we must content ourselves with a *non liquet*.

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[91] The information is given by Abū al-Makārim in: The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt and Some Neighbouring Countries, ed. T. T. A. Evetts. Oxford 1985, 265; repeated in: Vantini, Oriental Sources 326.

[92] It is even possible that Georgios D is not the same as Georgios mentioned in the History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church (see above, n. 90), as the latter is described as a young man, which would be rather unfitting for someone who was king for at least ten years. If so, Georgios from the History of the Patriarchs would have been Georgios E ruling Makuria for an unspecified number of years towards the end of the tenth century.

[93] Krall, Ein neuer nubischer König (see n. 24), 236–40; see also S. Munro-Hay, Kings and Kingdoms of Ancient Nubia. *Rassegna di studi etiopici* 29 (1982/3) 103.



Fig. 1 (left)
Plan of the royal quarter in Dongola, the capital of the Christian Nubian Kingdom of Makuria (Drawing: Włodzimierz Godlewski, Marek Puszkarski, Szymon Maślak; © Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology, University of Warsaw)

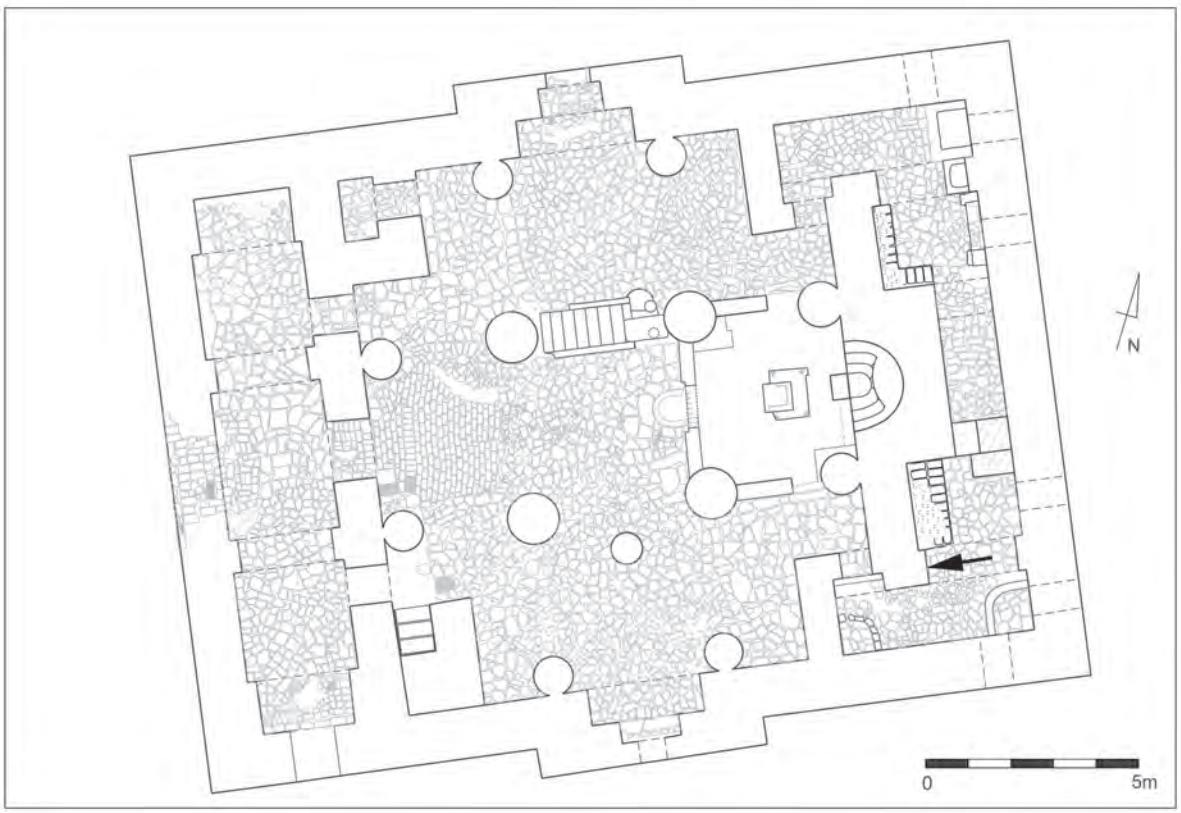


Fig. 2 (below)
Plan of Church B.V in Dongola. The arrow indicates the location of the inscription (Drawing: Szymon Lenarczyk; © Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology, University of Warsaw)



Fig. 3: Inscription commemorating the consecration of Church B.V in Dongola (Photo: Tomasz Derda; © Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology, University of Warsaw)

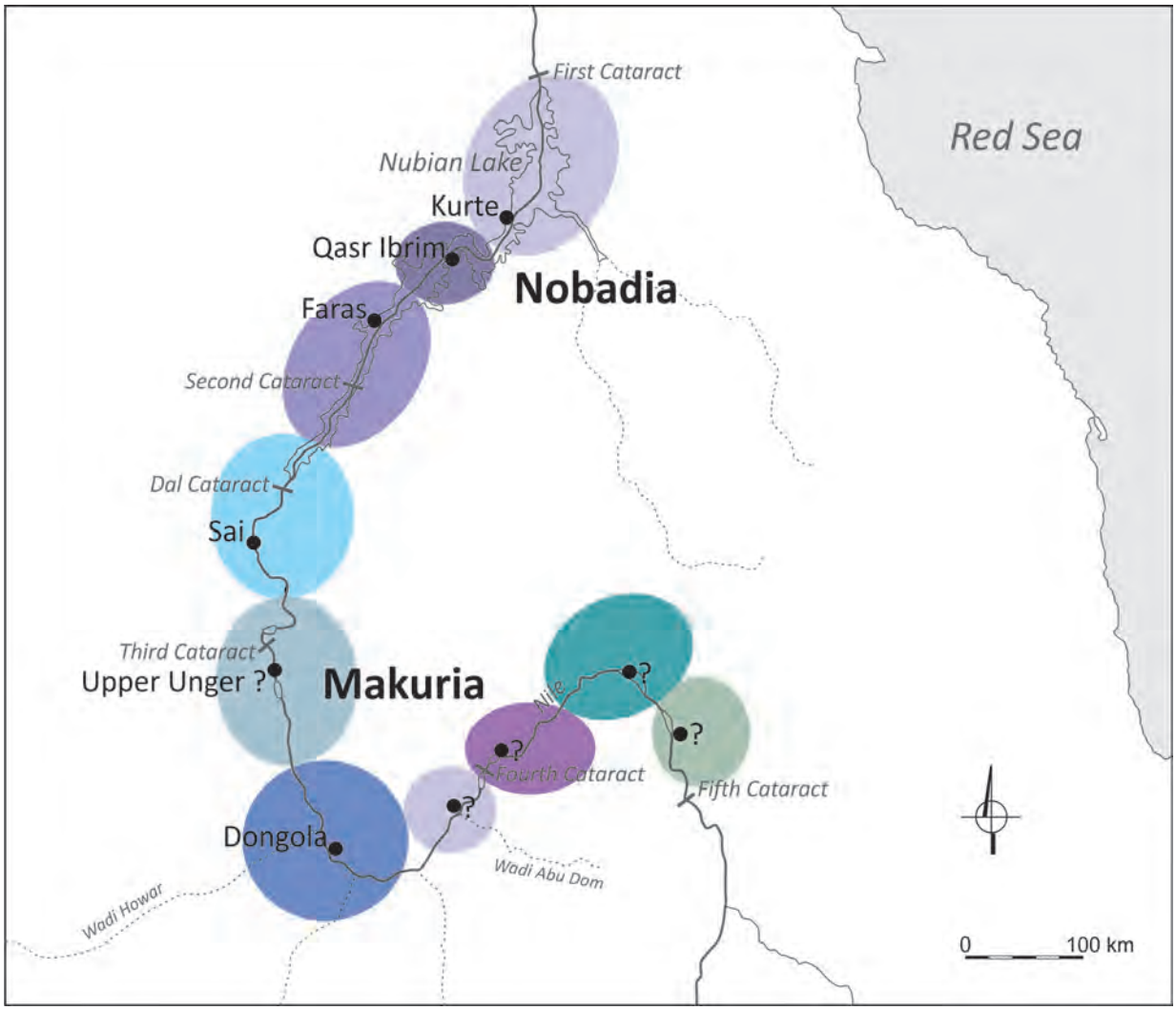


Fig. 4: Bishoprics of the Makurian Church at the time of the consecration of Church B.V in Dongola (Drawing: Szymon Maślak)

JAHRBUCH DER ÖSTERREICHISCHEN BYZANTINISTIK, 69. Band/2019, 155–184
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DOI: 10.1553/joeb69S155

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Der Exarchat von Ravenna unter Kaiser Herakleios

Transformation und Kontinuität staatlicher Herrschafts- und Verwaltungsstrukturen in den Peripherien des byzantinischen Reiches in der ersten Hälfte des 7. Jahrhunderts

mit acht Abbildungen

Abstract: By focusing on the Exarchate of Ravenna in the first half of the 7th century, this paper contributes to the study of the rapidly changing administrative, political and military structures of the Byzantine state in its western peripheries within a quickly fragmenting Mediterranean world. First, it will analyse aspects of transformation and continuity in its administrative organization. It shall be demonstrated that there was no centralized imperial strategy to systematically face the imminence of the expanding Lombards. Secondly, this contribution examines the role of individual exarchs who were of greatest importance for Byzantium's reign in Italy as the emperor's representatives on site. The final section focuses on the relation between the exarchate of Ravenna and the papacy of Rome, which will provide grounds for studying the reign of Honorius I (625–638) in particular.

Keywords: Exarchate of Ravenna, Emperor Heraclius, Administration of Italy, Byzantine Italy, 7th Century, Roman Papacy

Untersuchungen zur Herrschaft des Kaisers Herakleios fokussieren zumeist auf die ereignisgeschichtliche Rekonstruktion der vielfach gewaltsamen Auseinandersetzungen zwischen Byzanz, den Sasaniden und arabischen Kampfverbänden[1]. Demgegenüber achtet die vorliegende Studie auf bislang vergleichsweise selten studierte Veränderungen staatlicher Herrschafts- und Verwaltungsstrukturen in den westlichen Peripherien des byzantinischen Reiches in der ersten Hälfte des 7. Jahrhunderts Als Fallbeispiel dient der Exarchat von Ravenna, dem der Kaiser aufgrund akuter Bedrohungen an den östlichen Reichsgrenzen augenscheinlich wenig Aufmerksamkeit schenkte. Es ist zu prüfen, inwiefern sich administrative Strukturen im byzantinischen Teil Italiens zwischen 610–641 wandelten, welcher Stellenwert italische Funktionsträger in Interaktion mit dem Herrscher und seinem Umfeld zukam und was für Strategien zur Festigung oströmischer Herrschaftsansprüche vor Ort greifbar sind. Dadurch sollen politische Entwicklungen auf der italischen Halbinsel im Spannungsfeld von Transformation und Kontinuität in differenzierender Weise aufgedeckt, die Bedeutung von Herakleios' Regentschaft für diese Veränderungen gewichtet und die sich wandelnde Stellung Italiens innerhalb des byzantinischen Reiches in einem Zeitalter vielgestaltiger Herausforderungen evaluiert werden. Da ein derartiges Vorhaben nur unter Berücksichtigung der mannigfachen Verflechtungen zwischen Byzanz, den germanischen Nachfolgereichen im westlichen Mittelmeerraum sowie dem Papsttum realisierbar ist, möchte diese Studie schließlich einen Beitrag zur in der aktuellen Forschung vielfältig diskutierten mediterranen Konnektivität im Frühmittelalter leisten[2].

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[1] P. Sarris, Empires of Faith. The Fall of Rome and the Rise of Islam (500–700). Oxford 2001; W. E. Kaegi, Heraclius. Emperor of Byzantium. Cambridge 2003, 229–299; J. Howard-Johnston, East Rome, Sasanian Persia and the End of Antiquity. Historiographical and Historical Studies. Aldershot – Burlington 2006; W. E. Kaegi, Muslim Expansion and Byzantine Collapse in North Africa. Cambridge 2010; B. Dignas – E. Winter, Rome and Persia in Late Antiquity. Neighbours and Rivals. Cambridge [4]2012; G. Fowden, Before and after Muhammad. The First Millennium Refocused. Princeton – Oxford 2014.

[2] Zum Konzept der „mediterranen Konnektivität" siehe M. McCormick, Origins of the European Economy. Communications and Commerce, AD 300–900. Cambridge 2001 (dazu die Auseinandersetzungen bei E. James – M. McCormick – J. Henning – A. Schwarcz – F. Curta – A. M. Stahl – D. Whitehouse, Origins of the European Economy. A Debate. *Early Medieval*

Zu den wichtigsten literarischen Quellen zur Erforschung der Geschichte des Exarchats zu Beginn des 7. Jahrhunderts zählt der seit dem 6. Jahrhundert geführte *Liber pontificalis*, päpstliche Sendschreiben Honorius' I. (625–638) an bedeutende Funktionsträger im italischen Raum sowie die im 8. Jahrhundert verfasste *Historia Langobardorum* des Paulus Diaconus. Während die beiden zuerst genannten Quellenzeugnisse aus römisch-pontifikaler Perspektive verfasst wurden, stellt das unvollendete Geschichtswerk des Paulus Diaconus Ereigniszusammenhänge primär aus langobardischer Sicht dar, wobei der Verfasser den *Liber pontificalis* bekanntlich zu seinen Vorlagen zählte. Des Weiteren sind Darstellungen des im 7. Jahrhundert wirkenden *Continuator* der Weltchronik Prospers von Aquitanien sowie des im 9. Jahrhundert tätigen Agnellus von Ravenna zu konsultieren. Letzterer suchte die Geschichte der ravennatischen Bischöfe nach dem Vorbild des römischen *Liber pontificalis* zu inszenieren. Berichte, welche die Vorgänge aus der Perspektive des Exarchats von Ravenna präsentieren würden, haben sich nicht erhalten.

Es ist in diesem Zusammenhang zu beachten, dass die genannten literarischen Quellen Herrschafts- und Verwaltungsstrukturen Italiens nicht direkt ansprechen. Sofern möglich sind diese stattdessen im Rahmen eines vergleichenden Textstudiums zu rekonstruieren. Punktuelle Einblicke in das Wirken sowie die Selbstdarstellung der Exarchen Italiens und der ihnen unterstehenden Amtsträger erlauben allerdings Analysen der wenigen auf uns gekommenen dokumentarischen Zeugnisse in Form von Inschriften, Papyri und Bleisiegeln, deren jeweiliger Quellenwert für jedes Einzelzeugnis kritisch zu prüfen ist. Im Folgenden werden an erster Stelle die administrative Gliederung Italiens sowie die in der ersten Hälfte des 7. Jahrhunderts in Auseinandersetzungen mit den Langobarden erfolgten Gebietsveränderungen skizziert, worauf eine Bewertung der Stellung, Funktion und Bedeutung der italischen Exarchen unter Herakleios folgt. Abschließend stehen Interaktionen zwischen Kaiser und Papst sowie deren Folgen für die byzantinische Herrschaftsausübung vor Ort im Zentrum der Aufmerksamkeit[3].

DIE ADMINISTRATIVE GLIEDERUNG ITALIENS IN DER ERSTEN HÄLFTE DES 7. JAHRHUNDERTS.

Das Gebiet der italischen Halbinsel war seit der zweiten Hälfte des 6. Jahrhunderts zwischen Langobarden und Ostrom heftig umkämpft. Erstere waren 568 unter ihrem König Alboin nach Norditalien eingedrungen und eroberten im Jahr darauf Mailand. Das 571 eingenommene Pavia erkoren sie zu ihrer Hauptstadt. In den folgenden Jahrzehnten besetzten langobardische Streitkräfte das Gebiet der heutigen Toskana und gründeten die Herzogtümer von Spoletum und Beneventum[4]. Vor diesem Hin-

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Europe 12 [2003] 259–323); S. Esders, Kingdoms of the Empire, AD 608–616. Mediterrane Konnektivität, Synchronität und Kausalität als analytisches und darstellerisches Problem der Frühmittelalterforschung, in: Neue Wege der Frühmittelalterforschung. Bilanz und Perspektiven. Beiträge eines Internationalen Symposions zum 80. Geburtstag von Herwig Wolfram, hrsg. von W. Pohl – M. Diesenberger – B. Zeller (*Forschungen zur Geschichte des Frühmittelalters* 22). Wien 2018, 122–126; P. Lucas – T. Rotman, Introduction, in: The Merovingian Kingdoms and the Mediterranean World. Revisiting the Sources, hrsg. von S. Esders – Y. Hen – P. Lucas – T. Rotman (*Studies in Early Medieval History*). London – New York 2019, 1–7; S. Esders – Y. Hen, Introduction, in: East and West in the Early Middle Ages. The Merovingian Kingdoms in Mediterranean Perspective, hrsg. von S. Esders – Y. Fox –Y. Hen – L. Sarti. Cambridge 2019, 1–6.

[3] Zu den in den nachfolgenden Abschnitten behandelten Amts- und Würdenträger werden Verweise auf Einträge prosopographischer Standardwerke angeführt (*i.e.* Prosopografia dell'Italia bizantina I–II [493–804], hrsg. von S. Cosentino [*Collana Medievista*, 8–9]. Bologna 1996–2000 [PIB I–II]; The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire I–III, hrsg. von A. H. M. Jones – J. R. Martindale – J. Morris. Cambridge 1971–92 [PLRE I–III]; Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit. Abteilungen I–II, nach Vorarbeiten F. Winkelmanns erstellt von R.-J. Lilie – Cl. Ludwig – B. Zielke – Th. Pratsch. Berlin 1999–2013 [PmbZ] und online: https://www.degruyter.com/view/db/pmbz).

[4] Zur reichhaltigen Forschungsgeschichte siehe insbesondere L. M. Hartmann, Italy under the Lombards, in: The Cambridge Medieval History II, hrsg. von J. B. Bury – H. M. Gwatkin – J. P. Whitby. Cambridge 1913, 194–198; O. Bertolini, Roma di fronte a Bisanzio e ai Longobardi (*Storia di Roma* 9). Bologna 1941, 217–261; G. Barni, La conquête de l'Italie par les

tergrund wurde spätestens 584 unter Kaiser Maurikios der Exarchat von Ravenna eingerichtet. Dass damit eine systematische Unterordnung des Prätorianerpräfekten unter den Exarchen stattgefunden hätte, ist in den Quellen nicht erkennbar[5]. Die im *Liber Pontificalis* anzutreffende Formulierung, gemäß welcher der vom Kaiser eingesetzte Exarch Olympius (PIB II 432–433, Olympius 3; PmbZ 5650) zwischen 649–651/2 „*ad regendam totam Italiam*" eingesetzt worden sei[6], spiegelt wohl frühstens die Verwaltungssituation Italiens in der Mitte 7. Jahrhunderts wider und sollte deswegen nicht vorbehaltlos auf den Beginn des Exarchats in der zweiten Hälfte des 6. Jahrhunderts übertragen werden. Tatsächlich zeichneten Prätorianerpräfekten nach wie vor für die Führung der Staatskasse sowie Teile der Rechtsprechung verantwortlich; gelegentlich scheinen sie sich sogar noch militärischer Herausforderungen angenommen zu haben[7]. Erst im Laufe der Zeit verlor die Funktion an Bedeutung, da die Exarchen sowie Teile der kaiserlichen Zentralverwaltung schrittweise deren Aufgaben übernahmen[8]. Der aktuell letzte namentlich bekannte Amtsträger Johannes (PLRE III 699–700, Ioannes 226; PIB II 180, Iohannes 192) agierte im Jahr 600. Die Präfektur Italiens selbst wird zuletzt in einer ravennatischen Schenkungsurkunde des Jahres 639 erwähnt[9]. Die Frage, ob das Amt in Italien damit

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Lombards. Paris 1975, 15–236; W. Menghin, Die Langobarden. Archäologie und Geschichte. Stuttgart [2]1979, 94–191; J. Jarnut, Geschichte der Langobarden. Berlin – Köln – Mainz 1982, 33–54; C. Wickham, Early Medieval Italy. Central Power and Local Society 400–1000. Basingstoke – London [2]1989, 28–35; K. Christou, Byzanz und die Langobarden. Von der Ansiedlung in Pannonien bis zur endgültigen Anerkennung (500–680) (*Historical Monographs* 11). Athen 1991, 107–225; N. Christie, The Lombards. The Ancient Longobards. Oxford – Cambridge, M.A. 1995, 73–182; P. Delogu, Il regno longobardo, in: Longobardi e Bizantini, hrsg. von P. Delogu – A. Guillou – G. Ortalli. Turin 1995, 3–216; K. Priester, Geschichte der Langobarden. Gesellschaft – Kultur – Alltagsleben. Berlin 2004, 34–67; G. Ravegnani, I Bizantini in Italia. Bologna 2004, 69–80; J. Jarnut, Zum Stand der Langobardenforschung, in: Die Langobarden. Herrschaft und Identität, hrsg. von W. Pohl – P. Erhart (*Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters* 9). Wien 2005, 11–19; J. Moorhead, Gothic Italy and the Lombard Invasions, in: The New Cambridge Medieval History I, c. 500–700, hrsg. von P. Fouracre. Cambridge 2005, 151–155; G. Ostrogorsky, Byzantinische Geschichte (324–1453). München [2]2006 (unveränderter Nachdruck der 1. Auflage 1965), 57; G. Ausenda – P. Delogu (Hrsg.), The Langobards before the Frankish Conquest. An Ethnographic Perspective (*Studies in Historical Archaeology* 8). Woodbridge 2009; G. Ravegnani, Gli esarchi d'Italia. Rom 2011, 19–31; C. Azzara, Il regno e i ducati di Spoleto e Benevento, in: Longobardi. Un popolo che cambia la storia, hrsg. von G. P. Brogiolo – F. Marazzi – C. Giostra. Mailand 2017, 116–121.

[5] Siehe hierzu D. Claude, Niedergang, Renaissance und Ende der Präfekturverwaltung im Westen des römischen Reiches (5.–8. Jh.). *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte. Romanistische Abteilung* 114 (1997) 352–379, hier 356–357, der betont, dass das Verhältnis zwischen den Funktionsträgern wesentlich von deren Charakter geprägt gewesen war. Vgl. dazu C. Diehl, Justinian's Government in the East, in: The Cambridge Medieval History II (wie Anm. 4), 38–39; L. M. Hartmann, Imperial Italy and Africa. Administration, in: The Cambridge Medieval History II (wie Anm. 4), 226–227; L. Bréhier, Les institutions de l'Empire byzantin. Paris 1949, 222–223; A. H. M. Jones, The Later Roman Empire (284–602). A Social and Administrative Survey I–III. Oxford 1964, I 312–313; A. N. Stratos, Byzantium in the Seventh Century I, translated by M. Ogilvie-Grant. Amsterdam 1968, 35; J. Haldon, Byzantium in the Seventh Century. The Transformation of a Culture. Cambridge 1990, 35–36, A. Guillou, L'Italia bizantina dall'invasione longobarda alla caduta di Ravenna, in: Longobardi e Bizantini (wie Anm. 4), 235, die davon ausgehen, dass Exarchen von Beginn an verwaltungsrechtlich über den Prätorianerpräfekten standen.

[6] Liber pontificalis 76, 4 (ed. L. Duchesne, Le „Liber pontificalis". Texte, introduction et commentaire I–III [*Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome* II]. Paris [2]1955–1957, I 357, 7).

[7] Siehe hierzu Claude, Niedergang (wie Anm. 5), 357.

[8] C. Diehl, Études sur l'administration byzantine dans l'Exarchat de Ravenne (568–751). Paris 1888, 157–176; L. M. Hartmann, Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der byzantinischen Verwaltung in Italien (540–750). Leipzig 1889, 35–41; P. Goubert, Byzance avant l'Islam. Paris I–II 1951–65, hier II,2, 55–57; Guillou, L'Italia bizantina (wie Anm. 5), 240–241; Haldon, Byzantium (wie Anm. 5), 188–189; S. Barnish – A. Lee – M. Whitby, Government and Administration, in: The Cambridge Ancient History XIV. Late Antiquity: Empire and Successors, AD 425–600, hrsg. von A. Cameron – B. Ward-Perkins – M. Whitby. Cambridge 2001, 174–175; W. Brandes, Finanzverwaltung in Krisenzeiten. Untersuchungen zur byzantinischen Administration im 6.–9. Jahrhundert (*Forschungen zur byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte* 25). Frankfurt am Main 2002, 58–59; S. Cosentino, Storia dell'Italia bizantina (VI–XI secolo). Da Giustiniano ai normanni. Bologna 2008, 126–129, 135–137.

[9] P. Ital. I, Nr. 22 (ed. J.-O. Tjäder, Die nichtliterarischen lateinischen Papyri Italiens aus der Zeit 445–700 I–II [*Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae* 4°, 19, 1–3]. Lund 1954–82).

bereits um die Mitte des 7. Jahrhunderts nicht mehr besetzt wurde oder tatsächlich erst mit der Eroberung Ravennas 751 verschwand, bleibt damit vorerst noch offen[10].

Der so genannte Exarchat von Italien existierte dagegen sicher bis zur Einnahme von Ravenna durch die Langobarden und bildete einen wichtigen Ausgangspunkt für den Einfluss Byzanz' im westlichen Mittelmeerraum[11]. Ἔξαρχοι wurden durch die Herrscher persönlich in ihr Amt bestellt und erhielten regelmäßig den Hof- und Ehrentitel eines *patricius* verliehen[12]. Als *patricii et exarchi Italiae* fungierten sie als Schutzherren der italischen Halbinsel anstelle des Kaisers mit umfassenden militärischen, administrativen und politischen Kompetenzen[13]. Wie selbstsicher sich einige Funktionsträger in dieser machtvollen Stellung fühlten, zeigt sich deutlich anhand der Usurpationsversuche der Exarchen Eleutherius (PLRE III 435–436; PIB I 391, Eleutherius 4) im Jahr 615 und Olympios um 650. Unter Herakleios umfasste der Exarchat von Ravenna neun Verwaltungsbezirke (**Abb. 1**), namentlich *Liguria*, *Venetia*, *Istria*, der Exarchat in engerem Sinne mit dem stark befestigten Hauptort Ravenna, die *Pentapolis*[14], *Roma*, *Neapolis*, *Calabria* und *Bruttium*. Zwischen Rom und der *Pentapolis* bestand zudem die Region *Perusia*, die als strategisch bedeutsamer Riegel zwischen den langobardischen Herzogtümern im Norden und Süden der italischen Halbinsel fungierte[15]. Sizilien wurde von einem durch den Kaiser bestellten *praetor* präsidiert[16]. Sardinien und Korsika unterstanden dem Exarchen von Karthago[17].

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[10] Claude, Niedergang (wie Anm. 5), 358 spricht sich gegen eine Frühdatierung aus. Vgl. dagegen Hartmann, Untersuchungen (wie Anm. 8), 41; T. Brown, Gentlemen and Officers. Imperial Administration and Aristocratic Power in Byzantine Italy A.D. 554–800. Rom 1984, 11; Brandes, Finanzverwaltung (wie Anm. 8), 58–59, die das Ende des Amtes in Italien in der Mitte des 7. Jahrhunderts verorten. Es ist in diesem Zusammenhang auf aktuelle Studien von P. Theodoropoulos (King's College, London) zur Geschichte der Prätorianerpräfektur Italiens im 7./8. Jahrhundert hinzuweisen, der dazu insbesondere auf der Grundlage dokumentarischer Zeugnisse neue Ergebnisse vorzulegen plant.

[11] Siehe dazu V. von Falkenhausen, L'esarcato d'Italia (VI–VIII secolo), in: I bizantini in Italia, hrsg. von G. Cavallo – V. von Falkenhausen – R. Farioli Campanati – M. Gigante – V. Pace – F. Panvini Rosati. Mailand ²1986, 3–45.

[12] Diehl, Études (wie Anm. 8), 181–184; Brown, Gentlemen (wie Anm. 10), 48–53; Guillou, L'Italia bizantina (wie Anm. 5), 239; Ravegnani, Gli esarchi d'Italia (wie Anm. 4), 43–44; J. Ferluga, L'esarcato, in: Storia di Ravenna. II,1: Dall'età bizantina all'età ottononiana. Territorio, economia e società, hrsg. von A. Carile. Ravenna 1991, 384–385; Cosentino, Storia (wie Anm. 8), 150–154. Tatsächlich führten alle der in diesem Beitrag untersuchten Exarchen Italiens den Titel eines *patricius* (Photios [PLRE III 1040, Photius 7]; Johannes [PLRE III 702, Ioannes 239; PIB II 185]; Eleutherius [PLRE III 435–436; PIB I 391, Eleutherius 4]; Gregorius [PLRE III 553, Gregorius 15; PIB II 74–75, Gregorius 11]; Isaak [PLRE III 719–721, Isaacius 8; PIB II 225, Isaacius 4; PmbZ 3466]).

[13] Zum *patricius*-Titel der Exarchen siehe grundlegend W. Heil, Der konstantinische Patriziat (*Basler Studien zur Rechtswissenschaft* 78). Basel – Stuttgart 1966, 63, 141–145, der klarmacht, dass die *patricii et exarchi Italiae* Erben des konstantinischen Patriziats westlicher Prägung waren. Die konkreten Inhalte und Kompetenzen des Patriziats blieben allerdings weitgehend unbestimmt und mussten von einzelnen Exarchen deswegen immer wieder neu definiert und damit aktualisiert werden.

[14] Für eine detaillierte Analyse der Situation des Exarchats sowie der Pentapolis im 7. Jahrhundert siehe A. Guillou, Régionalisme et indépendance dans l'empire byzantine au VIIe siècle. L'exemple de l'Exarchat et de la Pentapole d'Italie (*Istituto storico italiano per il medioevo. Studi storici. Fasc*. 75–76). Rom 1969, 147–202; A. Guillou, Esarcato e Pentapoli, regione psicologica dell'Italia bizantina, in: Studies on Byzantine Italy, with a preface by Raffaelle Morghen, hrsg. von A. Guillou. London 1970, 297–319; E. Baldetti, La Pentapoli bizantina d'Italia tra Romania e Langobardia. Ancona 2003.

[15] Für einen Überblick über die archäologische Situation Italiens siehe T. Brown – N. Christie, Was there a Byzantine Model of Settlement in Italy? *Mélange de l'École française de Rome. Moyen-Age* 101/2 (1989) 337–399; N. Christie, The Archaeology of Byzantine Italy. A Synthesis of Recent Research. *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 2, 2 (1989) 249–294. Grundlegend zudem N. Christie, From Constantine to Charlemagne. An Archaeology of Italy AD 300–800. Aldershot – Burlington 2006.

[16] J.-M. Martin, L'Italie byzantine (641–1071), in: Le monde byzantin. Tome 2: L'Empire byzantin (641–1204), hrsg. von J.-C. Cheynet. Paris 2007, 479–482. Zur Geschichte Siziliens siehe V. Prigent, La Sicile de Constant II, in: La Sicilie de Byzance à l'Islam, hrsg. von A. Nef – V. Prigent. Paris 2010, 157–166, und E. Kislinger, Von der Provinz zum Machtzentrum und zurück. Sizilien unter Byzantinern, Arabern, Normannen, Staufern und Anjou (535–1282), in: Siziliens Geschichte, hrsg. von W. Gruber – S. Köhler (*Expansion, Interaktion, Akkulturation* 24). Wien 2013, 49–67.

[17] Diehl, Études (wie Anm. 8), 42–78; Hartmann, Untersuchungen (wie Anm. 8), 52–69; C. Diehl, L'Afrique byzantine. Histoire de la domination byzantine en Afrique (533–709) I–II. New York 1896, 469; Goubert, Byzance avant l'Islam (wie

Ausgangspunkt für die Formierung der genannten Verwaltungsregionen war die ziviladministrative Organisation Italiens aus spätrömischer Zeit, welche sich noch in der zu Beginn des 7. Jahrhunderts verfassten *Descriptio Orbis Romani* des Georgius Cyprius widerspiegelt[18]. Zwecks der koordinierten Abwehr aggressiver Langobardenvorstöße wurden in einzelnen *provinciae* bereits ab der zweiten Hälfte des 6. Jahrhunderts militärische Befehlshaber im Range eines *dux* oder *magister militum* installiert, denen zunächst ausschließlich die militärische Leitung der ihnen unterstehenden Region oblag, während etablierte Verwaltungsstrukturen vorerst noch Bestand hatten. Erst nach und nach weiteten sich die Kompetenzen der *duces* und Heermeister auf Bereiche der Ziviladministration und Rechtsprechung aus, wobei die damit einhergehende schrittweise Verdrängung früherer Funktionseliten mit einer Militarisierung der italischen Gesellschaft einherging[19]. Dieser Prozess fand dabei sowohl auf provinzialer wie auch auf regionaler Ebene statt, denn auch in den Städten agierten immer häufiger *tribuni* und *comites* als Entscheidungsträger anstelle der traditionellen Stadtmagistrate und -räte[20].

Während die ältere Forschung an der Spitze einzelner Verwaltungsbezirke bereits zu Beginn des 7. Jahrhunderts fest institutionalisierte *duces* oder *magistri militum* als höchste militärische und ziviladministrative Funktionsträger annahm[21], sind neuere Untersuchungen diesbezüglich vorsichtiger[22]. Tatsächlich finden sich weder in literarischen noch in dokumentarischen Zeugnissen eindeutige Be-

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Anm. 8), II 2, 39–48; A. Guillou, La lunga età bizantina: Politica ed economia, in: Storia dei sardi e della Sardegna. Dalle origini alle fine dell'età bizantina, hrsg. von M. Guidetti. Mailand 1987, I 343–344; R. Turtas, Rapporti tra Africa e Sardegna nell'epistolario di Gregorio Magno (590–604) (*L'Africa romana* 9). Sassari 1992, 694–695; Christie, From Constantine to Charlemagne (wie Anm. 15), 380–383; Guillou, L'Italia bizantina (wie Anm. 5), 220–227; P. G. Spanu, La Sardegna bizantina tra VI e VII secolo. S'Alvure 1998; Martin, L'Italie byzantine (wie Anm. 16), 475–476. Vgl. aber Stratos, Byzantium in the Seventh Century I (wie Anm. 5), 36.

[18] Georgius Cyprius, Descriptio Orbis Romani 530–637 (ed. H. Gelzer, Georgii Cyprii Descriptio Orbis Romani, accedit Leonis imperatoris diatyposis genuine adhuc inedita. Leipzig 1890, 28–32; ed. E. Honigmann, Le Synekdèmos d'Hiéroklès et l'opuscule géographique de Georges de Chypre [*Corpus Bruxellense Historiae Byzantinae. Forma Imperii Byzantini – Fasculus* 1]. Brüssel 1939, 51–55). Die Auflistung von Städten und Befestigungen des byzantinischen Reiches richtet sich nach Diözesen und ἐπαρχίαι/*provinciae*, wobei sich der anonyme Autor an dem bereits 535 abgefassten Συνέκδημος des Hierokles orientierte. Eine vergleichbare Gliederungslogik findet sich in der während des 7. Jahrhunderts entstandenen *Cosmographia Anonymi Ravennatis* 4, 29–38 sowie in den *Geographica Guidonis* 5–80 (ed. J. Schetz – M. Zumschlinge, Ravennatis Anonymi cosmographia et Guidonis geographica. Leipzig 1929, 246, 7–295, 4; 453, 4–514, 4). Siehe hierzu Diehl, Études (wie Anm. 8), 23–31; C. Diehl, Justinian. The Imperial Restoration in the West, in: The Cambridge Medieval History II (wie Anm. 4), 20–22; Hartmann, Imperial Italy and Africa (wie Anm. 5), 224; T. Brown, Byzantine Italy, c. 680–876, in: The New Cambridge Medieval History II (c. 700–c. 900), hrsg. von R. McKitterick. Cambridge 1995, 320–348; Christie, From Constantine to Charlemagne (wie Anm. 15), 69–71; Guillou, L'Italia bizantina (wie Anm. 5).

[19] Brown, Gentlemen (wie Anm. 10), 53. Ähnlich F. Borri, Duces e magistri militum nell'Italia esarcale (VI–VIII secolo). *Estratto da Reti Medievali Rivista* 6, 2 (2005) 7–10; Cosentino, Storia (wie Anm. 8), 238.

[20] Hartmann, Imperial Italy and Africa (wie Anm. 5), 227–228, 230–231; Goubert, Byzance avant l'Islam (wie Anm. 8), II 2, 62–63; Brown, Gentlemen (wie Anm. 10), 56–58; J. Ferluga, L'organizzazione militare dell'esarcato, in: Storia di Ravenna (wie Anm. 12), II,1, 384–385; M. Humphries, Italy, A.D. 425–605, in: The Cambridge Ancient History XIV (wie Anm. 8), 538–540. Vergleichbare Entwicklungen sind in Nordafrika und Spanien zu beobachten, siehe hierzu M. Vallejo Girvés, Byzantine Spain and the African Exarchate. An Administrative Perspective. *JÖB* 49 (1999) 13–23.

[21] Diehl, Études (wie Anm. 8), 23–31; Hartmann, Untersuchungen (wie Anm. 8), 52–57; Goubert, Byzance avant l'Islam (wie Anm. 8), II 2, 58–62; Stratos, Byzantium in the Seventh Century I (wie Anm. 5), 35.

[22] B. Bavant, Le duché byzantin de Rome. Origine, durée et extension géographique, *MEFRA. Moyen Age–Temps Modernes* 91 (1979) 41–88; Brown, Gentlemen (wie Anm. 10), 53–56; A. Carila, L'area altoadriatica nella politica bizantina fra VII e IX secolo, in: La civiltà comacchiese e pomposana dalle origini preistoriche al tardo medioevo. Atti del convegno nazionale di studi storici, Comacchio 17–19 maggio 1984, hrsg. vom Convegno Nazionale di Studi Storici. Bologna 1986, 177–232; G. Arnaldi, Le origini del patrimonio di San Pietro, in: Comuni e signorie nell'Italia nordorientale e centrale: Lazio, Umbria e Marche, hrsg. von G. Arnaldi (*Storia d'Italia* 7, 2). Lucca –Turin 1987, 3–151; G. Arnaldi, Le origini dell'identità lagunare, in: Storia di Venezia I. Dalle origini alla caduta della Serenissima, hrsg. von L. Cracco Rugini. Rom 1992, 428; Guillou, L'Italia bizantina (wie Anm. 5), 241; P. Delogu, *Solium Imperii – Urbs Ecclesiae*. Roma fra la tarda antichità e l'alto medioevo, in: Sedes regiae (400–800), hrsg. von G. Ripoll – J. Gurt. Barcelona 2000, 93; Borri, Duces e magistri militum (wie Anm. 19), 1–46; Martin, L'Italie byzantine (wie Anm. 16), 476.

lege für die These, dass bereits unter Herakleios *duces* sämtlichen Verwaltungsbezirken des ravennatischen Exarchats vorgestanden hätten, wie eine systematische Auflistung der hierfür relevanten Quellenzeugnisse verdeutlicht. Hierbei kommt den Briefen des außergewöhnlich gut vernetzten und über die sozio-politische Situation Italiens um 600 bestens informierten Papstes Gregor I. eine fundamentale Rolle zu:

- 599 adressiert Gregor der Große einen Brief an den in Istrien tätigen *magister militum* Gulfaris (PLRE III 563; PIB II 89)[23]. Aus einem weiteren Schreiben des Papstes an den Exarchen Smaragdus (PLRE III 1164–1166, Smaragdus 2) aus dem Jahr 603 geht hervor, dass vor Ort offenbar Stellvertreter des Amtsträgers stationiert waren[24]. Hierbei handelt sich um so genannte *loci servatores*, die von der Prätorianerpräfektur her bekannt sind[25].
- In Venetien sind wir dank einer Inschrift aus Torcello (AE 1973, 245), die im Folgenden weiter zu untersuchen ist, über die Existenz eines *magister militum* unterrichtet, der 639 vor Ort residierte.
- Gregor der Große sandte 591 einen Brief an den möglicherweise als Armenier zu identifizierenden *dux* Arsicinius (PLRE III 125; PIB I 177–178), den Klerus sowie den Stadtrat (*ordo*) und das Volk (*plebs*) von Ariminium (Juli 591)[26]. Weitere *duces* sind in der ersten Hälfte des 7. Jahrhunderts in der Pentapolis nicht bezeugt.
- Ein *dux Romae* ist erst für den Beginn des 8. Jahrhunderts in der Vita des Papstes Constantinus (708–715) mit Sicherheit belegt[27]. Aus diesem Grund ist anzunehmen, dass die ziviladministrative Verwaltung Roms in der ersten Hälfte des 7. Jahrhunderts in der Hand des Stadtpräfekten (*praefectus Urbi*) sowie der *iudices rei publicae* lag[28]. Noch 584 bittet Papst Pelagius II. den *patricius* und Exarchen (?) Decius (PLRE III 391, Decius 2; PIB I 350, Decius 5), einen *magister militum* sowie einen *dux* nach Rom zur Verteidigung der Stadt im Kampf gegen die Langobarden zu entsenden[29].
- Mit Gudescalcus (PLRE III 561, Gudescalcus 2; PIB II 88) wandte sich Gregor der Große 599/600 an einen *dux Campaniae*, der wahrscheinlich in Neapel residierte[30]. Im Dezember des Jahres 603 ließ derselbe dem langobardischen *dux Neapolis* Guduin (PLRE III 562, Guduin 2; PIB II 88–89, Guduin 2) ein Schreiben zukommen, mit der Aufforderung, einen Soldaten, der sich an einer

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[23] Gregorii I Papae registrum epistolarum II 9, 16 (ed. L. M. Hartmann [*MGH Epistolae* 2]. Berlin 1899, 160, 20–161, 12 = S. Gregorii Magni registrum epistularum II 9, 16 (ed. D. Norberg [*CCSL* 95–95 A]. Turnhout 1982, II 719, 1–720, 31). Siehe dazu Italia pontificia I–X, congessit P. F. Kehr (*Regesta pontificum Romanorum*). Berlin [2]1961–1975, hier VII 1, 7, Nr. 31; Regesta pontificum Romanorum I–IV, hrsg. v. P. Jaffé, überarbeitet v. Kl. Herbers, curaverunt M. Schütz – V. Trenkle – J. Werner – W. Könighaus – Th. Schlauwitz. Göttingen [3]2016–2020, Reg. 2799: I 455. Vgl. PLRE III 563, wo die Gleichsetzung mit dem langobardischen *dux* Ulfari (PLRE III 1387) vorgeschlagen wird.

[24] Gregorii I Papae registrum epistolarum II 13, 36 (399, 14–15 Hartmann) = S. Gregorii Magni registrum epistularum II 13,34 (II 1036, 18–20 Norberg): *Directis itaque excellentiae vestrae iussionibus his qui in Histriae partibus locum vestrum agere* […]. Siehe dazu Italia pontificia V 7, Nr. 26; VII 2, 210, Nr. 2; Regesta pontificum Romanorum 3048 (I 494 Jaffé[3]).

[25] Brandes, Finanzverwaltung (wie Anm. 8), 138–139.

[26] Gregorii I Papae registrum epistolarum I 1, 56 (ed. P. Ewald – L. M. Hartmann [*MGH Epistolae* 1]. Berlin 1891, 80, 20–30 = S. Gregorii Magni registrum epistularum II 1, 56 [I 68, 1–14 Norberg]). Siehe dazu Italia pontificia IV 159, Nr. 2; 173, Nr. 1; Regesta pontificum Romanorum 2145 (I 358 Jaffé[3]).

[27] Liber pontificalis 90, 10–11 (I 392, 5–7; 393, 1 Duchesne).

[28] Delogu, *Solium Imperii* (wie Anm. 22), 92–94, ausgehend von Liber pontificalis 70, 2; 73, 3; 85, 2 (I 319, 3; 328, 17–18; 368, 12 Duchesne).

[29] *PL* 72, 704D.

[30] Gregorii I Papae registrum epistolarum II 10, 5 (240, 29–241, 15 Hartmann) = S. Gregorii Magni registrum epistularum II 10,5 (II 830, 1–831, 44 Norberg). Siehe dazu Italia Pontificia VIII 66, Nr. 22; Regesta pontificum Romanorum 2893 (I 469 Jaffé[3]). Gemäß PLRE III 561 handelte es sich bei Gudescalcus um einen Germanen, möglicherweise sogar um einen Langobarden. Vgl. dazu M. Schönfeld, Wörterbuch der altgermanischen Personen- und Völkernamen (*Germanische Bibliothek* 4,2). Heidelberg 1911, 115, der eine ostgotische Herkunft des Namens angibt.

Nonne vergangen hatte, zu bestrafen[31]. Papst Honorius I. adressierte zwischen 625–638 Briefe an den *magister militum* Anatolius (PLRE III 74, Anatolius 12; PIB I 146, Anatolius 4), der entweder in Neapel oder Salerno stationiert war[32]. Ein im Vatikan aufbewahrtes Bleisiegel zeugt schließlich vom zwischen 670–672 aktiven δούξ Νεαπόλεως Kosmas (PIB I 326, Cosmas[5]; PmbZ 4081)[33].

– Zu den Regionen Apulia, Bruttium, Perusia und Liguria existieren keine Zeugnisse, die das Wirken von byzantinischen *duces* vor 650 zweifelsfrei bezeugen würden[34]. In Perusia ist 592 (?) lediglich ein Langobardenherzog namens Maurisio (PLRE III 863; PIB I 360) belegt, der unter dem Exarchen Romanus (PLRE III 1092–1093, Romanus 7) zwischen 589/590–595/597 die Seiten wechselte und zu Byzanz überlief[35].

Eine aktive, systematische und gezielte Anpassung byzantinischer Herrschafts- und Verwaltungsstrukturen auf der italischen Halbinsel in der ersten Hälfte des 7. Jahrhunderts, welche direkt auf Herakleios' politisches Planen zurückgeführt werden könnte, ist damit nicht erkennbar[36]. Über den konkreten Einsatz von *duces* und *magistri militum* dürfte vielmehr situationsbedingt, von Fall zu Fall und nach Bedarf entschieden worden sein. Eine Institutionalisierung der italischen Dukate ergab sich tatsächlich erst im Laufe der zweiten Hälfte des 7. Jahrhunderts, womit offenbar eine rangmäßige Differenzierung zwischen *duces* und *magistri militum* einherging[37].

Im Umkehrschluss bedeutet dies, dass die politisch-administrative Organisation des Exarchats von Ravenna zwischen 610–641 nicht abschließend gefestigt war, sondern vor dem Hintergrund akuter Bedrohungen sowie unter Berücksichtigung der jeweiligen Personenkonstellationen und der zur Verfügung stehenden Ressourcen aktualisiert werden musste. Zur latenten Instabilität der byzantinischen Herrschaft in Italien während des Untersuchungszeitraums trugen insbesondere eine Reihe gewaltsamer Auseinandersetzungen mit den Langobarden bei. Besonders betroffen waren die Regionen Venetien und Istrien (**Abb. 2**). Bereits 601 ging Ostrom die Siedlung Mons Silicis, zwei Jahre später

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[31] Gregorii I Papae registrum epistolarum II 14,10 (429, 9–21 Hartmann) = S. Gregorii Magni registrum epistularum II 14,10 (II 1079, 1–1080, 18 Norberg). Siehe dazu Italia pontificia VIII 66, Nr. 24; Regesta pontificium Romanorum 3077 (I 498 Jaffé[3]).

[32] Epistolae Merowingici et Karolini aevi I 10, 5 (ed. W. Gundlach [*MGH Epistolae* 3]. Berlin 1892, 696, 28–697, 12). Siehe dazu Italia pontificia VIII 67, Nr. 25–26; 420, Nr. 8; P. Conte, Chiesa e primato nelle lettere dei papi del secolo VII, con appendice critica (*Pubblicazioni dell'Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore. Scienze storiche* 4). Mailand 1971, 419, Nr. 68; J.-M. Martin – E. Cuozzo, Regesti dei documenti dell'Italia meridionale 570–899 (*Sources et documents d'histoire du Moyen Âge* 5). Rom 2002, 132, Nr. 207; Regesta pontificum Romanorum 3255 (II 21 Jaffé[3]).

[33] V. Laurent, Les sceaux byzantins du Médaillier Vatican (*Medagliere della Biblioteca Vaticana* 1). Vatikanstadt 1962, 107–108, Nr. 106. PmbZ 4081 schlägt aufgrund der Invokation allerdings eine Datierung des Siegels in das 8. Jahrhundert vor.

[34] Diehl, Études (wie Anm. 8), 30. Zur Verwaltung Liguriens im Besonderen siehe N. Christie, The Imperial Province against the Lombards, A.D. 568–643. *Papers of the British School at Rome* 58 (1990) 242–247; Christie, From Constantine to Charlemagne (wie Anm. 15), 372–380.

[35] Paulus Diaconus, Historia Langobardorum 4, 8 (ed. L. Bethmann – G. Waitz [*MGH Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum*]. Hannover 1878, 12–219, hier 118, 9–119, 2): *Quod factum cum regi Agilulfo nuntiatum esset, statim Ticino egressus, cum valido exercitu civitatem Perusium petiit; ibique per dies aliquot Maurisionem ducem Langobardorum, qui se Romanorum partibus tradiderat, obsedit, et sine mora captum vita privavit.*

[36] So bereits Delogu, *Solium Imperii* (wie Anm. 22), 93. Dieser Befund überrascht nicht, zumal die Forschung klar aufgezeigt hat, dass Herakleios während seiner Herrschaft keine reichsweite Neuordnung administrativer Strukturen lancierte und damit nicht als direkter Urheber der späteren Themenordnung anzusehen ist, siehe dazu J. Karayannopoulos, Über die vermeintliche Reformtätigkeit des Kaisers Herakleios. *JÖBG* 10 (1961) 53–72; W. Brandes, Heraclius between Restoration and Reform. Some Remarks on Recent Research, in: The Reign of Heraclius (610–641). Crisis and Confrontation (*Groningen Studies in Cultural Change* 2), hrsg. von G. Reinink – B. Stolte. Leuven – Paris – Dudley, M.A. 2002, 31–32, 39; J. Haldon, The Reign of Heraclius. A Context for Change?, in: The Reign of Heraclius (610–641) (wie Anm. 36), 11–12, 15–16 gegen Ostrogorsky, Byzantinische Geschichte (wie Anm. 4), 66–70. Zur Reorganisation der Verwaltung im gesamten byzantinischen Reich im Verlauf des 7. Jahrhunderts siehe grundlegend Haldon, Byzantium (wie Anm. 5), 180–215.

[37] Goubert, Byzance avant l'Islam (wie Anm. 8), II 2, 60–61; Borri, Duces e magistri militum (wie Anm. 19), 6; Cosentino, Storia (wie Anm. 8), 138–141.

dann Cremona, Mantua und Patavium verloren. 611 erfolgten in Istrien Angriffe slawischer Truppen, welche die Region offenbar weiträumig verwüsteten[38]. 615 eroberten die Langobarden Concordia. Die Einwohner retteten sich daraufhin in die neu gegründete Küstenfestung Castellum Caprulae, welche in der Folgezeit als Bischofssitz fungierte[39]. Aufgrund der aggressiven Expansionspolitik des Langobardenkönigs Rothari (PLRE III 1096) begann die Bevölkerung der Städte Opitergium und Altinum um 638 verstärkt nach Torcellum und Heraclea abzuwandern[40]. 640 rissen die Langobarden die genannten Siedlungen schließlich an sich und brachten 643 Ligurien unter ihre Kontrolle[41].

Es ist allerdings zu betonen, dass die Beziehungen zwischen Ostrom und den Langobarden in der ersten Hälfte des 7. Jahrhunderts nicht allein kriegerischer Natur, sondern tatsächlich auch durch Phasen der friedlichen Koexistenz geprägt waren, so dass kulturelle, politische und ökonomische Kontakte durchaus zustande kamen. Damit erscheint die Situation Italiens mit jener in Südspanien vergleichbar, wo Byzanz zu Beginn des 7. Jahrhunderts ebenfalls noch über Besitzungen verfügte und mit den Westgoten während Friedenszeiten regen Austausch pflegte[42].

Gemäß Paulus Diaconus kam es wohl bereits 609 zu einem Friedensvertrag zwischen Kaiser Phokas und Agilulf (PLRE III 27–29) (590–615), der wiederholt erneuert wurde und bis zum Tod des Königs Bestand hatte[43]. Mit ein Grund für die Stabilität dieses Friedens zwischen den Langobarden und Ostrom ist in Auseinandersetzungen innerhalb des Merowingerreiches zu erblicken. 607/608 hatte sich Agilulf mit dem Westgotenkönig Witterich, Theudebert II. und Chlothar II. gegen Theuderich II. und Brunichilde verbündet, die wiederum eine Allianz mit den Awaren eingegangen waren. Erst mit dem Sieg Chlothars über Brunichilde und Theuderich II. zerfiel das merowingisch-awarische Bündnis im Jahr 613[44].

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[38] Paulus Diaconus, Historia Langobardorum 4, 40 (133, 16–35 Bethmann–Waitz).

[39] Zwischen 615–618 erlaubte Papst Deusdedit den Bischofssitz von Concordia nach Castellum Caprulae zu verlegen, siehe hierzu Italia pontificia VII,2, 75, Nr. 1.

[40] Papst Severinus ermöglichte 640 den Bewohner von Altinum und Opitergium, ihre Bischofssitze nach Torcellum, bzw. nach Heraclea zu verschieben, siehe Italia pontificia VII 2, 79, Nr. 1; 89, Nr. 4. Zwischen 640–642 wurde dem katholischen Bischof Padovas von Papst Iohannes IV. zugestanden, seinen Sitz nach Metamaucum zu verlegen, siehe hierzu Italia pontificia VII 2, 116, Nr. 1.

[41] Zu Ligurien im Besonderen siehe Christie, The Imperial Province (wie Anm. 34).

[42] Hartmann, Italy under the Lombards (wie Anm. 4), 200–203; Martin, L'Italie byzantine (wie Anm. 16), 463–475; Wickham, Early Medieval Italy (wie Anm. 4), 64–79. Zu byzantinischen Besitzungen in Südspanien siehe J. Wood, Defending Byzantine Spain. Frontiers and Diplomacy. *Early Medieval Europe* 18/3 (2010) 292–319; M. Vallejo Girvés, Hispania y Bizancio. Una relación desconocida. Madrid 2012, 277–288, 544.
Zu den militärischen und politischen Auseinandersetzungen zwischen dem Westgotenreich unter den Königen Sisebut (612–621), Suinthilla (621–631) und Byzanz zwischen 612–615 sowie 624/625 siehe L. García Moreno, Historia de España visigoda. Madrid 1989, 148–149; M. Vallejo Girvés, Bizancio y la España tardoantigua (SS. V–VIII). Un capitulo de historia mediterranea. Alcala de Henares 1993, 282–302; D. Claude, Die diplomatischen Beziehungen zwischen dem Westgotenreich und Ostrom (475–615). *MiÖG* 104 (1996) 21–23; F. Presedo Velo, La España bizantina. Sevilla 2003, 79–84; R. Collins, Visigothic Spain (409–711). Oxford, Malden, M.A. 2004, 71–81; Vallejo Girvés, Hispania y Bizancio (wie Anm. 42), 329–368, 385–402, besonders 334, 391–393.

[43] Paulus Diaconus, Historia Langobardorum 4, 35; 40 (128, 6–8; 133, 16–35 Bethmann–Waitz). Zur Datierung des Friedensschlusses siehe T. C. Lounghis, Les ambassades byzantines en Occident. Depuis la fondation des états barbares jusqu'aux croisades (407–1096). Athen 1980, 105, 111; Delogu, Il regno longobardo (wie Anm. 4), 40; Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches von 565–1453 I 1, ed. F. Dölger – A. E. Müller, unter Mitarbeit von J. Preiser-Kapeller – A. Riehle (*Corpus der griechischen Urkunden des Mittelalters und der neueren Zeit. Reihe A: Regesten. Abteilung* 1). München [2]2009, 59, Nr. 164; Esders, Kingdoms of the Empire (wie Anm. 2), 122–123.

[44] I. Wood, The Merovingian Kingdoms (450–751). Abingdon – New York 1994, 88–90, 126–135, 140–143; E. Ewig, Die Merowinger und das Frankenreich. Stuttgart [5]2006, 117–123; P. Geary, Die Merowinger. Europa vor Karl dem Großen. München [3]2007, 154–155; S. Scholz, Die Merowinger. Stuttgart 2015, 170–180. Es ist allerdings zu erwähnen, dass awarische Kampfverbände bereits um 611 vielleicht mit Einverständnis Agilulfs in friaulische Gebiete eindrangen, dabei Cividale eroberten und sich damit des dem Langobardenkönig feindlich gesonnenen *dux* Gisulf annahmen, siehe hierzu zuletzt W. Pohl, The Avars. A Steppe Empire in Central Europa, 567–822. Ithaca 2018, 283–284.

Bemerkenswerterweise nutzte der Langobardenkönig die Schwäche des byzantinischen Staates während der militärischen Auseinandersetzungen mit den Sasaniden nicht aus, um seine Gebiete systematisch zu erweitern. Stattdessen versuchte er auf diplomatischem Weg die Zustimmung des oströmischen Kaisers zur geplanten Thronbesteigung seines nach byzantinischem Vorbild bereits 604 zum Mitkönig erhobenen und katholisch getauften Sohnes Adaloald (PLRE III 11–12) zu erlangen, dem er ein konsolidiertes und stabiles Reich zu hinterlassen gedachte[45]. Dass Agilulf auf militärische Auseinandersetzungen verzichtete, bedeutet jedoch nicht, dass unter seiner Herrschaft keinerlei Spannungen zwischen Papst, Byzanz und den Langobarden existiert hätten, wie die seit 606 bestehende Spaltung des Erzbistum Aquileia bezeugt.

Abgesehen von einzelnen bewaffneten Auseinandersetzungen unter dem Exarchen Eleutherius (616–619), die der langobardische *dux* Sundrarius (PLRE III 1206) siegreich für sich entschied[46], gestaltete sich auch die Herrschaft Adaloalds (615–626), der zusammen mit seiner Mutter Theodolinde (PLRE III 1235–1236) regierte, als recht friedlich. Da er die katholische Kirche weitaus stärker als noch sein arianisch geprägter Vater unterstützte, führte sein diplomatisch-abwartendes Verhalten allerdings zu Unmut unter den Langobardenfürsten. An seiner Stelle wurde deshalb der arianische Herzog Turins namens Arioald (PLRE III 116–117) als neuer König favorisiert, der mit Gundoberga (PLRE III 565), einer Schwester Adaoalds, verheiratet war. Nach Ausbruch offener Streitigkeiten im Jahr 624 setzte sich Arioald 626 erfolgreich an die Spitze des Langobardenreichs – sehr zum Missfallen von Papst Honorius I., der sich in dieser Angelegenheit vergeblich an den Exarchen Isaak (PLRE III 719–721, Isaacius 8; PIB II 225, Isaacius 4; PmbZ 3466) gewandt hatte[47].

Auch der neue König (626–636) suchte keine Vergrößerung seines Herrschaftsbereichs auf Kosten Ostroms, sondern zog als Verbündeter der Franken 631/632 gegen den Slawenfürsten Samo (PLRE III 1109–1110)[48]. Aufgrund einer überraschend toleranten Religionspolitik kam es unter seiner Herrschaft zudem nicht zu einer befürchteten Verschärfung der konfessionellen Gegensätze auf der italischen Halbinsel, was Honorius I. in einem Sendschreiben an die Bischöfe von Venetien und Istrien 628 zu einer Milderung seines zuvor scharfen Tonfalls gegenüber dem Langobardenfürsten bewog[49]. Die friedvolle Phase der langobardisch-byzantinischen Verhältnisse endete, wie bereits angedeutet, erst 636 mit Arioalds Nachfolger, dem arianischen *dux* Rothari von Brescia. Durch einen überragenden Sieg gegen byzantinische Truppen am Fluss Panaro in der heutigen Emilia-Romagna brachte er – abgesehen von den Küstenregionen Venetiens – 643 ganz Norditalien unter seine Kontrolle.

STELLUNG, FUNKTION UND BEDEUTUNG DER EXARCHEN VON RAVENNA UNTER HERAKLEIOS

Vor dem Hintergrund der politisch-militärischen Herausforderungen sowie der ungefestigten Verwaltungsstrukturen auf der italischen Halbinsel kam dem Handeln der Exarchen als Stellvertretern des Kaisers fundamentale Bedeutung zur Aufrechterhaltung der byzantinischen Präsenz vor Ort zu.

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[45] Jarnut, Geschichte der Langobarden (wie Anm. 4), 45–55; Christou, Byzanz und die Langobarden (wie Anm. 4), 161; J. Wallace-Hadrill, The Barbarian West (400–1000). Oxford 1996, 54.

[46] Auctarii Havniensis Extrema 22 (ed. T. Mommsen [*MGH Auctores antiquissimi* 9]. Berlin 1892, 337–339, hier 339). Eine englische Übersetzung findet sich bei S. Muhlberger, The Copenhagen Continuation of Prosper: A Translation. *Florilegium* 6 (1984) 71–95, hier 93.

[47] Epistolae Merowingici et Karolini aevi I 10, 2 (694, 9–20 Gundlach). Siehe dazu Italia pontificia V 7, Nr. 27; Conte, Chiesa e primato (wie Anm. 32), 407, Nr. 41, CPL 1726; Regesta pontificum Romanorum 3228 (II 15 Jaffé[3]).

[48] Jarnut, Geschichte der Langobarden (wie Anm. 4), 57. Zur Revolte Samos siehe zuletzt G. Kardaras, Byzantium and the Avars, 6th–9th Century AD. Political, Diplomatic and Cultural Relations (*East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450–1450* 51). Leiden – Boston 2018, 79–82; Pohl, The Avars (wie Anm. 44), 305–311.

[49] Epistolae Merowingici et Karolini aevi I 10, 3 (695, 10–696, 6 Gundlach).

Allerdings war deren Stellung nicht unantastbar. Als erster Exarch unter Herakleios' Herrschaft ist dank des *Liber pontificalis* ein gewisser Johannes (PLRE III 702, Ioannes 239; PIB II 185) sicher bezeugt[50], der zu Beginn des Pontifikats Deusdedits (615–618) zusammen mit italischen *iudices reipublicae* durch Angehörige des Militärs ermordet wurde[51].

Die genauen Ursachen des Aufstandes lassen sich aus heutiger Perspektive nicht mehr rekonstruieren. Wie weitere Gebiete des byzantinischen Reiches war allerdings auch Italien zu Beginn des 7. Jahrhunderts wiederholt von verheerenden Naturereignissen, Hungersnöten und Seuchen betroffen. So wurden in Ravenna und Verona 600/601 Himmelszeichen beobachtet, denen heftige Pestepidemien folgten[52]. 604/605 brach in ganz Italien eine Hungersnot aus, zwischen 608–615 wurde Rom von Epidemien, Flutereignissen und Hungersnöten heimgesucht[53]. 614 nahmen sasanidische Streitkräfte zudem Jerusalem ein, was im gesamten Reich als verheerende Niederlage für Byzanz und als Zeichen göttlichen Unwillens gedeutet wurde. Die Morde sind damit vielleicht als Ausdruck generellen Unmutes gegenüber Herakleios' Herrschaft anzusehen. Es ist zudem denkbar, dass ausstehende Soldzahlungen vor dem Hintergrund der ohnehin prekären finanziellen Lage des Reiches zu diesem Zeitpunkt zur allgemeinen Unzufriedenheit byzantinischer Soldaten unter Johannes beitrugen[54].

Der *patricius* und Exarch Eleutherius, der von Herakleios persönlich nach Italien beordert worden war[55], nahm sich der Mörder seines Vorgängers rasch an[56]. Auch den Aufstandsversuch eines gewissen Johannes von Conza (PLRE III 702, Iohannes 240; PIB II 185) um 617 vermochte der neue

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[50] Möglicherweise agierte ein *patricius et exarchus Romae* namens Photios (PLRE III 1040, Photius 7) noch vor Johannes als Exarch Italiens. Eine präzise Datierung sowie eine Eruierung seiner Tätigkeiten ist jedoch nicht möglich, da er allein in der vita Theodoris Sykeonis I 127, 1–5 (ed. et trad. A.-J. Festugière, Vie de Théodore de Sykéôn I–II [*Subsidia Hagiographica* 48]. Paris 1970, 102) erwähnt wird: Καὶ Φωτίου δὲ τοῦ φιλοχρίστου καὶ εὐκλεοῦς πατρικίου καὶ ἐξάρχου τῆς Ῥῶμης μετέπειτα γενομένου, οὗτινος καὶ τὸν υἱὸν Γρηγόριον αὐτὸς ἀνεδέξατο ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ κολυμβήθρᾳ, ἐλθόντος αὐτοῦ ἐν μιᾷ πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ ἐν τῇ θείᾳ λειτουρίᾳ προσκαρτεροῦντος [...]. Siehe hierzu J.-M. Sansterre, Une mention peu connue d'un exarque d'Italie. *Byz* 55 (1985) 267–268, der in Photios den Nachfolger des Smaragdus kurz nach 608 erblicken möchte.

[51] Liber pontificalis 70, 2 (I 319, 3 Duchesne). Hinter diesen *iudices reipublicae* sind in der ersten Hälfte des 7. Jahrhunderts wohl zivile Amtsträger zu erblicken, die in einzelnen Regionen gewählt und durch den Exarchen formal bestätigt wurden. Zur sich wandelnden Rolle der *iudices* sowie der schrittweisen Übernahme ihrer Aufgaben durch *duces* siehe Borri, Duces e magistri militum (wie Anm. 19), 7–10; Cosentino, Storia (wie Anm. 8), 129–131. Von Johannes selbst sind uns keine weiteren Nachrichten erhalten. Ein Kaufvertrag aus den ravennatischen Archiven, der zwischen 616–619 zu datieren ist, nennt allerdings dessen *maior domus* namens Tzitta an zwei Stellen, siehe P. Ital. II, Nr. 38–41.

[52] Paulus Diaconus, Historia Langobardorum 4, 14 (121, 8–10 Bethmann–Waitz); Agnelli Ravennatis Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis 101 (ed. D. Mauskopf Deliyannis [*CCSL* 199]. Turnhout 2006. 270, 59–64). Basierend auf Agnelli qui et Andreas Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis, ed O. Holder-Egger (*MGH Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum*). Hannover 1878, 265–391, hier 344, 13–17 findet sich eine deutsche Übersetzung in Agnellus von Ravenna: Liber Pontificalis – Bischofsbuch I–II, übersetzt und eingeleitet von C. Nauerth (*Fontes Christiani* 21, 1–2). Freiburg u.a. 1996, II 387–388.

[53] Liber pontificalis 67; 69 (I 315, 1–2; 317, 2 Duchesne). Paulus Diaconus, Historia Langobardorum 4, 29 (126, 11–15 Bethmann–Waitz); Agnelli Ravennatis Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis 102 (271, 89–91 Mauskopf Deliyannis). Zu Naturkatastrophen, Seuchen und Hungersnöten in Italien während der ersten Hälfte des 7. Jahrhunderts siehe D. Stathakopoulos, Famine and Pestilence in the Late Roman and Early Byzantine Empire. A Systematic Survey of Subsistence Crises and Epidemics, Aldershot (*Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Monographs* 9). Burlington 2004, hier 332–339, 341–342.

[54] Liber pontificalis 70, 2 (I 319, 6 Duchesne). Dass die Ermordung des Johannes aus den Reihen des Militärs motiviert war, betont Ravegnani, Gli esarchi d'Italia (wie Anm. 4), 69. I. Dujčev, Bizantini e longobardi, in: Atti del convegno internazionale sul tema: La civiltà dei longobardi in Europa (Roma, 24–26 maggio 1971 e Cividale del Friuli, 27–28 maggio 1971), hrsg. von der Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei (*Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, anno CCCLXXI – 1974, Quaderno N.* 189). Rom 1974, 70, sowie Cosentino, Storia (wie Anm. 8), 238–249, geben beide zu bedenken, dass viele Soldaten über den Abzug von Ressourcen, und fehlende Kommunikation zwischen Ravenna und Konstantinopel irritiert waren. Zu erwähnen ist abschließend, dass in diesem Zeitraum offenbar die Qualität der italischen Münzen abnahm, siehe G. Gorini, La zecca di Ravenna. Monetazione e circolazione, in: Storia di Ravenna (wie Anm. 12), II 1, 227–228 ; V. Prigent, A Striking Evolution, in: Ravenna, hrsg. von J. Herrin – J. Nelson. London 2016, 154–159.

[55] Auctarii Havniensis Extrema 21 (339 Mommsen).

[56] Liber pontificalis 70, 2 (I 319, 2–3 Duchesne).

Statthalter in Neapel mit militärischen Mitteln zu unterdrücken. Mit der anschließenden Auszahlung byzantinischer Soldaten brachte Eleutherius gemäß dem *Liber pontificalis* die turbulenten Verhältnisse im byzantinischen Teil Italiens vorläufig unter Kontrolle[57]. Wenig erfolgreich gestalteten sich dann aber seine Auseinandersetzungen mit den Langobarden, deren Reich er nach dem Tode Agilulfs angriff. Da er den gegnerischen Streitkräften unter Führung des Herzogs Sundrarius aber, wie bereits erwähnt, militärisch unterlag, musste er sich Frieden mittels hoher Tributzahlungen teuer erkaufen[58].

619 fasste Eleutherius den Entschluss, sich selbst zum Herrscher Italiens auszurufen. Über seine Beweggründe sind wir nicht informiert, doch lässt sich hinter dieser Entscheidung der Versuch erahnen, seine Stellung, die durch die Niederlage gegen die Langobarden wohl Schaden genommen hatte, durch den Griff nach absoluter Herrschaft in Italien abzusichern. Aus heutiger Perspektive scheint der Zeitpunkt für diesen Putschversuch günstig gewählt zu sein. Konstantinopel war bereits 618 von heftigen Hungersnöten und Seuchen heimgesucht worden, was zur Einstellung der städtischen *annona* für die Zivilbevölkerung geführt hatte[59]. Persische Streitkräfte eroberten 619 außerdem Alexandreia, was die ohnehin prekäre Situation in der Hauptstadt zusätzlich verschärfte[60]. Herakleios' Aufmerksamkeit war damit auf innenpolitische Krisen und militärische Konflikte an den östlichen Reichsgrenzen gerichtet.

Ob Eleutherius für sich lediglich die Königswürde in Italien beanspruchte (*intarta adsumpsit regnum*)[61] oder gar ein kaiserliches *imperium* im Auge hatte und dadurch eine Herakleios gleichwertige Stellung im Westen anstrebte[62], lässt sich aufgrund der widersprüchlichen Überlieferung nicht abschließend entscheiden. Sollte es sich bei Eleutherius allerdings tatsächlich um einen Eunuchen gehandelt haben – vergleichbar mit dem Oberbefehlshaber Italiens Narses (551-574) (PLRE III, 912-928, Narses 1; PIB II 405-417, Narses 1) unter Justinian I. –, so wäre ihm der Weg zur Kaiserwürde selbst im Erfolgsfall versperrt geblieben[63]. Es erscheint deswegen plausibler anzunehmen, dass er als *patricius Italiae* eine eigenständige Stellung gegenüber Ostrom zu erkämpfen gedachte, ohne sich damit auf dieselbe Stufe wie Herakleios zu stellen[64]. Sein Usurpationsversuch verlief allerdings wenig erfolgreich. Übereinstimmend berichten die literarischen Quellen, dass er bei einer Reise nach

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[57] Liber pontificalis 70, 2 (I 319, 6 Duchesne): *Reversus est Ravenna, et data roga militibus facta est pax in tota Italia*. Siehe dazu außerdem Paulus Diaconus, Historia Langobardorum 4, 34 (128, 2–3 Bethmann–Waitz); Agnelli Ravennatis Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis 106 (277, 73–75; 78–79 Mauskopf Deliyannis). Es ist anzunehmen, dass Eleutherius die Mittel zur Auszahlung ravennatischer Soldaten bei seiner Abreise vom Kaiser erhalten hatte.

[58] Auctarii Havniensis Extrema 22 (339 Mommsen): *Eleutherius adversus Longobardos saepe inito bello vincitur; per Sundrarium maxime Longobardorum ducem, qui apud Agilulfum bellicis rebus instructus erat. Amiserat Eleutherius et cum saepe suorum ruinam cerneret, pacem cum Longobardis facit, ea tamen condicione, ut quinque centenaria, quae dudum, cum ad obsidendam Romam Agilulfus rex venisset, per singulos annos dare Longobardis statuerant, persolverent Romani.* Siehe hierzu Bertolini, Roma (wie Anm. 4), 298–303; Christou, Byzanz und die Langobarden (wie Anm. 4), 190–191; Ferluga, L'esarcato (wie Anm. 12), 362–363; Christie, The Lombards (wie Anm. 4), 96.

[59] Chronicon Paschale I 711, 11–15 (ed. L. Dindorf [*CSHB* 14]. Bonn 1832); Nikephoros Patriarch 8 (ed. and trans. C. Mango, Nikephoros, Patriarch of Constantinople: Short History (*CFHB* 8). Washington, D.C. 1990, 48, 2–4).

[60] Die dramatischen Folgen der Eroberung Ägyptens werden eindringlich in Anonymi vita Johannis Elemosynarii 6–7, 26, 37 (ed. H. Delehaye, Une vie inédite de Saint Jean l'Aumonier. *AnBoll* 45 [1927] 5–74, hier 21, 34–22, 27; 36, 16–38, 14; 53, 3–33) sowie in Leontios, vita Johannis Elemosynarii 6–7, 11, 24 (ed. et trad. A.-J. Festugière – L. Ryden, Leontios de Neapolis: Vie de Syméon le Fou et Vie de Jean de Chypre [*Institut français d'archéologie de Beyrouth. Bibliothèque archéologique et historique* 95]. Paris 1974, 254–637, hier 350, 1–353, 19; 357, 1–359, 86; 375, 1–376, 49) geschildert.

[61] Liber pontificalis 71, 2 (I 321, 7–8 Duchesne).

[62] Paulus Diaconus, Historia Langobardorum 4, 34 (128, 3 Bethmann–Waitz); Agnelli Ravennatis liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis 106 (277, 83–84 Mauskopf Deliyannis); Auctarii Havniensis Extrema 23 (339 Mommsen). Siehe außerdem V. Ortenberg West-Harling, The Church of Ravenna, Constantinople and Rome in the Seventh Century, in: Ravenna. Its Role in Earlier Medieval Change and Exchange, hrsg. von J. Herrin – J. Nelson. London 2016, 202.

[63] Liber pontificalis 70, 2 (I 321, 7 Duchesne); Paulus Diaconus, Historia Langobardorum 4, 34 (128, 3 Bethmann–Waitz); Agnelli Ravennatis liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis 106 (277, 83 Mauskopf Deliyannis).

[64] Zur Stellung des *patricius Italiae* siehe Heil, Der konstantinische Patriziat (wie Anm. 13), 141–143.

Ravenna von kaisertreuen Soldaten beim heutigen Luceoli angegriffen und umgebracht wurde; sein Haupt sandte man als Loyalitätsbekundung an Herakleios nach Konstantinopel[65].

Möglicherweise ist der von Paulus Diaconus als „*patricius Romanorum*" bezeichnete Gregorius (PLRE III 553, Gregorius 15; PIB II 74–75, Gregorius 11) zwischen 619–625 als Exarch Italiens zu identifizieren[66]. Dieser zeichnete für die listenreiche Ermordung der langobardischen *duces* Taso (PLRE III 1218, Taso 1) und Cacco (PLRE III 258, Cacco) in Opitergium verantwortlich, die zuvor slawische Völkerschaften unterworfen und den Langobarden von Forum Iulii tributpflichtig gemacht hatten[67]. Damit könnte er allenfalls versucht haben, den wachsenden Einfluss dieser beiden Fürsten in Norditalien mit vergleichsweise geringem Aufwand zu stoppen.

Bieten die Amtszeiten der bisher genannten Exarchen lediglich episodenhafte Einblicke in die Bedeutung und Funktion des Amtes in der ersten Hälfte des 7. Jahrhunderts, sind wir zwischen 625–643/644 über den Exarchat des *patricius* Isaak deutlich besser unterrichtet[68]; so hat sich sogar ein in lateinischer Sprache beschriftetes Bleisiegel erhalten, welches Titel und Funktion Isaaks bezeugt[69]. Der aus einem noblen Armeniergeschlecht stammende Amtsträger, der vor seiner Stellung in Italien als Heerführer im Osten des Reiches gedient hatte, verhielt sich unseres Wissens stets loyal zu Herakleios und bemühte sich explizit um die Wahrung des *status quo* in Italien[70]. Daran wird in einer bilinguen Grabinschrift, die sich auf dem Deckel seines heute in der Basilika S. Vitale in Ravenna aufbewahrten Sarkophags befindet (**Abb. 3–6**), erinnert[71]:

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[65] Zu Eleutherius' Usurpationsversuch siehe E. Stein, Beiträge zur Geschichte von Ravenna in spätrömischer und byzantinischer Zeit. *Klio Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte* 16 (1920) 57–58; Guillou, Régionalisme (wie Anm. 14), 204–206; P. Classen, Der erste Römerzug in der Weltgeschichte. Zur Geschichte des Kaisertums im Westen und der Kaiserkrönung in Rom zwischen Theodosius d. Gr. und Karl d. Gr., in: Peter Classen. Ausgewählte Aufsätze, hrsg. vom Konstanzer Arbeitskreis für mittelalterliche Geschichte (*Vorträge und Forschungen* 28). Sigmaringen 1983, 23–24; 33; 37–41; Kaegi, Heraclius (wie Anm. 1), 93–94.

[66] H. Cohn, Die Stellung der byzantinischen Statthalter in Ober- und Mittelitalien (540–751). Berlin 1889, 107–112; Ferluga, L'esarcato (wie Anm. 12), 363; Cosentino, Storia (wie Anm. 8), 399–400; Ravegnani, Gli esarchi d'Italia (wie Anm. 4), 70–71. Ein namensgleicher Exarch Ravennas (PIB II 75–76; PmbZ 2370) ist für die sechziger Jahre des 7. Jahrhunderts bezeugt.

[67] Siehe hierzu Paulus Diaconus, Historia Langobardorum 4, 37–38 (128, 24–133, 6 Bethmann–Waitz). Es ist anzumerken, dass diese Darstellung eine alternative Datierung des Exarchats zwischen 610–615 zulässt. Eine weitere Schwierigkeit besteht darin, dass Fredegar, Chronicon 4, 69 (ed. B. Krusch, Chronicarum Fredegarii libri IV cum Continuationibus [*MGH Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum* 2]. Hannover 1888, 1–193, hier 155, 18–156, 2) von einem namensgleichen *dux* Tusciens berichtet (PLRE III 1218, Taso 2), der 630 durch den Exarchen Isaak in Ravenna in fast gleicher Weise ermordet worden sein soll. Trotz inhaltlicher Parallelen sind die genannten Amtsträger, die Orte des Geschehens sowie die historischen Kontexte derart unterschiedlich, dass wohl tatsächlich zwei historische Ereignisse voneinander zu unterscheiden sind. Zum Eindringen slawischer Kampfverbände in Istrien und Venetien siehe O.R. Borodin, Slavjane v Italii i Istrii v VI–VIIII vv., *VV* 44 (1983) 48–59; J. Ferluga, Überlegungen zur Geschichte der byzantinischen Provinz Istrien. *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* N.F. 35, 2 (1987) 164–173, hier 167–168.

[68] Zur Karriere des Isaak siehe O. Bertolini, Il patrizio Isacio esarca d'Italia, hrsg. durch den Congresso Internazionale di studi sull'alto medioevo, Atti del 2. Congresso internazionale di studi sull'alto medioevo: Grado, Aquileia, Gorizia, Cividale, Udine, 7–11 settembre 1952. Spoleto 1953, 117–120; Brown, Gentlemen (wie Anm. 10), 265; S. Cosentino L'iscrizione ravennate dell'esarco Isacio e le guerre di Rotari. Deputazione di storia patria per le antiche province modenesi. *Atti e Memorie* 11, 15 (1993) 34–43.

[69] Laurent (wie Anm. 33), 99–100, Nr. 98: Recto: (*crux*) / *Isaci / hexar/chii;* Verso: (*crux*) / *<I>saci / patr/icii.*

[70] Ferluga, L'esarcato (wie Anm. 12), 363.

[71] Der aus Marmor gefertigte Sarkophag (217 × 70 × 77 cm) ist vollständig erhalten. Beschädigungen sind lediglich an den vorspringenden Relieffiguren zu erkennen. Dargestellt werden die Anbetung des Jesuskindes durch die drei Magier auf der Vorderseite (Abb. 3), Pfauen, Palmen und ein Christogramm auf der Rückseite (Abb. 4), Daniel in der Löwengrube auf der rechten Nebenseite (Abb. 5) und schließlich die Erweckung des Lazarus auf der linken Nebenseite (Abb. 6), womit das Bildprogramm wohl der Hoffnung auf Auferstehung von den Toten im Glauben an Christus Ausdruck verleihen sollte. Der Deckel gehörte ursprünglich nicht zum Sarkophag und wurde erst 643 für den Verstorbenen umgearbeitet. Im 15. Jahrhundert stand das Monument zunächst in Ravenna in der Basilika S. Vitale. Ab 1754 wurde es in einer kleinen Kapelle zwischen S. Vitale und S. Maria Maggiore aufbewahrt. Später wanderte es zeitweilig in das 1877 gegründete Museo Nazionale bei der Biblioteca Classense. Siehe hierzu grundlegend S. Cosentino, L'iscrizione ravennate (wie Anm. 68), 23–43 (23–27,

+ Ἐνταῦτα κεῖται ὁ στρατηγήσας καλῶς τρὶς ἓξ ἐνιαυτοῖς τοῖς γαληνοῖς δεσπόταις ὁ τῆς ἁπάσης Ἀρμενίας κόσμος μέγας· τούτου θανόντος εὐκλεῶς ἡ σύμβιος πυκνῶς στενάζει ἀνδρὸς ἐστερημένη, ἐν ταῖς ἀνατολαῖς ἡλίου καὶ τῇ δύσει·	Ῥώμην τε φυλάξας ἀβλαβῆ καὶ τὴν δύσιν Ἰσαάκιος τῶν βασιλέων ὁ σύμμαχος Ἀρμένιος ἦν γὰρ οὗτος ἐκ λαμπροῦ γένους. Σώσαννα σώφρων τρυγόνος σεμνῆς τρόπῳ. ἀνδρὸς λαχόντος ἐκ καμάτων εὐδοξίαν στρατοῦ γὰρ ἦρξε τῆς δύσεως καὶ τῆς ἕω.
+ Hic iacet qui bonus dux extitit *tranquillis principibus ter sex annis* *universae Armeniae ornamentum magnum:* *hoc mortuo gloriose socia vitae* *frequenter suspirat viro privata,* *in ortu solis et occasu:*	*Romam incolumen tutatus est et occidentem* *Ysaacius regum socius.* *armenius enim erat hic ex claro genere.* *Susanna, prudens more castae turturis,* *viro qui sortitus est ex laboribus gloriam* *orientis enim duxit exercitum et occidentis.*

Die einzelnen Zeilen der in jambischen Trimetern abgefassten Inschrift lassen sich aufgrund ihres kunstvollen Arrangements sowohl waagrecht als auch senkrecht lesen. Betont werden sowohl einleitend wie auch abschließend Isaaks herausragende Leistungen als siegreicher und loyaler militärischer Anführer (ὁ στρατηγήσας – *dux*), der im gesamten Reich Kampagnen zu dessen Schutz leitete (Ῥώμην τε φυλάξας ἀβλαβῆ καὶ τὴν δύσιν – *Romam incolumen tutatus est et occidentem*; στρατοῦ γὰρ ἦρξε τῆς δύσεως καὶ τῆς ἕω – *orientis enim duxit exercitum et occidentis)*. Gleichsam als politischer und persönlicher Fixpunkt dieser mit Anstrengungen (κάματοι – *labores*) verbundenen, außerordentlich erfolgreichen Laufbahn, durch die ihm Ruhm (εὐδοξία – *gloria*) zuteilwurde, erscheinen die Kaiser (Herakleios, Herakleios Konstantinos III., Heraklonas sowie Konstans II.), denen Isaak als Verbündeter (σύμμαχος – *socius*) stets treu zur Seite stand[72]. Damit implizierte Isaak eine den Herrschern zwar nicht völlig gleichwertige Stellung, da er das Reich in deren Auftrag schützte, brachte aber seine persönliche Nähe zum Herrscherhaus sehr deutlich zum Ausdruck. Bei der Lektüre des Inschriftentextes fällt zudem auf, dass ausschließlich militärische Aufgaben und Erfolge aufgeführt sind; allfällige ziviladministrative und jurisdiktionelle Funktionen als Exarch Italiens wurden dagegen nicht verzeichnet. Dies ist wohl als Hinweis auf die in der ersten Hälfte des 7. Jahrhunderts nach wie vor bestehende militärische Ausrichtung des Exarchenamtes zu deuten, während bestimmte Aufgaben der Zivilverwaltung sowie der Rechtsprechung noch immer von Prätorianerpräfekten erfüllt worden sein dürften. Im Gegensatz zu seinen militärischen Leistungen wird auch Isaaks Glaube in der Inschrift kaum thematisiert – die einzige Anspielung darauf findet sich in der christlich geprägten, taubengleichen Keuschheit (τρυγόνος σεμνῆς τρόπῳ – *more castae turturis*) seiner Witwe Susanna (PmbZ 6850). Bemerkenswert ist abschließend die Zweisprachigkeit der

29–33 mit Interpretation des Inschriftentexts, 27–29 mit Analyse des Bildprogramms); J. Dresken-Weiland, Repertorium der christlich-antiken Sarkophage 2, hrsg. von T. Ulbert. Mainz 1998, 118, Nr. 378. Siehe außerdem A. Guillou, Recueil des inscriptions grecques médiévales d'Italie. Rom 1996, 116–117, Nr. 109 (vgl. dazu allerdings die Besprechung des Werks durch W. Hörandner. *JÖB* 48 [1998] 307–316 sowie C. Mango. *BZ* 91 [1998] 129–132). Siehe schließlich auch M. D. Lauxtermann, Byzantine Poetry from Pisides to Geometres. Texts and Contexts I (*WBS* 24, 1). Wien 2003, 221–223. Die Inschrift wird hier gemäß IRavenna 17 (ed. M. Bollini, Le iscrizioni greche di Ravenna [*Quaderni degli „Studi Romagnoli"* 9]. Faenza 1975 = ed. F. Fiori, Epigrafi greche dell'Italia bizantina [VII–XI secolo]. Bologna 2008, 73–75 = ed. A. Rhoby, Byzantinische Epigramme auf Stein [*Byzantinischee Epigramme in inschriftlicher Überlieferung* 3,1]. Wien 2014, 439–444, Nr. IT14 = ed. A. Bencivenni, Ravenna. Le iscrizioni greche [*Jouvence. Antiquitas – Saggi* 2]. Mailand 2018, 201–214, Nr. 23) wiedergegeben. Nebst einer unvollständig erhaltenen Grabinschrift für einen Enkel Isaaks (IRavenna 16 = Fiori, Epigrafi greche [wie Anm. 71], 92–93 = Rhoby, Epigramme 444–446, Nr. IT 15 = Bencivenni, Ravenna [wie Anm. 71], 189–199, Nr. 22), dessen Name uns nicht mehr erhalten ist (PmbZ 3466A), handelt es sich beim vorliegenden Zeugnis um das einzige auch auf Griechisch abgefasste Epitaph aus dem byzantinischen Italien, das mit Sicherheit in die 1. Hälfte des 7. Jahrhunderts zu datieren ist.

[72] Ähnlich Cosentino, L'iscrizione ravennate (wie Anm. 68), 26.

Inschrift, in welcher sowohl den Verbindungen des Exarchen nach Konstantinopel als auch der lateinischen Sprachrealität Italiens Rechnung getragen wurden[73]. Gleichzeitig unterrichtete man dadurch unterschiedliche Leserkreise des byzantinischen Italiens von der Laufbahn dieses außerordentlichen Befehlshabers, deren Weitläufigkeit in der Grabinschrift auch auf Ebene der verwendeten Sprachen reflektiert wurde.

Die im epigraphischen Zeugnis einleitend angeführte langjährige Herrschaft des Exarchen von dreimal sechs Jahren (τρὶς ἓξ ἐνιαυτοῖς – *ter sex annis*) hatte grundlegend stabilisierende Funktion für die byzantinische Präsenz in Italien und ist wesentlich auf das besonnene und den Kaisern gegenüber stets loyale Verhalten Isaaks zurückzuführen. Seine mehrheitlich abwägende Haltung zeigt sich insbesondere in seinem Umgang mit den Langobarden. So ging Isaak auf die Bitte Papst Honorius' I., den katholischen Adaloald gegen den arianischen Arioald 626 allenfalls auch mit militärischen Mitteln zu unterstützen[74], nicht ein, sondern ließ den Machtwechsel stillschweigend geschehen[75]. Schenkt man den Darstellungen Fredegars Glauben, nahm er sich 634 auf Bitten Arioalds sogar des rebellischen Langobardenherzogs Taso (PLRE III 1218, Taso 2) mittels einer List an, um im Gegenzug eine Senkung jährlicher Tributzahlungen zu erwirken[76].

Isaaks pragmatische Entscheidungen dürften durch ernüchternde Erfahrungen im Umgang mit den Langobarden und durch seine begrenzten Ressourcen vor Ort begründet gewesen sein. Wie Eleutherius' Niederlagen verdeutlichen, konnten direkte militärische Auseinandersetzungen zu einschneidenden personellen und materiellen Verlusten für Byzanz führen. Weder vom Kaiser, der sich zwischen 622–630 auf eigenen Feldzügen gegen die Sasaniden befand, noch von dessen Stellvertretern in Konstantinopel konnte der Exarch zudem Unterstützung für allfällige Feldzüge gegen die Langobarden erwarten. Aggressive Konfrontationen erfolgten deswegen nur dann, wenn Konflikte vorlagen, welche die politische und militärische Stabilität Italiens insgesamt gefährdeten; und die in absehbarer Weise mit vergleichsweise geringem Aufwand für Byzanz vorteilhaft geklärt werden konnten. Es fällt in diesem Zusammenhang auf, dass der Exarch mit seiner vorsichtig-abwartenden Strategie den Empfehlungen des *Strategikon* des Maurikios folgt, das im Kampf gegen die „blonden" Völkerschaften („οἱ ξάνθοι"), unter denen auch die Langobarden aufgeführt sind, empfiehlt, offene Feldschlachten gegen die als physisch überlegen wahrgenommenen Gegner zu meiden. Stattdessen solle man sich in der Defensive üben und militärische sowie diplomatische Kunstgriffe zur Anwendung bringen[77].

Obschon sich Isaak direkter Angriffe auf langobardische Gebiete unseres Wissens enthielt, mobilisierte er durchaus militärische Kräfte zur Verteidigung der ihm unterstehenden Regionen gegen langobardische Vorstöße. So erwähnt eine Inschrift, welche an die 639 erfolgte Fertigstellung der Kirche von Torcellum zu Ehren der *Sancta Maria Dei Genitrix* erinnert, die militärischen Leistungen des Exarchen und seiner Soldaten (**Abb. 7**)[78]:

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[73] E. Schoolman, Reassessing the Sarcophagi of Ravenna. *DOP* 67 (2013) 66–69.

[74] Epistolae Merowingici et Karolini aevi I 10, 2 (694, 9–20 Gundlach).

[75] Zu diesem Herrscherwechsel siehe H. Fröhlich, Studien zur langobardischen Thronfolge von den Anfängen bis zur Eroberung des italienischen Reiches durch Karl den Großen (774). Dissertation der Eberhard-Karls-Universität in Tübingen. Tübingen 1980, 115–127.

[76] Fredegar, Chronicon 4, 69 (155, 18–156, 2 Krusch). Dieser Episode steht allerdings bereits Cohn, Die Stellung der byzantinischen Statthalter (wie Anm. 66), 111–112 sehr skeptisch gegenüber.

[77] Maurikios, Strategikon, 11, 3 (ed. und üb. G. Dennis – E. Gamillscheg, Das Strategikon des Maurikios [*CFHB* 17]. Wien 1981, 368, 3–371, 46).

[78] Wiedergegeben wird das epigraphische Zeugnis nach AE 1973, 245 = A. Pertusi, L'iscrizione torcellana dei tempi di Eraclio, in: Saggi veneto-bizantini, hrsg. von G. B. Parente (*Civiltà veneziana* 37). Florenz 1990, 10. (Nachdruck aus dem *Bolletino dell'Istituto di Storia della Società e dello Stato Veneziano* 4 [1962] 63–80) = AE 2013, 6. Die heute auf der linken Apsisseite der Basilika S. Maria Assunta auf Torcello eingelassene Inschrift besteht aus mehreren Fragmenten einer Kalksteintafel, die nach 1954 restauriert und zusammengefügt wurden. Zur Forschungsgeschichte siehe V. Lazzarini, Una iscri-

[+ *In n*(*omine*) *d*(*omi*)]*ni d*(*e*)*i n*(*ostri*) Ἰη(σο)ῦ Χρ(ιστοῦ) *imp*(*erante*) *d*(*omi*)*n*(*o*) *n*(*ostro*) *Hera*/ [*clio p*(*er*)*p*(*etuo*)] *Augus*(*to*) *a*[*n*(*no*)] *XXVIIII ind*(*ictione*) *XIII facta* / [*est eccl*(*esia*) *s*(*anc*)] *t*(*ae*) *Mari*(*a*)*e D*(*e*)*i Genet*(*ricis*) *ex iuss*(*ione*) *pio et* / [*devoto d*(*omi*)*n*(*o*)] *n*(*ostro*) *Isaacio excell*(*entissimo*) *ex*(*ar*)*c*(*ho*) *patricio et d*(*e*)*o / vol*(*ente*) [*dedicata pr*]*o eius mer*[*it*(*is*)] *et* [*ei*]*us exerc*(*itu*) *h*(*a*)*ec fabr*(*ica*)*t*(*a*) *es*[*t*] */* [*a fundam*(*entis*) *per b*(*ene*)] *m*(*eritum*) *M*[*a*]*ur*[*iciu*]*m glor*[*i*] *osum magistro mil*(*itum*) */* [*prov*(*inciae*) *Veneti*]*ar*[*um*] *rese*[*d*]*en*[*t*]*em in hunc locum suum /* [*consecrante*] *s*(*anc*)*t*(*o*) *et* [*rev*(*erendissimo*) *Mauro e*]*pi*(*s*)*c*(*opo*) *huius eccl*(*esiae*) *f*(*e*)*l*(*i*)*c*(*i*)*t*(*er*)[79].

An dieser Stelle sticht insbesondere der Passus *ex iuss*(*ione*) *pio et* / [*devoto d*(*omi*)*n*(*o*)] *n*(*ostro*) *Isaacio excell*(*entissimo*) *ex*(*ar*)*c*(*ho*) *patricio et d*(*e*)*o / vol*(*ente*) [*dedicata pr*]*o eius mer*[*it*(*is*)] *et* [*ei*]*us exerc*(*itu*) (Z. 3–6) hervor. Diese Passage ist dahingehend zu deuten, dass Isaak die aufgrund der langobardischen Expansionsbemühungen unter König Rothari seit 638 von Altinum nach Torcellum abwandernde Zivilbevölkerung mit militärischen Mitteln erfolgreich zu schützen vermochte und damit den Bau der Kirche allererst ermöglichte[80]. Wie aus dem Dokument ebenfalls hervorgeht, residierte in Torcellum zu diesem Zeitpunkt ein *magister militum* namens Mauricius (PLRE III 862, Mauricius 9; PIB II 356, Mauricius 6), der die Bauarbeiten in leitender Stellung überwachte und damit offenbar militärische und ziviladministrative Aufgaben erfüllte. Ob er tatsächlich der *provincia Venetiarum* vorstand ist der Inschrift allerdings nicht mit letzter Sicherheit zu entnehmen, da es sich hierbei um eine moderne Ergänzung handelt.

Isaaks langjähriger Erfolg als Exarch verdankt sich zusammenfassend seiner Fähigkeit, die ihm zur Verfügung stehenden begrenzten politisch-diplomatischen und militärischen Mittel zur Sicherung der byzantinischen Herrschaft in Italien effektiv zu nutzen. Obschon seine Herrschaft vor Ort mehrheitlich durch eine abwartend-berechnende Haltung geprägt war, griff er unter günstigen Bedingungen durchaus aktiv in die italischen Verhältnisse ein und zögerte somit den Verlust byzantinischer Herrschaftsgebiete hinaus. Im Unterschied zu Eleutherius war ihm zudem bewusst, dass er seinen Tätigkeiten als Exarch Italiens langfristig nur würde nachgehen können, wenn er als loyaler Stellvertreter des Kaisers vor Ort agierte. So wagte er selbst keinen Aufstand gegen Herakleios, sondern unterstützte diesen, die byzantinische Ordnung in Italien zu wahren. Dieses Verhalten demonstrierte er noch 643, als er eine Erhebung des ihm unterstehenden *chartularius* Mauricius (PLRE III 861–862, Mauricius 8; PIB II 356–357, Mauricius 7; PmbZ 4894) erfolgreich unterband[81].

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zione torcellana del secolo VII. *Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti* 73 (1913–14) 387–397; G. Cuscito, L'origine degli episcopati lagunari tra archeologia e cronachistica, in: Aquileia e l'arco alto adriatico. Atti della 20 settimana di studi aquileiesi, 22–28 aprile 1989 (*AA* 36), hrsg. durch das Centro di Antichità Altoadriatiche. Udine 1990, 157–174; M. Molin, Introduzione alla Storia Torcellana (*Quaderni Torcellani* 1). Cavallino-Treporti 2008, 16–21; G. Cuscito, Epigrafi. Voci cristiane del patriarcato di Aquileia attraverso la testimonianza epigrafica (secoli IV–VII) (*Scrittori della chiesa di Aquileia. Appendice. Concili e cronache* 1). Rom 2013, 78–81, Nr. 11; G. Cuscito, L'alto adriatico paleocristiana, hrsg. von G. Caputo – G. Gentili, Torcello. Alle origini tra occidente e oriente. Venezia, Museo Diocesano, 29 agosto 2009–10 gennaio 2010. Treviso 2019, 32–49, hier 46–48.

Möglicherweise wurde die Inschrift von Torcello erst im Rahmen späterer Umbauarbeiten an der Kirche im Laufe des 9.–10./11. Jahrhunderts erstellt, um an die Gründung von 639 und deren Umstände zu erinnern, siehe hierzu M. Agazzi, Torcello medioevale, scultura e architettura. *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 20, 2 (2014) 817–829, hier 818–821. Ich danke an dieser Stelle herzlich P. Mastandrea (Venedig), L. Calvelli (Venedig) sowie insbesondere F. De Rubeis (Venedig), die sich im Rahmen der laufenden Editionsarbeiten zu den *Inscriptiones Medii Aevi Italiae* mit den epigraphischen Zeugnissen in der Umgebung der Lagunenstadt auseinandersetzt, für wertvolle Informationen zum heutigen Zustand der Inschrift sowie für Hinweise zur aktuellen Forschung.

[79] Aufgrund der Angaben zur Herrschaftszeit des Herakleios sowie der Indiktion kann die Inschrift und damit auch die Vollendung der Kirche zwischen den 01.09.–05.10.639 datiert werden, siehe hierzu Pertusi, L'iscrizione torcellana (wie Anm. 78), 19.

[80] Pertusi, L'iscrizione torcellana (wie Anm. 78), 24–35; Ravegnani, Gli esarchi d'Italia (wie Anm. 4), 72.

[81] Liber pontificalis 75, 1–2 (I 331, 2–332, 2 Duchesne). Zwecks der Niederschlagung der Revolte des Mauricius entsandte Isaak den *sacellarius* und *magister militum* Donus (PLRE III 421, Donus 2; PIB I 381, Donus 4), wie dem Liber pontificalis

Wie sich herausstellt, waren die Exarchen Italiens unter Herakleios größtenteils auf sich allein gestellt. Zwar wurden sie auf Geheiß des Kaisers nach Italien beordert und standen mit diesem punktuell in Kontakt. Eine eigentliche vom Kaiser oder seinen Stellvertretern in Konstantinopel aus koordinierte Strategie zur Festigung der byzantinischen Herrschaft in Italien ist jedoch nicht auszumachen; stattdessen musste jeder Exarch von Neuem darüber entscheiden, wie er mit den ihm zur Verfügung stehenden begrenzten Ressourcen zum Schutz des byzantinischen Italiens vorging. Dies verwundert kaum, zumal sich Herakleios auf Angriffe der Sasaniden und Araber im Osten seines Reiches konzentrierte und staatliche Mittel für ausgedehnte Feldzüge gegen die Langobarden auch aus diesem Grund nicht vorhanden waren. Obschon der Einfluss der oströmischen Zentralgewalt damit praktisch ausschließlich in vermittelter Weise in Italien selbst spürbar war und vereinzelt bereits Bestrebungen erkennbar sind, sich von dieser zu lösen, sollte noch nicht von einer eigentlichen Verselbstständigung des Exarchats von Ravenna zwischen 610–641 gesprochen werden. Dies ist wesentlich der langjährigen und Herakleios gegenüber loyalen Herrschaft des Exarchen Isaak zu verdanken.

BEOBACHTUNGEN ZUM PAPSTTUM UNTER HERAKLEIOS

Die Päpste Roms standen in der ersten Hälfte des 7. Jahrhunderts sowohl mit den Patriarchen Konstantinopels als auch mit den oströmischen Kaisern und mit den Exarchen Italiens in regem Kontakt; Letztere bestätigten im Untersuchungszeitraum die gewählten Nachfolger Petri in Übereinstimmung mit kaiserlichen Vorgaben sogar formal in ihrer Funktion als Bischöfe Roms[82]. Soweit erkennbar, gestaltete sich das Verhältnis zwischen Kaiser und Papst bereits zu Beginn des 7. Jahrhunderts sehr positiv. Der in der byzantinischen Überlieferung bekanntlich äußerst negativ charakterisierte Usurpator Phokas genoss in Rom selbst aufgrund seiner generös-liberal anmutenden Haltung der römischen Kirche gegenüber hohes Ansehen. So gestattete er, das Pantheon in eine Marienkirche umzuwandeln[83].

In Kontrast zur Fülle des epistolographischen Materials, welches das Pontifikat Gregors des Großen dokumentiert, haben sich unter dessen Nachfolgern Bonifatius IV. (608–615), Deusdedit (615–618) und Bonifatius V. (619–625) keine Briefe erhalten, die vertiefte Einblicke in deren Wirken erlauben würden. Vergleichsweise gut bezeugt ist das offenbar nach wie vor günstige Verhältnis zwischen Rom und Konstantinopel dann aber wieder für das Pontifikat des aus einer stadtrömischen Familie stammenden Honorius' I. (625–638)[84]. So berichtet der *Liber pontificalis*, dass dem Papst explizit erlaubt worden sei, das Dach der Peterskirche mit Bronzeplatten (*tegulae aereae*) abzude-

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75, 2 (I 331, 9 Duchesne) zu entnehmen ist. Siehe hierzu außerdem Brandes, Finanzverwaltung (wie Anm. 8), 443– 444.

[82] Liber pontificalis 73, 4 (I 329, 4 Duchesne). Aus religionspolitischen Gründen, auf die im Folgenden noch näher einzugehen ist, weigerte sich Isaak zunächst, den gewählten Nachfolger des Papstes Honorius I. namens Severinus in dessen Amt zu bestätigen.

[83] Liber pontificalis 69 (I 316, 2–4 Duchesne). Siehe dazu Italia pontificia I 99, Nr. 1; Conte, Chiesa e primato (wie Anm. 32), 399–400, Nr. 7–8; Dölger–Müller, Regesten, 55, Nr. 156; Regesta pontificum Romanorum 3181 (II 6 Jaffé[3]). Zur verzerrten Darstellung des Kaisers Phokas in der byzantinischen Überlieferung siehe M. Meier, Kaiser Phokas (602–610) als Erinnerungsproblem. *BZ* 107 (2014) 139–174, zur Umwandlung des Pantheons besonders 140.

[84] A. Thanner, Papst Honorius I. (625–638) (*Studien zur Theologie und Geschichte* 4). St. Ottilien 1989, 189–190; Kaegi, Heraclius (wie Anm. 1), 196–197; V. Reinhardt, Pontifex. Die Geschichte der Päpste. München 2017, 136–140. Einen Überblick über die mit Honorius in Zusammenhang stehende Briefliteratur bietet F. Winkelmann, Der monoenergetisch-monotheletische Streit (*BBS* 6). Frankfurt am Main 2001, 70, Nr. 32 (Briefe des Arkadios von Zypern an Kyros, Sergios und Honorius); 77–78, Nr. 43 (Brief des Patriarchen Sergios an Honorius); 79, Nr. 44 (erster Brief des Honorius an den Patriarchen Sergios); 83, Nr. 47 (zweiter Brief des Honorius an den Patriarchen Sergios); 90–91, Nr. 60 (Ablehnung einer monotheletischen Interpretation des Briefes Honorius' I. durch Maximus Confessor); 110–111, Nr. 88 (Brief des Maximus Confessor an den *patricius* Petros Illustrios mit Überblick über den Verlauf des monoenergetisch-monotheletischen Streits aus Sicht des Verfassers). Siehe hierzu außerdem P. Booth, Crisis of Empire. Doctrine and Dissent at the End of Late Antiquity. Berkeley – Los Angeles – London 2014, besonders 209–211, 233–234, 238–240, 259–270, 282–284.

cken, die zuvor den Tempel der Gottheit *Roma* auf dem Forum Romanum schmückten[85]. Um 630 ließ Honorius I. zudem die römische *curia* auf dem *Forum Romanum* zu einer Kirche zu Ehren des heiligen Hadrian umfunktionieren, was ebenfalls mit dem Einverständnis des oströmischen Herrschers geschehen sein dürfte[86]. Bezeichnend erscheint hierbei die Tatsache, dass Herakleios sich nicht davor scheute, ehemalige Symbole einer (stadt-)römischen Identität, die zu Beginn des 7. Jahrhunderts ihre einstige Bedeutung weitgehend verloren hatten, neuen Funktionen zuzuführen, wozu offenbar der traditionsreiche Versammlungsort des Senats zählte[87]. Damit trug der Kaiser entscheidend zur Transformation Roms im Frühmittelalter bei[88].

An das einträchtige Verhältnis zwischen Kaiser und Papst wird noch in Konstantinos VII. Porphyrogennetos' *De administrando imperio* (29–36) aus dem 10. Jahrhundert erinnert. Von Konstantinopel und Rom aus sollen Missionsversuche der seit 600 im Balkanraum und in Dalmatien siedelnden Kroaten und Serben lanciert worden sein, auf die Byzanz dadurch Einfluss auszuüben hoffte[89]. Dieses koordinierte Vorgehen dürfte – wenn es denn tatsächlich als historisch zu werten ist – in zeitlicher Hinsicht nach Herakleios' Sieg im Kampf gegen die Perser, aber wohl noch vor den Auseinandersetzungen mit arabischen Kampfverbänden zu verorten sein. Zur selben Zeit pflegte Ostrom weitere diplomatische Kontakte nach Westen. So berichtet die so genannte Fredegar-Chronik, dass Herakleios

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[85] Liber pontificalis 72, 2 (I 323, 7–8 Duchesne): *Hic cooperuit ecclesiam omnem ex tegulis aereis quas levavit de templo qui appellatur Romae, ex concessu piissimi Heraclii imperatoris*. Zur Lage der von Kaiser Konstantin errichteten Basilika entlang der *Via Sacra* siehe Bertolini, Roma (wie Anm. 4), 309; A. Bartoli, *Curia senatus*. Lo scavo e il restauro (*Monumenti romani* 3). Rom 1963, 72–73; L. Magi, La sede romana nella corrispondenza degli imperatori e patriarchi bizantini (VI–VII sec.) (*Bibliothèque de la revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 57). Rom – Löwen 1972, 203–204; F. A. Bauer, Stadt, Platz und Denkmal in der Spätantike. Untersuchungen zur Ausstattung des öffentlichen Raums in den spätantiken Städten Rom, Konstantinopel und Ephesos. Mainz am Rhein 1996, 59–60, 123; A. Cassatella, Venus et Roma, aedes. *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae* 5 (2000) 122; Dölger–Müller, Regesten, 67–68, Nr. 183a.

[86] Liber pontificalis 72, 6 (I 324, 10–11 Duchesne): *Fecit ecclesiam beati Adriani in Tribus Fatis, quam et dedicavit, et dona multa optulit*. Italia Pontificia I 69, Nr. 1; Conte, Chiesa e primato (wie Anm. 32), 422, Nr. 83; Regesta pontificum Romanorum 3276 (II 24 Jaffé[3]). Siehe dazu Bauer, Stadt, Platz und Denkmal (wie Anm. 85), 7–16; 62; H. Brandenburg, Die frühchristlichen Kirchen in Rom. Vom 4. bis zum 7. Jahrhundert. Der Beginn der abendländischen Kirchenbaukunst. Mailand – Regensburg [3]2013, 254. Als Chiesa di Sant'Adriano al Foro Romano bestand die Kirche bis in die 1. Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts. Zwischen 1932 und 1937 wurde der Bau unter Beseitigung der mittelalterlichen und barocken Ausstattungen weitgehend in den Zustand der antiken *curia* zurückversetzt.

[87] Zur Entwicklung der Senatsaristokratie im Westen siehe Heil, Der konstantinische Patriziat (wie Anm. 13), 135–136; S. Barnish, Transformation and Survival in the Western Senatorial Aristocracy, c. A.D. 400–700. *Papers of the British School at Rome* 56 (1988) 120–155; Cosentino, Storia (wie Anm. 8), 125–126. Über die Geschicke des stadtrömischen Senats im 7. Jahrhunderts sind wir aufgrund der problematischen Quellenlage kaum unterrichtet.

[88] Kaegi, Heraclius (wie Anm. 1), 196–197. Zu Veränderungen Roms in der ausgehenden Spätantike und der wachsenden Autorität der Päpste in Auseinandersetzung mit zivil-administrativen Institutionen der traditionellen stadtrömischen Verwaltung siehe Delogu, *Solium Imperii* (wie Anm. 22), 83–85, 92–94, 99–102.

[89] Konstantinos VII. Porphyrogenetos, De administrando imperio 31 (ed. and trans. G. Moravcsik – R. Jenkins, Konstantinos Porphyrogenetos: De administrando imperio [*DOT* 1]. Washington, D.C. [7]2016, 148, 21–24). L. Waldmüller, Die ersten Begegnungen der Slawen mit dem Christentum und den christlichen Völkern vom VI. bis VIII. Jahrhundert (*Enzyklopädie der Byzantinistik. Grundriss der byzantinischen Philologie, Geschichte und Kunst in Einzeldarstellungen* 51). Amsterdam 1976, 309–310; Thanner, Papst Honorius I. (wie Anm. 84), 187–188; Haldon, Byzantium (wie Anm. 5), 46–47, schätzen die Episode als historisch ein, geben aber zu bedenken, dass sie in manchen Belangen übertrieben anmutet. Vgl. dagegen R.-J. Lilie, Kaiser Herakleios und die Ansiedlung der Serben. *Südost-Forschungen* 44 (1985) 17–43, besonders 26–33; F. Curta, Making of the Slavs. History and Archaeology of the Lower Danube Region, c. 500–700. Cambridge [2]2002, 64–65; D. Dzino, Becoming Slav, becoming Croat. Identity Transformations in Post-Roman and Early Medieval Dalmatia (*East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages* [*450–1450*] 12). Leiden – Boston 2010, 104–117; Pohl, The Avars (wie Anm. 44), 312–314, welche in den Berichten des Konstantinos VII. Porphyrogennetos hinsichtlich der Ethnogenese und Christianisierung der Kroaten und Serben größtenteils literarische Konstrukte zur Legitimierung byzantinischer Herrschaftsansprüche im Balkanraum erblicken, deren Wahrheitsgehalt entsprechend kritisch zu hinterfragen sei. Differenzierend ebenfalls A. Avenarius, Die Awaren in Europa. Bratislava 1974, 138–147; J. V. A. Fine, The Early Medieval Balkans. A Critical Survey from the Sixth to the Late Twelth Century, Ann Arnbor 1991, 49–59; Kardaras, Byzantium and the Avars (wie Anm. 48), 90–98.

um 634 Gesandte zum Merowingerkönig Dagobert I. (629–639) zwecks Schließung diplomatischer Bündnisse ausgeschickt habe, wobei der Kaiser bei dieser Gelegenheit auf der Zwangstaufe von Juden im Merowingerreich bestanden haben soll[90]. Auch Honorius I. ging innerhalb seines Einflussbereichs gegen Personen jüdischen Glaubens vor, wie zwei Zeilen seines Epitaphs zu entnehmen ist; über den konkreten Inhalt der von ihm getroffenen Maßnahmen besteht allerdings keine Klarheit[91]. Die generell antijüdische Stimmung, die sich nicht allein in Italien, sondern punktuell immer wieder im Mittelmeerraum offenbart, zeigt sich in einem Schreiben des Bischofs Braulio von Saragossa an Honorius I., in welchem jener dem Papst die Antwort des Konzils von Toledo (638) auf eine frühere Anfrage mitteilte[92]. Obschon der Inhalt des päpstlichen Sendschreibens selbst nicht erhalten ist, kann aus Braulios Antwort erschlossen werden, dass Honorius I. die versammelten Bischöfe unter anderem wegen der offenbar als zu milde empfundenen Behandlung der in Spanien lebenden Juden

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[90] Siehe hierzu Fredegar, Chronicon 4, 65 (153, 6–10 Krusch). Weitere antijüdische Maßnahmen sind im Merowingerreich in der ersten Hälfte des 7. Jahrhunderts im Concilium Parisiense a. 614, 17 (15) (ed. C. De Clercq [*CCSL* 1408 A]. Turnhout 1963, 274–285, hier 280, 142–146) sowie im Concilium Clippiacense a. 626/627, 13 (204, 106–114 De Clercq) dokumentiert. Basierend auf der Edition von De Clercq findet sich eine französische Übersetzung der Konzilsakten in Les canons des conciles mérovingiens (VIe–VIIe siècles) I–II, introduction, traduction et notes par J. Gaudemet et B. Basdevant, Paris 1989, hier II 518–519; 536–537. Zu Zwangstaufen jüdischer Bewohner des Merowingerreiches, die bereits im letzten Drittel des 6. Jahrhunderts begannen, siehe M. Rouche, Les baptêmes forcés de juifs en Gaule mérovingienne et dans l'Empire d'Orient, in: De l'antijudaïsme antique à l'antisémitisme contemporain, hrsg. von V. Nikiprowetzky mit einem Vorwort von L. Poliakov. Lille 1979, 105–124; C. Geisel, Die Juden im Frankenreich. Von den Merowingern bis zum Tode Ludwigs des Frommen (*Freiburger Beiträge zur mittelalterlichen Geschichte. Studien und Texte* 10). Frankfurt 1998, 341–357; ausführlich S. Esders, Herakleios, Dagobert und die „beschnittenen Völker". Die Umwälzung des Mittelmeerraumes im 7. Jahrhundert in der fränkischen Chronik des sog. Fredegar, in: Jenseits der Grenzen. Beiträge zur spätantiken und frühmittelalterlichen Geschichtsschreibung, hrsg. von A. Goltz – H. Leppin – H. Schlange-Schöningen (*Millennium-Studien* 25). Berlin – Boston 2009, 247, 263–280.
Folgt man den Ausführungen der *Doctrina Jacobi nuper baptizati* 1, 2 (ed. et trad. G. Dagron – V. Déroche, Juifs et chrétiens en Orient byzantin [*Bilans de Recherche* 5]. Paris 2010, 69–219, hier 71–73) so soll Herakleios derartige Zwangstaufen um 630 im ganzen Reich befohlen haben (zur Authentizität der *Doctrina Jacobi* siehe R. Hoyland, Seeing Islam as Others Saw It. A Survey and Evaluation of Christian, Jewish and Zoroastrian Writings on Early Islam [*Studies in Late Antiquity and Early Islam* 13]. Princeton 1997, 55–61). Tatsächlich bezeugt sind sie dank eines Schreibens des Maximus Confessor allerdings allein für den nordafrikanischen Raum 632, siehe dazu R. Devresse, La fin inédite d'une lettre de saint Maxime: un baptème forcé de Juifs et de Samaritains à Carthage en 632. *Revue des sciences religieuses* 17 (1937) 25–53; J. Starr, St. Maximos and the Forced Baptism at Carthage. *BNJ* 16 (1940) 192–196; D. Olster, Roman Defeat, Christian Response, and the Literary Construction of the Jew, Philadelphia 1994, 85–86, 123, 162; Dagron–Déroche, Juifs et chrétiens (wie Anm. 90), 30–32; Kaegi, Muslim Expansion (wie Anm. 1), 83–85. Vgl. dazu allerdings P. Speck, Maximos der Bekenner und die Zwangstaufe durch Herakleios, in: Varia VI (*ΠΟΙΚΙΛΑ BYZANTINA* 15), hrsg. von P. Speck. Bonn 1997, 441–467 (vgl. die Buchbesprechung von A. Külzer. *BZ* 91 [1998] 583–586; A. Külzer, Disputationes graecae contra Judaeos. Untersuchungen zur byzantinischen antijüdischen Dialogsliteratur und ihrem Judenbild [*Byzantinisches Archiv* 18]. Stuttgart – Leipzig 1999, 142–147); Dölger–Müller, Regesten, 78–79, Nr. 202, 81, Nr. 207, die an der Historizität der Berichte zu Zwangstaufen jüdischer Bewohner des byzantinischen Reiches unter Herakleios aufgrund des legendenhaften Charakters der Quellen zweifeln und davon ausgehen, dass allfällige kaiserliche Anordnungen nicht in jedem Fall konsequent umgesetzt wurden. Siehe außerdem P. Magdalino, 'All Israel Will Be Saved?'. The Forced Baptism of the Jews and Imperial Ideology, in: Jews in Early Christian Law. Byzantium and the Latin West, 6th–11th Centuriers, hrsg. von J. Tolan – N. De Lange – L. Foschia – C. Nemo-Pekelman (*Religion and Law in Medieval Christian and Muslim Societies* 2). Turnhout 2014, 231–242, hier 235–242, der die Anweisungen des Kaisers als Versuch deutet, vor dem Hintergrund eschatologischer Vorstellungen der Zeit religiöse Homogenität im gesamten Reich zwecks der eigenen Herrschaftssicherung herzustellen.

[91] ICVR II 4161, Z. 11–12: *Iudaicae gentis sub te est perfidia victa: / Sic unum Domini reddis ovile pium.* Siehe dazu Kaegi, Heraclius (wie Anm. 1), 217.

[92] Epistolario di S. Braulio (ed. L. Riesco Terrero [*Anales de la Universidad Hispalense. Siere filosofia y letras* 31]. Sevilla 1975, 108–115). Siehe dazu Conte, Chiesa e primato (wie Anm. 32), 417, Nr. 63–64; Regesta pontificum Romanorum 3250–3251 (II 20 Jaffé^{3}). Zu Bischof Braulio selbst siehe R. Collins, Early Medieval Spain. Unity in Diversity (400–1000). New York ^{2}1995, 68–70. Den Briefwechsel zwischen Honorius I. und Braulio von Saragossa untersucht zuletzt S. Esders, Getaufte Juden im westgotischen Spanien, Die antijüdische Politik König Chintilas zum Jahreswechsel 637/638 und ihre Hintergründe, hrsg. von E. Baltrusch – U. Puschner, Jüdische Lebenswelten. Von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart (*Zivilisation und Geschichte* 40). Frankfurt am Main 2016, 53–96, hier 79–83.

unter König Sisebut, dessen diesbezügliches Vorgehen von Herakleios allenfalls explizit bereits 616 gebilligt worden sein könnte[93], rügte.

Möglicherweise erhielt Honorius I. vom Kaiser Unterstützung während einer kirchenpolitischen Krise, die sich um 630 in der Diözese Aquileia vor dem Hintergrund der seit der zweiten Hälfte des 6. Jahrhunderts in Italien bestehenden Auseinandersetzungen rund um den so genannten Dreikapitelstreit zutrug[94]. Besonders tief verliefen die religionspolitischen Spannungen in Venetien-Istrien. Nach der langobardischen Invasion Italiens im Jahr 568 verlegte der damalige Erzbischof Aquileias namens Paulinus I. (557–569) seinen Sitz nach Grado. Mit der 606 erfolgten Wahl des Candidianus gelangte ein entschiedener Anhänger des 5. Konzils zur Bischofswürde. Im Gegenzug wählten die Bischöfe des von den Langobarden kontrollierten Bereichs der Diözese, die ihrerseits vehemente Unterstützer der Drei Kapitel waren, einen eigenen Erzbischof namens Johannes[95], der zuerst in Cormòns und später in Cividale residierte. Unterstützung fand der neu Gewählte beim arianischen König Agilulf und der katholischen Königin Theodelinde. Damit war aus der innerkirchlichen Spaltung eine politische Auseinandersetzung geworden, über die Gebietsansprüche zwischen Langobarden und Byzantinern ausgetragen wurden[96].

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[93] Bereits 612 ließ König Sisebut die Gesetzgebung gegenüber den in seinem Reich lebenden Juden verschärfen, wie den Leges Visigothorum 12, 2, 13–14 (ed. K. Zeumer [*MGH Leges nationum Germanicarum* 1]. Hannover – Leipzig 1902, 418, 1–420, 4; 420, 5–423, 8) zu entnehmen ist. Siehe hierzu ausführlich Collins, Early Medieval Spain (wie Anm. 92), 130–143 (mit weiterführender Literatur); ausführlich ebenfalls P. A. Bronisch, Die Judengesetzgebung im katholischen Westgotenreich von Toledo. Neue Thesen und Überlegungen (*Forschungen zur Geschichte der Juden. Abteilung A*: *Abhandlungen* 17). Hannover 2005, 39–46 (mit weiterer Literatur); M. Vallejo Girvés, Hispania y Bizancio (wie Anm. 42), 391–396. Gemäß Sancti Isidori Etymologiarum 5, 39, 42 (*PL* 82, 228D) seien 615 sämtliche Juden Spaniens zum Christentum konvertiert: *Heraclius septimum decimum nunc agit imperii annum; Judaei Hispania Christiani efficiuntur.* Siehe dazu außerdem Chronica Maiora Isidori Iunioris 416 (ed. T. Mommsen [*MGH Auctores antiquissimi* 11]. Berlin 1894, 391–481, hier 480), Continuationes Isidorianae Hispana 15 (ed. T. Mommsen [*MGH Auctores antiquissimi* 11]. Berlin 1894, 323–370, hier 339, 29–30). In diesem Zusammenhang ist auf eine durch Herakleios erteilte *divalis sanctio* aufmerksam zu machen (*Epistolae Merowingici et Karolini aevi* IX 9, 6 [ed. W. Gundlach (*MGH Epistolae* 3). Berlin 1892, 668, 10–11]), in welcher der Kaiser das antijüdische Vorgehen des Westgotenkönigs im Rahmen der Friedensbemühungen zwischen Byzanz und den Westgoten um 616 sanktioniert haben könnte, siehe hierzu zuletzt Esders, Kingdoms of the Empire (wie Anm. 2), 111–115. Vgl. dazu allerdings Dölger–Müller, Regesten, 62–63, Nr. 168–169, die sich einer derartigen Interpretation gegenüber aufgrund der recht späten Datierung der Zwangstaufen unter Herakleios um 630 sowie wegen des letztlich ungewissen Inhalts der *divalis sanctio* skeptisch zeigen.

[94] Zu Hintergründen sowie inhaltlichen Aspekten des Streits, der auf dem 5. Ökumenischen Konzil 553 in Konstantinopel zugunsten der Gegner der so genannten Drei Kapitel verhandelt wurde, siehe Diehl, Justinian's Government (wie Anm. 5), 44–49; Christou, Byzanz und die Langobarden (wie Anm. 4), 163–166; J. Moorhead, The Byzantines in the West in the Sixth Century, in: The New Cambridge Medieval History I (wie Anm. 4), 131–132; Scholz, Die Merowinger (wie Anm. 44), 100–102; S. Scholz, Primat und päpstliche Politik in den römischen Inschriften von der Spätantike bis ins hohe Mittelalter, in: Die Päpste. Amt und Herrschaft in Antike, Mittelalter und Renaissance, hrsg. von B. Schneidmüller – S. Weinfurter – M. Matheus – A. Wieczorek (*Die Päpste* 1). Regensburg 2016, 127.

[95] Paulus Diaconus, Historia Langobardorum 4, 33 (127, 21–26 Bethmann–Waitz).

[96] Zur Forschungsgeschichte siehe Cohn, Die Stellung der byzantinischen Statthalter (wie Anm. 66), 27; W. Meyer, Die Spaltung des Patriarchats Aquileja (*Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse N.F.* 2,6). Berlin 1898, 3–9; N. McCleary, Note storiche ed archeologiche sul testo della „Translatio sancti Marci". *Memorie storiche forogiuliesi. Giornale della regia deputazione sopra gli studi di storia patria per il Friuli* 26 (1931/1933) 226; E. Caspar, Geschichte des Papsttums. Von den Anfängen bis zur Höhe der Weltherrschaft. 2. Band: Das Papsttum unter byzantinischer Herrschaft. Tübingen 1933, 520–521; Bertolini, Roma (wie Anm. 4), 307–308; H. Schmidinger, Patriarch und Landesherr. Die weltliche Herrschaft der Patriarchen von Aquileja bis zum Ende der Staufer (*Publikationen des österreichischen Kulturinstituts in Rom. 1. Abteilung: Abhandlungen* 1). Graz – Köln 1954, 7–8; S. Tavano, Grado. Guida storica e artistica. Udine 1976, 21–24; G. Cuscito, Aquileia e Bisanzio nella controversia dei tre capitoli, in: Aquileia e l'oriente mediterraneo I–II. Vol. 1: Testo, hrsg. durch das Centro di Antichità Altoadriatiche (*AA* 12). Udine 1977, 231–262; G. Cuscito, Die frühchristlichen Basiliken von Grado. Bologna 1986, 6; G. Cuscito, Fede e politica ad Aquileia. Dibattito teologico e centri di potere (secoli IV–VI) (*Università degli studi di Trieste. Facoltà di magistero. Serie 3*, 19). Udine 1987, 95–133; Thanner, Papst Honorius I. (wie Anm. 84), 93; G. Fedalto, Aquileia. Una chiesa, due patriarchi (*Scrittori della chiesa di Aquileia* 1). Rom 1999, 105–123; G. Cuscito, La tradizione della chiesa aquileiese. Bilancio biblio-

Zu einer Eskalation des Konflikts kam es, als sich der Patriarch Grados namens Fortunatus als Gegner der Beschlüsse des 5. Ökumenischen Konzils entpuppte und deswegen 627/628 auf Druck des lokalen Klerus mit dem gesamten Kirchenschatz zu den Langobarden nach Aquileia und später nach Cormòns floh[97]. In Reaktion darauf wandten sich die Bischöfe von Venetien-Istrien an Honorius I[98]. In einem Sendschreiben vom 18. Februar 628, in welchem er auf die Anfrage der Bischofsgemeinschaft einging[99], verurteilte der Papst den Geflohenen scharf. Dem Verräter, der im Brief als „Wolf im Schafspelz" (*lupus ovili pelle*) und Judas bezeichnet wird, enthob er per Dekret sämtlicher seiner Priesterfunktionen[100]. An seiner statt sollten die Bischöfe den vom Papst vorgeschlagenen Subdiakon Primogenius (630–648) zum neuen Bischof wählen, der dazu „mit dem Segen des Palliums" (*cum pallii benedictione*) nach Grado entsandt worden war[101].

Im selben Schreiben hielt Honorius I. fest, dass er Kontakt zum „ausgezeichneten König der Langobarden" (*excellentissimus Longobardorum rex*) Arioald aufgenommen habe, der den Geflüchteten auf päpstliche Bitte hin ausliefern sollte, „wie einen, der die Gemeinschaft verlassen hat und zu den Heiden übergeschwenkt ist und, nachdem er eine versöhnliche Einigung abgelehnt hat, für Gott ein Aufrührer und Verräter geworden ist"[102]. Dass der Langobardenfürst, den Honorius I. in einem früheren Brief an den Exarchen Isaak noch als falschgläubigen Tyrannen verunglimpft hatte[103], den Geflohenen tatsächlich auslieferte, wird in den erhaltenen Quellenzeugnissen nicht explizit zum Ausdruck gebracht. Honorius' I. Vorgehen weist hier allerdings auf eine gewisse Entspannung der zuvor kritischen Situation zwischen Papst und Langobardenkönig hin[104].

Insgesamt verfolgte die päpstliche Missive mehrere Ziele. Primär sollte die Bischofsgemeinschaft von Venetien-Istrien zum Gehorsam gegenüber den päpstlichen Vorgaben angeleitet werden[105]. Mit der gleichzeitig stattfindenden scharfen Geißelung des Fortunatus wurde zweifelnden Würdenträ-

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grafico-critico, in: *Chartae caritatis*. Études de patristique et d'antiquité tardive en hommage à Yves-Marie Duval, hrsg. von B. Gain – P. Jay – G. Nauroy (*Collection des Études Augustiniennes, Série Antiquité* 173). Paris 2004, 55–67.

97 An die Ereignisse erinnert die im 11. Jahrhundert entstandene Chronica patriarcharum Gradensium 5–6 (ed. G. Waitz [*MGH Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum*]. Hannover 1878, 392–397, hier 394, 21–36): [...] *Fortunatus quidam hereticus pontificam arripuit; qui quintam synodum minime credens, ob sui erroris piaculum pavens, totam aecclesiam Gradensem metropolitanam denudans in auro et vestibus vel ornamento, simul et ecclesias baptismales provinciae Hystoriae et sinochagia, quae ad eandem aecclesiam Gradensem pertinere videbantur, fugam in Longobardiam petiit, apud castrum Cormones super civitatem Aquileiam miliario 15. Contra cuius nequitiam et heresim episcopi Venetiarum et Hystriensium et clerici Aquileienses, qui etiam Gradensis aecclesiae, scripta sua ad Honorium papam direxerunt.*

98 Thanner, Papst Honorius I. (wie Anm. 84), 94; 205–207.

99 Epistolae Merowingici et Karolini aevi I 10, 3 (695, 13–14 Gundlach): *Quicquid ad ea, que per clericos Gradensis ecclesie nobis scripta sunt, fraternitati vestre censuimus respondendum.* Siehe dazu Conte, Chiesa e primato (wie Anm. 32), 409, Nr. 47–49; CPL 1726; Italia pontificia VII 2, 12, Nr. 2; 33, Nr. 6–8; Regesta pontificum Romanorum 3236–3238 (II 17 Jaffé[3]).

100 Epistolae Merowingici et Karolini aevi I 10, 3 (695, 14–16 Gundlach): […] *quibus paenis interdictionis canonicae aculeis Fortunatum olim sacerdotio exuendum decrevimus et feriendum, et nunc iterato paginalis auctoritatis decreto eius perfidiam innodantes, damnamus.*

101 Epistolae Merowingici et Karolini aevi I 10, 3 (695, 27–30 Gundlach): *Nos quidem discreta mentis trutina considerantes, Primogenium subdiaconum et regionarium nostrae sedis Gradensi ecclesiae episcopali ordine cum pallii benedictione direximus consecrandum.* Siehe dazu außerdem Chronica patriarcharum Gradensium 6 (394, 30–32 Waitz): *Idem vero papa providens utilitati sanctae Dei aecclesiae, Primogenium diaconum et regionarium sedis apostolicae ad eandem metropolim regendam direxit, dans et epistolam auctoritatis apostolicae innodantem memorati Fortunati heresim.*

102 Übersetzung nach Thanner, Papst Honorius I. (wie Anm. 84), 206, ausgehend von Epistolae Merowingici et Karolini aevi I 10, 3 (695, 38–696, 1 Gundlach): […] *uti relicta ab eo republica ad gentesque prolapsum et, abnegata concordiae unitate, Deo rebellem et perfidum* […].

103 Epistolae Merowingici et Karolini aevi I 10, 2 (695, 9–20 Gundlach).

104 Delogu, Il regno longobardo (wie Anm. 4), 53; Fedalto, Aquileia (wie Anm. 96), 122–123. Christou, Byzanz und die Langobarden (wie Anm. 4), 193–194, betont, dass Anhänger der katholischen Konfession unter Arioald nicht mit Repressionen zu ringen hatten.

105 Epistolae Merowingici et Karolini aevi I 10, 3 (695, 16–17 Gundlach): *Oportuit ergo fraternitatem vestram iuxta legem ecclesiasticam cuncta disponere capitique vestro sineram obedientiam peragere* […].

gern zudem vor Augen geführt, dass Honorius I. vor dezidierten Handlungen im Umgang mit Häretikern nicht zurückschreckte. Die Betonung intakter diplomatischer Verhältnisse zum Langobardenkönig diente einerseits dazu, die politische Stellung Honorius' I. in Auseinandersetzung mit fremden Mächten als gefestigt erscheinen zu lassen. Andererseits sollten die durch die Flucht des Häretikers Geschädigten beruhigt und möglichen Abtrünnigen klar gemacht werden, dass sich der Einfluss des Papstes selbst bei den Langobarden bemerkbar machen würde[106].

Dass Honorius I. mit seiner Strategie letztlich Erfolg hatte, zeigt die erfolgreiche Wahl des Primogenius zum Nachfolger des Fortunatus in Grado. An sein Vorgehen in Venetien und Istrien erinnern zum einen zwei Zeilen seines im Laufe des 7. Jahrhunderts verlorenen und heute nur noch in Abschriften erhaltenen Epitaphs[107], zum anderen eine über dem Hauptportal von Alt-St. Peter angebrachte Inschrift, der unter Honorius I. zuvor ausgebaut und reichlich geschmückt worden war[108]. Das dabei zum Ausdruck gebrachte (Selbst-)Lob erscheint auf den ersten Blick übertrieben. Honorius I. hat das norditalische Schisma nicht beendet, sondern lediglich dafür Sorge getragen, dass sein Kandidat in Grado als Bischof eingesetzt wurde, womit bestenfalls der *status quo ante* fortgeführt wurde. Tatsächlich gestand er damit aber den vorläufigen Verzicht auf die von den Langobarden kontrollierte Hälfte der Regionen Venetien und Istrien ein[109]. Es gilt hierbei zu beachten, dass das Epitaph im Wesentlichen dazu dienen sollte, die Leistungen des Verstorbenen möglichst positiv darzustellen; für Honorius I. und seine Nachfolger war es in diesem Zusammenhang von grundlegender Bedeutung, Rom als möglichst starken Bischofssitz und als Ort des wahren und geeinten christlichen Glauben zu inszenieren[110].

Gemäß venezianischer Überlieferungstradition soll Herakleios diesen Moment um 630 zur wirkmächtigen Unterstützung der päpstlichen Politik sowie zur eigenen Selbstrepräsentation im Westen genutzt haben, indem er den verlorenen Kirchenschatz vollständig restituierte. Darüber hinaus habe er Grado mit wertvollen Reliquien ausgestattet, darunter mit einem Fragment des Heiligen Kreuzes, das er zuvor im Kampf gegen die Perser zurückerobert hatte[111]. Im Kirchenschatz der Basilika S.

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[106] Epistolae Merowingici et Karolini aevi I 10, 3 (696, 1–3 Gundlach): […] *necnon res, quascumque secum aufugiens abstulisse monstratur, exeptere et repetere non moretur, ut et hii, a quibus haec repetuntur, a partibus christianissimae reipublicae parem iustitiam consequantur.*

[107] ICVR II 4161, Z. 9–10: *Histria nam dudum saevo sub scismate fessa / ad statuta patrum teque monente redit.* Siehe hierzu außerdem W. Reardon, The Deaths of Popes. Comprehensive Accounts, Including Funerals, Burial Places and Epitaphs. Jefferson, N. C. – London 2004, 52; ausführlich C. Lange, Mia Energeia. Untersuchungen zur Einigungspolitik des Kaisers Heraclius und des Patriarchen Sergius von Constantinopel (*Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum* 66). Tübingen 2012, 447–462; Scholz, Primat und päpstliche Politik (wie Anm. 94), 131–132.

[108] ICVR II 4119, Z. 13–20: *Histria testatur possessa hostilibus annis / septies et decies scismate pestifero / esset ut impletum Hieremiae voce canentis / ultio captivis tam numerosa fuit // sed bonus antistes dux plebis Honorius armis / reddidit ecclesiae membra revulsa piis / doctrinis monitisque suis de faucibus hostis / abstulit exactias iam peritura modis*. Eine ausführliche Interpretation der Inschrift bietet Scholz, Primat und päpstliche Politik (wie Anm. 94), 129–131.

[109] Caspar, Geschichte des Papsttums (wie Anm. 96), 524–525; Thanner, Papst Honorius I. (wie Anm. 84), 94–107.

[110] Scholz, Primat und päpstliche Politik (wie Anm. 94), 132.

[111] Das Wirken des Herakleios in Grado wird in den nachfolgenden Quellenzeugnissen thematisiert, auf die sich spätere Darstellungen stützen: Translatio S. Marci (ed. McCleary [wie Anm. 96], 243, 3–245, 1), die wohl zwischen 823–828 entstand und in der 2. Hälfte des 11. Jahrhunderts redaktionell überarbeitet wurde; Johannis chronicon Gradense (ed. G. H. Pertz [*MGH Scriptores* (*in Folio*) 7]. 39–47, hier 45, 24–46) entstanden im späten 11./12. Jahrhundert (wobei es bei der Wiedergabe der Ereignisse offenbar zu einer Verwechslung zwischen den Kaisern Herakleios und Justinian kam); Chronica patriarcharum Gradensium 7 (394, 37–395, 6 Waitz); Origo civitatium Italie seu Venetiarum 3 (ed. R. Cessi, Origo civitatium Italie seu Venetiarum. Chronicum Altinate et chronicon Gradense. Rom 1933, 82, 1–15; 82, 26–38, 4 [12./13. Jahrhundert]); J. Candidus, Commentarii Aquileienses libri octo ab ultimis temporibus usque ad inducias quinquinnales A.C. 1517. Venedig 1521, 1, 3, f. XIII = I commentari di Giovanni Candido de fatti di Aquileia. Venedig 1544, 36. Vgl. dazu allerdings das Protokoll des Concilium Mantuanum a. 827 (ed. A. Werminghoff [*MGH Concilia aevi Karolini* 2, 2]. Hannover 1908, 583–589, hier 585, 26–32), das von derartigen Schenkungen nichts berichtet. Siehe dazu außerdem Dölger–Müller, Regesten, 69–70, Nr. 185. Zur *restitutio crucis* grundlegend St. Borgehammer, Heraclius Learns Humility. Two Early Latin Accounts Composed for the Celebration of *Exaltatio Crucis*. *Millennium* 6 (2009) 145–201 mit Edition des lateinischen Texts und mit englischer Über-

Eufemia von Grado findet sich in diesem Zusammenhang spätestens seit dem 16. Jahrhundert eine Staurothek, welche die Reliquie selbst in Form eines Doppelkreuzes präsentiert, das von vier vergoldeten Silberlamellen mit griechischem Monogramm eingefasst wird[112]. Ein Teil der italienischen Forschung bringt dieses Objekt traditionsgemäß mit der kaiserlichen Schenkung in Verbindung und ist deswegen der Überzeugung, dass Grado durch diese Maßnahme um 630 für kurze Zeit zu einem zentralen Ort imperialer Restaurationsbemühungen im italischen Raum geworden wäre[113]. Wiederholt wird in diesem Zusammenhang außerdem eine Verbindung zwischen der in Grado aufbewahrten Staurothek und der seit 1451 im Domschatz von S. Marco in Venedig befindlichen „Sedia di S. Marco" aus Alabaster postuliert (**Abb. 8**), die ursprünglich der Aufbewahrung der Kreuzesreliquie gedient habe und vom Herrscher ebenfalls um 630 nach Grado geschickt worden sein soll[114]. Herakleios wäre dabei nicht der erste byzantinische Kaiser gewesen, der einen Teil des Wahren Kreuzes in den Westen gesandt hätte; wie der *Vexilia regis* des Venantius Fortunatus zu entnehmen ist, hatte bereits Justin II. 569 zusammen mit seiner Gattin Sophia der Frankenprinzessin Radegundis eine Kreuzesreliquie zukommen lassen[115].

In Anbetracht der um 630 im gesamten byzantinischen Reich erkennbaren Tendenz, Reliquienkulte vonseiten des Herrschers aktiv zu fördern[116], erscheint es auf den ersten Blick tatsächlich nicht völlig unmöglich, an die Historizität der in den genannten Quellenzeugnissen geschilderten Ereignisse zu glauben. Es gilt allerdings zu beachten, dass diese vor dem Hintergrund der wachsenden Bedeutung des venezianischen Markuskults entstandene Überlieferungstradition vergleichsweise spät verschriftlicht wurde und von zahlreichen Verwechslungen sowie inhaltlichen Fehlern geprägt ist. Sie ist deswegen mit großer Vorsicht anzugehen. Gegen eine Identifizierung der in Grado aufbewahrten Kreuzesreliquie mit der in literarischen Quellen angeführten kaiserlichen Schenkung spricht schließlich, dass die auf der Reliquie angebrachte Monogrammminschrift aufgrund paläographischer Kriterien entweder in das 6. oder in das 9. Jahrhundert zu datieren ist[117].

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setzung der *Reversio sanctae crucis* (180–191) sowie des *Sermo de exaltatione sanctae crucis* (192–201). Siehe außerdem N. H. Baynes, The Restoration of the Cross at Jerusalem. *The English Historical Review* 27 (1912) 287–299; J. W. Drijvers, Heraclius and the *Restitutio Crucis*. Notes on Symbolism and Ideology 2002, in: The Reign of Heraclius (610–641) (wie Anm. 36), 175–190; C. Zuckerman, Heraclius and the Return of the Holy Cross, in: Constructing the Seventh Century (*TM* 17), hrsg. von C. Zuckerman. Paris 2013, 197–218.

112 Die Datierung beruht auf den Berichten von Candidus, Commentarii Aquileienses (wie Anm. 111) aus dem frühen 16. Jahrhundert. Zur Geschichte sowie zur Architektur des in der 2. Hälfte des 6. Jahrhunderts entstandenen Bauwerks siehe L. Bertacchi, Architettura e mosaico, in: Da Aquileia a Venezia. Una mediazione tra l'Europa e l'Oriente dal II secolo a.C. al VI secolo d.C. B., hrsg. von Forlati Tamaro. Bologna ^{3}1989, 275–290.

113 Tavano, Grado (wie Anm. 96), 120–122; S. Tavano, Le cattedre di Grado e le culture artistiche del mediterraneo orientale, in: Aquileia e l'oriente mediterraneo (wie Anm. 96), I 470; Cuscito, Die frühchristlichen Basiliken (wie Anm. 96), 6, 41–43.

114 S. Tavano, Il culto di San Marco a Grado, in: Scritti storici in memoria di Paolo Lino Zovatto, hrsg. von A. Tagliaferri. Mailand 1972, 208–214; S. Tavano, La „cattedra" di S. Marco e la stauroteca di Grado. Gorizia 1977, 10–17; Tavano, Grado (wie Anm. 96), 24–27; 120–122; Tavano, Le cattedre di Grado (wie Anm. 113), 449–471. Vgl. allerdings D. Nicol, Byzantium and Venice. A Study in Diplomatic and Cultural Relations. Cambridge 1988, 7–8, der eine mögliche Verbindung zwischen der heute in Venedig aufbewahrten „Sedia di S. Marco" und Herakleios' Herrschaft ausschließt. Kunsthistorische Analysen der „Sedia di S. Marco" bieten A. Grabar, La „Sedia di San Marco" à Venise 1954. *Cahier archéologiques* 7 (1954) 19–34; D. Gaborit-Chopin, Throne-reliquary (the Sedia di San Marco), in: The Treasury of San Marco, hrsg. von D. Buckton – C. Entwistle – R. Prior. Venedig – Mailand 1984, 98–105. Mit dem Verbleib des zweiten Sitzes, welcher der Überlieferung zufolge aus Elfenbein gearbeitet war, beschäftigen sich K. Weitzmann, The Ivories of the So-Called Grado Chair. *DOP* 26 (1972) 43–91; W. F. Vollbach, Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spätantike und des frühen Mittelalters. Mainz 1976.

115 H. A. Klein, Byzanz, der Westen und das ‚wahre' Kreuz. Die Geschichte einer Reliquie und ihrer künstlerischen Fassung in Byzanz und im Abendland (*Spätantike – Frühes Christentum – Byzanz. Kunst im ersten Jahrtausend. Reihe B: Studien und Perspektive* 17) 70, 96, 177–178. Der Autor führt die Kreuzesreliquie aus Grado in seiner Studie allerdings nicht auf.

116 Kaegi, Heraclius (wie Anm. 1), 197–198, 273–275.

117 Guillou, Receuil (wie Anm. 71), 29–30, Nr. 6: Κύριε βοήθει / τῷ σῷ δοῦλῳ / Στυλιανῷ / μαγ<ί>στρῳ. Guillou datiert das Zeugnis ins 6. Jahrhundert, Mango (*BZ* 91 [1998] 130) dagegen ins 9. Jahrhundert und schlägt eine Gleichsetzung des hier genannten Stylianos (PmbZ 7151) mit Stylianos Zauzes (PmbZ 27406), dem Schwiegervater von Kaiser Leon VI., vor.

Hinsichtlich religionspolitischer Fragen ergaben sich zwischen Rom und Konstantinopel während des Papsttums von Honorius I. keine größeren Konflikte; so bezeugen zwei an den Patriarchen Sergios von Konstantinopel adressierte Briefe des Papstes von 634/635, dass Rom Konstantinopel im „monoenergetisch-monotheletischen Streit“[118] gegen Sophronios von Jerusalem und Kyros von Alexandreia vorbehaltlos unterstützte[119]. Mit Papst Severinus, dem Nachfolger des am 12.10.638 verstorbenen Honorius' I., kam es zwischen 638–640 allerdings zu gewaltsamen Auseinandersetzungen[120]. Um seine Wahl von Herakleios offiziell bestätigen zu lassen, schickte der Neugewählte eine Gesandtschaft nach Konstantinopel. Von dieser wurde in der Hauptstadt verlangt, Severinus von der im September/Oktober 638 (?) in Form eines kaiserlichen Edikts publizierten *Ekthesis* zu überzeugen[121], was die römischen *apocrisarii* mit Verweis auf ihren ursprünglichen Auftrag und ihre Befugnisse verweigerten[122]. Erst nach über einem Jahr erhielten die päpstlichen Legaten im Frühjahr 640 schließlich die Zustimmung des Herrschers[123].

In Italien selbst sollte Isaak den Papst offenbar zur Unterzeichnung der *Ekthesis* veranlassen, wie einem 638 verfassten Brief des Patriarchen Kyros von Alexandreia an den Patriarchen Sergios zu entnehmen ist[124]. Die zwischen 638–640 durch den Exarchen zugelassene Plünderung des Late-

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[118] Grundlegend dazu Winkelmann, Der monoenergetisch-monotheletische Streit (wie Anm. 84), 1–44; 72, Nr. 34a; 85–86, Nr. 50; H. Ohme, *Oikonomia* im monenergetisch-monotheletischen Streit. *Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum* 12, 2 (2008) 308–343, besonders 310–315; Lange, Mia Energeia (wie Anm. 107); H. Ohme, Die Bedeutung der Geschichtstheologie im monoergetisch-monotheletischen Streit des 7. Jahrhunderts. *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* 112/1 (2015) 27–62, besonders 27–33; H. Ohme, Wer hat den Dyotheletismus erfunden? Zur Frage der Authentizität der Apologia Honorii Papst Iohannes' IV. (640–642). *BZ* 110, 1 (2017) 89–140.

[119] Zum ersten Brief des Honorius I. an Sergios siehe *ACO* ser. II 2 (ed. R. Riedinger. Berlin 1992, 548, 1–558). Siehe dazu außerdem Conte, Chiesa e primato (wie Anm. 32), 413, Nr. 53; CPL 1726; Winkelmann, Der monoenergetisch-monotheletische Streit (wie Anm. 84), 79–80, Nr. 44; 83–84, Nr. 47; Regesta pontificum Romanorum 3244 (II 19 Jaffé[3]). Dieses päpstliche Schreiben entstand als Antwort auf eine zuvor erstellte Anfrage des Patriarchen von Konstantinopel an den Papst, siehe hierzu *ACO* II 2, 534, 1–546, 25; V. Grumel – V. Laurent – J. Darrouzès, Les regestes des actes du patriarcat de Constantinople I–VII (*Le Patriarcat byzantin* 1). Paris 1932–1979, I 1, 219, Nr. 291; Conte, Chiesa e primato (wie Anm. 32), 412, Nr. 52; Winkelmann, Der monoenergetisch-monotheletische Streit (wie Anm. 84), 77–78, Nr. 43; Regesta pontificum Romanorum 3241 (II 18 Jaffé[3]).
Gemäß einem heute nur noch fragmentarisch erhaltenen zweiten Schreiben an Sergios (*ACO* ser. II 2, 620, 22–622, 10; 622, 12–624, 20) soll Honorius I. die Patriarchen Sophronios von Jerusalem und Kyros von Alexandreia brieflich kontaktiert und dabei aufgefordert haben, den von ihm als töricht empfundenen Streit um eine oder zwei Naturen in Christus beizulegen, siehe dazu Conte, Chiesa e primato (wie Anm. 32), 417, Nr. 62; CPL 1726; Winkelmann, Der monoenergetisch-monotheletische Streit (wie Anm. 84), 83, Nr. 47; Regesta pontificum Romanorum 3248 (II 20 Jaffé[3]).

[120] Magi, La sede romana (wie Anm. 85), 204–205; Winkelmann, Der monoenergetisch-monotheletische Streit (wie Anm. 84), 38–39; Booth, Crisis of Empire (wie Anm. 84), 259–263.

[121] Zur Datierung der Ekthesis siehe Dölger–Müller, Regesten, 68, Nr. 211, sowie Winkelmann, Der monoenergetisch-monotheletische Streit (wie Anm. 84), 85–86, Nr. 50–51; Kaegi, Heraclius (wie Anm. 1), 269; 327. Vgl. dazu H. Ohme, Die Konstantinopler Synoden von 638/9 (?) und die Ekthesis des Kaisers Herakleios (610–641). *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 129/3 (2018) 291, 303, 307–310, der ausgehend von M. Jankowiak, Essai d'histoire politique du monothélisme. Unveröffentlichte Dissertation der Universitäten Paris – Warschau 2009, zum Schluss gelangt, dass die Ekthesis-Formel bereits 636/7 publiziert wurde. Vgl. zudem Booth, Crisis of Empire (wie Anm. 84), 239–241, der die Veröffentlichung der Ekthesis – ebenfalls ausgehend von Jankowiak, Essai d'histoire (wie Anm. 121) – in das Jahr 636 datiert.

[122] Dieser Sachverhalt geht aus der *Epistola ad abbatem Thalassium* des Maximus Confessor hervor, die sich in einer unvollständigen lateinischen Übersetzung erhalten hat (PL 129, 583D–586B). Siehe dazu M. Jankowiak – P. Booth, A New Date-List of the Works of Maximus the Confessor, hrsg. von P. Allen – B. Neil, The Oxford Handbook of Maximus the Confessor. Oxford 2017, 19–83, hier 59–60; Conte, Chiesa e primato (wie Anm. 32), 424, Nr. 87; Winkelmann, Der monoenergetisch-monotheletische Streit (wie Anm. 84), 92, Nr. 62; Regesta pontificum Romanorum 3283 (II 26 Jaffé[3])

[123] Conte, Chiesa e primato (wie Anm. 32), 424, Nr. 88; CPG 7702; Dölger–Müller, Regesten 89, Nr. 114; Regesta pontificum Romanorum 3284 (II 25 Jaffé[3]). Siehe hierzu außerdem Booth, Crisis of Empire (wie Anm. 84), 259.

[124] Concilium Lateranense a. 649 celebratum (ed. R. Riedinger [*ACO* ser. II 1]. Berlin 1984, 172, 9–16): Μελλόντων ἡμῶν ἀπολύειν ἀποκρίσεις κατὰ τὴν πανευδαίμονα, […], ἔνδον ἐχούσας καὶ ἴσον τῆς εὐκαίρως προνοητικῶς τε ἅμα καὶ θεοφιλῶς γενομένης Ἐκθέσεως τῆς πανσέπτου ἡμῶν πίστεως παρὰ τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου καὶ θεοστηρίκτου ἡμῶν δεσπότου καὶ μεγάλου βασιλέως πρὸς Ἰσαάκιον τὸν ὑπερφυέστατον πατρίκιον καὶ ἔξαρχον τῆς Ἰταλίας, τῆς καὶ ὀφειλούσης προσομολογηθῆναι

rans durch den *chartularius* Mauricius, in deren Verlauf gemäß dem *Liber pontificalis* ravennatische Soldaten in Rom einmarschierten, hohe Würdenträger des Klerus der Stadt verwiesen und die unter Honorius I. erneuerten Kirchenschätze in systematischer Weise geplündert wurden[125], sind in diesem Kontext vielleicht auch als Reaktion auf die wiederholte Weigerung des Severinus anzusehen, die Religionspolitik Konstantinopels offiziell zu unterstützen. Wohl auch mit der Absicht, bevorstehende Kriegszüge gegen arabische Kampfverbände zu finanzieren, sandte man einen großen Teil der so geraubten Kirchenschätze, deren gewaltsame Aneignung durch den *Liber pontificalis* als eigentlicher Hauptgrund für den Angriff auf den Lateran identifiziert wird[126], an Herakleios nach Konstantinopel[127]. Den Rest der Beute könnte der Exarch als Entlohnung unter seinen eigenen Truppen verteilt haben.

Dass sich Herakleios angesichts der im gesamten Reich wachsenden Widerstände tatsächlich von der zusammen mit Patriarch Sergios abgefassten *Ekthesis* 640/641 distanziert hätte, wie es in einem ausschließlich in den Schriften von Maximus Confessor tradierten Schreiben des Kaisers an Papst Johannes IV. (640–642) dargestellt wird[128], erscheint unwahrscheinlich[129]. Tatsächlich ist der Forschung eine weitere, allerdings nur fragmentarisch erhaltene κέλευσις des Kaisers an den genannten Papst bekannt, in der eine vom Herrscher selbst verfasste Inschrift für eine Christus-Ikone erwähnt wird, deren Inhalt eindeutig monotheletische Züge aufweist[130]. Wie bereits sein Vorgänger stellte sich auch Johannes IV. klar gegen Maßnahmen zur Durchsetzung einer gesamtkirchlichen Rezeption der Ekthesis, die nun vom Patriarchen Pyrrhos ausgingen. Dazu adressierte er ein Protestschreiben an Herakleios' Nachfolger Konstantin III. (641), in dem er die Handlungen Honorius' I. zusätzlich

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παρὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Σεβηρίου τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου σὺν θεῷ χειροτονουμένου ἐν Ῥώμῃ. Siehe hierzu Winkelmann, Der monoenergetisch-monotheletische Streit (wie Anm 84), 87, Nr. 53–54. Ein eigentlicher Befehl vonseiten des Herakleios, durch welchen Severinus zur Unterzeichnung der Ekthesis-Formel hätte gezwungen werden sollen, scheint nicht vorzuliegen, siehe dazu Dölger–Müller, Regesten, 89, Nr. 214.

125 Liber pontificalis 73, 1–5 (I 328, 1–329, 5 Duchesne).

126 Siehe dazu Liber pontificalis 73, 1 (I 328, 3–7 Duchesne), wo dieses Motiv in der fingierten Rede des *chartularius* Mauricius vor römischen Soldaten (*exercitum Romanum*) aufgeführt wird.

127 Liber pontifcalis 73, 4 (I 329, 3–4 Duchesne): *Eodem tempore direxit exinde parte ex ipsa substantia in civitate regia ad Heraclium imperatorem.* Siehe hierzu auch Kaegi, Heraclius (wie Anm. 1), 272–273.
Es wäre nicht das erste Mal gewesen, dass Herakleios zur Finanzierung von Feldzügen Kirchengut requirierte. Bereits 622 ließ er Kirchensilber für Kriegszwecke beschlagnahmen, wie Theophanes Confessor, Chronographia AM 6113 (ed. C. de Boor, Theophanis chronographia I–II. Leipzig 1883–85, I 302, 33–34; 303, 3) berichtet. Nikephoros Patriarch 11 (43, 21–23 Mango) gibt dagegen an, dass die Kirchenschätze allein zwecks Tributzahlungen an die Sasaniden requiriert worden seien. Der Fall erinnert an eine Beschreibung bei Leontios, vita Johannis Elemosynarii 10 (356, 1–357, 76 Festugière–Ryden), woraus hervorgeht, dass der *patricius* Niketas gegen den Willen von Johannes dem Almosengeber Gelder der Kirche von Alexandreia zur Finanzierung staatlicher Angelegenheiten beschlagnahmen ließ.

128 Ἐξήγησις τῆς γενομένης κινήσεως μεταξὺ τοῦ κυροῦ ἀββᾶ Μαξίμου καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ, καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐπὶ σεκρέτου (ed. P. Allen – B. Neil, Scripta saeculi VII vitam Maximi Confessoris illustrantia [*CCSG* 39]. Turnhout – Löwen 1999, 12–51, hier 41, 370–377): Ἡ ἔκθεσις οὐκ ἐστιν ἐμή· οὔτε γὰρ ἐγὼ ὑπηγόρευσα, ἢ ἐκέλευσα γενέσθαι· ἀλλὰ Σέργιος αὐτὴν ὁ πατριάρχης συντάξας πρὸ πέντε ἐτῶν τοῦ ἀνελθεῖν με ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνατολῆς, ἐδεήθη μου κατὰ ταύτην γενομένου τὴν πανευδαίμονα πόλιν, ὀνόματι μου προτεθῆναι αὐθὴν μεθ' ὑπογραφῆς· καὶ κατεδεξάμην τὴν ἐκείνου παράκλησιν. Νῦν δὲ γνοὺς ὅτι τινὲς ἐπ' αὐτὴν διαμάχονται, πᾶσι δῆλον ποιῶ, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἐμή.

129 So bereits A. N. Stratos, Byzantium in the Seventh Century II, translated by H. T. Hionides. Amsterdam 1972, 148; W. Brandes, „Juristische" Krisenbewältigung im 7. Jahrhundert? Die Prozesse gegen Martin I. und Maximos Homologetes. *FM* 10 (1998) 203; Booth, Crisis of Empire (wie Anm. 84), 260.

130 S. Rizou-Couroupos, Un nouveau fragment de la κέλευσις d'Héraclius au pape Jean IV, in: Texte und Textkritik. Eine Aufsatzsammlung (*Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur* 133), hrsg. von J. Dummer. Berlin 1987, 531–532 = A. Alexakis, Before the Lateran Council of 649. The Last Days of Herakleios the Emperor and Monotheletism. *AHC* 27/28 (1995/1996) 97. Siehe hierzu Magi, La sede romana (wie Anm. 85), 205–206; Lounghis, Les ambassades byzantines (wie Anm. 43), 108–109; Conte, Chiesa e primato (wie Anm. 32), 427, Nr. 97; Winkelmann, Der monoenergetisch-monotheletische Streit (wie Anm. 84), 74, Nr. 37; 96–97, Nr. 68; Dölger–Müller, Regesten 89, Nr. 215; Regesta pontificum Romanum 3299 (II 28 Jaffé[3]). Zu den historischen Zusammenhängen siehe Kaegi, Heraclius (wie Anm. 1), 271

in Schutz nahm (*Apologia Honorii*)[131]. Die Römische Kirchensynode von 641, deren Akten nach Herakleios' Tod nach Konstantinopel gesandt worden sein sollen, wandte sich gleichfalls gegen die Zielsetzungen des hauptstädtischen Patriarchen und verlangte eine Revokation bereits getroffener Entscheidungen[132]. Abschließend ist somit zu konstatieren, dass das Verhältnis zwischen Papst und byzantinischem Kaiser nicht *per se* spannungsfrei war, sondern wesentlich von den Interessen der jeweiligen Amtsträger vor dem Hintergrund sozio-politischer, ideologischer und militärischer Konstellationen abhängig.

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Die politische Situation Italiens gestaltete sich in der ersten Hälfte des 7. Jahrhunderts als außerordentlich dynamisch. Vor dem Hintergrund langobardischer Angriffe auf byzantinische Herrschaftsgebiete zeichnete sich ausgehend von spätrömischen Verwaltungsstrukturen zwischen 610–641 eine stete Militarisierung der Gesellschaft sowie der politischen Strukturen Italiens im Spannungsfeld von Transformation und Kontinuität ab. Wie in dieser Deutlichkeit erstmals für die Herrschaft des Herakleios aufgezeigt werden konnte, war die politische Situation des Exarchats von Ravenna aufgrund der fließenden institutionellen Rahmenbedingungen sowie der sich wandelnden politischen Allianzen primär durch die jeweiligen Konstellationen politischer Entscheidungsträger und deren Interessen vor Ort geprägt. Entsprechend rasch führten Wechsel innerhalb der italischen Führungseliten zum Wandel politisch-militärischer Beziehungen. Langfristig stabile und strukturell abgesicherte Herrschafts- und Verwaltungsstrukturen innerhalb des Exarchats von Ravenna waren unter diesen Voraussetzungen in der ersten Hälfte des 7. Jahrhunderts nicht notwendigerweise gegeben.

Vor diesem Hintergrund kam den Exarchen als Stellvertretern des Kaisers vor Ort grundlegende Funktion zur Aufrechterhaltung byzantinischer Herrschaftsansprüche in Italien zu, zumal kein vom Kaiser aus koordiniertes Vorgehen zur systematischen Festigung derselben erkennbar ist. Diese Feststellung verwundert allerdings nicht wirklich, da Herakleios selbst einen großen Teil seiner Herrschaftszeit im Kampf gegen die Sasaniden und später gegen die Araber zubrachte, dadurch politische, wirtschaftliche und personelle Ressourcen im Osten band und sich selbst kaum um Angelegenheiten im Westen des Reiches persönlich kümmern konnte. Einzig nach der Überwindung der persischen Bedrohung um 630 suchte Herakleios allenfalls kurzfristig, politische Allianzen im Westen zu stärken, wie den Quellen vereinzelt zu entnehmen ist. Diese Phase währte aufgrund der stetig wachsenden Bedrohung vonseiten arabischer Kampfverbände im Osten allerdings nur kurz und ging entsprechend kaum über symbolische Unterstützungsbemühungen hinaus.

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[131] PL 80, 602C–607C = PL 129, 561C–566D. Eine arabische Version findet sich in Cod. Vat. syr. 130, fol. 74A–80B, mit deutscher Übersetzung bei J. Schacht, Der Briefwechsel zwischen Kaiser und Papst von 641/642 in arabischer Überlieferung. *Orientalia N.S.* 5 (1936) 235–246. Siehe hierzu Conte, Chiesa e primato (wie Anm. 32), 427, Nr. 99; CPL 1729; Winkelmann, Der monoenergetisch-monotheletische Streit (wie Anm. 84), 97–98, Nr. 69; Regesta pontificum Romanorum 3301 (II 28 Jaffé[3]). Zur *Apologia Honorii* siehe insbesondere Booth, Crisis of Empire (wie Anm. 84), 260–261; Ohme, Dyotheletismus (wie Anm. 118), 93–114; 122–139.

[132] Conte, Chiesa e primato (wie Anm. 32), 427, Nr. 95; Winkelmann, Der monoenergetisch-monotheletische Streit (wie Anm. 84), 95–96, Nr. 67b; Regesta pontificum Romanorum 3300 (II 28 Jaffé[3]). Zu Schwierigkeiten einer präzisen zeitlichen Verortung der Synode innerhalb des Jahres 641 siehe Ohme, Dyotheletismus (wie Anm. 118), 116–118, sowie 89–93; 114–122, wo der Verfasser klarmacht, dass sich bei der Betrachtung der Überlieferungsgeschichte der von Johannes IV. einberufenen Synode eine verfälschende Fortschreibung beobachten lässt, deren Endstadium in der 2. Hälfte des 9. Jahrhunderts zu verorten ist. So wurde der Versammlung nachträglich zugeschrieben, sowohl pauschal den Monotheletismus als solchen (Theophanes Confessor, Chronographia AM 6121 [331, 6–8 C. de Boor]) als auch namentlich Sergios, Kyros und Pyrrhos (Synodicon vetus Nr. 137 [ed. J. Duffy – J. Parker (*CFHB* 15). Washington, D. C. 1979, 114]) mit dem Kirchenbann belegt zu haben. Der Liber pontificalis 74 (I 330 1–9 Duchesne) verzeichnet die Synode nicht.

Die Exarchen Ravennas waren somit gezwungen, den *status quo* vor Ort mit den ihnen zur Verfügung stehenden begrenzten Mitteln so gut als möglich zu erhalten. Eine die Amtsinhaber verbindende Strategie ist dabei nicht zu erkennen. Vielmehr suchte jeder Exarch die Stellung Ostroms in Italien und damit seine eigene Position nach eigenem Gutdünken zu sichern. Besonders erfolgreich erwies sich das abwartend-abwägende und kaisertreue Vorgehen Isaaks, der seine Ressourcen in Auseinandersetzungen mit den Langobarden schonte und seine eigene Position als Exarch durch wiederholte Erfolge langfristig sicherte. Dessen Haltung ist in der ersten Hälfte des 7. Jahrhunderts nicht selbstverständlich, wie Revolten gegen den Exarchen Johannes vonseiten unzufriedener byzantinischer Soldaten sowie die gescheiterten Aufstände des Exarchen Eleutherius 619 und des *chartularius* Mauricius 643 nahelegen. Erste Anzeichen einer Ablösung Italiens von der oströmischen Zentralmacht sind folglich nicht zu leugnen.

Abschließend ist zu konstatieren, dass die italische Halbinsel aus Sicht Konstantinopels in der ersten Hälfte des 7. Jahrhunderts sicherlich nicht bedeutungslos war. Für den Bestand des byzantinischen Reiches spielte sie während der krisenhaften Regierungsjahre des Herakleios insgesamt allerdings nur eine untergeordnete Rolle. Entsprechend wird die Situation Italiens in zeitgenössischen byzantinischen Quellen im Vergleich zu den Geschehnissen in der Hauptstadt oder den Feldzügen des Kaisers im Osten kaum thematisiert. Damit war der Exarchat von Ravenna spätestens gegen Ende von Herakleios' Herrschaft nicht nur in geographischer, sondern auch in ideologischer Hinsicht definitiv Teil der oströmischen Peripherie geworden, woran auch der kurze Rombesuch Kaiser Konstans' II. 662 nichts mehr änderte. In der Folge sollte die Region noch stärker mit herrschaftlichen Zentren im westlichen Mittelmeerraum interagieren, worunter dem schrittweise weiter erstarkenden Papsttum eine zentrale Rolle zukommen sollte. Die Jahre zwischen 610–641 markieren damit eine bislang wenig beachtete epochale Phase der beschleunigten Fragmentierung der europäischen Mittelmeerwelt auf politischer, militärischer und religiöser Ebene. Dieser Prozess setzte sich nach Herakleios' Herrschaft fort, wie die Aufstandsversuche der Exarchen Fl. Gregorius (PLRE III 554, Gregorius 10; PmbZ 2345) 646 in Nordafrika und Olympius (PIB II 432–433, Olympius 3; PmbZ 5650) um 650 in Italien sowie der weitere Verlauf des monotheletisch-monergetischen Streits verdeutlichen.[133]

[133] Für Hinweise und Anmerkungen zu diesem Beitrag danke ich herzlich Prof. Dr. S. Scholz (Zürich), den anonymen Gutachtern sowie dem Herausgebergremium des JÖB. Großen Dank aussprechen möchte ich zudem Prof. Dr. C. Schuler und Prof. Dr. R. Haensch für die großzügige Möglichkeit eines Aufenthalts am Institut für Alte Geschichte und Epigraphik des DAI München im Dezember 2018, wo ich mich als Gastforscher mit der Thematik auseinandersetzen durfte, sowie sämtlichen Angehörigen des Instituts für Byzantinistik und Neogräzistik der Universität Wien, wo ich im Rahmen eines Mobilitätsstipendiums des Schweizerischen Nationalfonds als Gastforscher von März bis November 2019 zur Herrschaft des Kaisers Herakleios arbeiten durfte.



Abb. 1
Byzantinischen Verwaltungsbezirke auf der italischen Halbinsel zu Beginn des 7. Jhs. (schraffiert), ohne Nordafrika



Abb. 2
Schematische Darstellung Venetiens und Istriens um 640



Abb. 3: Sarkophag des Isaak (I): Vorderseite mit Anbetung des Jesuskindes durch die drei Magier, Ravenna, S. Vitale



Abb. 4: Sarkophag des Isaak (II): Rückseite mit stilisierten Palmen, Pfauen und Christogramm, Ravenna, S. Vitale



Abb. 5: Sarkophag des Isaak (III): Rechte Nebenseite mit Daniel in der Löwengrube, Ravenna, S. Vitale



Abb. 6: Sarkophag des Isaak (IV): Linke Nebenseite mit Erweckung des Lazarus, Ravenna, S. Vitale



Abb. 7: Rekonstruierte Bauinschrift zur Errichtung der Kirche der *Sancta Maria Dei Genitrix* 639 in Torcellum (AE 1973, 245), Torcello, S. Maria Assunta



Abb. 8: Sedia di S. Marco, Venedig, Domschatz von S. Marco / Archivio Fotografico della Procuratoria di San Marco)

JAHRBUCH DER ÖSTERREICHISCHEN BYZANTINISTIK, 69. Band/2019, 185–197
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DOI: 10.1553/joeb69S185

Constanze Höpken[a]

Sattel und Hufeisen – Pferd, Muli oder Esel im Mar Salomon-Kloster in Doliche[*]

mit neun Abbildungen

Abstract: During excavations on the Dülük Baba Tepesi within buildings of a Byzantine monastery, several iron objects were found which are connected to horses and horse riding: horseshoes and probable elements of a saddle. On the one hand they prove that equine animals, probably horses, were housed in one room. On the other hand, questions come up concerning the role of animals in the mobility of monks and the supply of the monastery but also the mobility of tradesmen and goods and their connection in that region and beyond. Finds of Persian glass vessels and ultramarine blue made of Afghan Lapis Lazuli show that Doliche was connected to long distance trade via roads and the Euphrates.

Keywords: Byzantine Hoof Shoe, Byzantine Saddle, Trade History, Doliche

Das Mar Salomon-Kloster von Doliche[1], nahe der heutigen syrischen Grenze in der südöstlichen Türkei, war durch Schriftquellen seit langem bekannt; für seine Lokalisierung kamen verschiedene Stellen im Umfeld der antiken Stadt Doliche[2], in und um das heutige Dorf Dülük nördlich von Gaziantep, infrage.

Seit 2011 kann aufgrund von zwei Inschriftenfunden aus dem frühen 9. und dem 11. Jahrhundert davon ausgegangen werden, dass das Kloster auf dem Dülük Baba Tepesi lag[3]. Zunächst wiesen viele archäologische Funde darauf hin, dass hier eine christliche Gemeinschaft bzw. Klostergemeinschaft gelebt hatte[4], und schließlich gaben die zwei Inschriften nähere Auskunft: Die erste Inschrift, datiert auf die Jahre 807/808 n. Chr., berichtet von einer Gründung, Restaurierung oder Baumaßnahme zur Zeit des Bischofs Pater Mar Gabriel und des Kloster-Priors Mar David[5]. Der Name des Klosters

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[*] Viele Freunde und Kollegen haben mich bei diesem Beitrag unterstützt. Mein besonderer Dank für Anregungen, Hinweise und konstruktive Kritik gilt Michael Blömer (Aarhus/DK), Manuel Fiedler (Berlin/D), Kurt Freimüller (Krumpendorf/A), Ewald Kislinger (Wien/A), Fabienne Meiers (Luxemburg), Werner Oenbrink (Köln/D), Torben Schreiber (Istanbul/TR), Helmut Schwaiger (Wien/A) und Eva Strothenke (Münster/D). Engelbert Winter (Münster/D) danke ich dafür, die Funde hier vorlegen zu können.

[1] K. P. Todt – B. A. Vest, Syria (Syria Prōtē, Syria Deutera, Syria Euphratēsia) (*TIB* 15, 2). Wien 2014, 1108–1115.

[2] Todt – Vest, Syria 1111.

[3] P. G. Borbone, Neue syrische Inschriftenfunde. Das Kloster des Mar Salomon auf dem Dülük Baba Tepesi, in: Kult und Herrschaft am Euphrat, hrsg. von E. Winter (*Dolichener und Kommagenische Forschung* 6, *Asia Minor Studien* 73). Bonn 2014, 127–139.

[4] Siehe C. Höpken – F. Schimmer – M. Sieler, Ausgewählte Keramik aus dem Heiligtum des Jupiter Dolichenus und der Folgebesiedlung auf dem Dülük Baba Tepesi, in: ΠΑΤΡΙΣ ΠΑΝΤΡΟΦΟΣ ΚΟΜΜΑΓΗΝΗ. Neue Funde und Forschungen zwischen Taurus und Euphrat, hrsg. von E. Winter (*Asia Minor Studien* 60). Bonn 2008, 153–155; M. Facella – M. Stanke, Eine Inschriftenplatte für Theodoros Stratelates und weitere christliche Zeugnisse vom Dülük Baba Tepesi, in: Von Kummuh nach Telouch. Historische und archäologische Untersuchungen in Kommagene, hrsg. von E. Winter (*Dolichener und Kommagenische Forschungen* 4, *Asia Minor Studien* 64). Bonn 2011, 207–215; P. G. Borbone – W. Oenbrink, Das christianisierte Heiligtum auf dem Dülük Baba Tepesi. Eine syrische Inschrift, Architekturbefunde und Bauglieder, in: Von Kummuh nach Telouch 200–202.

[5] Borbone, Inschriftenfunde 130.

selbst erscheint nicht, aber bezeugt sind damit Bauten einer religiösen Gemeinschaft auf dem Dülük Baba Tepesi.

Die zweite, spätere Inschrift von 1040/1041 n. Chr. ist fragmentierter erhalten; aus ihr geht hervor, dass wiederum Baumaßnahmen stattfanden, diesmal mit Nennung des Mar Salomon. Aufgrund der Fragmentierung bleibt ungeklärt, ob eine Person oder der Ort bezeichnet ist. Für letzteres spricht die Konstruktion der Inschrift, so dass die Arbeiten anscheinend im Mar Salomon-Kloster stattfanden[6].

Das Kloster folgte an diesem Platz einem weithin sichtbaren, überregionalen Heiligtum, das in römischer Zeit dem Iuppiter Dolichenus geweiht war[7]. Persischen Schriftquellen zufolge wurde Doliche – vermutlich das Heiligtum auf dem Dülük Baba Tepesi und die Siedlung auf dem gegenüberliegenden Keber Tepe – im Jahr 253 n. Chr. zerstört[8], doch blieb der Ort weiter besiedelt: Dies zeigen neben einschlägigen Funden spätantike und spätere, byzantinische Baureste vor allem im Bereich des östlichen und nordöstlichen Zentralplateaus entlang der Hangkante – also der der Siedlung von Doliche auf dem Keber Tepe zugewandten Seite – und dem nordöstlichen Vorplateau. Sie gehörten vermutlich zum Baubestand des Klosters (**Abb. 1**)[9]. Endgültig aufgegeben wurde der Platz wahrscheinlich im 12. Jahrhundert[10].

Wohl zu den Klostereinrichtungen gehörten eine Weinpresse und eine Küche bzw. Backstube[11] sowie Stallungen. Weitere Einrichtungen, über die Klöster in der Regel verfügten – Kirche, Kapitelsaal, Refektorium, Dormitorium, Necessarium, Bibliothek, Scriptorium – konnten bislang nicht eindeutig identifiziert werden, aber eine Schreibstube und ggf. auch ein Archiv lassen sich aufgrund von Funden annehmen: Vom nordwestlichen Zentralplateau stammen eine Bulla und – vermutlich verlagert – Farbtöpfchenfragmente mit Resten von Ultramarinblau, das mit der Buchmalerei in Zusammenhang stehen dürfte[12]. Zudem sind Schriftstücke überliefert, die ein Mönch aus dem Mar Salomon-Kloster – der Sünder Simon – kopiert hatte[13].

Diese Schriftstücke, von denen eines für das Kloster der Mutter Gottes der Syrer in der Wüste von Skete in Ägypten gedacht war[14], wie auch das aus afghanischem Lapislazuli hergestellte Ultramarinblau[15], zeigen die Einbindung des Klosters in ein geographisch weit gespanntes Handels- und

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[6] Borbone, Inschriftenfunde 134.

[7] Seit 2001 wird die Fundstelle von der Forschungsstelle Asia Minor der Universität Münster unter der Leitung von Prof. Dr. Engelbert Winter erforscht, siehe E. Winter – M. Blömer, Der Dülük Baba Tepesi bei Doliche und das Heiligtum des Iupiter Dolichenus. 2.Vorbericht (2004–2005). *IstMitt* 56 (2006) 185–205; E. Winter, Doliche, das Heiligtum des Iupiter Dolichenus und die Grabung auf dem Dülük Baba Tepesi, in: ΠΑΤΡΙΣ ΠΑΝΤΡΟΦΟΣ ΚΟΜΜΑΓΗΝΗ (s. Anm. 4), 53–67; E. Winter, Der Kult des Iupiter Dolichenus und seine Ursprünge. Das Heiligtum auf dem Dülük Baba Tepesi bei Doliche, in: Von Kummuh nach Telouch (s. Anm. 4), 1–17; E. Winter, Vom späthethitischen Kultplatz zum christlichen Kloster: Die Grabungen auf dem Dülük Baba Tepesi bei Doliche, 2010–2011, in: Kult und Herrschaft (s. Anm. 3), 1–15.

[8] E. Kettenhofen, Die römisch-persischen Kriege des 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. nach der Inschrift Šāhpuhrs I. an der Ka'be-ye-Zartošt (ŠKZ) (*Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients* B 55). Wiesbaden 1982, 74–77; A. Breitenbach – S. Ristow, *RAC* XXI, s.v. Kommagene (Euphratesia), 2004, 242 jeweils mit weiterer Literatur.

[9] M. Blömer – E. Winter, Doliche und das Heiligtum des Iupiter Dolichenus auf dem Dülük Baba Tepesi. 1. Vorbericht, 2001–2003. *IstMitt* 55 (2005) 191–214.

[10] Zur jüngeren Chronologie des Platzes siehe Borbone–Oenbrink, Heiligtum 200–202; Winter, Kult 10–11; Winter, Kultplatz 8–10; Borbone, Inschriftenfunde 135–137.

[11] Winter, Kultplatz 9.

[12] C. Höpken, Ultramarinblau-Pigment aus dem Kloster des Mar Salomon auf dem Dülük Baba Tepesi, in: Vom eisenzeitlichen Heiligtum zum christlichen Kloster. Neue Forschungen auf dem Dülük Baba Tepesi, hrsg. von E. Winter (*Dolichener und kommagenische Forschungen* 9, *Asia Minor Studien* 84). Bonn 2017, 249–255, bzw. M. Stanke, Eine nachantike Tonbulla mit Kreuzmonogramm. Überlegungen zur Existenz eines Klosterarchivs auf dem Dülük Baba Tepesi, in: Kult und Herrschaft (s. Anm. 3), 141–149. Eine weitere Bulla aus Metall stammt aus dem östlichen Bereich.

[13] Facella–Stanke, Inschriftenplatte 179; Stanke, Tonbulla 145; Borbone, Inschriftenfunde 135–136.

[14] Borbone, Inschriftenfunde 136.

[15] Höpken, Ultramarinblau; vgl. A. Bosselmann-Ruickbie – S. Greiff – S. Albrecht, Edelsteine, in: Byzanz. Historisch-kulturwissenschaftliches Handbuch, hrsg. von Falko Daim (*Neuer Pauly Supplement* 11). Stuttgart 2016, Sp. 808.

Kommunikationsnetz[16]. Gewährleistet wurde der Kontakt zwischen Klöstern, Städten und Staaten durch verschiedene Verkehrsträger, die jeweils Aufgaben der Transport- oder Verkehrsdienstleistungen inklusive der Weitergabe von Informationen übernahmen. Zu den wichtigsten Verkehrsträgern gehörten Pferde und andere Equiden; durch einige Metallfunde lassen sie sich auch im Kloster des Mar Salomon von Doliche nachweisen.

SATTELELEMENTE[17]

In einem Raum auf dem nordöstlichen Vorplateau, der zu einem Gebäude der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit gehört haben dürfte[18], wurden eng beieinander liegend vier Eisenobjekte gefunden: ein griffförmiges Objekt, zwei Ösenstifte und eine Schnalle (**Abb. 2–5**).

Das griffförmige Objekt besteht aus einem bogenförmigen Vierkantstab, dessen Enden flach zulaufen und nach außen sorgfältig zu Ösen umgelegt sind (**Abb. 3** und **5.2**).

Auch die Ösenstifte bestehen aus eisernen Vierkantstäben (**Abb. 4** und **5.3–4**). Sie sind mittig jeweils zu einer Öse gekrümmt. Die spitz zulaufenden Schenkel sind nach 2,5 bis 3 cm rechtwinklig nach außen gebogen; die Spitzen sind jeweils aufgestellt – vermutlich waren sie ursprünglich zurückgeschlagen.

Die quadratische Schnalle ist mit 6,5 × 7,5 cm recht groß und massiv gearbeitet (**Abb. 2** und **5.1**). Die Dornauflage und der Dornhalter sind profiliert gestaltet bzw. durchbrochen gearbeitet und beweglich montiert; der Dorn ist weit über die Auflage gebogen (**Abb. 2b** und **2c**). Diese Gestaltung der Schnalle mit beweglicher Dornauflage und dem weit über die Auflage gebogenen Dorn ist insbesondere für Sattelgurte geeignet.

Ein fester S a t t e l hat den Zweck, das Gewicht der Last oder des Reiters auf eine größere Fläche auf dem Pferderücken zu verteilen. Die frühen Sättel, sog. Bocksättel, bestanden aus zwei Brettern, die mit Gurten oder Bügeln verbunden waren[19]; Reitsättel entwickelten sich vermutlich aus gepolsterten Lastsätteln[20].

Die lichte Breite der Schnalle von 5,4 cm passt zu einer üblichen Gurtbreite antiker Sättel von 5 cm[21]; die bewegliche Dornauflage ermöglichte einen schnellen, kräftigen Zug des Gurts. Der über die

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[16] In dieser Zeit konzentrierte sich der Handel wegen der größeren Gefahren und der geringeren Nachfrage auf leicht transportierbare Waren mit großer Gewinnspanne wie Gewürze und Seide, siehe E. Kislinger, Handelsreisen, in: Byzanz. Historisch-kulturwissenschaftliches Handbuch (s. Anm. 15), Sp.737. Hierzu gehörte auch der Lapislazuli.

[17] Für Unterstützung und Hinweise danke ich Kurt Freimüller, Sattler in Krumpendorf/A. Alle speziellen Informationen beruhen auf seinen Kenntnissen zum Bau iberischer Sättel.

[18] E. Winter, Das Heiligtum auf dem Dülük Baba Tepesi bei Doliche. Die Grabungen der Jahre 2013–2015, in: Vom eisenzeitlichen Heiligtum zum christlichen Kloster. Neue Forschungen auf dem Dülük Baba Tepesi, hrsg. von E. Winter (*Dolichener und kommagenische Forschungen* 9, *Asia Minor Studien* 84). Bonn 2017, 10; H. Schwaiger – B. B. Kalfa, Dülük Baba Tepesi bei Doliche (Türkei), in: Wissenschaftlicher Jahresbericht des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts 2014. Wien 2014, 75.

[19] J. Chr. Grinzrot, Die Wagen und Fahrwerke der Griechen und Römer und anderer Völker. München 1817, 447. Vgl. beispielsweise auch die Rekonstruktion eines fränkischen Sattels sowie skythischer oder mongolische Sättel, siehe J. Giesler, Rekonstruktion eines Sattels aus dem fränkischen Gräberfeld von Wesel-Bieslich, in: Die Franken – Wegbereiter Europas. Vor 500: König Chlodwig und seine Erben. Mainz 1996, 808–811; J. K. Anderson, Ancient Greek horsemanship. Los Angeles 1961, 81–82 mit Taf. 12b; J. Bemmann, Steppenkrieger. Reiternomaden des 7.–14. Jahrhunderts aus der Mongolei (*Schriften des Kelten Römer Museums Manching* 5). Bonn 2012, 118 Abb. 4a. 172 Abb. 1. 201 Abb. 2c. 210 Abb. 14. 212–213 Abb. 16–17. 225 Abb. 2b und 3. 250–252 Kat. I.10–11. 308 Kat. III.13. 352–353. Hinsichtlich der Entwicklung von Sätteln für Esel siehe U. Johansen, Der Reitsattel bei den altaischen Völkern. *Central Asiatic Journal* 10 (1965) 270.

[20] Grinzrot, Wagen 448.

[21] Giesler, Rekonstruktion 808. Vgl. auch G. Grabherr, Die Via Claudia Augusta in Nordtirol. Methode, Verlauf, Funde, in: Via Claudia Augusta und Römerstraßenforschung im östlichen Alpenraum, hrsg. von E. Walde – G. Grabherr (*Ikarus* 1). Innsbruck 2006, 203 Taf. 9 Nr. B58, oder S. Ortisi, Militärische Ausrüstung und Pferdegeschirr aus den Vesuvstädten (*Palilia* 29). Wiesbaden 2015, 67 Abb. 25.

Auflage gebogene Dorn sollte ein Verhaken der Schnalle an anderen Gegenständen verhindern. Der Schnalle vergleichbar in Material, Größe und Gestaltung sind mittelalterliche, allerdings einfacher gearbeitete Sattelgurtschnallen aus London, von denen einige ebenfalls eine beweglich montierte Dornauflage haben[22], andere jedoch über eine Rolle verfügen[23]. Beides hat den gleichen Effekt: Der Gurt konnte schnell und ohne Widerstand über die Dornauflage gleiten. Die Konstruktion mit beweglich montierter Dornauflage findet sich auch bei einer in das mittlere 7. Jahrhundert datierten Sattelgurtschnalle aus Wesel-Bislich[24], oder bei Rollenschnallen ähnlicher Dimensionen des frühen 7. Jahrhunderts aus Niederstotzingen, Grab 12[25].

Auch bei den beiden Ösenstiften stellt sich die Frage nach einer Zugehörigkeit zu einem Sattel: Dies erscheint plausibel, da Ösenstifte oder Klampen (**Abb. 4** und **5.3–4**) auch heute noch beim Bau iberischer Sättel verwandt werden, die ihrerseits in der östlichen bzw. byzantinischen Tradition stehen.

Die Ösenstifte könnten als Krammen jeweils vorne bzw. hinten an den Seitenbrettern oder an den Außenseiten der Zwiesel angebracht gewesen sein[26], um daran beispielsweise das Vorder- oder Hintergeschirr, die Last bzw. Gurte oder auch einen Sattelsitz zu befestigen[27].

Das griffförmige Objekt (**Abb. 3** und **5.2**) war offenbar nicht mit Metallösen, Ösenstiften oder ähnlichem an seinem Ort angebracht, da sich hiervon keine Spuren finden. Dies könnte für eine Anbringung mittels (Leder-)Schnüren sprechen und würde gut zu einem Sattel passen; vielleicht gehörte er zu einer Schweifriemenhalterung oder fungierte als Verstärkung einer (Brustriemen-)Gurthalterung[28].

Bei einem kleinen Lastsattel könnte es sich ggf. auch um ein Kopfeisen handeln[29]. Diese Versteifung in der Wirbelkanalaussparung im vorderen Sattelteil, dem sogenannten Vorderzwiesel, soll verhindern, dass das hölzerne Sattelgestell bei zu hohen Lasten mittig bricht[30]. Entsprechende Formen sind bei frühen Sätteln oft belegt. Beispielsweise greifen auch Sattelverzierungen diese Gestaltung auf, wie die eines frühbyzantinischen Sattels, der aus dem östlichen Mittelmeergebiet stam-

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[22] G. Egan, Buckles, hasps and straps hooks, in: The medieval horse and its equipment c. 1150–c.1450. Medieval finds from excavations in London 5, hrsg. von J. Clark. London 1995, 56 Abb. 42 Nr. 29–32. 60 Abb. 45 Nr.40 und 47.

[23] Egan, Buckles 56 Nr. 35; vgl. auch Egan, Buckles 55 Abb. 41.

[24] W. Janssen, Die Sattelbeschläge aus Grab 446 des fränkischen Gräberfeldes von Wesel-Bislich, Kreis Wesel. *Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt* 11 (1981) 155 Kat. 5a. Zur Datierung siehe S. 167. J. Oexle, Studien zu merowingerzeitlichem Pferdegeschirr am Beispiel der Trensen (*Germanische Denkmäler der Völkerwanderungszeit* A 16, Band XVI). Mainz 1992, 237–238 Nr. 377, Taf. 171–173 (Schnalle Taf. 171 Nr. 1), Position der Schnalle im Grab siehe Taf. 209.

[25] Oexle, Pferdegeschirr 152–153 Nr. 104–105 Taf. 50.105.2–3. Zu weiteren Schnallen, für die aufgrund der Position in Pferdegräbern eine Interpretation als Bauchgurtschnalle infrage kommt, siehe Oexle, Pferdegeschirr 201, Nr. 259 (Grab „Hefelskreuz“, Wittislingen, Kr. Dillingen) Taf. 119 Nr. 259.4, 145–146 Nr. 89 (Pferdegrab West, Langenau, Alb-Donau-Kreis) Taf. 40 Nr. 89.5, Position der Schnalle im Grab siehe Taf. 205, Taf. 210 Nr. 404 (Grab 170, Krefeld-Stratum, Stadt Krefeld) – die Schnalle wird weder im Katalogtext zu Nr. 404 auf S. 249 erwähnt, noch ist sie mit den anderen Funden auf Taf. 187 abgebildet.

[26] Vgl. Armeesattel 25 in der Heeresdienstvorschrift (H.Dv.) 12. Siehe auch Ch. Matz, Eine außergewöhnliche Pferdebestattung, in: Pferdeopfer – Reiterkrieger. Fahren und Reiten durch die Jahrtausende, hrsg. von M. Rech. *Bremer Archäologische Blätter* Beiheft 4 (2006) 119 Abb. 2; P. H. Ramquist, Saddle and bridle from Högom, Central Sweden, in: The Sösdala Horsemen and the equestrian elite of fifth century, hrsg. von Ch. Fabech and U. Näsman (*Jutland Archaeological Publications* 99). Moesgård 2017, 223 fig. 2. Solche Ösen finden sich auch heute noch an tibetischen, nepalesischen und mongolischen Sätteln, die aus der östlichen Tradition stammen (freundl. Hinweis von Fabienne Meiers, Luxemburg).

[27] Für Letzteres werden allerdings eher gewöhnliche Krampen, Eisennägel, Holzdübel oder (Roh-) Lederschnüre verwendet. Ösenstifte können an Reitsätteln dazu gedient haben, Gepäck hinter dem Sattel festzuzurren (freundl. Hinweis von Fabienne Meiers, Luxemburg).

[28] Freundl. Hinweis von Fabienne Meiers, Luxemburg.

[29] Freundl. Hinweis von Kurt Freimüller, Krumpendorf. Für eine bessere Haltbarkeit waren Lastsättel ggf. auch mit Eisen verstärkt (Grinzrot, Wagen 489).

[30] Freundl. Hinweis von Fabienne Meiers, Luxemburg.

men soll[31]. Alternativ könnte es sich um eine Reparaturklammer am Vorderzwiesel handeln. Belege solcher Reparaturen finden sich beispielsweise an einfachen Packsätteln, wie sie von neuzeitlichen Hirten in den Ostrumänischen Karpaten benutzt wurden (**Abb. 6**). Anstatt einer extra gefertigten Eisenklammer wurden auch Hufeisen in dieser Funktion genutzt[32].

Allerdings kommt auch eine Funktion als Unterlegbügel an einer Trense infrage, wie Parallelen aus römischer Zeit zeigen[33]. Da aber die lichte Weite von 7,4 cm recht klein erscheint und zudem weitere Teile von Trensen bislang fehlen, ist auch hier eher an eine Zugehörigkeit zu einem Sattel zu denken[34].

Die aufwändig verzierte Schnalle vom Dülük Baba Tepesi spricht für eine auch repräsentative Funktion; sie war mit der beweglichen Dornauflage dafür konzipiert, einen Gurt auf Zug zu sichern. Insofern könnte es sich um einen Reitsattel gehandelt haben. Hierzu passt, dass die Ösenstifte Befestigungskrammen für einen Sattelsitz gewesen sein könnten.

Die Datierung der Funde lässt sich durch Parallelfunde und Fundzusammenhänge grob eingrenzen: Infrage kommt eine Zeitspanne vom 7. bis spätestens in das 12. Jahrhundert.

HUFEISEN

Eindeutig mit Equiden verbundene Metallfunde sind Fragmente von Hufeisen. Bei Ungulaten lastet das gesamte Gewicht auf den Hufen; werden die Tiere mit weiterem Gewicht – Last oder Reiter – beladen, erhöht sich mitunter bei befestigten Wegen oder festem, steinigem Untergrund der Abrieb. Um Hufe vor zu starker Abnutzung zu schützen, kann bei Einhufern – wie auch bei Paarhufern – ein Hufschutz benutzt werden; [35] gleichzeitig können auch Vorrichtungen wie Stollen angebracht werden, die ein Ausrutschen auf glattem Untergrund verhindern sollen. Heute wird Hufbeschlag zudem zur Korrektur und Unterstützung von Stellungsfehlern und bei verschiedenen Krankheiten verwandt. Da der Huf auch unter dem Beschlag weiter wächst, müssen Hufeisen nach 6 bis 8 Wochen abgenommen bzw. erneuert werden, um übermäßige Belastungen und Lahmheit zu verhindern[36].

In römischer Zeit war der regelhafte Hufbeschlag noch unbekannt, obwohl eine übermäßige Abnutzung der Hufe natürlich ein Problem darstellte[37]. Zur Abhilfe und starker Abnutzung und für Hufkrankheiten wurde die sogenannte Hipposandale entwickelt, [38] die vermutlich aber nicht regelhaft verwandt, sondern nur Problempferden angezogen wurde. Zu einem bisher unbestimmbaren Zeitpunkt in nachrömischer Zeit entstand schließlich der Hufbeschlag – ein fest am Pferd montierter Beschlag. Ursprung und Herkunft sind allerdings weitgehend unbekannt[39].

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[31] H. Dannheimer, Sattelbeschlag, in: Die Welt von Byzanz – Europas östliches Erbe. Glanz, Krisen und Fortleben einer tausendjährigen Kultur, hrsg. von L. Wamser. Stuttgart 2004, 351.

[32] Freundl. Hinweis von Dorel Marc, Muzeul Judeţean Mureş, Secţia de Etnografie şi Artă Populară (Ethnographisches Museum) Târgu Mureş/RO.

[33] M. Junkelmann, Die Reiter Roms III: Zubehör, Reitweise, Bewaffnung (*Kulturgeschichte der antiken Welt* 53). Mainz 1992, 25 mit Abb. 14.

[34] Vgl. dazu auch Grinzrot, Wagen Taf. 87.10 und H. Dannheimer, Ostmediterrane Prunksättel des frühen Mittelalters. Bilder altiranischer Helden und Dämonen. *Bayerische Vorgeschichtsblätter* 65 (2000) Taf. 25 und 27.

[35] Hufschutz für Ein- und Paarhufer wurde schon in römischer Zeit entwickelt. Für letzte siehe insbesondere Grabherr, Via Claudia 218 Taf. 37–38 Nr. B239–B243.

[36] J. Clutton-Brock, Horse power. A history of the horse and the donkey in human societies. Cambridge/Mass. 1992, 73. Vgl. auch S. Lazaris, Art et science vétérinaire à Byzance. Formes et fonctions de l'image hippiatrique (*Bibliologia* 29). Leiden 2010, 170–171.

[37] Zusammengestellte Quellen finden sich bei A. Schlieben, Die Pferde des Alterthums. Wiesbaden 1867/1969, 136–137.

[38] Plin. Nat. hist. XXXIII 49, 1; Sueton, Nero 30, 3; Vespasianus 23, 2. Vgl. Grabherr, Via Claudia 217–218 Taf. 32–36.

[39] Zur Geschichte des Hufbeschlags siehe U. Imhof, Die Geschichte des Hufbeschlags. *Schweizer Archiv für Tierheilkunde* 152 (2010) 21–29. Zur Diskussion hilfreich: Grabherr, Via Claudia 219.

Vermutet wird eine Entwicklung aus skythischem Hufschmuck in Verbindung mit Hufverstärkungen zur Trittsicherheit in Form von Eisennägeln. Schon Herodot berichtet, dass Steppenvölker über gefrorene Flüsse galoppieren konnten[40]. Dies war ohne einen Ausgleitschutz – etwa in die Hufe eingeschlagene, spitze Nägel – nicht möglich.

Im 6. Jahrhundert n. Chr. wird der Hufbeschlag in dem Werk über die Kriegskunst, das Justinian I. (reg. 527–565) zugeschrieben wird, erwähnt; in einem Buch über Kriegstaktik aus dem 9. Jahrhundert, Kaiser Leon VI. (reg. 886–912) zugeschrieben, wird ein bogenförmiges Hufeisen mit Nägeln beschrieben[41]. Ab dem 11. Jahrhundert waren Hufeisen auch in ganz Europa verbreitet.

Eine chronologische Einordnung von Hufeisen aufgrund der Form fällt schwer und ist oft nicht möglich. Sie werden individuell hergestellt, für verschiedene Bedürfnisse gestaltet (Beschläge für Sommer, Winter, Reit-, Zug-, Pack-, Arbeitstiere) und spezifisch angepasst, sodass sie unterschiedlich ausfallen können. In den meisten Fällen haben mit sechs Nägeln befestigte Hufeisen genügend Halt am Huf. Bei kleineren Pferden und Tieren mit guter Hornqualität genügen schon vier Nägel pro Eisen.

Für Mitteleuropa sind einige chronologische Kriterien erarbeitet worden (Wellenrandeisen, Bandruten, Stollen)[42], die sich jedoch nicht an den Hufeisen im Vorderen Orient nachvollziehen lassen. Ein Überblick altarabischer Hufeisen aus dem 18. Jahrhundert[43] zeigt deutlich, dass die Beschlageisen im Osten sich mit der Form eines Sichelmondes und den breiten Tragflächen von den Hufeisen im Westen mit schmalen Ruten unterscheiden[44]. Zudem sind sie mit einer geringeren Zahl von Nägeln, eher mit vier als mit sechs, am Huf befestigt. Ursache hierfür könnte die gute Hufqualität arabischer Pferde sein[45].

Aus mittelbyzantinischen Schichten auf dem Dülük Baba Tepesi stammen zwei recht vollständige Hufeisen (**Abb. 8.5** und **8.6**)[46]. Anhand dieser konnten weitere Eisenbeschläge, darunter mehrere Funde der vergangenen Jahre[47], als (mögliche) Hufeisenfragmente identifiziert werden. Es sind meist recht breite Rutenenden, die im Bereich des letzten Nagellochs abgebrochen sind; insgesamt liegen bisher Reste von mindestens 16 Hufeisen vor. Die Merkmale altarabischer Hufeisen mit Sichelmondform und Befestigung mittels vier Nägeln treffen auf die Funde vom Dülük Baba Tepesi zu, denn die zwei relativ vollständigen Stücke zeigen, dass die Eisen aus Doliche ebenfalls mit vier Nägeln angeschlagen waren.

An einem der als Rutenenden bestimmten Eisenfragmente ist ein runder flacher Stollen angenietet, der ein Ausgleiten verhindern sollte (**Abb. 8.10**). Das Annieten ist ungewöhnlich, weil Stollen

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[40] Vgl. auch Cassius Dio 72, 7. E. Cary, Dio's Roman History IX. Loeb Class. Library, hrsg. von William Heinemann. London 1961, 23.

[41] τῶν ἐν πολέμοις τακτικῶν σύντομος παράδοσις, Διατάξεις/Constitution V 3, 294–295. (siehe auch II 27–28). The Taktika of Leo VI. Text, translation and commentary by G. Dennis. Revised edition (*Dumbarton Oaks Texts* 12). Washington, D.C. 2014, 77; F. Winkelmann, Über das Hufeisen. *Germania* 12 (1928) 142. Justinian: H. Köchly – W. Rüstow, Des Byzantiner Anonymus Kriegswissenschaft, in: Griechische Kriegsschriftsteller. Griechisch und Deutsch mit kritischen und erklärenden Anmerkungen, Bd. 2/2. Leipzig 1855, 106. Leo: Constitutio de apparatu armorum Nr. 4 (*PG* 107, 718).

[42] Imhof, Hufbeschlag 23.

[43] J. von Hammer-Purgstall, Das Pferd bei den Arabern. Wien 1856, 67 mit Beil. 1.

[44] Vgl. auch K. W. Ammon, Nachrichten von der Pferdezucht der Araber und den Arabischen Pferden. Nebst einem Anhange über die Pferdezucht in Persien, Turkomanien und die Berberei. Nürnberg 1834, 338–339 (Nachdruck: Documenta Arabica II, Hildesheim – Zürich – New York 2004).

[45] Ammon, Nachrichten 338; von Hammer-Purgstall, Pferd 67; J. E. Flade, Das Araberpferd. Wittenberg [6]1989, 89.

[46] Aus den Schnitten 14-04 und 14-06.

[47] Insgesamt stammen aus folgenden Kontexten Hufeisenfragmente: 03-T1/E2/53, 05-0804, 06-0330, 09-0101, 13-0234, 13-0805, 14-0401 II, 14-0461 III, 14-0461 III Profilsteg, 14-0601, 14-1013, 14-1102, 14-1105, 14-1105, 14-1109, 14-1113.

zumindest an den europäischen Hufeisen in der Regel angeschmiedet sind[48]. Vielleicht spricht die Befestigung von Stollen mittels Nieten für eine vergleichsweise frühe Datierung des Hufeisens[49], da dies bei römischem Hufschutz, den sog. Hipposandalen, Parallelen findet[50].

Die Eisen haben, soweit rekonstruierbar, eine recht einheitliche Größe; sie sind mit etwa 100 mm Länge auffallend klein. Dies weist darauf hin, dass die Tiere klein und mittelschwer waren. Esel- und Mulihuf sind dem Pferdehuf ähnlich, allerdings unterscheidet sich insbesondere der Eselshuf in Stellung, Beschaffenheit und Form. Der Huf ist länger und schmaler, und manchmal sind die Seitenwände leicht nach innen gezogen; die Hufeisen haben daher oft die Form einer Lyra[51]. Die runde Gestalt der Eisen von Dülük Baba Tepesi spricht für Pferde und Mulis als Träger[52], auch wenn Esel in Futter und Pflege günstiger waren und eher als Reit- und Lasttier für Mönche angemessen waren[53].

Die Gesamtgröße der Hufeisen passt zu kleinen Pferderassen mit einem Stockmaß unter 1,45 m; dies entspricht einer üblichen Größe von Pferden im Mittelalter[54]. Für byzantinische Pferde wurde eine durchschnittliche Widerristhöhe von 1,37 m errechnet[55].

DIE FUNDSTELLEN UND DIE FUNDVERTEILUNG IM KLOSTER AUF DEM DÜLÜK BABA TEPESI

Die möglichen Sattelelemente und viele der Hufeisenfragmente wurden im östlichen Bereich des Klosters gefunden. Auf dieser Seite, die der Stadt Doliche zugewandt war, dürfte sich der Haupteingang des Klosters befunden haben.

Da man davon ausgehen kann, dass abgenommene Hufeisen als Material wieder verwertet wurden, wird es sich bei allen Funden um zufällige Verluste handeln. Die Fundpunkte lassen – sofern die Funde nicht verlagert sind – damit Rückschlüsse auf Wege oder mit Pferden begangene und genutzte Bereiche zu.

Dies ist insbesondere in einem bislang noch nicht exakt datierten Raum mit Futtertrog und Anbindeösen in Schnitt 14–11 interessant[56], denn anhand der Einrichtung lässt sich zunächst nicht bestimmen, welche Tiere hier untergestellt waren. Die Hufeisenfragmente belegen nun die Nutzung als Equidenstall; den Hufeisenmaßen nach zu urteilen waren die hier aufgestallten Tiere – wahrscheinlich Pferde – von mittlerer Größe und Statur.

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[48] Neben dem Vorteil besseren Halt auf rutschigem Untergrund zu bieten, finden sich Stollen offenbar häufig an Hufeisen von Zugpferden.

[49] Die Funde aus Schicht 14-1105 sind in das 7. Jahrhundert und später zu datieren.

[50] G. Grabherr, Michlhallberg. Die Ausgrabungen in der römischen Siedlung 1997–1999 und die Untersuchung an der zugehörigen Straßentrasse (*Schriftenreihe des Kammerhofmuseums Bad Aussee* 22). Bad Aussee 2001, 74; Grabherr, Via Claudia 217–218 Taf. 32–36.

[51] Siehe beispielsweise L. Jacobi, Das Römerkastell Saalburg bei Homburg vor der Höhe nach den Ergebnissen der Ausgrabungen und mit Benutzung der hinterlassenen Aufzeichnungen des königl. Konservators Obersten A. von Cohausen. Homburg vor der Höhe 1897, 528 Fig. 87.27.

[52] Vgl. Hufeisen aus Pergamon: W. Gaitzsch, Eisenfunde aus Pergamon: Geräte, Werkzeuge und Waffen (*Pergamenische Forschungen* 14). Berlin – New York 2005, 127 Abb. 24.

[53] K. Belke, Transportmittel, in: Byzanz. Historisch-kulturwissenschaftliches Handbuch (s. Anm. 15), 706; K. Belke, Verkehrsmittel, in: Byzanz. Historisch-kulturwissenschaftliches Handbuch (s. Anm. 15), 46–47.

[54] N. Benecke, Der Mensch und seine Haustiere. Die Geschichte einer jahrtausendealten Beziehung. Stuttgart 1994, 307–309; H. Kroll, Groß und stark? Zur Widerristhöhe und Statur byzantinischer Arbeitstiere, in: Hinter den Mauern und auf dem offenen Land: Leben im Byzantinischen Reich (*Byzanz zwischen Orient und Okzident* 3), hrsg. F. Daim – J. Drauschke. Heidelberg 2017, 150 Tab. 4. 151–154.

[55] Kroll, Arbeitstiere 153.

[56] Für Informationen zu den Befunden in diesem Schnitt danke ich dem Ausgräber Helmut Schwaiger (ÖAI Wien) ganz herzlich.

Ein Vergleich der Hufeisenfragmente auch in Bezug auf die Verteilung in der Fläche lässt erkennen, dass die Hufeisenbruchstücke aus dem Stall mitunter einen höheren Fragmentierungsgrad aufweisen als die anderen Funde.

In einem dem Stall nordöstlich benachbarten Raum hatten sich die Sattelelemente gefunden. Insofern darf man wohl für diesen Raum über eine Funktion als Sattelkammer nachdenken.

DOLICHES EINBINDUNG IN DAS REGIONALE VERKEHRSNETZ DER KOMMAGENE

Doliche lag an einer Kreuzung wichtiger Verkehrsverbindungen der Region: Die Straße von Antiochia nach Samosata kreuzte hier die Straße von Germanikeia nach Edessa[57]. Letztere war auch die nächste Anbindung an das Wasserstraßennetz: Doliche liegt etwa 50 km vom Euphrat entfernt. Wasserwege waren in Antike und byzantinischer Zeit bevorzugte Verkehrswege, da sie eine – allerdings von Jahreszeit, Witterung und Wasserstand abhängige – relativ reibungslose Fortbewegung mit größeren Warenmengen bei guter Streckenbewältigung erlaubten[58]. Mit der Umladung zwischen Land und Wasser konnten die mühseliger zurückzulegenden Strecken auf dem Landweg reduziert werden.

Auf den Straßen waren neben privaten Reisenden, Pilgern und Händlern vor allem Angehörige von Militär und der zivilen und kirchlichen Verwaltung unterwegs – die Versorgung der Bevölkerung konnte vor allem lokal gedeckt werden[59]. Eine zentrale Bedeutung kam allerdings mitunter der raschen Nachrichtenübermittlung zu[60].

Die Hufeisen und möglichen Sattelelemente aus dem Kloster in Doliche auf dem Dülük Baba Tepesi zeigen, dass die Mönche des Klosters über Equiden, wahrscheinlich Pferde oder Mulis, verfügten. Die beschlagenen Tiere wurden eher als Last- oder Reittiere auf den Verkehrswegen genutzt[61] als dass sie in der Landwirtschaft eingesetzt gewesen sein werden[62]. Mit Lasttieren ließen sich Warentransporte – durch den Rückgang der Straßenqualität[63] von immer größerer Bedeutung – und Nachrichtenübermittlung bewerkstelligen, dienten aber sicher auch der Mobilität der Mönche selbst, auch wenn für sie immer eher von einer demütigen Fortbewegung zu Fuß ausgegangen wird oder hierfür allenfalls ein Esel angemessen schien[64]. Die Fortbewegung mittels Reittieren, insbesondere Reitpferden, galt als Privileg der Oberschicht und des Militärs[65]. Allerdings werden Reiterheilige auf Pferden dargestellt, wie auch ein Graffito aus dem Kloster belegt (**Abb. 9**), das spätestens im 12. Jahrhundert entstanden sein muss[66].

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[57] Todt–Vest, Syria 1109.

[58] E. Kislinger Verkehrswege und Versorgung im byzantinischen Kernraum, in: Byzanz. Pracht und Alltag. München 2010, 79; E. Kislinger, Dauer und Gefahren von Reisen, in: Byzanz. Historisch-kulturwissenschaftliches Handbuch (s. Anm. 15), 742–743; J. Haldon, Logistik des Reisens, in: Byzanz. Historisch-kulturwissenschaftliches Handbuch (s. Anm. 15), 747–752.

[59] Belke, Verkehrsrouten zu Lande, in: Byzanz. Historisch-kulturwissenschaftliches Handbuch (s. Anm. 15), 698.

[60] Kroll, Arbeitstiere 149–150.

[61] Generell zum Thema siehe K. Belke, Verkehrsmittel und Reise- bzw. Transportgeschwindigkeit zu Lande im Byzantinischen Reich, in: Handelsgüter und Verkehrswege: Aspekte der Warenversorgung im östlichen Mittelmeerraum (4. bis 15. Jahrhundert). Akten des internationalen Symposions Wien, 19.–22. Oktober 2005, hrsg. von E. Kislinger – J. Koder – A. Külzer. Wien 2010, 45–57.

[62] Auf Straßen eingesetzte Pferde blieben nur dort unbeschlagen, wo der Belag der Straßen dies zuließ wie in der arabischen, von Wüsten geprägten Welt. In steinigen Regionen wie in Syrien und Palästina waren Hufeisen empfehlenswert (Ammon, Nachrichten 338).

[63] Belke, Transportmittel 707; K. Belke, Von der Pflasterstraße zum Maultierpfad? Zum kleinasiatischen Wegenetz in mittelbyzantinischer Zeit, in: Byzantine Asia Minor (6th–12th cent.), hrsg. von S. Lampakis. Athen 1998, 267–284.

[64] Belke, Transportmittel 706; Belke, Verkehrsmittel 46.

[65] Belke, Transportmittel 706; Belke, Verkehrsmittel 48.

[66] Eine detaillierte Publikation ist in Vorbereitung.

Sicher mit Lasttieren kamen über Zwischenhändler Produkte wie Ultramarinblau bzw. Lapislazuli aus Afghanistan oder Glasgefäße aus Persien nach Doliche, und auch der Bedarf des täglichen Lebens wird kaum mit Wagen auf den Dülük Baba Tepesi gebracht worden sein, da der Zugang von der Stadtseite zum Kloster einen recht steilen Aufstieg bedeutete.

Dynamik und Verfahrensweise der Warentransporte und Nachrichtenübermittlung oder das Mobilitätsverhalten der Bewohner des Klosters lassen sich anhand der möglichen Sattelelemente und der Hufeisen natürlich nicht erforschen, aber zumindest wissen wir durch diese Funde, dass das Kloster in Doliche auf dem Dülük Baba Tepesi selbst über die Reit- und/oder Lasttiere verfügte, die diese Aufgaben übernehmen konnten. Zu dieser Zeit waren Equiden als zu schätzende und zu pflegende Gefährten des Menschen beim Reisen und Transportieren unersetzbar[67].

KATALOG

Kat. 1 Gurtschnalle mit beweglicher Dornauflage und umgebogenem Dorn. L 5,9 cm B 7,4 cm H 2,1 cm Fundnr. 14_0401-202. **Abb. 2** und **5.1**.

Kat. 2 Griffförmiger Eisengegenstand. L 6,4 cm B 12,3 cm H 0,9 cm Fundnr. 14_0401-203. **Abb. 3** und **5.2**.

Kat. 3 Ösenstift. L 6,8 cm B 9,8 cm H 0,9 cm Fundnr. 14_0401-204a. **Abb. 4a** und **5.3**.

Kat. 4 Ösenstift. L 5,4 cm B 9,3 cm H 0,7 cm Fundnr. 14_0401-204b. **Abb. 4b** und **5.4**.

Kat. 5 Hufeisen, fragmentiert. L 9,4 cm B 7,0 cm H 0,5 cm Fundnr. 14_0461-200. **Abb. 8.5**.

Kat. 6 Hufeisen, fragmentiert. H 9,8 cm B 7,0 cm H 0,5 cm Fundnr. 14_0601-200b. **Abb. 8.6**.

Kat. 7 Rutenende von einem Hufeisen. L 5,2 cm B 2,7 cm H 0,3 cm Fundnr. 14_1105-200. **Abb. 8.7**.

Kat. 8 Besonders schmales Rutenende von einem Hufeisen. L 6,6 cm B 1,5 cm H 0,4 cm Fundnr. 14_0461-201. **Abb. 8.8**.

Kat. 9 Rutenende von einem Hufeisen. L 6,0 cm B 4,4 cm H 0,4 cm Fundnr. 14_1109-200. **Abb. 8.9**.

Kat. 10 Rutenende von einem Hufeisen mit angenietetem Stollen. L 7,1 cm B 3,9 cm H 0,5 cm H Niet 0,8 Fundnr. 14_1105-203. **Abb. 8.10**.

Kat. 11 Rutenende von einem Hufeisen. L 7,9 cm B 3,6 cm H 0,4 cm Fundnr. 14_1102-200. **Abb. 8.11**.

Kat. 12 Rutenende von einem Hufeisen. L 5,8 cm B 3,1 cm H 0,4 cm Fundnr. 14_1013-204. **Abb. 8.2**.

Kat. 13 Rutenende von einem Hufeisen. L 5,2 cm B 3,4 cm H 0,4–0,6 cm Fundnr. 14_0401-205. **Abb. 8.13**.

Kat. 14 Rutenende von einem Hufeisen. L 2,8 cm B 2,8 cm H 0,3 cm Fundnr. 14_1113-202. **Abb. 8.14**.

[67] A. v. Gabain, Pferd und Reiter im Mittelalterlichen Zentralasien. *Central Asiatic Journal* 10 (1965) 228.

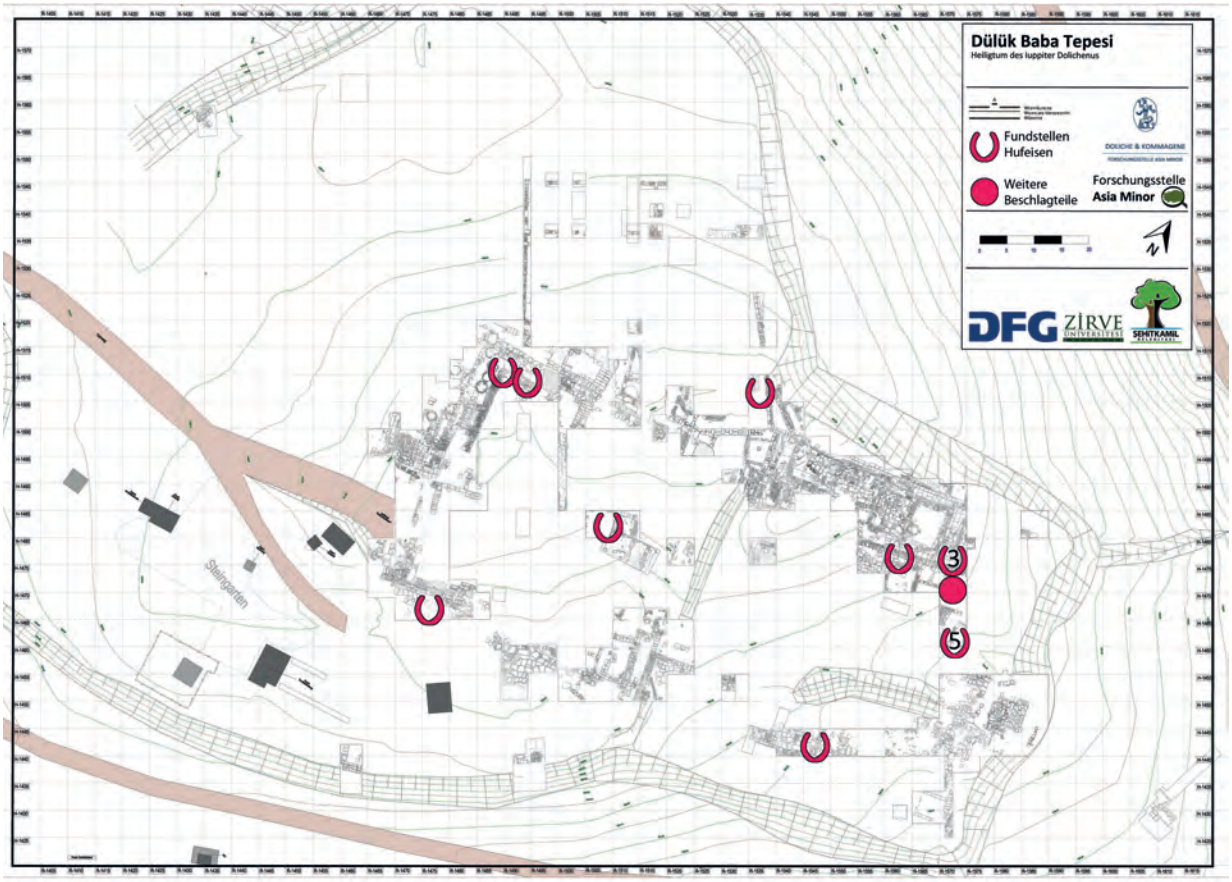


Abb. 1: Fundpunkte der Hufeisen und der Sattelelemente (roter Punkt) auf dem Dülük Baba Tepesi
Forschungsstelle Asia Minor, erstellt von Torben Schreiber

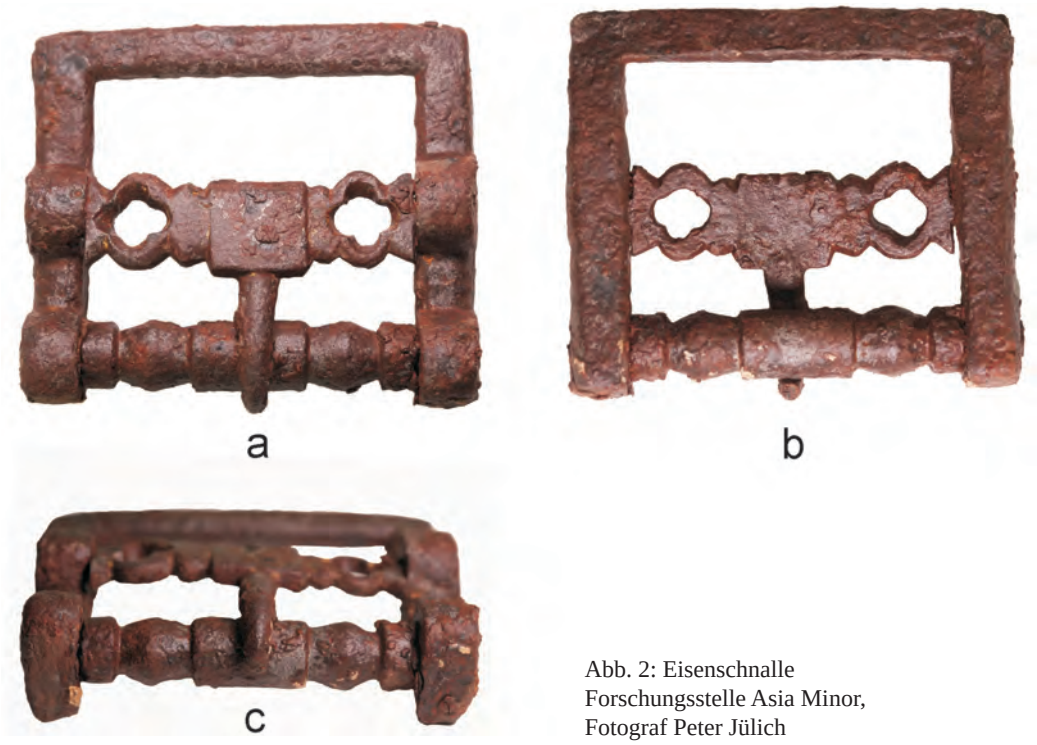


Abb. 2: Eisenschnalle
Forschungsstelle Asia Minor,
Fotograf Peter Jülich



Abb. 3: Griffförmiger Eisengegenstand. Forschungsstelle Asia Minor, Fotograf Peter Jülich



Abb. 4: Ösenstifte. Forschungsstelle Asia Minor, Fotograf Peter Jülich

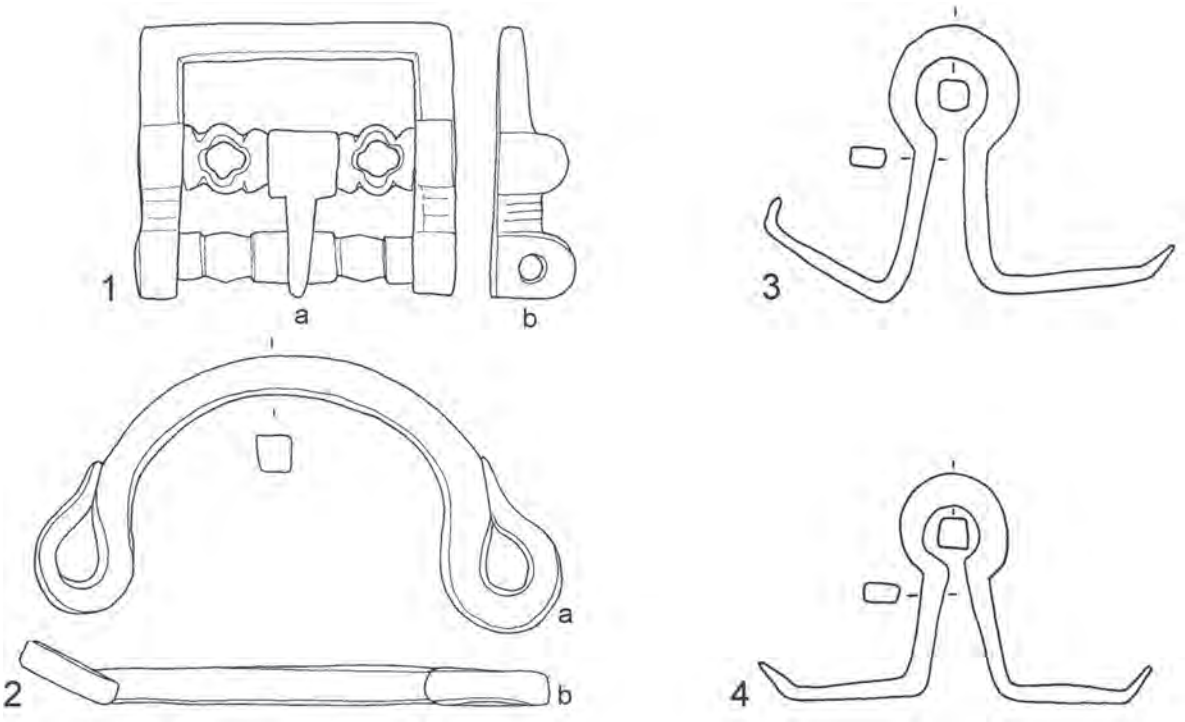


Abb. 5: Eisenobjekte von einem Sattel? Forschungsstelle Asia Minor, Zeichnungen Constanze Höpken



Abb. 6: Neuzeitlicher Sattel aus den Ostkarparten. Muzeul Judeţean Mureş, Târgu Mureş/RO, Fotograf Constanze Höpken

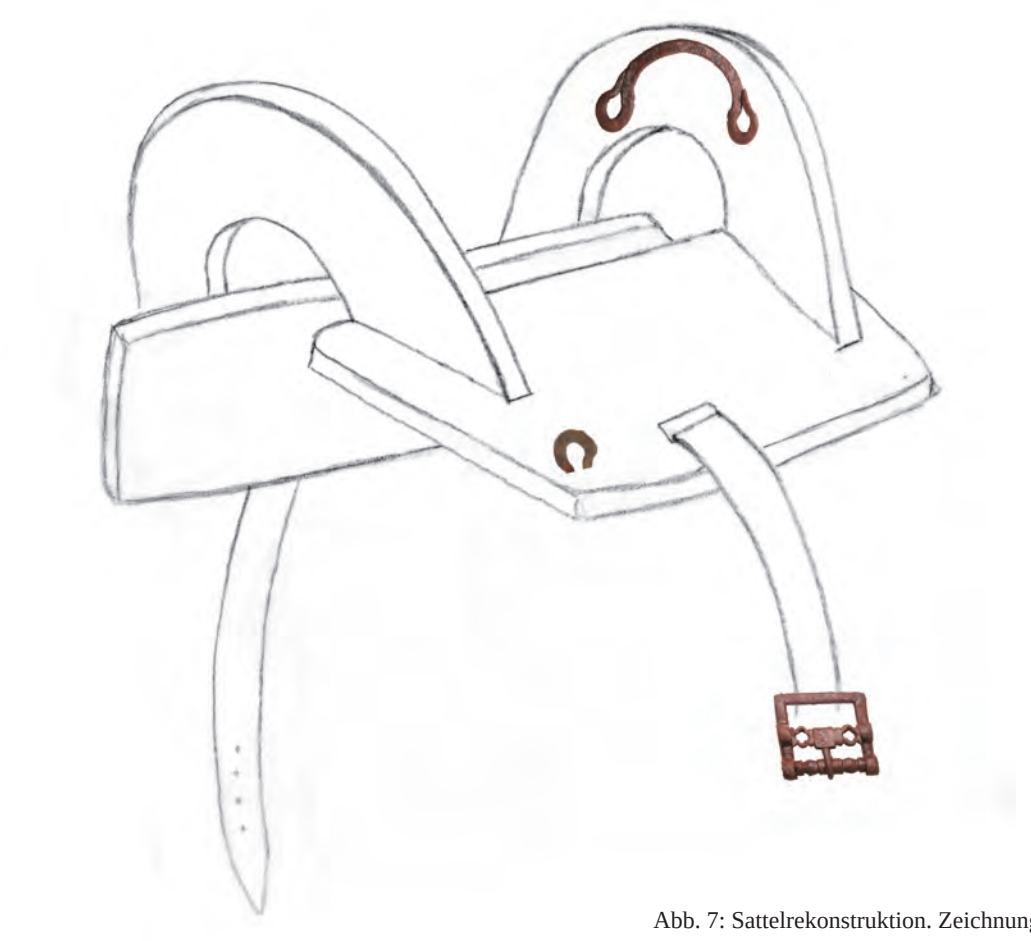


Abb. 7: Sattelrekonstruktion. Zeichnung Constanze Höpken

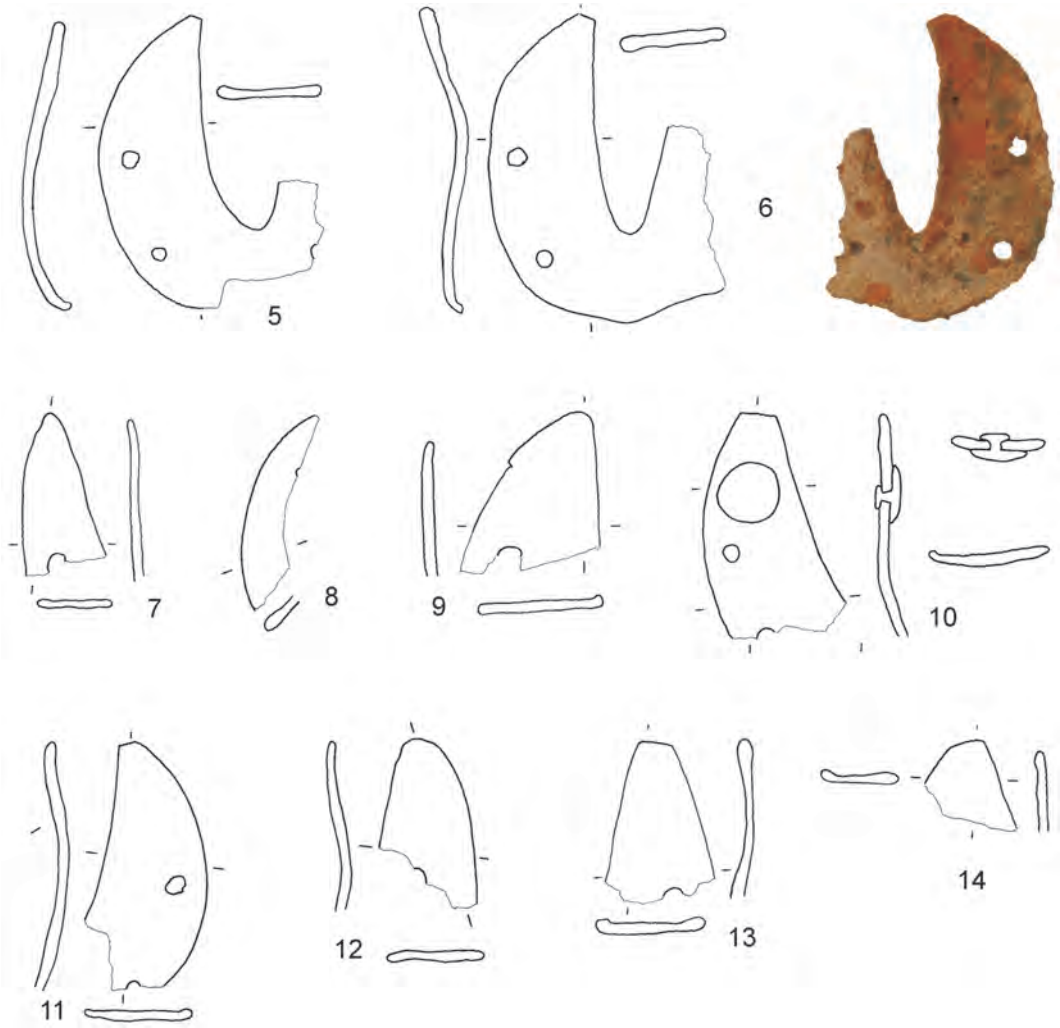


Abb. 8: Hufeisenfragmente. Forschungsstelle Asia Minor, Zeichnungen Constanze Höpken



Abb. 9: Kalksteinblock mit Reiterdarstellungen. Forschungsstelle Asia Minor, Fotograf Werner Oenbrink

JAHRBUCH DER ÖSTERREICHISCHEN BYZANTINISTIK, 69. Band/2019, 199–232
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DOI: 10.1553/joeb69S199

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Attitudes towards Fasting in Constantinopolitan Monasticism (Fifth to Eleventh Centuries)

Abstract: This article seeks to identify changes in attitudes towards fasting in Constantinopolitan monastic milieus. Exhaustive analysis of the surviving evidence shows that two frameworks existed side by side: fasting that went well beyond what ordinary human beings would undertake and led to competition between practitioners, and fasting that was moderate and did not allow a practitioner to stand out. Agonistic and competitive asceticism was prevalent in the fifth century and in the post-Iconoclastic era. By contrast, the alternative lifestyle of moderate asceticism was promoted in the sixth century, during Iconoclasm, and in the 11th and 12th centuries.

Keywords: Byzantine monks, Constantinople, Asceticism

Not least among the inhabitants of Constantinople were numerous hermits and monastic communities. Our knowledge about these social settings comes mainly from hagiographical texts, which were produced in almost every century of Byzantine history. These texts not only tell us something about the interactions of the saints with the Constantinopolitan populace but also inform us about their lifestyles. The authors regularly assert that their heroes engaged in strenuous and agonistic fasting, staying without food for days on end, and outperforming other ascetics. Thus, one gets the impression that such fasting was an indispensable part of the life of every good monk. Yet this impression is deceptive. There existed an alternative understanding of the monastic calling, which put a premium on moderation and conformity. Here the best monk is the one who eats the same food as his fellow brethren and takes care not to stand out. Strictly coenobitic communities, which subscribed to this ideal, also existed in Constantinople. Unfortunately, however, it is very difficult to establish their relative importance and to chronicle how they fared over time. We only have the legislation of Emperor Justinian, the writings of Theodore of Stoudios, and a number of monastic rules from the 11th century. This makes it necessary to look for clues in hagiographical literature. In the sixth century no *Lives* of contemporary saints were produced, which may suggest that the alternative ideal was predominant. In the tenth and eleventh centuries the notions of moderation and conformity make an appearance even in *Lives*, thus challenging the traditional nexus between strenuous fasting and saintly status. This article offers an analysis of the available evidence and seeks to identify general trends within Constantinopolitan monasticism between the fifth and the 11th centuries.

PRELIMINARY REMARKS

The different ascetic regimes observed by Constantinopolitan monks and the ways in which these regimes were justified have so far not been the subject of sustained research. This is true even for the most comprehensive treatment of the topic of monastic fasting, the third part of Béatrice Caseau's recent monograph *Nourritures terrestres, nourritures célestes*[1]. In the section about Late Antiquity

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[1] B. Caseau, Nourritures terrestres, nourritures célestes: la culture alimentaire à Byzance (*Monographies du Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance* 46). Paris 2015.

Caseau discusses sources from the East and pays scant attention to Constantinople[2]. This approach is hardly surprising as the monks of the capital played no role in the formation of the discourse about fasting. In the much shorter section about the Byzantine period proper, Caseau's focus changes. Now Constantinopolitan sources take pride of place, which reflects the growing importance of the capital after the loss of the Eastern provinces. Yet she only discusses in any depth two sets of texts, the writings of Theodore of Stoudios, and the monastic rules of the 11th century[3]. The present study aims at a more comprehensive treatment of the topic. Most of the evidence presented in it has not yet been analysed in secondary literature.

Before we can delve into the discussion, however, it is necessary to make a few preliminary remarks. First, what is meant by Constantinopolitan monasticism? The city was bounded by the Theodosian walls. Yet evidence for monastic life is not so plentiful that we can focus on urban and suburban houses alone. In order to get a fuller picture, we need to extend the discussion to monasteries situated in the surrounding areas. Such an approach can be justified when we consider that their abbots had close connections to the capital and in many cases even came from there. Second, why the exclusive focus on fasting? To limit the intake of food and water is, of course, only one of a number of ascetic activities in which monks engaged. There is also staying awake during the night, standing upright for long periods of time, incessant genuflecting and sleeping on the ground. Ideally one would consider all of these activities. Yet fasting is an exceptional case. It is the only ascetic practice that appears in almost all texts. Thus, it becomes possible to create a coherent narrative, without getting side-tracked. This does not, of course, mean that the topic is always discussed in the same fashion. Especially in hagiography we encounter a broad range of options. We may be told what kind of food the saints ate, how much they ate, and how often they ate, and lastly also whether they ate more or less than others. Sometimes only one option appears, and sometimes a combination of several options. These differences can make comparison difficult. Third, how should the sources be approached? Monastic *Rules* are normative texts and thus reflect how their authors, for the most part abbots, wished their communities to be run. Although it cannot be excluded that some of them were successfully implemented, they are first and foremost evidence for a debate about what constitutes the proper monastic lifestyle. *Lives*, too, are not simply accounts of the actual behaviour of individuals. Hagiographers often availed themselves of already existing templates, which might influence the content of their narratives[4]. Moreover, they lived in particular social contexts which had specific ideas about what constituted a saintly lifestyle. Thus, it is always possible that the hagiographers improved on reality in order to promote the sanctity of their heroes. When we look at the texts from this angle, we can identify what was the predominant monastic ideology in a given period. Fourth, how should the sources be contextualized? For a proper understanding of the various accounts it would be necessary to establish where the texts were produced, who commissioned them, and for what audience they were intended. Unfortunately, this is not always possible. Sometimes even the precise date of a text is unknown. Moreover, even if a place of origin can be identified, there are few other sources that would allow us to supplement the information provided by the *Lives* or *Rules* in a meaningful way. Consequently, the introductions in the following will be kept short. The evidence will be discussed in chronological order, with the exception of works originating from the same monastic setting, which will be taken together when they are of roughly the same date.

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[2] Caseau, Nourritures terrestres 239–296.

[3] Caseau, Nourritures terrestres 296–302.

[4] See E. Patlagean, Ancienne hagiographie byzantine et histoire sociale. *Annales. Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 1 (1968) 106–126. See also M. van Uytfanghe, Le remploi dans l'hagiographie: une "loi du genre" qui étouffe l'originalité?, in: Ideologie e pratiche del reimpiego nell'alto medioevo (*Atti della Settimana di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo* 46). Spoleto 1999, 359–411, who focuses mainly on the West, and Th. Pratsch, Der hagiographische Topos: griechische Heiligenlegenden in mittelbyzantinischer Zeit. Berlin 2005, where fasting is not discussed.

‘EXTREMISTS’ VS ‘MODERATES’ IN LATE ANTIQUE MONASTICISM

Early Constantinopolitan monasticism cannot be seen in isolation. Many of the first monks in the city were not locals but had come from Syria where they had received their socialization. Syria was the homeland of the “holy men”, individuals who imposed on themselves gruelling hardships and were believed to have the power to perform miracles[5]. The most famous member of this group was undoubtedly Symeon of Telneshe (Symeon the Stylite) who lived in the first half of the fifth century and outdid earlier ascetics by standing on a pillar. By the end of his life Symeon was a universally recognized saint. Yet his behaviour had not always been beyond criticism. One of his hagiographers, Theodoret of Cyrus, informs us that as a young man when he lived in a monastery he engaged in such extreme asceticism that he was told to leave. The abbot was not only concerned that Symeon might kill himself; Symeon’s extravagant asceticism amounted to disobedience, thus constituting a threat to the abbot’s authority, and might have adversely affected the life of the community, engendering feelings of envy and frustration in the other monks. Significantly, this detail is omitted in Symeon’s Syriac *Life*, which was written by a member of his community. This demonstrates clearly that hagiographers could gloss over potentially problematic aspects of extreme asceticism[6].

From the perspective of the “holy man” and his admirers, community life was irredeemably lax. Yet this does not mean that the coenobites saw themselves as second-class monks. On the contrary, they emphasized other aspects of monastic life such as obedience and humility[7]. This alternative model is reflected in the *Rules* of Basil the Great (d. 379), who was metropolitan of Caesarea in Cappadocia and one of the first members of the elite to engage with the new monastic discourse[8]. His *Rules* demand that all members of the community follow the same dietary regime[9]. Those who wish to abstain from food and drink can do so only with the permission of the abbot. Yet even their diet should not be so demanding that it might enfeeble the body[10]. The conceptual framework on which this form of monastic life was based is described by Basil’s brother Gregory of Nyssa (d. c. 395) in his treatise *On Virginity*[11].

> Ὁ ἡμέτερος νοῦς … τὸ ἐν ἑκατέρῳ ἄμετρον περικόπτων τῆς τοῦ ἐνδέοντος προσθήκης ἐπιμελήσεται καὶ ἐπίσης τὴν ἐφ᾽ ἑκάτερα τοῦ σώματος ἀχρηστίαν φυλάξεται, μήτε δι᾽ ὑπερβαλλούσης εὐπαθείας ἄτακτον καὶ δυσήνιον τὴν σάρκα ἑαυτοῦ ἐπασκήσας, μήτε καὶ τῆς ἀμέτρου κακοπαθείας νοσώδη καὶ λελυμένην καὶ ἄτονον πρὸς τὴν ἀναγκαίαν ὑπηρεσίαν παρασκευάσας[12].
>
> “Our mind … will cut back a lack of measure in either direction and take care to add what is lacking, and it will likewise avoid the uselessness of the body in both respects, neither making its flesh

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[5] P. Brown, The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity. *JRSt* 61 (1971) 80–101.

[6] See V. Déroche, Quand l’ascèse devient péché: Les excès dans le monachisme byzantin d’après les témoignages contemporains. *Kentron* 23 (2007) 167–178, esp. 171. The reasons why monks engaged in extreme asceticism are discussed in S. Ashbrook Harvey, The Sense of a Stylite: Perspectives on Symeon the Elder. *Vigiliae Christianae* 42 (1988) 376–394, and in Caseau, Nourritures terrestres 239–279. They will not be considered here because they are hardly ever mentioned in texts of Constantinopolitan provenance.

[7] See Ph. Rousseau, Eccentrics and Coenobites in the Late Roman East, in: Conformity and Non-Conformity in Byzantium, ed. L. Garland (*Byzantinische Forschungen* 34). Amsterdam 1997, 35–50, and G. Constable, Moderation and Restraint in Ascetic Practices, in: From Athens to Chartres: Neoplatonism and Medieval Thought, ed. H. J. Westra. Leiden 1992, 315–327, which is mainly about the West. This contrast was already highlighted by H. Musurillo, The Problem of Ascetical Fasting in the Greek Patristic writers. *Traditio* 12 (1956) 1–64, esp. 62.

[8] See Ph. Rousseau, Basil of Caesarea. Berkeley 1994.

[9] See Caseau, Nourritures terrestres 290–292.

[10] See especially Regulae brevius tractatae (*CPG* 2875) 159 (*PG* 31, 1173A–1176A).

[11] See Caseau, Nourritures terrestres 281.

[12] Gregory of Nyssa, De virginitate (*CPG* 3165) 22 (ed. J. P. Cavarnos, in: Gregorii Nysseni opera 8, 1: Opera ascetica. Leiden 1952, 248–343, esp. 332–333).

unruly and ungovernable through excessive pampering, nor making it sickly and enervated and feeble for the necessary service through mortification without measure."[13]

Gregory here applies to the new phenomenon of monasticism a value system that had for centuries informed the life of the Graeco-Roman elites[14]. This value system, which was opposed to any form of extreme behaviour, ultimately went back to Aristotle who in his *Nicomachian Ethic* defines virtue as the "middle between … two evils of which one is excess and the other is deficiency" (μεσότης δύο κακιῶν τῆς μὲν καθ᾽ ὑπερβολήν, τῆς δὲ κατ᾽ ἔλλειψιν)[15]. Human nature is seen as hemmed in by strict bounds, which cannot be transcended without causing damage to the body. Fasting too much is considered as bad as fasting too little as it likewise deviates from the "golden mean".

THE FIFTH CENTURY

After slow beginnings monasticism became firmly rooted in Constantinople and its hinterland in the fifth century[16]. This process led to the production of several hagiographical texts. Most of these *Lives* have been studied for what they can tell us about the public role of leading monks. It has been shown that abbots and hermits interfered in religious controversies, organizing public events that forced patriarchs and emperors to revise their policies[17]. Yet the texts also tell us something about the manner in which these figures conducted their lives. When one analyses them, one is struck by the strong focus on ascetic practices and, in particular, on fasting.

Auxentius (d. 473), a former soldier of Eastern extraction, left Constantinople to live as a hermit on Mt Scopus, on the opposite shore of the Bosporus, where he made a name for himself as a wonder-worker[18]. In his *Life* we read that he engaged in extreme asceticism, first living in the open and then enclosing himself in a wooden cage[19]. His fasting regime was so demanding that he would remain without food for days on end[20]. Daniel the Stylite (d. after 493), a monk from Mesopotamia who became so famous that even emperors and patriarchs went to see him, was also an extreme ascetic[21]. His hagiographer tells us that his behaviour aroused the curiosity of one of his visitors who tried to find out whether the saint ate and what he ate. Hiding behind the pillar and watching Daniel for seven days and nights, he never saw him eating or defecating. In the end he spoke to Daniel who explained to him that he was a human being, but that his faeces were like that of a sheep because he drank so

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[13] Translation by me.

[14] See P. Brown, The Body and Society. Men, Women, and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity. New York 1988, 17–25. See also M. Gleeson, Making Men: Sophists and Self-Presentation in Ancient Rome. Princeton 1995.

[15] Aristotle, Nicomachian Ethic, II.6 (ed. I. Bywater, Aristotelis Ethica Nicomachea. Oxford 1894 [reprint 1959], 1107a2–3).

[16] See P. Hatlie, The Monks and Monasteries of Constantinople, ca. 350–850. Cambridge 2007, 30–132.

[17] See G. Dagron, Les moines et la ville: Le monachisme à Constantinople. *TM* 4 (1970) 229–276. See also H. Saradi, Constantinople and its Saints (4th–6th c.): The Image of the City and Social Considerations. *Studi Medievali* s. 3, 36 (1995) 87–110.

[18] See M.-F. Auzépy, Les *Vies d'Auxence* et le monachisme "Auxentien". *REB* 53 (1995) 205–236. See also S. Efthymiadis – V. Déroche, Greek Hagiography in Late Antiquity (Fourth-Seventh Centuries), in: The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography, I: Periods and Places, ed. S. Efthymiadis. Farnham – Burlington 2011, 58, and V. Deroche – B. Lesieur, Notes d'hagiographie byzantine: Daniel le Stylite – Marcel l'Acémète – Hypatios de Rufinianes – Auxentios de Bithynie. *AnBoll* 128 (2010) 283–295.

[19] Life of Auxentius (*BHG* 199) 43 (*PG* 114, 1413A).

[20] Life of Auxentius 34 (*PG* 114, 1404CD).

[21] See M. Raub Vivian, The World of Daniel the Stylite: Rhetoric, Religion, and Relationships in the Life of the Pillar Saint, in: The Rhetoric of Power in Late Antiquity. Religion and Politics in Byzantium, Europe and the Early Islamic World, ed. E. De Palma Digeser – R. M. Frakes – J. Stephens. London 2010, 147–166. See also Efthymiadis – Déroche, Greek Hagiography 60–61.

little water[22]. This episode, which has a counterpart in Theodoret's account of the *Life of Symeon the Stylite*, is clearly intended to show that Daniel was a great faster[23].

Auxentius and Daniel were hermits, but this does not mean that extreme asceticism was limited to eremitic settings. In monasteries the situation was not much different. Dius, who had come from the region of Antioch, was quite possibly the first Constantinopolitan abbot[24]. His late antique *Life* is lost and we only have a lengthy notice in a *synaxarium* and an *Encomium*, both dating to the Middle Byzantine period. The *synaxarium* tells us that at the beginning of his monastic career, when he was the disciple of two hermits, Dius already engaged in strenuous asceticism, "eating … bread every other day of the week, and satisfying the need of the body with salt and water" (ἐσθίων … διὰ δύο ἡμερῶν τῆς ἑβδομάδος ἄρτον καὶ ἅλατι καὶ ὕδατι πληρῶν τὴν χρείαν τοῦ σώματος). This detail is also found in the *Encomium* where we further learn that the saint gradually intensified his fasting, "eating every fourth day" (διὰ τεσσάρων ἐσθίων ἡμερῶν) and then only "eating once a week" (δι᾽ ἑβδομάδος ἡμερῶν ἐσθίων). It is very likely that this information was already found in the original text. Dalmatus (d. before 451), like Auxentius a military man from the East, was called to the monastic life by the Syrian hermit Isaacius who had come to Constantinople during the reign of Emperor Valens[25]. Although a monastery was founded that was to bear his name, he lived as a recluse. His *Life* contains no information about his regular fasting regime. Yet we are told that in one year he ate nothing during the Great Lent, took communion at Easter, and then fasted for another 43 days, all the while sitting on a stool, "comatose and only just breathing" (κατενεχθεὶς καὶ μόνον ὅτι ἀνέπνεεν)[26]. In this state he is said to have been the recipient of visions.

The hagiographers of Dius and Dalmatus wrote without literary pretensions. Their texts consist of a small number of discrete episodes and are written in very simple Greek. This suggests that their communities were low-brow and had little interest in or even awareness of contemporary debates about what constituted proper monastic life. By contrast, the *Life of Hypatius*, the founder of a monastery in Rufinianae near Chalcedon (d. 446), is a comprehensive and well-structured narrative. Borrowings and allusions show that its author had knowledge of earlier hagiographical and spiritual literature[27]. The topic of fasting is broached early on in the text when the hagiographer speaks about Hypatius' time as a simple monk in a great monastery.

> Τοσοῦτον δὲ ἐφήψατο τῆς ἀσκήσεως ὁ Ὑπάτιος, ὡς ὑπερβάλλεσθαι πάντας, μικροῦ δεῖν καὶ τὸν ἡγούμενον, ἐν νηστείᾳ καὶ ἀγρυπνίᾳ καὶ ψαλμῳδίᾳ καὶ εὐχῇ καὶ ὑπακοῇ καὶ ἡσυχίᾳ καὶ ταπεινοφροσύνῃ καὶ ἀκτημοσύνῃ καὶ πάσῃ ἀρετῇ, ὡς πάντας ὠφελεῖσθαι παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν Θεὸν δοξάζεσθαι, καὶ τὸν ἡγούμενον ἀγαπᾶν αὐτὸν καὶ χαίρειν ἐπὶ τῇ πολιτείᾳ αὐτοῦ[28].
>
> "Hypatius, however, took to ascetic practice to such a degree that he outdid all, and almost even the abbot, in fasting and waking and singing psalms and prayer and obedience and quietude and humility and poverty and every kind of virtue so that all profited from him and God was glorified, and the abbot loved him and rejoiced in his life-style."[29]

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[22] Life of Daniel (*BHG* 489) 62 (ed. H. Delehaye, Les saints stylites [*Subsidia hagiographica* 14]. Paris 1923, 1–94, esp. 61).

[23] Religious History 26, 23 (ed. P. Canivet – A. Leroy-Molinghen, Théodoret de Cyr. Histoire des moines de Syrie [*SC* 234, 257]. Paris 1977–1979, II 206–208).

[24] For the following see D. Krausmüller, The Constantinopolitan Abbot Dius: his Life, Cult and Hagiographical Dossier. *BMGS* 31 (2007) 13–31.

[25] See Dagron, Les moines 231–234.

[26] Life of Dalmatus (*BHG* 482) (ed. A. Banduri, Imperium orientale sive antiquitates Constantinopolitanae. Paris 1711, 697–710, esp. 698AB).

[27] See G. J. M. Bartelink, Callinicos, Vie d'Hypatius (*SC* 177). Paris 1971, 33–41.

[28] Life of Hypatius (*BHG* 760) 3, 12 (84 Bartelink).

[29] Translation by me.

This passage contains a catalogue of monastic virtues among which fasting takes pride of place. The hagiographer asserts that the saint ate less food than anybody else. This gives the impression that even for ordinary members of coenobitic communities there was not one single standard. Indeed, such focus on the agonistic aspect is not without parallel. Theodoret regards it as one of the advantages of community life that it provides an opportunity for competition[30]. Information about how much food Hypatius actually consumed is only supplied in a later episode. There we are told that he stepped up his ascetic practice after he had moved to Rufinianae[31], contenting himself with vegetables and a little bread, and that "often he ate at the end of the ninth hour and sometimes he postponed the meal even further, and during the forty days [of Lent] he ate every other day" (ἤσθιεν δὲ πάντοτε εἰς τὴν βαθεῖαν ἑνάτην, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ὑπερθέσεις ἐποίει, καὶ ἐν τῇ τεσσαρακοστῇ ὑπὲρ μίαν ἤσθιεν)[32]. There can be little doubt that such a regime was more strenuous than that of ordinary monks who ate twice a day, at the sixth and at the ninth hour, and consumed more varied food. Yet it is also evident that Hypatius was not a match for extreme ascetics such as Dius. Significantly, the hagiographer does not draw attention to this fact but does his utmost to present his hero as a great faster from the very beginning of his monastic career. Possible negative consequences of unfettered competition within a community are not dwelt on. Only the reference to humility may be understood as a corrective.

The *Lives* of Auxentius, Daniel, Dius, Dalmatus and Hypatius show clearly that in the capital strenuous asceticism was considered a marker and a precondition for saintly status, just as it was in Syria, where most of these saints had come from. This raises the questions: are these texts representative of Constantinopolitan monasticism as a whole? Did all monks behave in this manner or at least accept the underlying value system? It is difficult to give a definite answer because we have no Constantinopolitan sources from this period that would explicitly promote alternative forms of monasticism. The only setting where matters may have been different was the community of the Acoemetes, which appears to have included learned members[33]. Two texts have survived, the *Life* of the abbot Alexander and the *Life* of the abbot Marcellus. Alexander's hagiographer speaks of the saint's poverty, charity and worship, without mentioning a particular dietary regime[34]. Yet it is difficult to gauge how significant this omission is. We are repeatedly told that Alexander and his followers suffered great hardship during their long wanderings in the East before they came to the capital, and did not even eat varied dishes when sufficient food was available[35]. The same cannot be said for the *Life of Marcellus* (d. 485), which contains no reference to fasting or other ascetic activities at all[36]. This may be an indicator that the ideal of moderation was important for the Acoemetes.

There is only one piece of evidence that may point to a debate between proponents of the different types of monasticism. It is found in the *Life of Auxentius*. When in 451 the saint fell foul of the ecclesiastical authorities, he was imprisoned in a monastery. There the following exchange is said to have taken place.

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[30] Religious History 5, 4 (I 332–334 Canivet–Leroy-Molinghen).

[31] Life of Hypatius 8, 9; 12, 1 (100, 114 Bartelink).

[32] Life of Hypatius 26, 1 (180 Bartelink).

[33] See A. Grillmeier, Jesus der Christus im Glauben der Kirche, 2, 2: Die Kirche von Konstantinopel im 6. Jahrhundert. Freiburg – Basel – Wien 1989, 265–277.

[34] See D. F. Caner, Wandering, Begging Monks. Spiritual Authority and the Promotion of Monasticism in Late Antiquity. Berkeley 2002, 130–157.

[35] Life of Alexander (*BHG* 47) 32, 36 (ed. E. de Stoop, Vie d'Alexandre l'Acémète [*PO* 6, 5]. Paris 1911, 658–701, esp. 682, 687).

[36] Life of Marcellus (*BHG* 1027z) (ed. G. Dagron, La vie ancienne de Saint Marcel l'Acémète. *AnBoll* 85 [1967] 271–321). See Dagron, Les moines 236–237.

Προσελθόντες δὲ αὐτῷ οἱ τοῦ μοναστηρίου, διότι οὐκ ἐσθίει ἐπηρώτων. ὁ δὲ πρὸς αὐτούς· ἐπειδὴ δοκιμὴν ζητεῖτε τοῦ ἐν ἐμοὶ λαλοῦντος Χριστοῦ, ὃς οὐκ ἀσθενεῖ ἀλλὰ δύναται ἐν ἡμῖν, πλὴν γέγραπται, οὐκ ἐπ᾽ ἄρτῳ μόνῳ ζήσεται ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ παντὶ ῥήματι ἐκπορευομένῳ διὰ στόματος θεοῦ[37].

"Those from the monastery approached him and asked him why he did not eat. And he said to them: 'Since you wish to make a test of Christ who speaks in me, who is not weak but powerful in us[38], it is written: Man does not live by bread alone but by all words that issue from the mouth of God.[39]'"[40]

What is interesting here is not only that monks ask the question but also that in his response Auxentius explains why he could go beyond what was possible for ordinary men[41]. He claims that he had supernatural help, an option that is not considered in texts that promote the concept of the "golden mean".

THE SIXTH CENTURY

The *Lives* of Marcellus and Daniel were written during the reign of Emperor Anastasius (491–518)[42], and the *Life* of Dalmatus appears to date to the reign of Emperor Justinian (527–565)[43]. Thus, it is surprising that we possess no *Lives* of saintly monks who were active in the sixth century. This cannot simply be explained by the vicissitudes of transmission. In order to account for this striking discrepancy, it has therefore been suggested that the formative period of Constantinopolitan monasticism had come to an end and there were no heroic figures who could have become the subjects of *Lives*[44]. Yet this argument is not entirely convincing since there is evidence that holy men continued to flock to Constantinople. John of Ephesus records that the stylite Zooras established himself there[45]. Zooras was a Monophysite but one would expect that he had some Chalcedonian colleagues. The fact that their activities are not recorded begs an explanation. One way of tackling this problem is to turn to a set of normative texts, Justinian's laws about monasticism[46]. From these texts it is clear that the emperor tried to discipline the monks. He did not concern himself only with questions of monastic property as his predecessors had done, but also interfered in the inner workings of monasteries. He insisted that abbots should be chosen by the patriarch[47], and even stipulated that monks should not have cells of their own but should sleep in common dormitories[48]. This shows that Justinian was in favour of strict coenobiticism. Of course, this does not necessarily mean that he could not also be impressed by a holy man. After all, we know that his wife, Theodora, provided material support for Zooras[49]. Yet there can be little doubt that Justinian was strongly influenced by the monastic discourse of moderation, which chimed in with his controlling personality. Unfortunately, we do

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[37] Life of Auxentius 34 (*PG* 114, 1404C4–10).
[38] Matthew 4:4.
[39] 2 Corinthians 13:3.
[40] Translation by me.
[41] This exchange is not found in the other long *Life*, cod. Sin. gr. 515, f. 185v. See Auzépy, Les *Vies d'Auxence*, 214.
[42] See Efthymiadis–Déroche, Greek Hagiography 57, 59, 61.
[43] See Dagron, Les moines 269–270.
[44] See Hatlie, Monks and Monasteries 150–153.
[45] Life of Zooras (ed. and tr. E. W. Brooks, John of Ephesus. Lives of the Eastern Saints (I) [*PO* 17, 1]. Paris 1923, 2–307, esp. 18–36). See Hatlie, Monks and Monasteries 143–150.
[46] See A. Hasse-Ungeheuer. Das Mönchtum in der Religionspolitik Kaiser Justinians I.: Die Engel des Himmels und der Stellvertreter Gottes auf Erden. Berlin 2016, 110–157.
[47] Novella 123 (ed. R. Schöll – W. Kroll, Corpus Iuris Civilis, III: Novellae. Berlin 1959, 618).
[48] Novella 5, 3 (31 Schöll–Kroll).
[49] Life of Zooras (27 Brooks).

not know who his advisers were. Indeed, we have no text from sixth-century Constantinople that promotes strict coenobiticism. Even in the community of Dalmatos, whose abbots were entrusted by the emperor and patriarch with the oversight of all the monasteries in the capital, extreme asceticism was still considered proper behaviour[50].

This does not, of course, exclude the possibility that other monastic milieus championed the ideal of moderation. They may just have decided that *Lives* were too wedded to the ideal of extreme and agonistic asceticism to be a useful vehicle for their views. Yet it is worth noting that some strict coenobites highjacked the hagiographical genre and made it serve their needs. When John bar Aphtonia, Justinian's contemporary and a champion of the Monophysite cause, died, a member of his community wrote his *Life*[51]. The first part of the text recounts the saint's sojourn in a coenobitic monastery near Antioch. There we find the following passage.

ܠܢܦܫܗ ܕܝܢ ܣܓܝܐܐܝܬ ܡܬܕܡܪ ܗܘܐ ܥܠ ܡܟܝܟܘܬܐ ܥܡܝܩܬܐ ܕܝܠܗ. ܒܬܪܝܨܘܬܐ ܕܙܘܥܐ. ܥܠ ܠܐ ܓܘܚܟܢܘܬܐ ܕܦܪ̈ܨܘܦܐ.
ܒܪܟܝܢܘܬܐ ܘܥܠ ܟܒܝܫܘܬܐ ܕܥ̈ܝܢܐ. ܒܡܫܡܫܘܬܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܬܕܪܬܐ ܕܡܠܬܐ. ܒܡܫܩܠܘܬ ܕܡܫܟܠܢܘܬܐ ܕܡܠܬܗ. ܕܡܗܠܟܢܘܬܗ.
ܒܗܬ ܚܡܝܡܘܬܐ ܣܓܝܐܬܐ ܘܠܐܦܝܘܬܐ. ܠܗܝ ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܠܐ ܡܛܟܣܘܬܐ. ܠܗܝ ܕܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܡܡܚܝܠܘܬܐ.

"He became greatly admired for his profound humility, for his steadfast manner, for his never-laughing face, for his lowering and control of the eyes, for the disciplined measure of his speech, and for the admirable soberness of his walk, which indeed caused him to forsake both great fervour and indolence, the one being something disorderly, the other something weak."[52]

Here the young monk John is characterized as a paragon of moderation. All the elements of the "golden mean" are present. Significantly, we hear nothing about John's fasting practice, and hardships are only mentioned when they are suffered in the service of the community[53]. The author's claim was clearly intended as a challenge to the prevailing norm. That no such text has survived from Constantinople may well mean that the coenobitic monks in the capital were less assertive. Communities such as that of Dalmatos may have demanded from their monks to show moderation, but may not have dared to express this idea in a *Life* where it might jeopardize their founder's saintly status.

THE SEVENTH AND EIGHTH CENTURIES

One would like to know whether the situation changed after the death of Emperor Justinian. Yet again we have only scraps of evidence. Theodore of Sykeon, an ascetic from Galatia who subjected himself to gruelling hardships, repeatedly visited the capital in the late sixth century and was welcomed by emperors and patriarchs[54]. This suggests that the political and ecclesiastical elites were not opposed to extreme asceticism. Yet it would be wrong to conclude that the ideal of moderation had disappeared. In the first half of the seventh century it was promoted by Maximus the Confessor (d. 662)[55]. In his *Chapters on Love* Maximus declares that a monk who focuses only on the body and not on the soul "either is a glutton and a wanton … or uses asceticism without measure" (ἢ γαστριμαργεῖ καὶ ἀκολασταίνει … ἢ ἀμέτρως τῇ ἀσκήσει κέχρηται), and maintains that both extremes lead to the

50 Dagron, Les moines 269.
51 See J. W. Watt, A Portrait of John Bar Aphtonia, Founder of the Monastery of Qenneshre, in: Portraits of Spiritual Authority: Religious Power in Early Christianity, Byzantium, and the Christian Orient, ed. J. W. Drijvers – J. Watt. Leiden – Boston – Cologne 1999, 155–169.
52 Translated by Watt, Portrait, 165, with slight changes. I would like to thank Yurij Arzhanov for helping me with the Syriac.
53 Life of John 5 (126–127 Nau).
54 Life of Theodore (*BHG* 1748) 82 (ed. A.-J. Festugière, Vie de Théodore de Sykéôn [*Subsidia hagiographica* 48]. Brussels 1970, 69–70).
55 See M. Plested, The Ascetic Tradition, in: The Oxford Handbook of Maximus the Confessor, ed. P. Allen – B. Neil. Oxford 2015, 164–176.

same result, a darkening and confusion of the mind[56]. It can be ruled out that Maximus hailed from the capital as is claimed in his tenth-century Greek *Life*[57]. Yet we know that he spent time in Constantinople and it is possible that his works found an audience there.

For the period between the middle of the seventh and the middle of the eighth century, which has been dubbed a "dark age", the evidence is even scarcer. The only Constantinopolitan biographies of monks that can be dated relatively securely to this period are the *Encomia* of Patapius and Therapon, which are written in the high style and may have been penned by Andrew of Crete[58]. Unfortunately these texts are too brief and formulaic to be of much use. Patapius' biography contains no reference to asceticism and Therapon's monastic life is summed up in just one sentence: "and the monastic ascetic wrestling-ground was sacredly performed in a noble manner" (καὶ ἡ μονήρης ἀσκητικὴ παλαίστρα σεμνῶς ἱερούργητο), which makes it impossible to determine the author's views on the topic of fasting[59]. The Council in Trullo (692) sought to stamp out different kinds of misbehaviour and in particular sought to forbid monks from wandering[60]. This suggests an affinity of the elite with the coenobitic ideal although it is impossible to determine what this may have meant for monastic diet. In the mid-eighth century Emperor Constantine V (741–775) was opposed to monasticism and is said to have forced monks and nuns to get married[61]. Yet we do not know which communities he targeted, or whether his actions had an effect on monastic life. It is, however, possible that fasting did not play an important role in contemporary monasticism. The *Life of Andrew of Crete* (d. 740) by the high state official Nicetas, which was probably composed in the third quarter of the eighth century, remains silent about the saint's ascetic endeavours[62]. It focuses almost exclusively on Andrew's charity, as a monk, as a deacon of St Sophia, and as metropolitan of Crete, which may be a conscious decision on the part of the author[63]. Even the *Life of Stephen the Younger* (d. 764) by the deacon Stephen, which dates to the early ninth century, has little to say about the topic[64]. It contains only a formulaic reference to the saint's abstention[65]. Here, however, other hardships are mentioned so that one should be careful not to put too much weight on this omission.

THE LATE EIGHTH AND EARLY NINTH CENTURIES

In the late eighth and early ninth centuries Byzantine monasticism experienced a stunning revival. Members of the Constantinopolitan elite entered existing monasteries or founded new ones on their estates. During the Second Iconoclasm most of them spoke out in favour of image worship, which earned them the title of "confessor". This dual role is reflected in their *Lives*, which normally consist

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[56] Chapters on Love (*CPG* 7693) IV 65 (ed. A. Ceresa de Gastaldo, Massimo Confessore. Capitoli sulla carità. Rome 1963, 222, 1–5).

[57] See S. Brock, An Early Syriac Life of Maximus the Confessor. *AnBoll* 91 (1973) 302–313, and Ph. Booth, Crisis of Empire: Doctrine and Dissent at the End of Late Antiquity. Berkeley – Los Angeles – London 2014, 143–155.

[58] See J. Haldon, The *Laudatio Therapontis*: a Neglected Source of the Later Seventh or Early Eighth Centuries, in: From Rome to Constantinople. Studies in Honour of Averil Cameron, ed. H. Amirav – B. ter Haar Romeney. Leuven – Paris 2007, 263–278, and P. A. Yannopoulos, Saint Patapios: entre l'histoire et la legende. *Erytheia* 24 (2003) 7–36.

[59] Life and Miracles of Therapon (*BHG* 1797) 3 (ed. L. Deubner, De incubatione capita quattuor. Leipzig 1900, 111–134, esp. 121).

[60] See Hatlie, Monks and Monasteries 237–238.

[61] See S. Gero, Byzantine Iconoclasm during the Reign of Constantine V, with Particular Attention to the Oriental Sources (*CSCO* 384, *Subsidia* 52). Leuven 1977, 111–142.

[62] Andrew (*PMBZ* 362). See M.-F. Auzépy, La carrière d'André de Crète. *BZ* 88 (1995) 1–12.

[63] Life of Andrew (*BHG* 113) 3, 5, 7 (ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Βίος τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀνδρέου τοῦ Ἱεροσολυμίτου [*Analekta Hierosolymitikes Stachyologias* 5]. St. Petersburg 1898, 169–179, esp. 172, 174, 176).

[64] Stephen (*PMBZ* 7012). A discussion of text and author is found in the introduction to the edition. See next footnote.

[65] Life of Stephen (*BHG* 1666) 13 (ed. M.-F. Auzépy, La Vie d'Étienne le Jeune par Étienne le Diacre. Introduction, Édition et Traduction [*Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Monographs* 3]. Aldershot – Brookfield 1997, 104, 16–17).

of two parts: an account of their activities as monks and abbots is followed by a section about their interrogation and punishment by the emperor, which closely resembles the *passiones* of martyrs.

One of their number was Hilarion, the abbot of Dalmatos, which seems to have maintained its position as the highest-ranking monastery of the capital[66]. The *Synaxarium* reports that he served the community for many years, "pursuing quietude and obedience and great humility" (ἡσυχίαν καὶ ὑπακοὴν καὶ ταπείνωσιν πολλὴν μετιών)[67]. No mention is made of fasting. This may well be significant, but in order to be certain one would need to consult the full-scale *Life*. Unfortunately, this text, which has only survived as a palimpsest, has not yet been edited[68].

Thanks to the *Lives* of its first two abbots, Nicephorus (d. 813) and Nicetas (d. 824), we are much better informed about the monastery of Medikion. Although it was situated in Bithynia it had close links with the capital. Nicephorus had come from there, and the congregation was under the direct control of the patriarch[69]. From the texts it is clear that the leading monks questioned the ideal of the "holy man". The anonymous *Life of Nicephorus* plays down the significance of miraculous healings[70]; whereas Nicetas' hagiographer, Theosterictus, does not accord supernatural abilities to his hero[71]. This raises the question: what role do the two texts accord to fasting? Nicephorus' *Life* is an exceedingly rhetorical work, which gives no precise information about the saint's ascetic practices[72]. By contrast, Theosterictus is more forthcoming with information on Nicetas. He chronicles the saint's advance in the monastic life by checking his achievements against the chapter titles of the *Climax* (*Ladder of Divine Ascent*). When he gets to the fourteenth chapter, which bears the title "about the popular and evil mistress" (περὶ τῆς παμφίλου καὶ δεσποίνης πονηρᾶς)[73], he claims that Nicetas "subjected this mistress to such an extent that he provided her sparingly even with the necessities when she was shameless as regards that which sustains life" (τὴν δὲ δέσποιναν ταύτην οὕτως ὑπέταξεν, ὡς καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων μετ' ἐνδείας πολλῆς χορηγεῖν αὐτῇ τὰ πρὸς τὸ ζῆν ἀναιδευομένῃ)[74]. Later he returns to the topic, stating that during Nicetas' time as abbot "his body was exceedingly withered, from vigils and not-eating, so that he could not even speak because of the extreme feebleness" (τὸ σωματεῖον αὐτοῦ ἐκτετηγμένον ὑπερβαλόντως, ἔκ τε τῆς ἀγρυπνίας καὶ τῆς ἀσιτίας, ὥστε μηδὲ προσομιλεῖν αὐτὸν δύνασθαι ἐκ τῆς ἄκρας ἀτονίας)[75]. Such a passage would not be out of place in the *Life* of a "holy man". It contradicts the claim of the champions of the "golden mean" that one should not unduly weaken one's body.

We find a similar attitude expressed in the *Life of John the Psichaïte* (d. c. 825), another defender of icon worship[76]. In a highly rhetorical passage the hagiographer extols "the struggles of his immeasurable contests" (τῶν ἀμέτρων ἀγώνων αὐτοῦ τὰ παλαίσματα) in the years following his entry into the suburban monastery of Pege, which are said to have impressed the abbot so much that he

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[66] Hilarion (*PMBZ* 2584). See Hatlie, Monks and Monasteries 321–322.

[67] Synaxarium, Jun. 6, synaxaria selecta (Mc) (ed. H. Delehaye, Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae [*Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum Novembris*]. Brussels 1902, 731, 530).

[68] See T. Matantseva, La vie d'Hilarion, higoumène de Dalmatos, par Sabas (BHG 2177). *RSBN* n. s. 30 (1993) 17–29.

[69] Nicephorus (*PMBZ* 5280), Nicetas (*PMBZ* 5443). See Hatlie, Monks and monasteries, 283–284.

[70] Life of Nicephorus (*BHG* 2297) 14 (ed. F. Halkin, La vie de saint Nicéphore, fondateur de Médikion en Bithynie († 813). *AnBoll* 78 [1960] 396–430, esp. 420–421).

[71] See D. Krausmüller, Diorasis Denied: Opposition to Clairvoyance in Byzantium from Late Antiquity to the Eleventh Century. *JÖB* 65 (2015) 111–128.

[72] Life of Nicephorus 6 (408–409 Halkin).

[73] Climax (*CPG* 7852) 14 (*PG* 88, 864C1–2).

[74] Life of Nicetas (*BHG* 1341) 9 (ed. Hagiographi Bollandiani, Vita S. Nicetae abbatis Medicii [*Acta Sanctorum Aprilis* I]. Paris [2]1866, xviii-xxvii, esp. xx).

[75] Life of Nicetas 16 (xxi Hagiographi Bollandiani).

[76] John (*PMBZ* 3053). See E. von Döbschütz, Die vita des Johannes Psichaïtes. *BZ* 18 (1909) 714–716.

appointed him steward[77]. These are stock phrases, which have counterparts in other texts, such as, for example, in an *Encomium* of Ephraem, which most likely dates to the ninth century. There mention is made of "fasting and vigils that have no measure" (νηστεία καὶ ἀγρυπνία μέτρον οὐκ ἔχουσαι)[78].

References to moderation are much rarer. Moreover, they can be ambiguous. This is evident from a passage in the *Life of Macarius* (d. before 842), the abbot of the monastery of Pelekete in Bithynia, which, like Medikion, had close links with the patriarchate. Macarius, too, was the scion of a Constantinopolitan elite family and became a confessor of image worship during Second Iconoclasm[79]. In one passage his behaviour is praised in the following manner.

> Τίς γὰρ τὸ συμμεμετρημένον αὐτοῦ τῆς πορείας, ἢ τὸ εὔτακτον τῆς κινήσεως προσόμοιον παραδείξει; Τίς τὸ βραχὺ τῆς σιτίσεως αὐτοῦ, μᾶλλον δὲ δίκαιον φῆσαι, τῆς ἀσιτίας, παρὰ τοῖς ἐπαιρομένοις[80] ἐν τούτῳ προσόσον ἀντιπαραστήσει, ᾧ σταθμῷ μὲν ὁ ἄρτος, οὐκ ἄμετρος δὲ ἡ τοῦ ὕδατος ὑπουργία προσῆν[81];
>
> "For who will describe adequately the measuredness of his gait or orderliness of his movement? Who will present even to a degree the exiguousness of his nourishment, or more justly, of his not-eating, among those who puff themselves up in this matter, for whom the bread was measured, the use of water not without measure?"[82]

In order to highlight the saint's outstanding qualities, the hagiographer has recourse to the conceptual framework of the "golden mean". In the case of walking, the application of this principle is straightforward. Here συμμετρία indicates the measured gait that is equidistant from foot-dragging on the one hand and hopping or running on the other. By contrast, the following statement about diet is much less clear. In this case we only find the negative term ἄμετρος, which is linked to excessive intake of food and drink. The complementary statement about excessive fasting is missing. As a consequence, the litotes οὐκ ἄμετρος does not equal σύμμετρος, but is compatible with the ἀσιτία with which the saint is credited. Thus the hagiographer is able to assert the traditional ideal of strenuous and agonistic asceticism. Indeed, he reassures his readers that Macarius outperformed all other members of the community, and in the end only had himself as a rival. And he claims that it was for this reason that his abbot appointed him steward[83].

To my knowledge there is only one hagiographical text dating to this period where the ideal of the "golden mean" is unequivocally expressed. It is Theodore of Stoudios' *Encomium* of Theophanes the Confessor, the abbot of the Agros monastery in Bithynia (d. 816/818)[84]. There we find the following list of the saint's achievements.

> Ἐνταῦθα μᾶλλον τοὺς ἀσκητικοὺς ἀγῶνας ὑποδύεται τεθωρακισμένος τῇ πίστει καὶ κατωχυρωμένος τῇ ἐλπίδι νηστείαν ἕλκων σύμμετρον προσευχὴν ἐπίμονον δάκρυον εὐκατάνυκτον ἐργόχειρον ἐπίπονον[85].

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[77] Life of John (*BHG* 896) 4 (ed. P. VAN DEN VEN, La vie grecque de S. Jean le Psichaïte. *Le Muséon* n.s. 3 [1902] 103–125, esp. 110, 6–7).

[78] Encomium of Ephraem (*CPG* 3193, *BHG* 583) (*PG* 46, 820–849, esp. 825A).

[79] Macarius (*PMBZ* 4672). See HATLIE, Monks and Monasteries 402.

[80] Ed. ἐπαιρουμένοις.

[81] Life of Macarius (*BHG* 1003) 4 (ed. I. VAN DEN GHEYN, Sancti Macarii monasterii Pelecetes hegumeni acta graeca. *AnBoll* 16 (1897) 142–163, esp. 147, 4–9).

[82] Translation by me.

[83] Life of Macarius 4 (147 VAN DEN GHEYN).

[84] Theodore (*PMBZ* 7574). See Th. PRATSCH, Theodoros Studites (759–826) zwischen Dogma und Pragma. Der Abt des Studiosklosters in Konstantinopel im Spannungsfeld von Patriarch, Kaiser und eigenem Anspruch (*Berliner Byzantinistische Studien* 4) Frankfurt a. M. 1998.

[85] Encomium of Theophanes 7 (ed. S. EFTHYMIADIS, Le panégyrique de Théophane le Chronographe par S. Théodore Studite (BHG 1792b). *AnBoll* 31 [1993] 259–290, esp. 274).

"There he subjects himself to the ascetic struggles, armoured with faith and fortified with hope, engaging in measured fasting, intensive prayer, contrite tears, toilsome handiwork."[86]

This is a challenge to the traditional belief that extreme fasting was an indispensible marker of saintliness. There can be no doubt that Theodore chose the attribute σύμμετρος deliberately in place of the more usual ἄμετρος in order to signal his disapproval of the ideal of the "holy man". In another hagiographical text, the *Encomium* of his maternal uncle, the abbot Plato of Sakkoudion (d. 814), who, like his father, had been an imperial bureaucrat, Theodore eschews such confrontational language[87]. There he lists as an achievement of the saint the "withering of abstinence" (ἐγκρατείας κατάτηξις)[88], and records that as monk in the Symboloi monastery he did not eat the same food as his fellow-brethren, but imposed on himself a more demanding diet: "bread … and beans in addition to vegetables and nuts, his flourishing daily nourishment without oil" (ἄρτος .. καὶ κύαμος πρὸς λαχάνοις καὶ ἀκροδρύοις, ἡ καθ᾽ ἡμέραν εὐανθίζουσα ἀνέλαιος διατροφή)[89]. It is possible that Theodore's account of Plato's regime simply reflects the saint's actual behaviour. Theophanes may be a different matter. From Methodius' *Life* we know that he suffered from kidney stones, which could have been caused by dehydration[90]. This would suggest a harsher ascetic regime, which Theodore chose not to mention.

Indeed, we can be sure that the ideal of moderation was near to Theodore's heart because it appears frequently in the *Catecheses* that he addressed to his monks[91]. In one passage he offers a description of proper behaviour, which includes "feet that walk orderly, measured food and drink" (οἱ πόδες εὔτακτα βαίνοντες, τροφὴ καὶ πόσις μεμετρημένη)[92]. We have already encountered a similar statement in the *Life of Macarius*. Yet unlike Macarius' hagiographer, Theodore makes it clear that the intake of food and drink should also be moderate. Such statements can be directed against those who wish to eat varied and plentiful food[93]. Theodore reminds them that nobody can be a good monk if he has not trained his body "through the measuredness of the diet" (τῷ συμμέτρῳ τῆς διαίτης)[94]. More often, however, we encounter warnings not to engage in "extended fasting" (νηστείαν ἐπιτεταμένην)[95], or, more specifically, not to eat only on every other, third or fifth day. In such contexts moderate food intake is presented as the ideal regime, "which neither oppresses the body excessively nor relaxes it completely" (μήτε ὑπερπιέζουσα τὸ σῶμα, μήτε ἀνακουφίζουσα παντελῶς)[96]. Theodore explains that if one engaged in longer fasts the body would become "feeble and wiped out" (ἔκλυτόν τε καὶ ἐξίτηλον), which would prevent it from performing virtuous deeds[97].

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[86] Translation by me.

[87] Plato (*PMBZ* 6285). See B. McDougall, Living Images and Authors of Virtue: Theodore of Stoudios on Plato of Sakkoudion and Gregory of Nazianzus on Basil. *BZ* 110 (2018) 691–712.

[88] Encomium of Plato 10 (*PG* 99, 812C12).

[89] Encomium of Plato 15 (*PG* 99, 817B14-C1).

[90] Life of Theophanes (*BHG* 1787z) 43 (ed. V. V. Latyšev, Methodii Patriarchae Constantinopolitani Vita S. Theophanis Confessoris [*Zapiski rossijskoj akademii nauk, viii. ser. po istoriko-filologičeskomu otdeleniju* 13, 4]. St. Petersburg 1918, 27).

[91] See J. Leroy, Studitisches Mönchtum. Spiritualität und Lebensform. Graz 1969, 22–36, and R. Cholij, Theodore the Stoudite. The Ordering of Holiness (*Oxford Theological Monographs*). Oxford 2002. See also M. Dembinska, Diet: a Comparison of Food Consumption between Some Eastern and Western Monasteries in the 4th–12th Centuries. *Byz* 55 (1985) 431–462, esp. 448.

[92] Parva Catechesis 102 (ed. E. Auvray, Sancti patris nostri et confessoris Theodori Studitis praepositi *parva catechesis*. Paris 1891, 351).

[93] Megale Katechesis 33 (ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Τοῦ ἁγίου Θεοδώρου τοῦ Στουδίτου μεγάλη κατήχησις. St Petersburg 1904, 239).

[94] Parva Catechesis 123 (427 Auvray).

[95] Parva Catechesis 128 (447 Auvray).

[96] Magna Catechesis 106 (ed. J. Cozza-Luzi, Sancti Theodori Studitae sermones reliqui magnae catecheseos [*Nova Patrum Bibliotheca* 10, 1]. Rome 1905, 129).

[97] Parva Catechesis 55 (200 Auvray).

And he points out that it would not be right to go "beyond nature" (ὑπὲρ φύσιν) and disregard the legitimate needs of the body[98]. This point of view, which Theodore illustrates with the metaphor of the "royal highway" (βασιλικὴ ὁδός), is thoroughly traditional[99]. As we have seen it already appears in the *Life of John Bar Aphtonia*, and in the writings of Maximus. Yet it is the first time that it is securely attested in a Constantinopolitan setting.

This does not mean that Theodore's position is completely coherent. At times he speaks of monks who engage in extreme asceticism against the orders of the abbot instead of practising the "excision of the will" (ἐκκοπὴ τοῦ θελήματος), which is the appropriate behaviour for a coenobitic monk[100]. Moreover, he claims that it can have negative consequences for the life of the community because excessive fasters might induce feelings of frustration and depression in their fellow-monks who follow a more moderate regime[101]. These criticisms give the impression that such practices were not reprehensible in themselves, and indeed Theodore allowed his monks to eat every other or third day during the Great Lent[102].

What made Theodore's task so difficult was the fact that in other monastic milieus extreme fasting was seen much more positively. His monks were aware of hermits such as Joannicius who imposed on themselves great hardships. In order to tackle this problem he employs different strategies. Sometimes he concedes that hermits are free to engage in longer fasts, but that the measured intake of food is required by the "coenobitic rule" (τὸν κοινοβιακὸν κανόνα) to which his monks must adhere because they have once and for all committed themselves to it[103]. Elsewhere he is more critical of the eremitic lifestyle, insisting on the superiority of the coenobitic way because only there the breaking of the will is practised[104].

Theodore had to contend not only with contemporary alternatives, but also with the past. His monks read or listened to texts which praised extreme forms of asceticism. In a *Catechesis* delivered during the Great Lent, he focuses on the example of Jesus, declaring that "even if he fasts for forty days as a human being, let us fast with him through a regime that consists of eating every day or at times also eating every other day" (κἂν νηστεύῃ ὡς ἄνθρωπος τεσσαρακονθήμερον, τῷ ἐφημερησίῳ κανόνι ἢ καὶ τῷ ὑπερημερησίῳ ἐν καιρῷ συννηστεύσωμεν αὐτῷ)[105]. Thus he denies that the Biblical account could become a precise model for behaviour. Hagiographical texts posed a similar problem because they often presented the saints as extreme fasters. In order to limit their impact on his monks, Theodore develops a sophisticated argument.

> Εἴποι τις ἂν ἴσως, ὡς τὸ καθ' ἑκάστην ἐσθίειν ἐλλειπές ἐστι τελειότητος. Ἀλλ' οὐδαμῶς· ἢ γὰρ ἂν οὐκ ἂν ὁ Κύριος τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον ἑκάστοτε αἰτεῖν ἡμᾶς προσέταξεν· οὐκ ἂν Ἠλίας ὁ προφήτης καθ' ἑκάστην ἐν ἐρήμῳ ὑπὸ κόρακος διετρέφετο· οὐκ ἂν Παῦλος ὁ πρὸ τοῦ θείου Ἀντωνίου τὴν ἔρημον οἰκήσας ἡμερήσιον τὸν ἄρτον θεόθεν ἀπεδέχετο· οὐδ' ἂν αὐτὸς ὁ μέγας Ἀντώνιος τῆς ὑπερημερησίου καὶ ἑβδομαρησίου νηστείας τὸ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἐσθίειν παρὰ μικρὸν τῆς χρείας προέκρινε[106].
>
> "Somebody might say that eating every day falls short of perfection. By no means! For if that were the case, the Lord would not have commanded us to ask every day for our daily bread, the

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[98] Magna Catechesis 60 (ed. I. Cozza-Luzi, Sancti Theodori Studitae sermones magnae catecheseos [*Nova patrum bibliotheca* 9, 2]. Rome 1888, 168).
[99] Magna Catechesis 65 (182 Cozza-Luzi).
[100] Parva Catechesis 128 (447 Auvray).
[101] Magna Catechesis 74 (209 Cozza-Luzi).
[102] Parva Catechesis 53 (191 Auvray).
[103] Magna Catechesis 60 (168–169 Cozza-Luzi).
[104] Parva Catechesis 128 (447 Auvray).
[105] Megale Katechesis 27 (191 Papadopoulos-Kerameus).
[106] Parva Catechesis 55 (200 Auvray).

prophet Elijah would not have been fed every day by a raven, Paul who settled in the desert before the divine Anthony would not have received bread from God on a daily basis, the great Anthony himself would not have preferred eating every day a little less than necessary to fasts that last two days and a week."[107]

Here Theodore claims that extended fasting is not an indispensible prerequisite for spiritual perfection and supports this claim with a list of authoritative figures: the Old Testament prophet Elijah, the hermit Paul of Thebes, and finally Anthony the Great[108]. Whereas the first two examples are straightforward—both Elijah and Paul do indeed receive daily rations from God—the assertion that Anthony also preferred eating every day to longer fasts is startling because it seems to contradict Athanasius' account in the *Life of Anthony*:

Ἤσθιέ τε ἅπαξ τῆς ἡμέρας μετὰ δύσιν ἡλίου, ἦν δ' ὅτε καὶ διὰ δύο, πολλάκις καὶ διὰ τεσσάρων μετελάμβανεν[109].
"And he ate once a day after the setting of the sun, but he partook sometimes also every other day and often also every fourth day."[110]

This passage would undoubtedly have been known to the monks who listened to the *Catechesis*, which raises the question how Theodore could go against the obvious meaning of such a seminal text. In order to find an answer, we need to turn to a saying in the *Apophthegmata Patrum*:

Ἠρώτησεν ὁ ἀββᾶς Ἰωσὴφ τὸν ἀββᾶν Ποιμένα, πῶς χρὴ νηστεύειν. Λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ ἀββᾶς Ποιμήν· Ἐγὼ θέλω τὸν ἐσθίοντα καθ' ἡμέραν παρὰ μικρὸν ἐσθίειν, ἵνα μὴ χορτάζηται. Λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ ἀββᾶς Ἰωσήφ· Ὅτε ἦς νεώτερος, οὐκ ἐνήστευες δύο δύο, ἀββᾶ; Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ γέρων· Φύσει καὶ τρεῖς, καὶ τέσσαρας, καὶ ἑβδομάδα. Καὶ ταῦτα πάντα ἐδοκίμασαν οἱ Πατέρες, ὡς δυνατοί· καὶ εὗρον ὅτι καθ' ἡμέραν ἐσθίειν, παρὰ μικρὸν δέ· καὶ παρέδωκαν ἡμῖν τὴν βασιλικὴν ὁδὸν, ὅτι ἐλαφρά ἐστιν[111].
"Abba Joseph asked Abba Poemen how one should fast. Abba Poemen says to him: 'I want the one who eats to eat every day a little so that he is not sated.' Abba Joseph says to him: 'When you were young, did you not fast for two days, abba?' And the elder said: 'Indeed, and for three and for four and for a week. And all these the Fathers tested, since they were able to do so, and they found that it is best to eat every day but a little, and they transmitted to us the royal highway, because it is light.'"[112]

In this *apophthegma* the famous Egyptian monk Poemen is asked about his opinion on fasting. The similarity between his recommendation, "to eat every day but a little" (καθ' ἡμέραν ἐσθίειν, παρὰ μικρὸν δέ), and Theodore's statement that it is better "to eat every day a little less than needed" (καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἐσθίειν παρὰ μικρὸν τῆς χρείας), is immediately evident. It suggests strongly that Theodore adapted this earlier text. Indeed, a closer look reveals that this is not the only instance of intertextuality. Poemen also admits that as a young man he fasted "for two days" (δύο δύο), and "for three days and for four days and for a week" (τρεῖς, καὶ τέσσαρας, καὶ ἑβδομάδα), which not only compares with Theodore's phrase "he preferred … to the fast for two days and for a week" (ὑπερημερησίου καὶ ἑβδομαρησίου νηστείας … προέκρινε), but also with Athanasius' claim that Anthony "partook sometimes also every other day and often also every fourth day" (ἦν δ' ὅτε καὶ διὰ

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[107] Translation by me.
[108] See 3 Kings 17:6, and Life of Paul (*BHG* 1469) 6 (ed. G. Van Hooff, Vita graeca S. Pauli Thebaei. *AnBoll* 2 [1883] 563).
[109] Life of Anthony (*BHG* 140) 7 (ed. G. J. M. Bartelink, Athanase d'Alexandrie, Vie d'Antoine. Introduction, texte critique, traduction, notes et index [*SC* 400]. Paris 1994).
[110] Translation by me.
[111] Apophthegma Poemen 31 (*PG* 65, 329). For later, more explicit references to this text, see below note 216.
[112] Translation by me.

δύο, πολλάκις καὶ διὰ τεσσάρων μετελάμβανεν). The point of the *apophthegma* is, of course, that these extended fasts are now considered by Poemen to be inferior to eating daily. Significantly, this conclusion is based not only on Poemen's personal experience but on the experience of the Fathers who had tried out all the different forms of fasting, but in the end settled for eating once a day. For Theodore, one of these Fathers would undoubtedly have been Anthony. This then allowed him to relativize Athanasius' statement early on in the *Life* about the saint's extended fasts and to claim that at that stage Anthony was still going through an experimental phase, but that he later came round to seeing daily eating as the best regime. In addition, the *apophthegma* of Poemen had one further advantage. It emphasized that the Fathers in general (and Anthony in particular) were well capable of fasting over long periods of time, but did not do so because they considered it improper. This permitted Theodore to claim that eating less was not necessarily a sign of lack of strength or lack of application, but that it was entirely reconcilable with the stage of perfection.

It needs to be pointed out, however, that Theodore's position is not always so clear. In one *Catechesis* he states that the famous saints of old could engage in extreme fasting, but that the present generation was no longer capable of doing so and should recognize this fact in humility[113]. It is evident that here moderate fasting has become a concession to human weakness, a position that clearly contradicts the view that eating every day is not a sign of imperfection.

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The discussion so far gives the impression that Theodore was a lone voice. Only one other text, the *Life of Theophanes* by Methodius (d. 847), the later patriarch, contains a reference to the "golden mean"[114].

> … δικαίως διώκων τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τοσοῦτον ὑφαιρῶν τῆς σαρκὸς πάντοτε, ὅσον μὴ τυραννεῖσθαι ταύτῃ τὸ πνεῦμά ποτε, ἀλλὰ ποιεῖσθαι καὶ τὸν ἐκείνου λόγον, ὅσον οἰκέτου πρὸς κύριον, καὶ μὴ ἐᾶν αὐτὸ πάλιν εἰς τὸ παντελὲς ἀπρονόητον διὰ τὸ δι' αὐτοῦ κατορθοῦν τὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς παραγγέλματα[115].
>
> "… justly pursuing what is just and always taking away so much from the flesh that the spirit was never tyrannised by it, but even did its will, as a servant for a master, and again not letting it be completely unprovided because it performs through it the commandments of virtue."[116]

This passage establishes a link between the cardinal virtue of justice, which demands equal treatment, and the ideal of moderation. Unfortunately, it remains isolated in Methodius' hagiographical oeuvre. Therefore, it is impossible to determine its significance.

Yet this dearth of evidence in hagiographical texts should not be regarded as a sign that extreme and agonistic asceticism reigned supreme. It is entirely possible that other monastic leaders agreed with Theodore but expressed their views in letters and sermons that have not come down to us. Indeed, an episode in the *Life* of Theodore's contemporary Peter of Atroa (d. 837) suggests that abbots of coenobitic monasteries made common cause against extreme ascetics[117]. The hagiographer Sabas portrays the saint as a typical holy man who fasts rigorously and performs miracles. He does, however, admit that such behaviour incurred the criticism of others. According to him Iconoclast

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[113] Magna Catechesis 60 (168–169 Cozza-Luzi).

[114] Methodius (*PMBZ* 4977). See B. Zielke, Methodios I., in: Die Patriarchen der ikonoklastischen Zeit: Germanos I.-Methodios I. (717–847), ed. R.-J. Lilie (*Berliner Byzantinische Studien* 5). Frankfurt am Main 1999, 183–260.

[115] Life of Theophanes 26 (18, 8–13 Latyšev).

[116] Translation by me.

[117] Peter (*PMBZ* 6022). See V. Laurent, La vie merveilleuse de saint Pierre d'Atroa († 837) (*Subsidia Hagiographica* 29). Brussels 1956, 18–61. For a discussion see Déroche, Quand l'ascèse devient péché 173.

bishops and abbots regarded Peter as a "wizard" (γόης)[118]. Peter was so distressed by this accusation that he turned to Theodore of Stoudios who was then in exile in Asia Minor. Theodore asked Peter to give an account of his whole life. Peter obliged, stating that since his youth he had not partaken of bread, wine, cheese and oil but had contented himself with legumes, herbs and water, and that from Epiphany until Easter he had done altogether without food and water[119]. Theodore then "ordered his servants to prepare a rich table for him and forced the saint to partake of everything together with him" (τοῖς αὐτοῦ ὑπηρέταις κελεύει τράπεζαν αὐτῷ παραθεῖναι πλουσίαν καὶ πάντων σὺν αὐτῷ μεταλαβεῖν τὸν ὅσιον κατηνάγκασεν)[120].

The hagiographer Sabas does not tell his audience why Theodore behaved in this manner. There is, however, an obvious explanation: he wished to discipline the saint[121]. Indeed, such "force-feeding" was a traditional method of correcting monks who had become exceedingly prideful because of the harsh ascetic practices in which they engaged. It had already been used in Late Antiquity by the Egyptian abbot Pachomius[122]. According to the hagiographer Sabas, Theodore then took a further step. He wrote a letter in which he asked the bishops and abbots who had accused Peter of being a wizard to be reconciled with him. In the letter Theodore not only addresses these men as "friends" (φίλοι), but also expects them to heed his words[123]. This casts doubt on Sabas' contention that they were Iconoclasts. It is much more likely that they were Iconophiles just as Peter was. Indeed, it is quite possible that Theodore was not a disinterested arbiter, but rather one of the critics of Peter and that he acted as their spokesman. It is not difficult to see why Sabas was economical with the truth. By attributing the criticism to unspecified Iconoclasts he could give the impression that in this case, too, Peter suffered for his Iconophile beliefs. Yet one can also argue that this strategy would not have been convincing if Iconoclasts had not held similar views. This argument can be substantiated when we turn to a group of hagiographical texts from the early ninth century, which have been termed "Iconoclastic" since they contain no references to images. In these texts, too, little attention is paid to the ascetic exploits of the saints[124].

THE SECOND HALF OF THE NINTH CENTURY

Theodore's *Catecheses* contain rich material, which allows us to put into perspective contemporary hagiographical literature where the ideal of extreme and agonistic asceticism is promoted. In the decades that follow the Triumph of Orthodoxy the situation is markedly different. We have only one comparable text, a collection of spiritual chapters, the so-called *Oiakistike*, which was written by Emperor Leo VI (886–912)[125]. One passage defines the correct monastic diet as the happy medium between two extremes:

> Ἀκρίζουσα νηστεία καὶ πλήρωσις σιτίσεως ἐπίμεμπτα ὅτι ἡ πολλὴ καὶ ἐπιτεταμένη ἐγκράτεια καὶ ἡ τῆς τροφῆς πλησμονὴ φαῦλα· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἄτονον ποιεῖ τὸν ἀγωνιστὴν καὶ παντελῶς πρὸς τὰς

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[118] Life of Peter of Atroa 37 (145, 1–9 Laurent).
[119] Life of Peter of Atroa 37 (147, 31–36 Laurent).
[120] Life of Peter of Atroa 37 (147, 40–43 Laurent).
[121] See Laurent, La vie merveilleuse 19.
[122] Bohairic Life of Pachomius 64 (tr. A Veilleux, Pachomian Koinonia, I: The Life of Saint Pachomius and his Disciples [*Cistercian Studies Series* 45]. Kalamazoo, Mich. 1980, 84–85).
[123] Life of Peter of Atroa 38 (147–149 Laurent).
[124] See I. Ševčenko, Hagiography of the Iconoclast Period, in: Iconoclasm, ed. A. A. M. Bryer – J. Herrin. Birmingham 1977, 113–131, and M.-F. Auzépy, L'analyse littéraire et l'historien: l'exemple des vies de saints iconoclasts, *BSl* 53 (1992) 57–67.
[125] See J. Grosdidier de Matons, Trois études sur Léon VI, II: Hippocrate et Léon VI. Remarques sur l' οἰακιστικὴ ψυχῶν ὑποτύπωσις. *TM* 5 (1973) 206–228, esp. 207–208.

πράξεις ἀνενέργητον, ἡ δὲ τὰ πάθη τῆς σαρκὸς ἐπὶ πλέον διεγείρει καὶ σφοδρότερον τὸν κατὰ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀνίστησι πόλεμον[126].

"Extreme fasting and fullness of nourishment are reprehensible because great and extended abstention and fullness of food are bad. For the one makes the fighter weak and altogether inactive as regards the actions, whereas the other incites the passions of the flesh even more and wages the war against the soul more vehemently."[127]

The text is addressed to the monk Euthymius who may be identified with the abbot of Psamathia and later patriarch[128]. Yet it is difficult to gauge whether it had a practical purpose. With it Leo attempted to revive a literary genre that had been defunct since the end of Late Antiquity. Thus it may well reflect the emperor's antiquarian interests rather than his concerns for contemporary monasticism. The absence of other discursive or normative texts makes it extremely difficult to assess whether the coenobitic ideology played a role in this period. All we can do is search for clues in hagiographical texts.

These texts give the impression that the ideal of extreme and agonistic asceticism reigned supreme. Stephen the Neolampes (d. 911), a former patriarchal cleric, is said to have eaten legumes without salt once or twice a week and to have consumed only a dried fig and a little water to wet his mouth after he had celebrated the Eucharist[129]. Stephen was an extreme case, a recluse who was not attached to a monastic community. Yet *Lives* of saintly abbots do not present us with a substantially different picture. Joseph the Hymnographer (d. 886), abbot and sacristan of the Great Church, is said to have "engaged … in fasts that exceeded nature" (ἐχρῆτο … νηστείαις τὴν φύσιν ὑπερβαλλούσαις) even at an early age, and thus to have gained the admiration of his abbot and the other members of the community[130]. This is all the more significant as the author was Joseph's successor in the office of abbot[131]. It may well be that he found such behaviour acceptable even for his own monks. Most likely Joseph himself would not have disagreed because in his *Life of John*, a Galatian hermit who became abbot of St Sergius near Constantinople, he claims that the saint contented himself with very little water and tormented his body through great austerities[132]. The *Life* of the Bithynian hermit Constantine the ex-Jew presents us with a similar picture[133]. The hagiographer who wrote his text for a Constantinopolitan audience claimed that the saint ate so little that he outdid all others and appeared to be "an angel instead of a human being" (ἄγγελος ἐξ ἀνθρώπου)[134]. Even authors who content themselves with brief comments pay lip-service to the ideal of extreme asceticism. In his *Life of Patriarch Ignatius* (d. 877) Nicetas the Paphlagonian informs us that the saint engaged in "extended fasts, vigils, psalmody" (νηστείαν ἀγρυπνίαν ψαλμῳδίαν ἐπιτεταμένην) during his time as a member of a coenobitic community[135]. The *Life of Theophylact of Nicomedia* (d. 840?), which may also date to this period, has nothing to say about the intake of food but emphasizes the fact that the saint went

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[126] Leo VI, Oiakistike I.8 (ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Varia graeca sacra. St. Petersburg 1909, 216–217).

[127] Translation by me.

[128] See Grosdidier de Matons, Trois études 215–216.

[129] Synaxarium, Dec. 2 (S) (*BHG* 2404t) (291–294 Delehaye). See also M. Caprara, La 'Vita' latina di Stefano Confessore, detto Neolampes. *Hagiographica* 14 (2007) 101–140.

[130] Life of Joseph (*BHG* 944) (ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Monumenta graeca et latina ad historiam Photii Patriarchae spectantia, II. St. Petersburg 1901, 1–14).

[131] Joseph (*PMBZ* 3454). See L. Van Rompay, Joseph l'Hymnographe (Saint). *DHGE*, fasc. 162 (2001) 209–210.

[132] Life of John 5 (ed. M. van Esbroeck, La Vie de Saint Jean higoumène de Saint-Serge par Joseph le Skevophylax. *Oriens Christianus* 80 [1996] 153–166, esp. 160).

[133] See D. Krausmüller, The Unaware Saint: Divine Illusion and Human Sanctity in the *Life* of Constantine the Ex-Jew. *AnBoll* 129 (2010) 339–347.

[134] Life of Constantine (*BHG* 3701) 6 (ed. H. Delehaye, Vita Constantini [*Acta Sanctorum Novembris* IV]. Brussels 1925, 632F).

[135] Life of Ignatius (*BHG* 817) (*PG* 105, 496A).

for days without drinking[136]. The hagiographer of Michael the Synkellos (d. 843), abbot of the monastery of Chora, goes so far as to reject explicitly the ideal of moderation. He tells us that the saint consumed only vegetables during the week and often ate only every second or third day. The abbot asked him "to give in a little so that his body might suffice for the liturgy of God and for the service of the *lavra*" (ἐνδοῦναι μικρὸν πρὸς τὸ ἐξαρκεῖν τὸ αὐτοῦ σῶμα ἐν τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ λειτουργίᾳ καὶ τῇ διακονίᾳ τῆς λαύρας), but Michael paid no heed to this advice[137].

A more complex case is the hagiographical production of the monks of St Phocas on the Bosporus, a foundation of Emperor Basil I (867–886), which was also closely connected to the patriarchate[138]. Unfortunately, the *Life* of its first abbot, Peter of Galatia, is no longer extant but we still have a summary in the *Synaxarium*, which informs us that after his tonsure he lived on Mt Olympus, "fasting for a week or two or three days" (δι' ἑβδομάδος καὶ δύο καὶ τριῶν νηστεύων)[139]. This suggests that extreme asceticism was considered praiseworthy by his flock. Yet the bishop Peter of Argos (d. 947/948) who in his youth had been member of the community inserted a reference to the "golden mean" into his *Encomium* of Athanasius of Methone (d. c. 900)[140]. He states that even as a bishop the deceased had been graced with virtues "so that he never deviated from the royal highway through excesses and deficiencies which fight against them" (ὡς μηδέποτε ταῖς μαχομέναις αὐταῖς ὑπερβολαῖς καὶ ἐλλείψεσι τῆς βασιλικῆς ἐκκλίνειν ὁδοῦ)[141]. This discrepancy is not easy to interpret. One could argue that it reflected the different lifestyles of the saints. Indeed, it is conceivable that Peter merely sought to cover up a lack of ascetic achievements. Even if this was not the case, Peter's stance may have had little to do with his monastic formation, especially since he had long left St Phocas when he wrote the text. Under these circumstances it is impossible to argue that the ideal of moderation gained ground in the community.

THE TENTH CENTURY

The more plentiful evidence from Stoudios allows us to come to more definite conclusions. The first text to consider is the *Life of Euarestus*, abbot of Kokorobion in Constantinople (d. 897), which most likely antedates the year 925[142]. It was delivered in the church of the monastery but the author is exceptionally well informed about the internal affairs of Stoudios and may well have hailed from there[143]. We are told that Euarestus had entered Stoudios during the time of Theodore's disciple Naucratius. There he teamed up with an older monk called Eubiotus. Both men subjected themselves to an exacting fasting regime, eating barley bread that was baked twice and drinking water in which they had let rot unsalted vegetables, in such small quantities "that they barely ensured the survival of the flesh" (ὡς τῇ σαρκὶ τὸ ζῆν μόνον οἰκονομεῖσθαι)[144]. In order to justify this behaviour the hagi-

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136 Life of Theophylactus (*BHG* 2451) 6 (ed. A. Vogt, S. Théophylacte de Nicomédie. *AnBoll* 50 [1932] 67–82, esp. 74).

137 Life of Michael (*BHG* 1296) 3 (ed. M. B. Cunningham, The Life of Michael the Synkellos. Text, Translation and Commentary [*Belfast Byzantine Texts and Translations* 1]. Belfast 1991, 50).

138 See D. Krausmüller, Imperial Founders and First Abbots: the Cases of John II Komnenos and Basil the Macedonian, in: Founders and Refounders, ed. M. Mullett (*Belfast Byzantine Texts and Translations* 6, 3). Belfast 2007, 344–365.

139 Synaxarium, Oct. 9, 12 (S) (125–126 Delehaye).

140 Peter (*PMBZ* 26428).

141 Encomium of Athanasius (*BHG* 196) (ed. Ch. Papaoikonomou, Ὁ πολιοῦχος τοῦ Ἄργους ἅγιος Πέτρος ἐπίσκοπος Ἄργους ὁ θαυματουργός. Athens 1908, 97).

142 Dumbarton Oaks Hagiography Database, https://www.doaks.org/research/byzantine/resources/hagiography [41] (accessed 07.12.2019). See S. Efthymiadis, Hagiography from the 'Dark Age' to the Age of Symeon Metaphrastes (Eighth-Tenth Centuries), in: The Ashgate Research Companion 118.

143 Life of Euarestus (*BHG* 2153) 12 (ed. C. Van de Vorst, La vie de s. Évariste, higoumène à Constantinople. *AnBoll* 41 [1923] 287–325, esp. 306).

144 Life of Euarestus 9 (303 Van de Vorst).

ographer appeals to 2 Corinthians 4:16: "Even if our outer man perishes, our inner man is renewed from day to day" (εἰ καὶ ὁ ἔξω ἡμῶν ἄνθρωπος διαφθείρεται, ἀλλ᾽ ὁ ἔσω ἡμῶν ἀνακαινοῦται ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἡμέρᾳ), which he interprets in starkly dualistic fashion[145]. It is likely that this view was shared by members of the Stoudite community since the commemoration of Eubiotus as a saint is stipulated in the liturgical *Typikon* of the Stoudios monastery[146]. Euarestus is even said to have intensified his asceticism in later years, although we are only told that his achievements were "beyond nature" (ὑπὲρ φύσιν)[147]. The agonistic character of his asceticism is highlighted in a *syncrisis* at the end of the text. There we are told that he excelled even the great saints of old[148]. Negative consequences of such behaviour to which Theodore had drawn attention are denied: "Even with such ones it is the case that one excels the other and there is in them no envy of ascent" (ἔστι γὰρ κἀν τοῖς τοιούτοις ἄλλον ἄλλου προέχειν καὶ φθόνος ἐν αὐτοῖς οὐδεὶς ἀναβάσεως) but only the wish to emulate[149]. One may wonder, however, how extreme the asceticism of Euarestus and Eubiotus really was. Indeed, the text is equally interesting for what it does not say. There is no mention of extended fasts that lasted for days or even weeks. This leaves open the possibility that they ate every day. If so, the hagiographer did his utmost to gloss over this fact. This shows clearly that he could not imagine a model of saint-hood that was not based on extreme activities. There is only one oblique reference to the coenobitic regime. We are told that although the saints stayed clear of wine, oil and legumes, such a diet was entirely acceptable for monks[150].

Only a couple of decades later we encounter a radically different point of view. It is expressed in the *Life of Blaise of Amorium* (d. 912), which most likely dates to the second quarter of the tenth century[151]. Its author, an unnamed Stoudite monk, provides detailed information about the saint's asceticism in two separate passages[152]. The topic is first broached when Blaise, then still a layman, comes to Rome on a pilgrimage.

> Κἀν[153] τούτοις τῷ ἀράτρῳ τῶν ἐντολῶν τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς διερχόμενος αὔλακα διὰ δύο ἢ καὶ τριῶν <ἤσθιε>, ἔστι δ᾽ ὅτε καὶ μετὰ τὴν τῆς ἑβδομάδος ἐκπλήρωσιν ἄρτῳ βραχυτάτῳ καὶ ὕδατι συγκροτοῦμενος[154].
> "In this, too, traversing the furrow of the soul with the plough of the commandments, he ate every other or even third day, and sometimes even after the end of the week, being held together by very little bread and water."[155]

It is then taken up again in the account of Blaise's life as a monk in the *lavra* of Caesarius. There we are told that he imposed on himself a different ascetic regime.

> Ὡς ἂν δὲ μὴ δόξειε τοῖς πολλοῖς ὑπερέχειν αὐτῶν[156] τῷ φρονήματι μετρίως δ᾽ ἐπίσης εἶναι τοῖς ὁμοταγέσι βουλόμενος ἤσθιεν ἅπαξ τῆς ἡμέρας βραχύ τι μετὰ τὴν τοῦ ἡλίου δύσιν ἀπογευόμενος

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145 Life of Euarestus 9 (304 Van de Vorst).
146 Typikon of Alexius (ed. A. M. Pentkovskij, Типикон патриарха Алексия Студита в Византии и на Руси. Moscow 2001, 284). On September 15, at Vespers: памѧ(т) [...] и прп(д)бнаго о҃цѧ наше(г) евиота стоудииска(г).
147 Life of Euarestus 11 (305 Van de Vorst).
148 Life of Euarestus 24 (314 Van de Vorst).
149 Life of Euarestus 9 (303 Van de Vorst).
150 Life of Euarestus 9 (303 Van de Vorst).
151 See Efthymiadis, Hagiography from the 'Dark Age' 117.
152 Dumbarton Oaks Hagiography Database, https://www.doaks.org/research/byzantine/resources/hagiography [30] (accessed 07.12.2019).
153 Ed. καί.
154 Life of Blaise (*BHG* 278) 10 (ed. H. Delehaye, Vita Blasii Amoriensis [*Acta Sanctorum Novembris* IV]. Brussels 1925, 662D).
155 Translation by me.
156 Ed. αὐτὸν.

> κἀν τούτῳ τὴν πάλαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων οἰκονομικῶς ἐκτεθεῖσαν διαφυλάττειν παράδοσιν ὡς ἂν ἄρτιος εἴη τὸ σῶμα καὶ μὴ ἄτονόν τε καὶ ἔκλυτον πρὸς τὴν τῶν πνευματικῶν ἀγωνισμάτων ἐκπλήρωσιν· τὰς δέ γε τῆς τεσσαρακοστῆς ἡμέρας ἀπαρατρώτως ἐφύλαττε, μίαν τῆς ἑβδομάδος ἀμυδρᾶς τινος τροφῆς ἐμπιμπλώμενος, ὅσον τὸν σύνδεσμον καὶ μόνον συγκροτεῖσθαι τῷ σώματι· καὶ γὰρ ἅπας ὁ βίος τῆς διαίτης αὐτῷ ἄνευ ὑπῆρξεν ἄρτου καὶ οἴνου καὶ τῶν ἄλλως ἐχόντων θέλγειν τὴν αἴσθησιν[157].
>
> "But lest he appear to the many to exceed them as regards his attitude, and wishing to be moderately equal to those who had the same rank as he, he ate once a day, tasting a little after sunset, keeping in this, too, the tradition that had of old been set out economically by the holy Fathers, in order that the body be sound and not enfeebled and enervated as regards the fulfilment of the spiritual struggles. By contrast, he kept the days of the forty-day Lent at least without infringement, being filled with some slight food once a week, only so much that the bond was held together with the body. For his whole lifestyle and diet was without bread and wine and whatever else enchants the senses."[158]

At first sight it seems that Blaise was an ascetic of a traditional sort. Indeed, the hagiographer appears to be particularly insistent on this point because he claims that the saint fasted even before he became a monk, a detail that is missing in hagiographies of an earlier date. Yet a closer look reveals that this impression is deceptive. One would expect the second dietary regime to be stricter than the first, in particular since the hagiographer states that as a monk Blaise "subjected himself to harsher contests" (σκληροτέροις ἀγῶσιν ἑαυτὸν καθυπέβαλλε)[159]. Yet this is not quite the case. It is true that the saint is now said to abstain from bread, which he had continued to consume while he was still a layman. He does, however, eat more frequently than before, once a day, whereas as a layman he had fasted for longer periods of time. Only the Lenten regime breaks this pattern. In the forty days before Easter, Blaise is again said to have eaten only once a week.

The hagiographer gives us three reasons why the saint toned down his dietary regime: his concern not to be regarded as prideful by other members of the community, his wish not to be different from other members of the community, and his obedience to the monastic tradition, which leads him to consider the negative consequences of extreme asceticism for the body[160]. It is evident that this attitude is radically different from the mind-set that ninth-century hagiographers attribute to their heroes. As we have seen, they speak quite unselfconsciously about exceptional behaviour and envisage that it will engender in others only feelings of admiration and the wish to imitate, and they stress that the body needs to be weakened. This leaves no doubt that the author of the *Life of Blaise* broke with the existing consensus, which established a close nexus between extensive asceticism and saintly status. Indeed, one can argue that he expected a negative response. The passage about the saint's fasts while he was still a layman may well have been introduced in order to show that he could have fasted as much as the great ascetics of old, if he had not felt constrained by the above-mentioned considerations.

A further layer of meaning reveals itself when we identify borrowings from older texts. The author's main point of reference is the *Life of Anthony*. The phrases ἅπαξ τῆς ἡμέρας and μετὰ τὴν τοῦ ἡλίου δύσιν, which appear in the description of Blaise's diet as a monk, correspond to ἤσθιε τε ἅπαξ τῆς ἡμέρας μετὰ δύσιν ἡλίου in the older text, whereas the phrases διὰ δύο and ἔστι δ' ὅτε, which are used to characterize Blaise's diet as a layman have a counterpart in ἦν δ' ὅτε καὶ διὰ δύο. In this last case the match is not complete because Blaise's hagiographer has replaced διὰ τεσσάρων with διά …

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[157] Life of Blaise 14 (661A Delehaye).
[158] Translation by me.
[159] Life of Blaise 14 (661A Delehaye).
[160] See Krausmüller, From Competition 204–205.

τριῶν … καὶ μετὰ τὴν τῆς ἑβδομάδος ἐκπλήρωσιν. Here we can detect the influence of later texts. A precedent is found in the late antique *Life of Peter the Iberian* where we read that the saint ate every third or fourth day and at times only once a week[161]. Such statements are possibly also derived from the *Life of Anthony* but they raise the bar for what is regarded as proper "saintly" fasting, evidently because the authors considered Anthony's diet to be unacceptably lax. In the *Life of Blaise* this intensification is accepted but such a diet is now relegated to a preliminary stage, whereas his dietary regime as a monk corresponds to Anthony's "normal" pattern.

In order to understand the full significance of this step we need to consider another hagiographical text, the *Life of David, Symeon and George*, which predates the eleventh century[162]. There we read that when he became a monk Symeon engaged in strenuous fasting.

> Εὖ γὰρ ᾔδει ὁ γεννάδας τὴν τοῦ σκολιοῦ δράκοντος ἰσχὺν ἐπ᾽ ὀμφαλοῦ γαστρὸς ἐσομένην, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἤσθιε μὲν ἐν ἀρχῇ ἅπαξ τῆς ἡμέρας ἄρτον καὶ ὕδωρ μόνον, βραχὺ δὲ λίαν καὶ τοῦτο μετὰ τὴν τοῦ ἡλίου δύσιν, ἔπειτα διὰ δύο, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τὴν ἑβδομάδα παρέλκων· τοσαύτην γὰρ νηστείαν ἀκριβῆ καὶ ἐπιτεταμένην ἐπεδείξατο, ὡς ἐν ταῖς τῆς ἁγίας τεσσαρακοστῆς σχεδὸν πάσαις ἡμέραις ἄσιτος διαμένειν, ξένον μέντοι καὶ παράδοξον ἄκουσμά τε καὶ θέαμα, τοῖς δὲ τῷ θεῷ ἀνατεθειμένοις οἰκεῖον καὶ συμφυές[163].
>
> "For the valiant one knew well that the power of the twisted dragon would be in the navel of the stomach[164], and for this reason ate at the beginning once a day bread and water, but very little and that only after the setting of the sun, afterwards every other day, and often also fasting the whole week. He showed such a precise and extended fasting that during almost all the days of the holy forty-day Lent he remained without food, which is indeed strange and paradox to hear and to see, but is appropriate and intrinsic to those who have devoted themselves to God."[165]

The presence of the elements ἅπαξ τῆς ἡμέρας … μετὰ τὴν τοῦ ἡλίου δύσιν and διὰ δύο πολλάκις shows that in this case, too, the *Life of Anthony* is the ultimate model. Again, however, Athanasius' account is subtly modified. The different regimes, which had been alternatives in the older text, are now presented as a temporal sequence, which is indicated through insertion of the phrases ἐν ἀρχῇ and ἔπειτα. As a consequence, Symeon's career as a faster appears to be a rising crescendo, culminating in the most extreme regime during Lent. I would argue that Blaise's hagiographer started out from such a scenario, and that he turned it on its head, putting the stricter fasting practice before the laxer one. As a consequence the fasting during Lent now seems isolated in its context.

This raises the question: how does Blaise's hagiographer justify his reinterpretation of the regime detailed in the *Life of Anthony*? I would argue that the answer lies in the phrase τὴν πάλαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων … ἐκτεθεῖσαν … παράδοσιν. This is best understood as a reference to the *apophthegma* of Poemen, which a century earlier had allowed Theodore of Stoudios to undermine the authority of the *Life of Anthony*. Theodore's abstract discussion would then have been turned into a narrative. It is intimated that in his own life Blaise went through the same stages as Poemen, beginning with the harsher regime and then moderating it because he realised that it was the better way. Since the hagiographer was a Stoudite monk it is entirely possible that he drew his inspiration from Theodore's *Catechesis*.

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[161] Life of Peter 17 (tr. H. Rabe, Petrus der Iberer. Leipzig 1895, 24).

[162] Dumbarton Oaks Hagiography Database, https://www.doaks.org/research/byzantine/resources/hagiography [32] (accessed 07.12.2019).

[163] Life of David, Symeon and George (*BHG* 494) 10 (ed. I. van den Gheyn, Acta graeca ss. Davidis, Symeonis et Georgii Mitylenae in insula Lesbo. *AnBoll* 18 [1899] 143–241, esp. 221).

[164] Job 40:16.

[165] Translation by me.

The difference between the corresponding passages in the *Lives* of Euarestus and Blaise is striking. It needs to be stressed, however, that this is above all a matter of presentation. The two saints' ascetic regimes were probably not very different from one another, especially if it is true that Euarestus ate every day. Yet whereas Euarestus' asceticism is played up, Blaise's is toned down in order to make it conform to the coenobitic ideal. Curiously enough, Blaise's hagiographer seems to have had reservations about the strict application of this ideal. As we have seen, he qualifies the phrase ἐπίσης εἶναι τοῖς ὁμοταγέσι through the adverb μετρίως. The significance of this modification is obvious. It means that Blaise does not subject himself completely to the coenobitic rule, which is characterized "through the equality in all respects of the common table" (τῇ κατὰ πάντα ἰσότητι τῆς κοινῆς τραπέζης)[166]. In the context μετρίως is a strange choice of expression. In other texts it is coupled with ἀπογεύεσθαι and denotes measured intake of food[167]. By contrast, Blaise's hagiographer uses it in order to make the opposite claim, namely that Blaise was a more rigorous faster than his peers. This gives the impression that he wished to subvert the ideal of moderation. Equally significant is the use of the term οἰκονομικῶς in order to characterize the legislation of the Fathers. It suggests that it is merely a concession to weakness and has no value in itself. A similar point is made in the subordinate clause ὡς ἂν δὲ μὴ δόξειε τοῖς πολλοῖς ὑπερέχειν αὐτῶν τῷ φρονήματι. It is an adaptation of Philippians 2:3–4: "considering each other in humility to be above yourselves" (τῇ ταπεινοφροσύνῃ ἀλλήλους ἡγούμενοι ὑπερέχοντας ἑαυτῶν). In Philippians Christ is then introduced as a model for such behaviour because he did not insist on remaining "like God" (ἴσα θεῷ) but rather became a human being even to the point of dying. This suggests that Blaise acted in imitation of Christ and that he, too, was above the other monks and would have pursued a much more elevated regime if he had not condescended to the weakness of others.

Since Blaise's hagiographer accepted the ideal of moderation despite reservations, one could argue that it was again in the ascendancy. Indeed, other texts produced by Stoudite monks present us with a similar picture. In the *Life* of the abbot Nicholas (d. 868), which postdates the year 910, we are told that the saint did justice both to the flesh and to the spirit by giving each of them its due[168]. A more elaborate version of this topos is found in the oldest surviving *Life of Theodore the Stoudite*, *Vita B*, which can be attributed to the same author, Michael, who later became abbot of Dalmatos and patriarchal *synkellos*[169]. There we read that when as a young monk Theodore ate in the refectory, he was admired by his fellow-brethren who sought to imitate him because of his exemplary conduct.

> Τὸν γὰρ λογισμὸν ἐπιστήσας ὥσπερ δικαστὴν ἀδέκαστον πνεύματι καὶ σαρκί, οὕτω δι' αὐτοῦ ἐποιεῖτο ἑκατέρου τὸ δέον, ὡς μήτε διὰ τῆς ἄγαν ἀσιτίας τὸ ὁρατὸν αὐτοῦ ἐκλύεσθαι, καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐν Χριστῷ διακονίας ἄπρακτον παρὰ τὸ εἰκὸς καθίστασθαι, μήτ' αὖ διὰ τὸν κόρον τῶν εἰσκριθέντων τὰς ψυχικὰς ἕξεις ἀκηδείας ἐνέχεσθαι πάθεσιν[170].
>
> "For having set up reason as an incorruptible judge for spirit and flesh, he gave through it what was due to either, to such an extent that neither his visible part was enervated through excessive not-eating or became inactive as regards the services in Christ contrary to what is proper,

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166 Diploma Isaacii proti, a. 1344 (ed. P. Lemerle, Actes de Kutlumus, 2nd edition, Paris 1988, 75).

167 See e.g. Life of Theodore of Cythera (ed. N. Oikonomides, Ὁ βίος τοῦ ἁγίου Θεοδώρου Κυθήρων (10ος αἰ.), in: Praktika Tritou Panioniou Synedriou 1. Athens 1967, 264–291, esp. 178): ἄρτον δὲ ἢ καί τι ἄλλο ἀπέστειλεν αὐτῷ τις, μετρίως ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἀπογευσάμενος τὰ λοιπὰ τοῖς δεομένοις ἐδίδου.

168 Life of Nicholas (*BHG* 1365) (*PG* 105, 873B). Dumbarton Oaks Hagiography Database, https://www.doaks.org/research/byzantine/resources/hagiography [72–73] (accessed 07.12.2019).

169 See D. Krausmüller, Vitae *B*, *C* and *A* of Theodore the Stoudite: their Interrelation, Dates, Authors and Significance for the History of the Stoudios Monastery in the Tenth Century. *AnBoll* 131 (2013) 280–298.

170 Vita B of Theodore 8 (*PG* 99, 244CD).

nor the habits of the soul were entangled in the passions of sloth through satiety with what was ingested."[171]

A similar passage is found in Methodius' *Life of Theophanes*. Thus it is possible that it was already present in Methodius' now lost *Life of Theodore,* which served as a model for *Vita B*[172]. Yet even so we can be sure that it reflects contemporary concerns. In fact, a somewhat later *metaphrasis*, the so-called *Vita C*, goes one step further[173]. Its anonymous author tells us that Theodore "sometimes partook of all things and tasted from them a little, lest he appear to have an incongruous asceticism" (τοῖς παρατιθεμένοις ἔστιν ὅτε πᾶσιν ἐχρῆτο καὶ τούτων μικρὸν ἀπεγεύετο ὡς μὴ δοκεῖν ἀπεμφαίνουσαν ἔχειν τὴν ἄσκησιν)[174]. This statement resembles closely what we have found in the *Life of Blaise*. Here, too, conformity is seen as something positive and the negative effect of extreme asceticism on others is considered[175]. Yet we also encounter a new theme, the need to eat from all the dishes that are being served in the refectory. Here we can detect the influence of the ascetic writings of Basil the Great where it is stipulated "that we must eat from all that is set before us" (ὅτι δεῖ πάντων τῶν παρατιθεμένων ἡμῖν ἀπογεύεσθαι), in accordance with 1 Corinthians 10:27[176]. There is, however, an important discrepancy. Whereas Basil had demanded that monks behave in this fashion at all times, the author of *Vita C* claims that Theodore did so only occasionally. Undoubtedly it was the traditional nexus between strenuous asceticism and sainthood that made this modification necessary. In normative texts from Stoudios this problem did not arise. The Stoudite *Hypotyposis*, which most likely dates to the early tenth century, is a technical manual which gives little room to reflection. Yet it begins with the claim that the tradition of Stoudios is preferable "because it is the best and the most royal and avoids both excesses and deficiencies" (ὡς ἀρίστην καὶ βασιλικωτάτην καὶ τὰς ὑπερβολὰς καὶ ἐλλείψεις ἐκκλίνουσαν)[177]. Even more significant are the *Chapters* of Symeon the Pious, the spiritual father of Symeon the New Theologian. This text describes the proper behaviour in the refectory, advising the addressee "to eat what is put in front of you whatever it is, and likewise also wine with self-restraint and without grumbling" (ἐσθίειν δὲ τὰ παρατιθέμενά σοι οἷά εἰσιν, ὁμοίως καὶ οἶνον μετὰ ἐγκρατείας ἀγογγύστως), unless he is ill, when he may eat only vegetables in his cell[178]. This is surely no coincidence but reflects a broader movement within Stoudios to enforce this rule. It is likely that the abbots played a leading role here, especially Anatolius (fl. c. 900) who is credited with having restored the monastery to its old glory after the conflicts with the patriarchs[179].

This does not, of course, mean that the new ideal had completely replaced the old. Indeed, the Constantinopolitan populace continued to visit extreme ascetics such as the stylite Luke (d. 979)[180]. In Luke's *Life*, which was written by one of his disciples, we are informed that he tamed the flesh through frequent fasts "partaking of food only every seventh day" (δι' ἡμερῶν ἑπτὰ μεταλαμβάνων

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171 Translation by me.

172 See D. Krausmüller, Patriarch Methodius, the First Hagiographer of Theodore of Stoudios. *Symbolae Osloenses* 81 (2007) 144–150.

173 See D. Krausmüller, The Abbots of Evergetis as Opponents of 'Monastic Reform': a Re-Appraisal of the Monastic Discourse in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Constantinople. *REB* 69 (2011) 111–134, esp. 126–127.

174 Vita C of Theodore (*BHG* 1755d) 11 (ed. V. Latyšev, Vita s. Theodori Studitae in codice Mosquensi musei Rumianzovani no. 520. *VV* 21 [1914] 258–304, esp. 264).

175 See Krausmüller, From Competition 203.

176 See Basil of Caesarea, Regulae fusius tractatae 18 (*PG* 31, 965A).

177 Hypotyposis (*PG* 99, 1704A).

178 Chapter 25 (ed. and tr. H. Alfeyev – L. Neyrand, Syméon le Studite, Discours Ascétique [*SC* 460]. Paris 2001, 102).

179 See O. Delouis, Écriture et réécriture au monastère de Stoudios à Constantinople (IXe–Xe s.): quelques remarques, in: Remanier, métaphraser: fonctions et techniques de la réécriture dans le monde byzantin, ed. S. Marjanovic-Dušanic – B. Flusin. Belgrade 2011, 101–110, esp. 106.

180 See Dumbarton Oaks Hagiography Database, https://www.doaks.org/research/byzantine/resources/hagiography [63–64] (accessed 07.12.2019).

τροφῆς)[181]. Luke spent some time in a coenobitic monastery but there is no indication that he deviated from his customary lifestyle while he was there[182]. The continuing strength of the traditional model of sainthood can also be felt in the *Life of Nicephorus of Miletus* (d. c. 1000), whose author may have been a Constantinopolitan rhetorician[183]. Nicephorus is a special case because he became a monk only late in life when he left his see in order to found a monastery. However, his sojourn as a boy in a Constantinopolitan educational institution is narrated in such a way that it follows closely the monastic template. We are told that the saint sought to dominate his concupiscence through abstention and fasting and that he took this so far that he fell ill[184]. There is no sign that the hagiographer disapproved of such behaviour.

Other texts eschew programmatic statements. The hagiographer of Patriarch Anthony Kauleas (d. 901), the philosopher Nicephorus, simply declares that the saint partook of bread and legumes[185]. There is only one text that can be compared with the Stoudite writings, the *Life of Patriarch Methodius*, which gives the following account of the saint's stay at the monastery of Chenolakkos.

> Κἀκεῖσε τὴν ἀσκητικὴν ἐξανύει παλαίστραν μηδ' ὅ,τι οὖν τοῦ κανόνος ὑπερβαλέσθαι ἢ καταλεῖψαι σπουδάζων σαφῶς ἐπιστάμενος τὴν εἰς ἑκάτερα κλίσιν τοῦ παντὸς εἶναι ἀπόπτωσιν[186].
> "And there he completes the ascetic wrestling-ground, endeavouring neither to exceed nor to lag behind in anything pertaining to the rule, for he clearly understood that the inclination to either side is the loss of everything."[187]

Here we find a straightforward identification of the "golden mean" with the "rule" (κανών) of the monastery that leaves no room for ambiguity. The *Life* has survived in a tenth-century manuscript[188]. Unfortunately, the exact date and original context of its production can no longer be established with any certainty. It has been argued that the text reflects a Stoudite point of view[189]. However, the anonymous author's keen interest in the patriarch's ecclesiastical policy may rather suggest that he was associated with Hagiosophite circles.

Indeed, there is clear evidence that at the time the ideal of moderation was promoted by the Constantinopolitan ecclesiastic elite. It is found in a "letter to John monk and recluse" (ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς Ἰωάννην μοναχὸν ἔγκλειστον), which was penned by Symeon of Euchaita[190]. Only one Euchaïtan metropolitan of this name is known, the addressee of a letter that the general Nicephorus Ouranos wrote around the year 1000[191]. Symeon had close links with the capital and was quite likely a former

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[181] Life of Luke (*BHG* 2239) 5 (ed. H. Delehaye, Les saints stylites [*Subsidia hagiographica* 14]. Paris 1923, 195–237, esp. 200).

[182] Life of Luke 8 (203 Delehaye).

[183] See E. Papaioannou, Sicily, Constantinople, Miletos: The Life of a Eunuch and the History of Byzantine Humanism, in: Myriobiblos. Essays on Byzantine literature and culture, ed. Th. Antonopoulou – M. Loukaki – S. Kotzabassi. Boston 2015, 261–284.

[184] Life of Nicephorus (*BHG* 1338) 8 (ed. H. Delehaye, Vita sancti Nicephori episcopi Milesii saeculo X. *AnBoll* 14 [1895] 129–166, esp. 140).

[185] Life of Anthony Kauleas (*BHG* 139) 8 (ed. P. L. M. Leone, L' encomium in patriarcham Antonium II Cauleam del filosofo e retore Niceforo. *Orpheus* 10 [1989] 404–429, esp. 418).

[186] Life of Methodius (*BHG* 1278) 3 (*PG* 100, 1245D).

[187] Translation by me.

[188] See Dumbarton Oaks Hagiography Database, https://www.doaks.org/research/byzantine/resources/hagiography [68–69] (accessed 07.12.2019).

[189] See D. Afinogenov, Κωνσταντινούπολις ἐπίσκοπον ἔχει, II: From the Second Outbreak of Iconoclasm to the Death of Methodius. *Erytheia* 17 (1996) 43–71, esp. 62.

[190] Letter to John (ed. K. Mitsakis, Symeon Metropolitan of Euchaita and the Byzantine Ascetic Ideals in the Eleventh Century. *Byzantina* 2 [1970] 301–334, esp. 319–332).

[191] Letter to Symeon (ed. J. Darrouzès, Épistoliers byzantins du Xe siècle [*Archives de l'Orient Chrétien* 6]. Paris 1960, V [Nicephorus Ouranos], no. 39, 238–239). Nicephorus' dates give a time frame between c. 980 and c. 1006, see Darrouzès' in-

deacon of St Sophia, since Ouranos addressed both him and the steward of the Great Church. In his *Letter* he chides his addressee for having skipped a proper preparatory period of subjection in a coenobium and then offers the following advice to make up for this shortcoming.

> Καὶ τὰς ὑπερβολὰς καὶ τὰς ἐλλείψεις τῶν ἀρετῶν φεῦγε διὰ παντός, τὸ δὲ τούτων μέσον ἐμπόνως ζήτει καιρῷ καὶ μέτρῳ ποιῶν· εἰσὶ δὲ ὑπερβολαὶ μὲν ἐπιτεταμένη νηστεία καὶ ἀγρυπνία καὶ γυμνότητες καὶ σιδηροφορίαι καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἐλλείψεις δὲ ἀδηφαγίαι ἀναπαύσεις ἀδιαφορίαι καὶ τὰ λοιπά, μεσότης δὲ τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν μεταλαμβάνειν καὶ μὴ κορέννυσθαι ὁ σύμμετρος ὕπνος καὶ κόπος καὶ τὰ πάντα ποιεῖν κατὰ τὴν ἀκριβῆ παράδοσιν τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ μοναχικῆς καταστάσεως· εἶπε γάρ τις τῶν πατέρων ὅτι τὰ ἄκρα τῶν δαιμόνων εἰσίν[192].
>
> "Always avoid both the excesses and the deficiencies of the virtues, and diligently seek that which is in the middle between the two, acting at the right time and in the right measure. Excesses are extended fasts and vigils and nakedness and chain-bearing and things of this kind, whereas deficiencies are gluttony, respites, indifference and the rest, and the medium is to eat every day and not be sated, measured sleep and toil, and to do everything according to the exact tradition of the church and the monastic estate. For one of the Fathers said that the extremes belong to the demons."[193]

This statement reflects the ideal of the "golden mean". Eating a little once a day is juxtaposed both with extreme fasting and with gluttony. Symeon inserts into his text several quotations from Maximus' spiritual writings[194]. Thus, it is possible that his views on asceticism were also inspired by these texts. Yet it needs to be pointed out that Maximus is not Symeon's only point of reference. The passage ends with a quotation which can be identified as an *apophthegma* of Poemen: "All that is beyond measure belongs to the demons" (τὰ ὑπέρμετρα πάντα τῶν δαιμόνων εἰσίν)[195]. This suggests that the recommendation to eat each day is based on another *apophthegma* of the same saint, namely the one that is alluded to in Theodore's *Catechesis* and in the *Life of Blaise*. There is, however, an important difference between the *Life of Blaise* and Symeon's *Letter*. Whereas Blaise's hagiographer states that the Fathers gave the rule "economically" (οἰκονομικῶς), Symeon speaks of an "exact practice" (ἀκριβῆ παράδοσιν). Accordingly, extreme behaviour is unequivocally presented as something bad.

In an earlier part of his *Letter* Symeon acknowledges the saintly status of the extreme ascetics of the past, such as the first monk Anthony and the stylites Symeon, Alypius and Daniel[196]. Yet he is very sceptical about their contemporary imitators.

> Ἀκούω γὰρ καὶ πολλοὺς εἶναι καὶ νῦν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐρημίαις καὶ ἐν τοῖς μοναστηρίοις ἀγωνιστὰς καὶ θεωρῶ δὲ πλείστους ὑπὲρ τὴν ἐντολὴν καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀγωνιζομένους μέτρον, ἀλλ' ἵνα τούτους ὡς ἔτι ἀγωνιζομένους καταλείψωμεν· τὸ γὰρ τέλος ἄδηλον[197].
>
> "For I hear that there are many fighters even now in the mountains and in the deserts and in the monasteries, and I see that most of them struggle beyond the commandment and the measure of virtue, but I will leave them aside because they are still struggling, for the end is uncertain."[198]

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troduction, 44–48, esp. 45–46. See also J. Gouillard, Syméon d'Euchaïtes. *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique* 14 (1941) 2939–2940.

192 Letter to John 9 (325 Mitsakis).

193 Translation by me.

194 See Mitsakis, Symeon Metropolitan 311.

195 Apophthegmata Patrum, Poemen 128 (*PG* 65, 333D).

196 Letter to John 7 (324 Mitsakis).

197 Letter to John 7 (324 Mitsakis).

198 Translation by me.

Here Symeon does not simply explain the discrepancy with the weakness of the present generation. He also asserts that extreme asceticism goes beyond what is considered appropriate behaviour. The *Letter* evidently found a wide readership since it has come down to us in a great number of manuscripts and was quoted by later spiritual authors. One of the manuscripts was written in the year 1088/9 at the Chora monastery, which shows that by that time the text was known to the monks of the capital[199].

THE ELEVENTH CENTURY

The ideal of moderation continued to enjoy popularity in the 11th century. In fact, here the evidence is even more plentiful. This is due to the existence of several *Typika*, which are considerably longer than the Stoudite *Hypotyposis* and contain numerous programmatic statements. The first text to consider is the rule that Patriarch Alexius (1025–1043) gave to a monastery he had founded in the capital. This text, which has only survived in Church Slavonic translation, contains the following statement about fasting during the Lent of St Philip.

> Понеже оубо · ни въздрасть ѥдина · ни сила телесьная · ни такоже вьсѧ болѣзньми оудьржить сѧ · нъ ови оуни соуть · дроузии же заматерѣли · и ови соуть крѣпции · а ови неощьни · и ови немощьни · и ови паче · ови же мьне троудъ причѧщають сѧ · и ови оубо или старости ради · или немощи ради · или троуда оутѣшения трѣбоують · ови въздьржѧти сѧ хотѧть · ниѥдиномоуже подобаѥть своѥи воли въслѣдовати · нъ обьщимь правилъмь прѣтварѧти сѧ вьси ноудѧть сѧ · дивьно же и се моудрѣѥ бѫи наши размыслиша · и въ врѣмѧ поста того дъво w̄ брашьнъ · маслъмь дрѣвѧнымь оумастиша · дроугоѥ же сего непричѧстьно оставиша · яко ни оутѣшения трѣбоующимъ · зане отиноудь w̄рещи сѧ масла дрѣвѧнаго попоустиша · ни въздьржѧти сѧ и могоуще имъ [ed. могоущимъ] · и хотѧщимъ · зане въкоупь ѣдь строити опечѧлѧть[200].
>
> "People are not of the same age and bodily vigour and not in the same way afflicted by sickness but some are young, others at an advanced age, and some are strong, others infirm, and some take on more work, others less, and some need consolation because of old age or infirmity or because of their toils, others wish to abstain. None of these should follow his will, but they must obey the common rule as our fathers designed it in a wonderful and wise manner: during this Lent, they added wooden oil (i.e. the cheapest sort of olive oil) to two dishes and left another without it so that those who need consolation would not be required to abstain from wooden oil completely and those who can and wish to abstain would not be sad due to (sc. the necessity of) arranging the meal together (sc. with the former)."[201]

Differences between members of the community are acknowledged but this does not lead to the conclusion that the general rule should be modified for each individual. Instead it is claimed that the general rule already takes into consideration these different needs and that it satisfies them all. Here we find several themes that we have already encountered in Stoudite texts from the tenth century: the coenobitic diet is the happy mean between two extremes, all monks should eat from all dishes, and nobody should be different from the others. This is no coincidence because the author Alexius had been a monk at Stoudios before he became patriarch. Indeed, comparison with Southern Italian rules shows that large parts of the text go back to a Stoudite work, an extended *Typikon*, which was com-

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[199] See Mitsakis, Symeon Metropolitan 307.

[200] Typikon of Alexius (ed. A. M. Pentkovskij, Типикон патриарха Алексия Студита в Византии и на Руси. Moscow 2001, 374).

[201] I would like to thank Basil Lourié for correcting my translation and complementing it with the original Church Slavonic text.

posed in the late tenth or early 11th century in order to replace the older *Hypotyposis*[202]. One would like to know if this passage, too, was taken from the same source. Unfortunately, this is not certain. The Mili *Typikon*, where we find a textual parallel for the section about the Lent of St Philip, does not contain it[203].

The evidence discussed so far gives the impression that the monks of Stoudios were all card-carrying coenobites. Yet this is not entirely the case. Symeon the New Theologian (d. 1022) received his formation at Stoudios before he transferred to St Mamas where he then became abbot. Yet when he gives advice about proper conduct in his *Catecheses* he never makes mention of the ideal of moderation. In the eleventh *Catechesis,* he admonishes his flock: "Let us then guard ourselves, brothers, not from clandestine eating alone but also from satiety with the food that is served you in the refectory" (φυλαξώμεθα τοιγαροῦν, ἀδελφοί, μὴ ἀπὸ λαθροφαγίας μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ κόρου τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης παρατιθεμένων βρωμάτων ἡμῖν)[204]. Demands to eat a minimum of food are conspicuously absent despite the fact that they had been included in the *Chapters* of Symeon's spiritual father Symeon the Pious. All that is demanded is that the practitioner does not follow his inclination. This understanding of proper monastic life is also reflected in the *Life of Symeon the New Theologian* by Nicetas Stethatos which dates to the middle of the 11th century[205]. Nicetas, a monk of Stoudios, considered himself the heir of Symeon's spiritual legacy, despite the fact that he had never spent time with him. At the beginning of the text we hear that after he had entered Stoudios, Symeon was placed under the control of Symeon the Pious who immediately took steps "to excise the will" (ἐκκόπτειν θέλημα) of the fledgling saint.

> Σοφὸς γὰρ ὢν ὁ γέρων ἐκεῖνος ὁ θεῖος ποτὲ μὲν τὰ τῆς ἀτιμίας καὶ τοῦ κόπου μεταχειρίζεσθαι τοῦτον ἐποίει ποτὲ δὲ τὴν τιμὴν καὶ τὴν ἄνεσιν οὗτος ἐκείνῳ προσέφερε καὶ ἀμφοτέρωθεν μισθοὺς αὐτῷ προξενεῖ τῷ θελήματι αὐτοῦ ἀντιπίπτων[206].
> "That divine elder, who was a wise man, let him sometimes handle that which involves dishonour and toil and at other times gave him honour and leisure and gave him rewards, opposing his will from both sides."[207]

Although fasting is not mentioned explicitly we can assume that the same technique was applied there, too. There is no reference to an absolute standard, such as eating every day or partaking of all dishes. Quite the contrary, the breaking of the will does away with all regularity. As such it runs counter to the coenobitic ideal. One gets the impression that Nicetas deliberately set out to provoke the champions of moderation. Yet another passage in the *Life* suggests that even he could not completely dissociate himself from the predominant ideology[208]. We are told that a novice in Symeon's monastery did not adhere to the community's Lenten regime and that as a consequence he fainted during a vigil so that he was forced to eat then and there. The novice is told by Symeon that this would not have happened "if you had been in all things like the brothers" (εἰ ὅμοιος κατὰ πάντα ἦσθα

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[202] See D. Krausmüller – O. Grinchenko, The Tenth-Century Stoudios-Typikon and its Impact on Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Byzantine Monasticism. *JÖB* 63 (2013) 153–175.

[203] See Pentkovskij, Типикон 84.

[204] Catechesis 11 (ed. B. Krivochéine – J. Paramelle, Syméon le Nouveau Théologien. Catéchèses 6–22 [*SC* 104]. Paris 1964, 160).

[205] See M. Hinterberger, Niketas Stethatos der 'Beherzte'? *BZ* 103 (2010) 49–54, and G. Diamantopoulos, Die Hermeneutik des Niketas Stethatos (*Diss. Ludwig-Maximilians-University*). Munich 2018.

[206] Life of Symeon (*BHG* 1692) 12 (ed. I. Hausherr, Nicétas Stéthatos, Un grand mystique byzantin. Vie de Syméon le Nouveau Théologien (949–1022) [*Orientalia Christiana* 12]. Rome 1928, 20).

[207] Translation by me.

[208] See Krausmüller, From Competition 208–209.

τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς)[209]. Yet this is little more than lip-service. In another chapter Symeon behaves towards the novice in the same way as his spiritual father had behaved towards him[210].

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So far we have focused on texts relating to Stoudios. Yet in the 11th century the ideal of moderation was propagated in other monastic settings as well. The monastery of Panagios, which was situated in the middle of the city, produced a *Typikon* which reflects a strictly coenobitic stance. The original text, which was written by the abbot Anthony in the first quarter of the 11th century, is no longer extant[211]. Yet study of an adaptation for the monastery of Petritzos allows us to reconstruct its structure and content[212]. The topic of fasting is broached in chapter fifteen in three consecutive passages. The first passage reads as follows.

> Ἐάν τις τὰς μεγάλας ἐγχειρίζηται ἐγκρατείας αὐτοθελῶς διακρίνων καὶ περιφρονῶν τὸν ὅρον τὸν τεθέντα παρὰ τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων ὃν πρῶτον κατ᾽ ἐκλογὴν καὶ μετὰ δοκιμασίας ἡμῖν παραδεδώκασι κατὰ τὰς θείας αὐτῶν παραδόσεις τὴν ἀληθῆ τε καὶ ἁπλανῆ καὶ μέσην ὁδόν, τουτέστιν τὴν ἀποκοπὴν τοῦ οἰκείου θελήματος [...] οὐδὲ ἀνέχεσθαι τούτων[213] δεῖ τῶν οὕτω διακειμένων[214].
> "If someone undertakes the great abstentions, judging with his own will and despising the limit that has been set by the holy Fathers, which they first have given us according to their selection and with their examination in keeping with their divine traditions, the true and unerring and middle road, that is, the excision of one's own will … one must not tolerate those who are thus minded."[215]

This is advice for the abbot on how to deal with members of the community who take it on themselves to engage in excessive asceticism. The concern about independent behaviour pervades the whole text. In chapter thirteen monks are told not to embark on administrative tasks without the knowledge and approval of the abbot[216]. Yet in chapter fifteen the situation is more complex. We encounter a further criterion for proper behaviour, the limit set by the Fathers. The metaphor of the "middle road" clearly identifies this limit as the mean between two extremes. It is possible that the author had the *apophthegma* of Poemen in mind, but if this was indeed the case he had given it a different meaning. No mention is made of eating every day (although it may be implied). Instead the "middle road" is identified with the excision of the will. This is an awkward combination. As we have already seen in the *Life of Symeon the New Theologian*, the breaking of the will is not intrinsically linked to a fixed regime. It just means that nobody is allowed to do what he wants. This leaves open the possibility that the monks of Panagios could engage in extended fasts if the abbot told them to do so.

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[209] Life of Symeon 48 (64 Hausherr).
[210] Life of Symeon 51 (66 Hausherr).
[211] See D. Krausmüller, An Ascetic Founder. The Lost First Life of Athanasius the Athonite, in: Founders and Refounders of Byzantine Monasteries. Papers of the Fifth Belfast Byzantine International Colloquium, ed. M. Mullett (*Belfast Byzantine Texts and Translations* 6, 3). Belfast 2007, 63–86.
[212] See D. Krausmüller, On Contents and Structure of the Panagiou Typikon: A Contribution to the Early History of 'Extended' Monastic Rules. *BZ* 106 (2013) 39–64.
[213] Ed. τοῦτον.
[214] Petritzos Typikon 15 (ed. P. Gautier, Le typikon du sébaste Grégoire Pakourianos. *REB* 42 [1984] 5–145, esp. 81).
[215] Translation by me.
[216] Petritzos Typikon 13 (75 Gautier).

In the following passage we find a reference to the ideal of conformity, which we have already encountered in the *Life of Blaise* and *Vita C* of Theodore. The author criticizes monks who seek to show their fellow brethren through ostentatious prayer that they are "different from others" (ἄλλοις ἀνόμοιοι)[217]. This may refer to the habit of praying in the refectory instead of partaking of food. It is claimed that such behaviour makes the monk the prey of demons. Here, too, however, there is ambiguity because we are told that such people act against the will of the abbot and the rest of the community.

It is only in the third passage that we get a clearer idea of the author's point of view[218]. We read that monks should abstain from evil and progress in the good, and acquire the fruits of the spirit of which Paul had spoken in Galatians 5:21: "love, joy, peace, long-suffering, goodness" (ἀγάπη, χαρά, μακροθυμία, χρηστότης). Then follows another invective against "the self-willed abstainers" (τοῖς … αὐτοβούλοις ἐγκρατευταῖς) who will eventually contract madness because they are motivated by vainglory. It is claimed that the focus on visible activities is reprehensible because it lets the onlookers think that they "are virtue although they are not truly virtue, as some of the Fathers have determined" (εἶναι ἀρετὴν μὴ οὖσα ὄντως ἀρετή, ὥσπερ τινὲς τῶν πατέρων διωρίσαντο)[219]. Then the author makes another positive statement. Quoting Isaiah 58:5–7, he declares that monks should not engage in ascetic activities but rather help the poor. These stark oppositions leave little doubt that the author considered extreme asceticism to be wrong in itself and not only in cases where the abbot does not give his permission. Consequently, humility is declared to be the greatest virtue of all. It is no longer a corrective that allows ascetics to fast as much as they like without negative consequences, but rather diametrically opposed to extreme asceticism.

The ideal of conformity and moderation also features in the two *Lives* of Athanasius the Athonite, *Vita A* and *Vita B*. *Vita A* was written at the Panagios monastery, whereas *Vita B* was composed at the Lavra. Yet both texts can be shown to go back to a now lost common model, the *Vita prima*, which was written by the abbot Anthony of Panagios, the favourite disciple of the saint[220]. Stylistic analysis suggests that *Vita B* contains the text of the *Vita prima* with only minor reworkings, whereas *Vita A* is a *metaphrasis* in a higher style[221]. Both versions contain the story of a hermit named Nicephorus who asked Athanasius to let him live in the Lavra. We are told that Nicephorus had devised his own fasting regime, "eating bran soaked in tepid water and a little salt after the setting of the sun" (ἐσθίων δὲ πίτυρα βρεκτὰ ἐν χλιαρῷ ὕδατι καὶ ὀλίγῳ ἅλατι μετὰ τὸ δῦναι τὸν ἥλιον)[222]. Before long, however, Athanasius persuaded him to subject himself to the common rule. What is striking in this episode is that Nicephorus' original regime was not very exacting by Byzantine standards. In fact, it closely resembles Anthony's habit of eating once a day after sunset, which had been the yardstick for proper behaviour in tenth-century texts such as the *Life of Blaise*.

At the end of the episode it is claimed that Nicephorus' corpse discharged a sweet-smelling liquid, a traditional sign of saintly status, despite the fact that he had toned down his asceticism[223]. Thus one would expect the hagiographer to treat Athanasius in the same way, asserting that a moderate diet does not preclude saintly status. This, however, is not quite the case. In *Vita B* we are told that Atha-

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[217] Petritzos Typikon 15 (81 Gautier).

[218] Petritzos Typikon 15 (83 Gautier).

[219] Reference not identified.

[220] J. Noret, Vitae duae antiquae sancti Athanasii Athonitae (*CCSG* 9). Turnhout – Leiden 1982: Vita A (*BHG* 187), 1–124; Vita B (*BHG* 188), 125–213.

[221] See D. Krausmüller, Sophisticated Simplicity: On the Style of the Vita prima of Athanasius the Athonite, forthcoming in *Erytheia*.

[222] Vita B 43 (176–177 Noret). See also Vita A 160 (77–78 Noret).

[223] See D. Krausmüller, From Hybrid Monastery to Strict Coenobium? Gauging the Impact of the Reform Movement on Byzantine Monasticism in the Eleventh Century. *RSBN* 54 (2017) 85–104.

nasius was a great faster even when he still lived in the world, eating barley bread and vegetables and drinking water every other day[224]. When he became monk his abbot did not allow him to fast as much as he would have liked. He told him to eat every third day, thus breaking his will[225]. At a later date when he began to live in a hermitage attached to the monastery, the abbot is said to have toned down his regime even further. Now the saint consumed hard bread, vegetables and a little water every other day. Only during Lent was he allowed to fast for five days[226]. We have already encountered a similar sequence in the *Life of Blaise*. Yet there is one important difference. As a monk Blaise is said to have eaten once a day. Athanasius' hagiographer clearly did not wish to go so far.

The tension between the two models, moderation and extremism, is even more visible in the account of Athanasius' time as abbot of Lavra. We are told that at the beginning there was not sufficient food and the monks had only berries, hard bread and water to eat. Yet they endured "because when they saw that he ate the same things every third or every fourth day they regarded eating every day as an extravagance" (ὁρῶντες γὰρ ἐκεῖνον τοῖς αὐτοῖς τρεφόμενον εἴδεσι διὰ τριῶν ἢ τεσσσάρων τρυφὴν ἡγοῦντο τὸ καθ᾽ ἕκαστον ἐσθίειν)[227]. A similar passage is found later on in the text. When sitting in the refectory with his monks Athanasius is said to have distributed the dishes to them "whereas he himself only showed the appearance of one who eats and escaped their notice" (αὐτὸς δὲ σχῆμα ἐσθίοντος δεικνύων ἐλάνθανε τὰς ὄψεις αὐτῶν), not even consuming the entire blessed bread after communion. During the Lenten periods he stepped up his efforts, remaining without food for five days[228]. This signals a return to the traditional template of the holy man. It was evidently easier to claim a moderate regime for a minor figure such as Nicephorus. In this respect the *Life of Athanasius* can be compared with the *Life of Symeon the New Theologian* where strict conformity is only demanded from a novice.

The last passage has a counterpart in *Vita A*, which otherwise shows much less interest in fasting. There is it is asserted that in the refectory Athanasius "seemed to partake of all and taste all that was being served" (ἐδόκει μὲν πάντων μεταλαμβάνειν καὶ πάντων παραγεύεσθαι τῶν παρατιθεμένων)[229]. This shows that the author was aware of the opinion that one should eat from all dishes. Yet in the case of Athanasius this is just pretence.

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A much clearer reference to this opinion is found in a *metaphrasis* of the ninth-century *Life of Joseph the Hymnographer* by the patriarchal deacon John, which dates to the later 11th century[230]. Unlike its model where agonistic and extreme asceticism is presented as something praiseworthy, it acknowledges possible problems.

> Τῷ προεστῶτι τῆς μονῆς τῆς πολλῆς σκληραγωγίας ἐπετιμᾶτο, παθοκτόνον λέγοντι τὴν νηστείαν, οὐ σωματοκτόνον, διὰ τὴν τῆς φύσεως οἰκειότητα· ἀμέλει καὶ πάντα τρόπον ὑπείκειν μεμαθηκὼς καὶ κατὰ μηδὲν ἀντιλέγειν τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἐνάγουσιν εἰς ταπείνωσιν τὸ προστεταγμένον ἐποίει καὶ τῶν προκειμένων ἐπήπτετο, πάντα εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ καὶ συλλογιζόμενος καὶ ποιῶν[231].
>
> "He was criticised for the great harshness of his asceticism by the abbot of the monastery who said that fasting is a killer of passions and not a killer of the body because of the natural bond. Then he who had learned to yield in all ways and to contradict in no way those who led him to humility

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[224] Vita B 6 (131 Noret).
[225] Vita B 9 (133 Noret).
[226] Vita B 10 (134 Noret).
[227] Vita B 24 (151 Noret).
[228] Vita B 42 (175 Noret).
[229] Vita A 142 (67 Noret).
[230] See Krausmüller, Abbots of Evergetis (as in n. 173) 124.
[231] Life of Joseph (*BHG* 945) 11 (*PG* 105, 949AB).

did what he had been ordered and touched what lay before him, reasoning and doing everything to the glory of God."[232]

John was clearly dissatisfied with the stance of the author of the first *Life*, and proceeded to modify it in order to bring it in line with contemporary views. Significantly, it is again an *apophthegmata* by Poemen to which he refers: "We have not been told to be killers of the body but killers of the passions" (ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἐδιδάχθημεν σωματοκτόνοι, ἀλλὰ παθοκόνοι)[233]. Unlike Athanasius the Athonite, Joseph was a universally recognised saint. Thus it would have been easier to present him in this manner without raising doubts about his saintly status.

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How pervasive the new ideology had become can be gauged from the *Life* of the stylite Lazarus (d. 1053). Lazarus, who founded several monasteries on Mt Galesion near Ephesus, was a typical "holy man"[234]. His hagiographer, a member of his community, claims that he was an extreme faster[235]. Yet when we turn to a speech that Lazarus is said to have given to his flock we encounter a radically different point of view.

Προσέχειν δὲ δεῖ καὶ τηρεῖν καὶ τὸ μὴ σχήμασι δῆθεν ἢ ἐπιτηδεύμασι πνευματικοῖς ἀδελφοῦ πλῆξαι συνείδησιν, μὴ ἀπατᾶσθαι χορτασίᾳ κοιλίας, ἀλλὰ καθ' ἑκάστην μὲν ὡς ἅπαξ στοιχήσαντα τῷ τῆς μονῆς κανόνι ἐσθίειν, οὐ μὴν δὲ εἰς κόρον, ἀλλ' ἔτι τῆς γαστρὸς ἐνδεῶς ἐχούσης παύεσθαι τῆς τροφῆς· οὕτω γὰρ καὶ οἱ πατέρες ἔκριναν καὶ ὡρίσαντο ὑπὲρ τὸ νηστεύειν δύο ἢ τρεῖς εἶθ' οὕτω τῇ τροφῇ κορέννυσθαι καθ' ἑκάστην τροφῆς μεταλαμβάνειν, ἀλλὰ παρὰ μικρόν[236].
"One must pay attention and look out that one does not supposedly through gestures or spiritual pursuits wound the conscience of a brother, that one is not deceived by the fullness of the belly, but eats every day, as having once and for all followed the rule of the monastery, yet not up to satiety, but stops eating when the stomach is still wanting, for thus the Fathers, too, judged and stipulated that it is better to partake of food every day but a little, rather than to fast two or three days and then be sated with food."[237]

It is immediately evident that this is a comprehensive exposé of the arguments in favour of a strictly coenobitic lifestyle. We find the warning against possible negative effects of extreme asceticism on others and the advice to eat every day. Moreover, καθ' ἑκάστην … παρὰ μικρόν is a clear reference to the *apophthegma* of Poemen, which is called the "definition" (ὅρος) of the Fathers and thus invested with a special status. The similarity not only with the Panagios *Typikon* but also with the *Life of Blaise* is striking. The fact that the hagiographer put such a statement into the mouth of the saint shows clearly that the ideal of moderation had become known even in the provinces. This does not mean that it informed the life of the community. Immediately afterwards we read that some monks followed Lazarus' advice and chose the "royal highway" (τὴν βασιλικὴν ὁδόν) while others insisted on their plans to intensify their asceticism. Some failed but "those who were firmer in mind and in body concluded successfully in humility what they had embarked on" (ὅσοι δέ γε τὴν γνώμην

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[232] Translation by me.
[233] Apophthegma Poemen 184 (*PG* 65, 368A).
[234] See R. Greenfield, Drawn to the Blazing Beacon: Visitors and Pilgrims to the Living Holy Man and the Case of Lazaros of Mount Galesion. *DOP* 56 (2002) 213–241.
[235] Life of Lazarus 251 (ed. H. Delehaye, Vita S. Lazari auctore Gregorio monacho [*Acta Sanctorum Novembris* III]. Brussels 1910, 508–588, esp. 587).
[236] Life of Lazarus 196 (567D–568A Delehaye).
[237] Translation by me.

καὶ τὸ σῶμα στερρότεροι, ταπεινοφρόνως οἷς ἐπεχείρησαν καὶ δεξιὸν τὸ πέρας ἐπέθεντο)[238]. This inconsistency, however, should not detract from the significance of the passage. Up to this point provincial hagiography had accepted the template of the "holy man" in a completely unselfconscious way, which showed no awareness of the Constantinopolitan monastic discourse.

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Another reflection of the debate between extremists and moderates can be found in the *Life of Auxentius* by Michael Psellus[239]. As we have already seen, the author of the original *Life* spoke of an encounter between Auxentius and a group of monks who criticised his refusal to eat. Psellus reworks this episode, giving it an unexpected twist. In his narrative the monks pose the following question.

> Τίνος χάριν, Αὐξέντιε, τῶν πατέρων ἡμῖν ἄνωθεν τὸν τῆς ἀσκήσεως κανόνα διορισάντων καὶ τὴν μέσην ἀγαπησάντων ζωήν, αὐτὸς ὥσπέρ τι πλέον τῶν ἄλλων φρονῶν, ἄρτου μὲν ἀπέχῃ, οἶνον δὲ ἀποστρέφῃ, τοῦ δὲ ὕδατος τοσοῦτον ἀρύῃ, ὁπόσον ἂν μὴ κατενεχθείη τῷ φάρυγγι, ἀλλ' ἄκραν καταψύξαι τὴν γλῶτταν; εἰ γὰρ ἦν τοῦτο καλόν τε καὶ νόμιμον, ἦν ἂν συνηριθμημένον ταῖς τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν διατάξεσιν[240].
>
> "Why, Auxentius, when the Fathers have fixed for us from the beginning a rule of asceticism and have loved the middle life, do you yourself abstain from bread, reject wine and drink only so much water that it is not sent down the throat, but cools the tip of the tongue, as if considering yourself above the others? For if this were good and lawful it would have been listed in the ordinances of our Fathers."[241]

Here the monks present themselves as champions of the ideal of moderation. The reference to the Fathers suggests that Psellus had the *apophthegma* of Poemen in mind. Since Auxentius lived in the first half of the fifth century and thus was a contemporary of Poemen, this is a flagrant anachronism. This shows clearly that Psellos was not interested in constructing a historically correct story. Quite the contrary, he wished to engage in a contemporary debate. His own position is reflected in the response that he puts into the mouth of Auxentius.

> Οἱ θεῖοι πατέρες θεσπίσαντες ἡμῖν τὰ περὶ τοῦ ἀσκητικοῦ βίου, τῶν πολλῶν μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν ὀλίγων ἐφρόντισαν· διὰ ταῦτα συμμεμετρήκασι ταῖς τούτων γνώμαις οἷά τε καὶ ὅσα βρωτέον τε καὶ ποτέον αὐτοῖς. οὐ μήν, τοῦτο δεδωκότες, ἐκεῖνο ἀνῃρήκασιν, εἴ γέ τις ἐπέκεινα τῆς φύσεως βούλοιτο ζῆν· ὁ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ἀλόγου καὶ λογικῆς συγκείμενος φύσεως, ἔχει τι καὶ θεῖον ἐν ἑαυτῷ· εἰ μὲν οὖν τὴν σωματικὴν αἱροῖτο ζωήν, θηρίον ἐστὶν ἀτεχνῶς· εἰ δέ γε τὴν μέσην καὶ ἐπιστατικήν, ζῷον λογικὸν καὶ θνητόν· εἰ δὲ τὴν κρείττονα καὶ νοεράν, θεὸς ἄντικρυς· ἐφ' ὃ δὴ μέρος, ὃ ἔδωκε θεός, ἐπαναβεβηκώς, κἂν ἐς τὸ παντελὲς διατελέσειεν ἄσιτος· ζῇ γὰρ οὐχ ἑαυτῷ, ἀλλὰ τῷ θεῷ[242].
>
> "When divine Fathers ordained for us that which pertains to the ascetic life, they thought of the many rather than of the few. Therefore they adapted to their minds what and how much should be eaten und drunk by them. But in having given this, they have not taken away the other if indeed somebody wants to live beyond nature. For the human being is composed of an irrational and a rational nature, and also has something divine in him. If, then, he chooses the life of the body, he is simply a beast, but if he chooses the middle and governing life, he is a rational and mortal

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[238] Life of Lazarus 197 (568AB Delehaye).
[239] See E. A. Fisher, Michael Psellos on the Rhetoric of Hagiography and the Life of St Auxentius. *BMGS* 17 (1993) 43–55.
[240] Life of Auxentius 'B' (ed. E. A. Fisher, Michaelis Pselli orationes hagiographicae. Stuttgart – Leipzig 1994, 53–54).
[241] Translation by me.
[242] Life of Auxentius 'B' (54 Fisher).

> living being, but if he chooses the greater and intellectual, he is simply a god. And one who has ascended to this part, which God has given, could remain altogether without food, for he does not live for himself but for God."[243]

Psellus starts by claiming that the rule of the Fathers is a concession to weakness. Yet he is not content with reproducing this traditional argument, which we have already encountered in the *Life of Blaise*, for he then launches a frontal attack on the ideal of the "golden mean". He rejects the notion that the human nature is enclosed by boundaries, which cannot be transcended, and that reason is the only arbiter of what is possible. Instead he introduces a tripartite model of the human being where the irrational and rational parts of the soul are complemented with the mind, which offers an escape from this closed system. Psellus' starting-point was Auxentius' claim in the original *Life* that he could go without food for a long time. Yet the conceptual framework has changed. Whereas Auxentius' late antique hagiographer stated that the saint was strengthened by Christ, Psellus, following Neoplatonic theories, speaks of an innate ability of human beings that allows them to transcend their nature and become "god"[244].

Psellus' *Life* of Auxentius shows that not only monks, metropolitans and patriarchal deacons engaged in the debate about what constitutes the proper fasting practice. Yet the stance he takes is not what one would expect. Indeed, in the 12th century, intellectuals such as John Tzetzes and Eustathius of Thessalonike took a radically different approach. They complained about extreme ascetics and suggested that they should be disciplined in coenobitic monasteries[245]. One wonders what motivated Psellus to break a lance for figures like Auxentius. It may be that he regarded it as an intellectual challenge to make the case for a way of life that in the contemporary monastic discourse had come to be considered substandard.

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To conclude: Analysis of the available evidence permits us to chronicle the development of the discourse on fasting in Constantinopolitan monasticism from the fifth to the eleventh century. The *Lives* of fifth-century saints, be they hermits or abbots, give the impression that the ideal of extreme and agonistic asceticism reigned supreme. The alternative ideal of moderation and conformity is not securely attested. Circumstantial evidence suggests that this may have changed in the sixth century: there are no *Lives* of contemporary saints, and Justinian's legislation promotes strict coenobiticism. Little is known about the period between the middle of the seventh and the middle of the eighth century because so few texts were produced. The darkness lifts again in the late eighth century. At that point a coenobitic revival took place. Yet in *Lives* of abbots which date to the first half of the ninth century, the ideal of extreme and agonistic asceticism is predominant. The only exception is Theodore of Stoudios' *Encomium* of Theophanes, which speaks of the saint's measured food intake. In Theodore's case we have not only hagiographical texts but also a great number of *Catecheses*. There he explained to his monks that a moderate diet was no obstacle to sainthood. What made his task so difficult was the existence of authoritative texts, which promoted extreme asceticism. He constructed a sophisticated argument that reinterprets a passage in the *Life of Anthony* in the light of an *apophthegma* of Poemen in order to prove that eating once a day is best. In the second half of the ninth and the early tenth centuries, the extreme and agonistic ideal seems to have predominated. Yet in tenth-century Stoudios the pendulum began to swing again in the opposite direction. The hagiog-

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[243] Translation by me.

[244] See e.g. J. Bussanich, Plotinus's Metaphysics of the One, in: The Cambridge Companion to Plotinus, ed. L. P. Gerson. New York – Cambridge 1996, 38–65, esp. 56.

[245] P. Magdalino, The Byzantine Holy Man in the Twelfth Century, in: The Byzantine Saint, ed. S. Hackel. London 1981, 51–66.

rapher of Blaise of Amorium follows Theodore's lead, subverting the authority of the *Life of Anthony* and emphasizing the need for moderation and conformity. *Vita C* of Theodore of Stoudios makes the further claim that the saint ate from all dishes that were being served in the refectory, because he did not wish to be different from other monks. In the tenth century Stoudios is an isolated case. Only a *Letter* by the metropolitan Symeon of Euchaïta stresses the need for moderation. This situation changes in the 11th century when we have monastic rules at our disposal. The *Typikon* for the monastery of Patriarch Alexius the Stoudite rejects the notion that one must adapt the fasting regime to the needs of the individual, whereas the Panagios *Typikon* contains a fierce invective against extreme fasters. The *Lives of Athanasius the Athonite*, which were produced at Panagios, show how difficult it was to express the ideal of moderation in a hagiographical text. It is exemplified by a subsidiary figure, whereas the saint himself is presented as an extreme faster, so as not to endanger his saintly status. A similar configuration is found in the *Life of Symeon the New Theologian* by Nicetas Stethatos. These texts also show how the authors struggled to construct a coherent argument. At times one gets the impression that extreme fasting is permissible as long as it is not the practitioner himself who makes the decision. Such a position would be at odds with the ideal of moderation, which emphasized the need for a healthy body. Despite these ambiguities, however, there can be no question that the coenobitic current was very strong. Indeed, the ideal of daily food intake even makes an appearance in a text from the provinces, the *Life of Lazarus of Galesion*. Michael Psellus, a lay intellectual, also waded into the debate, breaking a lance for extreme asceticism in his *metaphrasis* of the *Life of Auxentius*. At this point we need to ask: why was it that in some periods extreme and agonistic asceticism reigned supreme, whereas in others the emphasis was on moderation and conformity? A satisfactory answer can only be given if we can find a way to link changes in monasticism to changes in Byzantine society at large.

JAHRBUCH DER ÖSTERREICHISCHEN BYZANTINISTIK, 69. Band/2019, 233–255
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DOI: 10.1553/joeb69S233

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The *Encomium* of the Apostle Philip by Michael the Monk (*BHG* 1530a)

Edition and English Translation[*]

Abstract: This article contains an edition and English translation of the *Encomium* of the Apostle Philip by Michael the Monk, a prolific hagiographer who flourished in the late ninth and early tenth century. It is of particular historical interest because it seems to have been delivered at the saint's cult centre in Hierapolis. The first part of the text is an elaboration of Biblical passages in which Philip is mentioned, and the second part is a reworking of the late antique *Passio* of Philip according to rhetorical convention. Instances of direct speech, however, are reproduced without change, which suggests that Michael considered them to be exact representations of what Philip had once said.

Keywords: Encomion of the Apostle Philip, Michael the Monk, Codex Vaticanus gr. 1669, Critical Edition

The *Encomium* of the Apostle Philip (*BHG* 1530a) by Michael the Monk is preserved in a single manuscript, the Codex Vat. gr. 1669, which dates to the early tenth century and is of Stoudite provenance[1]. The same manuscript also contains *Vita B* of Theodore of Stoudios (*BHG* 1754) and the *Encomium* of Michael and Gabriel (*BHG* 1294a), which are equally attributed to Michael the Monk[2]. There can be no doubt that we are dealing in all three cases with the same author, a monk of Stoudios who lived in the late ninth and early tenth century and made a name for himself as a hagiographer[3].

The *Encomium* appears to have been delivered in the saint's cult centre of Hierapolis since he is referred to as "lord of our diocese" and "saviour of our city"[4]. It is possible that Michael made a trip there because he claims that he delivered the speech personally at the request of the local metropolitan[5]. The occasion was Philip's feast day, the fourteenth of November, which was followed by a Lenten period that ended on Christmas Day, as Michael duly notes in the concluding paragraph[6].

The *encomium* consists of two parts, remarks about Philip's time in the company of Christ, and an account of Philip's martyrdom in Hierapolis. In the former case Michael has little material to work with as Philip is mentioned in the Gospels only sporadically. The first relevant passage is John 1:44–45, which informs us that he was from Bethsaida and that he told his friend Nathanael that Christ's coming was prophesied by Moses and the prophets. Michael regards this as proof that Philip, despite being a simple fisherman, had a good knowledge of Scripture. Then he adds a comment about

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* This article is part of the project 'Reassessing Ninth Century Philosophy. A Synchronic Approach to the Logical Traditions' (9 SALT) that has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (grant agreement No. 648298).

[1] Vat. gr. 1669 (*Diktyon* 68300), fol. 389v–400v. It was copied in the year 916 by the Stoudite monk John. See T. Matantseva, Le Vaticanus graecus 1669, ménologe prémétaphrastique de novembre. *Scriptorium* 50 (1996) 106–113; and P. Canart, Cinq manuscrits transférés directement du monastère de Stoudios à celui de Grottaferrata?, in: Bisanzio e l'Italia. Raccolta di studi in memoria di Agostino Pertusi (*Scienze filologiche e letteratura* 22). Milan 1982, 19–28.

[2] Vat. gr. 1669, fol. 199r–257r; Vat. gr. 1669, fol. 157r–171v.

[3] See T. Matantseva, Éloge des archanges Michel et Gabriel par Michel le Moine (BHG 1294a). *JÖB* 46 (1996) 97–155, esp. 97 n. 2, 116, 126.

[4] Ch. 1, l. 1 (Vat. gr. 1669, fol. 389v, 390r).

[5] Ch. 1, l. 16 (Vat. gr. 1669, fol. 390r).

[6] Ch. 9, ll. 12–24 (Vat. gr. 1669, fol. 400v).

the poor of his time, complaining that they are uneducated and show no interest in the Bible, which causes them to fall into heresy[7]. The second relevant passage is John 14:8–14 where Philip asks to see the Father and Christ replies that whoever has seen him has seen the Father. This is Michael's *pièce de résistance*. He elaborates the terse narrative by adding clarifications. For example, when he quotes Christ's words that Philip has been with him for such a long time and still does not know him, he takes this as an opportunity to present a list of miracles performed by Christ[8]. This list has a parallel in a contemporary text, a treatise by Metrophanes of Smyrna, which also contains an exegesis of John 14:8–14[9]. It is, however, impossible to prove that Michael was aware of this work since there are no textual overlaps. Michael also sees it as his duty to exclude possible heretical readings of the Biblical text. He emphasizes that in this case "seeing" does not refer to the eyes of the body but to the eyes of the mind, which conclude from Christ's deeds that the Father is in him[10]. In addition, he claims that Christ made Philip ask his question because he wished to have a Biblical text that would exclude false interpretations[11]. This allows him to speak of both Trinitarian and Christological heresies. Much of what he has to say is banal but there is one lengthy exposé of the Chalcedonian position that has more substance. This exposé, however, turns out to be a literal quotation from Maximus' *Quaestiones ad Thalassium*[12].

The second part of the text offers an account of Philip's martyrdom. It is based on the late antique *passio* of the saint, which had originally been the concluding part of the apocryphal *Acta Philippi* (*BHG* 1515–1526)[13]. One recension of this text is found in the Vaticanus graecus 1669 where it precedes Michael's *encomium*[14]. Comparison shows that it is the version, which served as Michael's *Vorlage*[15].

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[7] Ch. 5, ll. 16–21 (Vat. gr. 1669, fol. 394v–395r).

[8] Ch. 3, ll. 10–15 (Vat. gr. 1669, fol. 391v).

[9] Metrophanes of Smyrna, Logos 6, 20–24 (ed. K. Hansmann, Ein neuentdeckter Kommentar zum Johannesevangelium. Untersuchungen und Text [*Forschungen zur Christlichen Literatur- und Dogmengeschichte* 16, 4–5]. Paderborn 1930, 209, 21–210, 34). On Metrophanes' authorship see 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.

[10] Ch. 3, ll. 39–41 (Vat. gr. 1669, fol. 392v).

[11] Ch. 4, ll. 9–15 (Vat. gr. 1669, fol. 393r).

[12] Vat. gr. 1669, fol. 393v. The reference to Maximus' text is given in the *apparatus*.

[13] For the original version see Acta Philippi. Textus, ed. F. Bovon – B. Bouvier – F. Amsler (*Corpus Christianorum Series Apocryphorum* 11). Turnhout 1999; and F. Amsler, Acta Philippi. Commentarius (*Corpus Christianorum Series Apocryphorum* 12). Turnhout 1999. It will not be considered here since there is no sign that Michael was aware of it.

[14] Vat. gr. 1669, 379v–389r.

[15] I have called the two versions *Passio* I and *Passio* II because in the edition the two versions appear in this sequence on each page. Lipsius and Bonnet categorized them according to manuscript classes, Γ and Θ. See R. A. Lipsius – M. Bonnet, Acta apostolorum apocrypha, II 2. Leipzig 1903, viii–ix.

Michael's *Encomium*	***Passio* II**	***Passio* I**
Ἀδελφοί μου υἱοὶ τοῦ πατρός μου, ὑμεῖς ἐστε τοῦ γένους μου κατὰ Χριστὸν ὕπαρξις τῆς ἐμῆς πόλεως τῆς ἄνω Ἱερουσαλήμ, ἡ τερπνότης τοῦ κατοικητηρίου μου, διὰ τί αἰχμαλωτεύθητε ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐχθροῦ ὑμῶν ὄφεως τοῦ εἰλισσομένου καὶ ὁλολόξου καὶ διεστραμμένου ὄντος, ᾧ οὐ δέδωκεν ὁ θεὸς χεῖρας καὶ πόδας, στρεβλὴ δὲ ἡ πορεία αὐτοῦ, ἐπειδὴ υἱός ἐστι τοῦ πονηροῦ[16].	Ἀδελφοί μου υἱοὶ τοῦ πατρός μου, ὑμεῖς ἐστε τοῦ γένους μου κατὰ Χριστὸν ὕπαρξις τῆς ἐμῆς πόλεως τῆς ἄνω Ἱερουσαλήμ, ἡ τερπνότης τοῦ κατοικητηρίου μου, διὰ τί αἰχμαλωτεύθητε ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐχθροῦ ὑμῶν τοῦ ὄφεως τοῦ εἰλισσομένου καὶ ὁλολόξου καὶ διεστραμμένου ὄντος, ᾧ οὐ δέδωκεν ὁ θεὸς χεῖρας καὶ πόδας, στρεβλὴ δὲ ἡ πορεία αὐτοῦ, ἐπειδὴ υἱός ἐστι τοῦ πονηροῦ[17].	Ἀδελφοὶ ἡμῶν, υἱοὶ τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, ὑμεῖς ἐστε τὸ πλοῦτος τὸ καλὸν καὶ ἡ ὕπαρξις τῆς ἄνω πόλεως, ἡ τερπνότης τοῦ κατοικητηρίου οὗ ἡτοίμασεν ὁ θεὸς τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτόν, καταπατήσατε τὰς παγίδας τοῦ ἐχθροῦ, τὸν εἰλισσόμενον ὄφιν, στρεβλὴ γάρ ἐστιν ἡ ὁδὸς αὐτοῦ, ἐπειδὴ τοῦ πονηροῦ υἱός ἐστιν[18].

Indeed, it is very likely that the text found in the Vat. gr. 1669 was Michael's direct model. It contains the phrase πλέον ἔπνευσεν εἰς ὑμᾶς ὁ δράκων ὁ πονηρός[19], which is also found in the *encomium*[20], whereas other manuscripts read πνέων ἔπνευσεν εἰς ὑμᾶς ὁ δράκων ὁ πονηρός at this point[21].

The *passio* offers a colourful account of the events, which is rich in detail. This meant that Michael had to be selective[22]. At first he adheres to his *Vorlage* quite faithfully. We are told how Philip and his companions Mariamne and Bartholomew come to the city of Hierapolis where they stay in the house of Stachys, how Philip delivers a sermon in which he attacks the worship of snakes, and how the noblewoman Nikanora accepts his teachings and is healed. Then, however, he abruptly interrupts the narrative with an auctorial comment: ἀλλὰ καιρὸς λοιπὸν ἐπισκέψασθαι καὶ τοῦ ἀσυνέτου λαοῦ τὴν χαλεπὴν κατὰ φρένα πήρωσιν[23]. This comment is followed by a few sentences, which summarize the exchanges between the saints, Nikanora, and Nikanora's husband 'Tyrannognophos', the attacks of pagan priests, and the intervention of the governor[24]. Having let Philip give a speech, which is taken from an earlier part of the text, Michael then proceeds to offer an account of the saint's martyrdom, which is considerably more detailed[25]. The apostles are dragged through the city and hanged at the temple of the snake. The Evangelist John comes to visit them. Philip prays to Christ, an earthquake happens, and his enemies are swallowed up by the earth. Christ appears and brings them back to the surface by means of his cross. He criticizes Philip for being vindictive. Philip dies hanging upside down and is buried by Bartholomew. His head emits a sweet-smelling substance[26]. At this point a comparison with the *Encomium* of Philip (*BHG* 1530) by Michael's contemporary Nicetas the Paphlagonian is instructive. It is much shorter and much more formulaic. No mention is made of

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[16] Ch. 7, ll. 3–6 (Vat. gr. 1669, 396v–397r).

[17] Vat. gr. 1669, fol. 380r, corresponds to *Passio* II 109–110 (42, 15–23 Lipsius –Bonnet).

[18] *Passio* I 109–110 (42, 4–10 Lipsius – Bonnet).

[19] Vat. gr. 1669, fol. 383r.

[20] Ch. 7, l. 23 (Vat. gr. 1669, fol. 398r).

[21] *Passio* II 131 (6, 12 Lipsius – Bonnet). According to Lipsius and Bonnet the reading is otherwise only found in the Codex Romanus Vallicellianus B 35 (*Diktyon* 56261), dating to the eleventh century.

[22] The corresponding passages will be indicated in the *apparatus*.

[23] Ch. 6, ll. 23–24 (Vat. gr. 1669, fol. 396v).

[24] *Passio* II 115–124 (45–53 Lipsius – Bonnet).

[25] *Passio* II 119–110 (42, 15–21 Lipsius – Bonnet).

[26] Michael adds one detail to the account of the *Passio*. He claims that the head of the apostle is still emitting sweet-smelling ointment in his own day. See ch. 8, ll. 36–38 (Vat. gr. 1669, fol. 400r).

Stachys, Nikanora and John and only three topics are retained: Philip's sermon, his maltreatment and the story about the earthquake[27].

Comparison with the *Vorlage* reveals an interesting discrepancy. Whereas the narrative parts are rephrased and elaborated through use of asyndeta, interjections and assonances[28], direct speech is quoted without change, despite the fact that the Greek is quite uncouth[29]. This suggests that Michael considered the sermons to represent the apostle's own words, which gave them the authority of Scripture.

Like other authors of the time, Michael likes to show off his learning. He once quotes from the Iliad and in several instances uses poetic words[30]. Moreover, he compares Philip with a doctor in such a way that it implies knowledge of ancient medicine[31]. The most striking feature, however, is undoubtedly the toning down of the miraculous, which played an important role in the *Passio*. The speaking animals that accompany the saints are only referred to in a roundabout way[32], and the appearance of Christ in the guise of the apostle forty days after his death is not mentioned at all[33]. This selective approach is most obvious in the following passage.

Michael's *Encomium*	***Passio* II**
Καὶ τοῦ μὲν τρισμάκαρος Φιλίππου τὰ σφυράδια τρήσαντες, προπάροιθεν τῆς πύλης τοῦ ἱεροῦ εἰς φυτὸν κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἐκρέμασαν. Τὸν δέ γε ἀοίδιμον Βαρθολομαῖον πρὸς τὸν τοῖχον τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀπαιωρήσαντες σταυροειδῶς ἐξετάνυσαν. Ἐπεχείρησαν δὲ καὶ κατὰ τῆς ἁγίας Μαριάμνης, ἀλλ᾽ ἡ χάρις αὐτὴν τοῦ παναγίου σκεπάσασα πνεύματος τῶν ἀθέων τὴν τόλμαν ἀπήμβλυνεν[34].	Καὶ τρήσαντες τὰ σφυρὰ τοῦ Φιλίππου ἀνήνεγκαν κόρακας καὶ τὰ νεῦρα εἰσήνεγκαν διὰ τῶν πτερνῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκρέμασαν αὐτὸν κατὰ κεφαλῆς φυτοῦ ὄντος πρὸ τῆς θύρας τοῦ ἱεροῦ. Καὶ πασσάλους πήξαντες εἰς τὸν τοῖχον τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὸν Βαρθολομαῖον δήσαντες ποδῶν καὶ χειρῶν ἐξέτειναν γυμνὸν εἰς τὸν τοῖχον. Ὅτε δὲ ἐγύμνωσαν τὴν Μαριάμνην, ἠλλάγη ἡ ὁμοίωσις τοῦ σώματος αὐτῆς, καὶ ἐγένετο κιβωτὸς ὑελίνη φωτὸς γέμουσα, καὶ οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν ἐγγίσαι πρὸς αὐτήν[35].

The description of the sufferings of Philip and Bartholomew follows the original quite closely. By contrast, the corresponding statement about Mariamne is completely reworked. No mention is made of her metamorphosis into a shining glass vessel. This reticence was a trait that Michael shared with

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[27] Nicetas the Paphlagonian, Encomium of Philip. *PG* 105, 164–184, esp. 175C–181C.

[28] For asyndeta see e.g. Vat. gr. 1669, fol. 398v: ἤνοιξεν ὁ ᾅδης … ἠνοίχθη ἡ γῆ. For interjections see e.g. ch. 7, l. 7 (fol. 397r): ὦ τῆς ἀποστολικῆς εὐσπλαγχνίας, ὦ τῆς τοῦ μακαρίου Φιλίππου συμπαθείας. For assonances see e.g. ch. 6, l. 26 (fol. 396v): ἠναγκάσθη ἀκέστωρ, and fol. 398r: ἀκεστὴς Φίλιππος ἥκιστα.

[29] Such passages are underlined in the text.

[30] For the quotation see the *apparatus*. See also ch. 6, l. 2 (Vat. gr. 1669, fol. 395v): χρυσάμπυξ, found e.g. in Iliad E 358; εὔξοος, uncontracted form found e.g. in Iliad K 373; ch. 5, l. 14 (fol. 394v): δαήμων, found e.g. in Iliad O 411. It is, of course, possible that Michael took these words from a lexicon.

[31] Ch. 7, ll. 28–29 (Vat. gr. 1669, fol. 398r): κατὰ τοὺς τῶν ἐμπείρων δοκιμωτάτους ἰατρούς. This may be a reference to the empiric school of medicine. See J. Howick, Aulus Cornelius Celsus and 'empirical' and 'dogmatic' medicine. *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine* 109 (2016) 426–430. The metaphor of the good physician is called ἀλληγορία by the author. See ch. 5, l. 44 (Vat. gr. 1669, fol. 395v).

[32] Ch. 6, l. 28 (Vat. gr. 1669, fol. 396v): ἐθεώρουν ... φύσιν ἄλογον λογικὴν λειτουργίαν ἀποτελοῦσαν, cf. *Passio* II 124 (52, 18–20 Lipsius – Bonnet): βλέπε καὶ ἴδε τὸν λεόπαρδον καὶ τὸν ἔριφον ἀνθρωπίνως λαλοῦντας.

[33] Cf. *Passio* II 148 (89, 15–18 Lipsius – Bonnet).

[34] Ch. 7, ll. 15–19 (Vat. gr. 1669, fol. 397v).

[35] *Passio* II 125–126 (54, 18; 55, 12–17 Lipsius – Bonnet), same text in Vat. gr. 1669, fol. 382r.

his contemporary Nicetas the Paphlagonian[36]. It seems that around the year 900 the Constantinopolitan elite had no stomach for outlandish tales.

SUMMARY

1. We have come together in order to celebrate the commemoration of the Apostle Philip, the patron saint of our diocese, who is not to be confused with Philip the Evangelist, one of the Seven.

2. What gives Philip praise is not his earthly fatherland Bethsaida but heaven as his true home.

3. When Philip asked Christ to show him the Father he did so in order that Christ have an opportunity to set out Trinitarian theology in the Gospels.

4. Christ also explained that he is consubstantial with the Father and consubstantial with us, thus showing clearly that the theological positions of Manichaeans, Nestorians, Monophysites and Iconoclasts are wrong.

5. Philip was a simple fisherman but nevertheless well-versed in Scripture, in contrast to the poor of our day.

6. Together with Bartholomew and Mariamne, Philip came to the city of Ophiorhyme where snakes were worshipped. He and Mariamne performed healing miracles, which raised the ire of the pagans.

7. After Philip had held a speech he and Bartholomew were dragged through the city and hanged upside down at the temple of the snake. The Apostle John rebuked the populace. The earth opened and devoured the pagans.

8. Christ appeared and returned the pagans to the surface by means of the cross. Philip died and was buried. His skull gushes forth sweet-smelling ointment.

9. Let us lead a virtuous life and begin the Lent of Christmas with abstention and distribution of alms among the poor.

[36] See V. Déroche, L'âge d'or de l'hagiographie: nouvelles formes et nouvelles tendances, in: Proceedings of the 23rd International Congress of Byzantine Studies: Belgrade, 22–27 August 2016: plenary papers, ed. S. Marjanović-Dušanić. Belgrade 2016, 35–39.

TEXT

Codex Vaticanus graecus 1669 (*Diktyon* 68300), fol. 389v–400v[37]

389v Μιχαὴλ μοναχοῦ ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὸν πανένδοξον τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀπόστολον Φίλιππον.

1 **1.** Πᾶσα μὲν μαρτύρων Χριστοῦ τελετὴ καὶ πανήγυρις, φαιδρὰ καὶ περιχαρὴς καὶ σωτήριος καὶ τῆς θείας φιλανθρωπίας τοῖς εὐσεβείας ἐρασταῖς καθέστηκεν πρόξενος· ἡ δέ γε τῶν αὐτοῦ θείων καὶ πανευφήμων ἀποστόλων, πολλῷ πλέον ὑπερανέστηκεν· λαμπροτέρας ἀφιεῖσα τὰς τῆς χάριτος λαμπηδόνας· καὶ τῶν ξένων τεραστίων τοὺς ἀεννάους κρουνούς, καθ᾽ ὅσον
5 δὴ καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα ὑπέρτερον κέκτηται· πρῶτοι γὰρ οὗτοι τῇ πηγῇ τῆς ζωῆς πλησιάσαντες· καὶ τῷ ἀνάρχῳ φωτὶ ἀμέσως ὁμιλήσαντες καὶ αὐτόπται τοῦ σαρκωθέντος λόγου καὶ θεοῦ πεφηνότες· καὶ ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ σαγηνευταὶ τοῦ κόσμου παντὸς κατασταθέντες· καὶ τῶν ἀχράντων αὐτοῦ παθημάτων τὸ θεουργὸν ἐκπιόντες ποτήριον, εἰκότως καὶ τὰ πρεσβεῖα τῆς τιμῆς πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἀπηνέγκαντο· ὧν εἷς ὑπάρχει καὶ ὁ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐπαρχίας δεσπότης· ὁ ἔνδοξος ὄντως
10 καὶ πανευκλεὴς Φίλιππος· ὁ καὶ τὴν πολύανδρον ταύτην καὶ παμπληθῆ κατὰ τὴν τήμερον συναγηγερκὼς πανήγυριν· καὶ μή τις τῶν ἀκροατῶν ἐπιπολαίως τὴν τῆς προσηγορίας ὁμωνυμίαν ἐκδέξοιτο· ὡς ἂν μὴ τοῦ εὐφημουμένου πόρρω τῇ διανοίᾳ γένηται· ἔστι γὰρ καὶ ἕτερος Φίλιππος τῷ τῆς ἀποστολῆς κατακεκοσμημένος χαρίσματι· εἷς τῆς μακαρίας ἐκείνης
390r τῶν μαθητῶν ἑβδομάδος· τῆς εἰς | διακονίαν καὶ παράκλησιν τῶν πεντακισχιλίων τῶν ἄρτι
15 προσρυέντων τῷ κηρύγματι παρὰ τοῦ κορυφαίου τῶν ἀποστόλων Πέτρου καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ προχειρισθείσης· ὁ δὲ τῆς ἡμετέρας πόλεως μετὰ θεὸν σωτὴρ τῆς θείας δυοκαιδεκάδος τῶν πρωτουργῶν τοῦ κυρίου μαθητῶν πεντάριθμος πέφυκεν· μετὰ Πέτρον καὶ Ἰάκωβον καὶ Ἰωάννην καὶ Ἀνδρέαν, τὴν ἕδραν τῆς τάξεως ηὐμοιρηκώς· ἐπεὶ οὖν τὴν διαστολὴν τῶν ἑκατέρων πεποιήμεθα καὶ τὸ διάφορον τῆς ἀξίας ἔγνωμεν· φέρε εἰ δοκεῖ πρὸς τὸν νῦν εἰς
20 ὑπόθεσιν ἡμῖν εὐφημιῶν προκείμενον, τῷ λόγῳ συνδράμωμεν· ταῖς τοῦ ἱεροῦ ποιμένος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν θαρρήσαντες προσευχαῖς· παρ᾽ οὗ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὁρμὴν τοῦ λόγου κεκινήμεθα· πατρικῶς τὴν ὑπακοὴν ἀπαιτοῦντος· καὶ ὡς οἷόν τε· οὐ γὰρ ἱκανοὶ ἡμεῖς τὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀπόστολον ἐπαίνων κάλυξι στεφανώσαντες τῆς παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ εὐεργεσίας τὰς σωτηρίους ἀμοιβὰς ἀπλάστοις καρδίαις ὑποδεξώμεθα· νέμει γὰρ τοῖς πιστῶς αὐτῷ προσιοῦσιν τὰς τῶν ἰάσεων ἀντιδόσεις·
25 παρὰ τῆς ἀεννάου πηγῆς τὴν ἀκεσφόρον χάριν τούτων πεπλουτηκώς·

2. Τί οὖν, ἐγκωμίων νόμοις ἐψόμεθα τοῖς τῶν ἔξωθεν· πατρίδα τούτου τὴν κάτω καταλέγοντες· ἀγωγήν τε καὶ ἐπιτήδευμα καὶ πράξεις τὰς χαμαὶ ἐρχομένας ἢ τοιούτους ἀφέμενοι λόγους ὡς οὐδὲν προσήκοντας τῷ πνευματικῶς εὐφημουμένῳ τῆς ἀληθινῆς αὐτοῦ
390v μᾶλλον πα|τρίδος τὴν μητρόπολιν θεωρήσωμεν· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν ἴσως καταθρῆσαι τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ
5 καὶ ἡμῖν ῥᾶον ἐκγενήσεται· καὶ τῷ φιλοχρίστῳ δὲ ποινμίῳ τὸ λυσιτελοῦν ἀπαντήσοι· ἐπειδή γε πρὸς τοῦτο βλέπει πᾶσα πνευματικὴ συνάθροισις· λέγω δὴ τὸ ἐμπορεύεσθαί τι τῶν ἐστώτων καὶ κρατουμένων καὶ ἀϊδίως ἡμῖν παραμένειν δεδυνημένων, ἀλλὰ μὴ τῶν ὀνείρου δίκην ἢ πομφόλυγος τὴν αἴσθησιν τῆς ψυχῆς παρατρεχόντων καὶ μηδὲν ὀνησίφορον ἐν ἑαυτοῖς κεκτημένων· τοιοῦτον δὴ οὖν ἐστὶν δόξα πρόσκαιρος· τρυφή τε καὶ ἄνεσις σώματος· ἥ τε τοῦ
10 ἀδήλου πλούτου ἄπιστος περιουσία· καὶ αἱ ἐκ τούτων ἢ διὰ τούτων συνιστάμεναι φθοροποιοὶ τῆς σαρκὸς ἡδοναί· πατρὶς τοιγαροῦν τοῦ ἀποστόλου Φιλίππου, ἡ ἄνω Ἰσραὴλ ὡς αὐτὸς διδάσκων ἐκήρυξεν, ἡ μήτηρ τῶν πρωτοτόκων[38] *ἧς τεχνίτης καὶ δημιουργὸς ὁ θεός*[39]· καθ᾽

[37] Since the text is extant in a single manuscript, the original punctuation has been preserved. Itacisms have been tacitly corrected. Otherwise the text is virtually free of scribal errors, which can be explained by the fact that the manuscript was copied when Michael was still alive and possibly even still a monk of Stoudios.

[38] Cf. Hebrews 12:23a.

[39] Hebrews 11:10b.

TRANSLATION

Michael the Monk's praise of the most glorious apostle of Christ, Philip.

1. Every celebration and festival of the martyrs of Christ is bright and joyful and salvific and procures divine kindness for the lovers of piety. But those of his divine and all-praiseworthy apostles are raised much higher, and the lights of grace that they emit are much more splendid, and they possess ever-flowing wells of strange portents, inasmuch as their rank is more elevated. For these first approached the source of life and communed directly with the light that has no beginning, and appeared as eye-witnesses of the incarnated Word and God, and were appointed by him to be fishers of the whole world, and emptied the divinising cup of his undefiled sufferings, and thus also rightly received from him the seniority of honour. One of these was also the lord of our diocese, the truly glorious and famous Philip, who has also gathered this populous and very well-attended feast today. And none of the listeners should understand in a superficial manner the homonymy of the appellation, lest he be far removed in thought from the one who is being praised. For there is also another Philip, adorned with the grace of apostleship, one of the blessed heptad of the disciples, who had been appointed by the chief of the apostles Peter and those who were with him for the ministry and comfort of the five thousand who were already rushing towards the proclamation. But the saviour of our city after God is the fifth as regards number of the divine duodecad of the primary disciples of the Lord, since he was allotted the seat in the order after Peter and James and John and Andrew. Since, then, we have made the distinction between the two, and understood the difference of rank, if it seems right to you, let us run together with a speech to the one who is now the subject of our praises, trusting in the prayers of the sacred shepherd on behalf of us, by whom we were also moved to the undertaking of the speech, who demanded obedience like a father, and let us crown as far as it is possible – for we are not equal to the task – the apostle of Christ with the flowers of praises and receive with sincere hearts the salvific recompense of his benefactions. For he distributes among those who approach in faith the reward of healings, as he has richly received the grace that brings healing from the everflowing source.

2. What then? Shall we follow the laws of panegyrics, which were laid down by those outside the faith, listing his fatherland here below and his behaviour and pursuits and deeds, which move on the ground, or shall we leave such speeches, as not appropriate for the one who is spiritually praised, and consider the mother-city of his true fatherland? For thus it would perhaps be easier for us to perceive that which concerns him, and benefit will accrue to the Christ-loving flock, since all spiritual gatherings are geared towards that, I mean, the acquisition of something of that which stands firm and is held fast and can forever stay with us, but not of that which passes by the perception of the soul like a dream or a bubble and has nothing profitable in itself. Such, then, is the transient glory, luxury and relaxation of the body, and the untrustworthy abundance of the uncertain riches, and the corrupting pleasures of the flesh, which arise from them. The fatherland, then, of the apostle Philip was Israel on high, as he himself proclaimed with his teachings, the mother of the first-born whose architect and maker is God, because he focused on it with the intelligible eye of the soul and readily despised

ὅτι πρὸς ἐκείνην τῷ νοερῷ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀποσκοπῶν ὄμματι, τῆς κάτω καὶ σαρκικῆς εὐπετῶς κατεφρόνησεν· ἐκ πρώτης κλήσεως τῷ Λόγῳ καὶ θεῷ ἀκολουθήσας· καὶ τὰ γαιώδη πάντα ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ ἀποσεισάμενος· πίστει τὸν λόγον ἐδέξατο, καὶ παραυτὰ τῆς μαθητείας τὸ ἀξίωμα εἴληφεν· πίστει τὸν λόγον προσήκατο, καὶ εὐθέως υἱοθεσίας χάριν ἐμνηστεύσατο· *ὅσοι γὰρ ἔλαβον αὐτόν* φησιν ἡ θεολόγος φωνή, *ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίαν τέκνα θεοῦ γενέσθαι τοῖς πιστεύουσιν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ*[40]· ἔρριψεν ὁ | σωτὴρ τοῦ λόγου τὸ ἄγκιστρον καὶ ὡς ἰχθὺν τὸν 391r
ἁλιέα τῶν ἰχθύων Φίλιππον ζωγρήσας, τῶν ἀλογίστων ἀνθρώπων ἀγρευτὴν ἀνέδειξεν· ἀφῆκεν λινὰ διερρωγότα ὁ ἁλιεὺς Φίλιππος, καὶ ἐνεχειρίσθη τὰς τοῦ θείου κηρύγματος καινοπρεπεῖς σαγήνας· ὦ τῆς παραδόξου πραγματείας· ὦ τῆς σεβαστῆς ἀνταλλαγῆς· εὖγε τῆς ἐπεράστου ἐμπορείας τοῦ ἀποστόλου· ὁ ἐκ γῆς τὴν σύστασιν εἰληχώς, ἀθρόον οὐρανὸς κατεφάνη· τὴν δόξαν κυρίου κατ᾽ ἄμφω διηγούμενος· ὁ ἀφώνων ἰχθύων ἁλιευτὴς ἐθνῶν ἀγρευτὴς κατεστάθη· ὁ *ἀπὸ Βηδσαϊδᾶ τῆς Γαλιλαίας*[41] κατάγων τὸ γένος· οὐρανοπολίτης ἐγεγόνει·

3. Ὡς περιφανὴς ὄντως καὶ περίοπτος ὁ πανεύφημος Φίλιππος· ὡς λίαν περικυδέστερος παρὰ πάσας βασιλείας τῆς γῆς· ἐμαθήτευσεν τῷ Ἰησοῦ, καὶ γέγονε φῶς τοῦ κόσμου· καθὼς αὐτὸς ὁ διδάσκαλος μεμαρτύρηκεν *ὑμεῖς ἐστε λέγων τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου*[42]· προσέφυ τῇ ζωηφόρῳ ἀμπέλῳ καὶ γέγονεν κλῆμα εὐθαλές· καρποὺς πεπείρους εὐσεβείας τῷ κόσμῳ προβαλλόμενος· *ἐγώ* γάρ *εἰμί* φησιν *ἡ ἄμπελος, ὑμεῖς τὰ κλήματα*[43]· ἐκοινώνησε μυστηρίων θείων καὶ οὐρανίων· μετέσχεν οὐσιωδῶς τοῦ ἀμνοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ αἴροντος τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου[44]· μετέλαβεν τοῦ τῆς ἀμβροσίας ξύλου· ἀπήλαυσεν καθ᾽ αὐτὸ τοῦ θεοτελοῦς νέκταρος· καὶ τῆς θεουργοῦ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἐμφορηθεὶς ἐν τῷ τρισσολαμπεῖ ἐκείνῳ δείπνῳ· διδασκαλικῆς | διαθήκης, ἀπεκρίνατο μετὰ παρρησίας ἀστείως πρὸς τὸν διδάσκαλον λέγων· 391v
κύριε δεῖξον ἡμῖν τὸν πατέρα καὶ ἀρκεῖ ἡμῖν[45]· τί φῆς ὦ περίβλεπτε Φίλιππε· τριετῆ χρόνον ἤδη μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ συναλιζόμενος παριππεύσας, κατὰ δαιμόνων κυρίαν ἐξ αὐτοῦ εἴληφας· ἐπὶ ἀσπίδα καὶ βασιλίσκον ἐπιβαίνειν καὶ καταπατεῖν λέοντα καὶ δράκοντα ὡς φοιτητὴς γνήσιος ἐγκεκέλευσαι[46]· λεπροὺς τῷ λόγῳ ἐκάθηρας· νεκροὺς ἐξήγειρας· ἀναπήροις βλέπειν τὸ φῶς παρεσκεύασας· ἀσθενοῦντας ποικιλοτρόπως ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ ἐθεράπευσας· καὶ οὕπω ἔγνως υἱὸν θεοῦ αὐτὸν εἶναι[47]· καὶ τοῦ συμφυοῦς πατρὸς ἀδιάστατον, ἀλλὰ φάσκεις *δεῖξον ἡμῖν τὸν πατέρα καὶ ἀρκεῖ ἡμῖν*; ναί, φησιν ὁ μέγας Φίλιππος· βούλομαι σαφέστερον γνῶναι τὸ μυστήριον τῆς παντουργοῦ τριάδος· βούλομαι τὸ ὁμοούσιον πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Λόγου ἐκδιδαχθῆναι· ὡς ἂν Ἄρειος καὶ Εὐνόμιος ἐν ταῖς μετέπειτα γενεαῖς ὑπὸ τῶν τῆς εὐσεβείας ἱερομυστῶν· τῇ τῶν δογμάτων ἐρεύνῃ καταισχυνθῶσιν· τί οὖν *ὁ πάντα εἰδὼς πρὶν γενέσεως αὐτῶν*[48]· τά τε ὄντα τά τε ἐσόμενα· πρό τε ὄντα[49]· ὁ καὶ τὰς ἀπορρήσεις ταύτας οἰκονομήσας παρὰ τοῦ μαθητοῦ προβληθῆναι εἰς ὠφέλειαν τῶν ἐσύστερον προστεθησομένων τῷ ἀμωμήτῳ λόγῳ τῆς πίστεως· *τοσοῦ|τον χρόνον μεθ᾽ ὑμῶν εἰμι καὶ οὐκ ἔγνωκάς με Φίλιππε*[50]· 392r
ὁ ἑωρακώς ἐμέ ἑώρακεν τὸν πατέρα[51] *καὶ πῶς σὺ λέγεις· δεῖξον ἡμῖν τὸν πατέρα καὶ ἀρκεῖ ἡμῖν· οὐ πιστεύεις ὅτι ἐγὼ ἐν τῷ πατρί· καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ἐν ἐμοί ἐστιν*[52]· ὃ δὲ λέγει, τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν·

[40] John 1:12.
[41] John 12:21a.
[42] Matthew 5:14a.
[43] John 15:5a.
[44] Cf. John 1:29b.
[45] John 14:8.
[46] Cf. Psalm 90:13.
[47] Cf. John 14:9.
[48] Daniel 13:42b.
[49] τά τε ὄντα τά τε ἐσόμενα· πρό τε ὄντα. Cf. Iliad A 70.
[50] John 14:9a.
[51] John 14:9b.
[52] John 10:9.

the earthly and fleshly one. For having followed the Word and God from the moment of his calling, and having shaken off from himself all earthly things, he received the word through faith, and immediately assumed the honour of discipleship. He admitted the word through faith, and straightaway wedded to himself the grace of adoption, for the theological tongue says: "To all those who accepted him, he gave the power to become children of God, those who believe in his name." The Saviour cast the hook of the word and caught like a fish Philip, the catcher of fish, and appointed him catcher of mindless human beings. The fisherman Philip left the ripped fishing-nets and was entrusted with the novel nets of the divine proclamation. O the paradoxical business! O the venerable exchange! O the beloved transaction of the apostle! The one who had been constituted from earth suddenly appeared as heaven, recounting the glory of the Lord in both ways, he who had been the fisher of voiceless fish was made catcher of the peoples, he who traced his family from Bethsaida in Galilee, became a dweller in heaven.

3. How truly famous and renowned is the all-praiseworthy Philip, how exceedingly glorious, more than all kingdoms of the earth! He became the disciple of Jesus and became the light of the world, as the teacher himself confirmed when he said: "You are the light of the world." He grew onto the life-bearing vine and became a flourishing branch, projecting into the world ripe fruits of piety, for he says: "I am the vine and you are the branches." He shared in the divine and heavenly mysteries, he participated substantially in the lamb of God that takes away the sins of the world, he took from the tree of ambrosia, he enjoyed in it the divine nectar, and he was filled with the divine and instructive covenant of the Saviour at that thrice-shining supper, he charmingly answered the teacher with frankness, saying: "Lord, show us the Father and it is sufficient for us." What do you say, renowned Philip? Living with him already for three years, you had received from him mastery over demons, you had been commanded to step on asps and basiliscs and to trample on lions and dragons as a genuine disciple, you had cleansed lepers with the word, you had raised the dead, you had caused the blind to see the light, you had healed in his name those who suffered from various illnesses, and you had not yet learned that he is the Son of God, who is inseparable from the naturally united Father, but you said: "Show us the Father and it is enough for us." "Yes," says the great Philip, "I wish to learn more clearly the mystery of the all-effecting Trinity, I wish to be taught about the consubstantiality of the Father and the Son from the Word himself, so that in the generations to come Arius and Eunomius will be put to shame by the sacred initiators of piety through the study of their doctrines." What then? He who knows everything before it comes to be, what is and what will be and what was before, he who also arranged that these words were put forward by the disciple for the benefit of those who would later associate themselves with the blameless word of faith said: "Such a long time have I been with you and you do not know me, Philip? He who has seen me has seen the Father, and how do you say: 'Show us the Father and it is enough for us,' will you not believe that I am in the Father and the Father is in me?" What he says is the following: "You have heard about my supernatural coming-

τὴν ἐκ παρθένου ὑπερφυᾶ μου πρόοδον ἀκήκοας· μυρίων θαυματουργημάτων αὐτόπτης καὶ ὑπηρέτης γέγονας[53]· τοῦ ὕδατος τὴν ἐπὶ καλλίστῳ οἴνῳ μεταποίησιν ἑώρακας· τῶν λεπρῶν τὴν κάθαρσιν εἶδες· τῶν νεκρῶν τὴν ἀνέγερσιν τεθέασαι· τοῦ τυφλοῦ τὴν ἀνάβλεψιν ἔγνως· τῶν ἄρτων τὸν πληθυσμὸν αὐτῇ τῇ πείρᾳ μεμάθηκας· τὸν ἐπὶ θαλάσσης περίπατον· τὴν τῶν ἀνέμων ὑποταγήν· τὴν τῶν δαιμόνων ἐκδίωξιν· τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων τῶν ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ γεγονότων τεραστίων ὡς ἀδιασπάστως μοι συνθέων τὴν εἴδησιν ἔσχες· καὶ οὔπω ἔγνως ὅτι ἐγὼ ἐν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ἐν ἐμοί ἐστιν· διὰ τὸ ἑνιαῖον τῆς φύσεως καὶ τὸ ταὐτὸν τοῦ θελήματος καὶ τῆς ἐνεργείας· ἀλλὰ φάσκεις· *δεῖξον ἡμῖν τὸν πατέρα καὶ ἀρκεῖ ἡμῖν; καὶ μὴν πρὸ τούτου εἶπον ὑμῖν ὁ πατήρ μου ἕως ἄρτι ἐργάζεται κἀγὼ ἐργάζομαι*[54]· *καὶ εἰ ἐμοὶ οὐ πιστεύετε, τοῖς ἔργοις μου πιστεύσατε*[55]· *καὶ τὰ ἔργα ἃ ἐγὼ ποιῶ μαρτυρεῖ περὶ ἐμοῦ*[56]· ὡς ὁμοεργὸς εἰμὶ τῷ κατ᾽ οὐσίαν ἀχρόνως γεγεννηκότι με πατρὶ καὶ ἀχώριστος τῆς αὐτοῦ θεότητος· κἂν ἐν τῇ καθ᾽ 392v ὑμᾶς βλέπωμαι μορφῇ· *ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐν τῷ πατρί | καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ἐν ἐμοί ἐστιν*· καὶ πῶς σὺ λέγεις· δεῖξον ἡμῖν τὸν πατέρα καὶ ἀρκεῖ ἡμῖν· ὁ ἑωρακὼς ἐμὲ ᾧ Φίλιππε ἑώρακε τὸν πατέρα· τί οὖν ἐστι τὸ λεγόμενον· ἆρα ὁ ἑωρακὼς τὸν κύριον τῇ προχείρῳ αἰσθήσει τῆς βλέψεως κατὰ τὴν σωματικὴν ἰδέαν· ἑωρακέναι λέγεται τὸν πατέρα· οὐδαμῶς· ἀλλὰ τί· ὁ νενοηκὼς ἐμέ φησιν ἐκ τῶν παρακολουθησάντων θεοσημειῶν· νενόηκε καὶ τὸν πατέρα· καθότι υἱὸς χωρὶς πατρὸς οὐκ ἂν λέγοιτό ποτε· οὔτε πατὴρ χωρὶς υἱοῦ· οὔτε γὰρ λόγος ἄτερ τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν νοῦ τὸ εἶναι κέκτηται· οὔτε πάλιν νοῦς ἄμοιρός ἐστιν τῆς φυσικῆς ἐνεργείας· ἤτοι τοῦ ἐμφύτου καὶ κατ᾽ οὐσίαν αὐτῷ συνυπάρχοντος λόγου· ὁ νενοηκὼς τοίνυν ἐμὲ ᾧ Φίλιππε νενόηκε τὸν πατέρα· ἀχώριστός εἰμι ὁ υἱὸς τῷ κατ᾽ οὐσίαν ὁμοφυεῖ μου πατρί· κἂν σάρκα τὴν ἐξ ὑμῶν δι᾽ ὑμᾶς καθ᾽ ὑμᾶς καὶ ὑπὲρ ὑμᾶς φορέσαι ἠνεσχόμην· ἵνα σώσω τὸν πλανηθέντα ἄνθρωπον τοῖς ἑκουσίοις μου τῆς σαρκὸς παθήμασιν· καὶ ἀποδώσω τῇ εἰκόνι τὸ κατ᾽ εἰκόνα[57]· ὁ νενοηκὼς ἐμέ, νενόηκε τὸν πατέρα· μία γὰρ φύσις πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ καθέστηκεν· νοητῶς βλεπομένη τοῖς τὸ ἅγιόν μου καὶ ὁμοδύναμον κεκτημένοις πνεῦμα· ὁ νενοηκὼς τοιγαροῦν ἐμὲ ᾧ Φίλιππε ἐξ ὧν δέδρακα παραδόξων, νενόηκε καὶ τὸν ἐν ἐμοὶ ὄντα καὶ λαλοῦντα πατέρα, *τὰ ῥήματα* γάρ φησιν *ἃ ἐγὼ λαλῶ ὑμῖν· ἀπ᾽ ἐμαυτοῦ οὐ λαλῶ· ἀλλ᾽ ὁ πατὴρ ὁ ἐν ἐμοὶ μένων· αὐτὸς ποιεῖ τὰ* 393r *ἔργα*[58]· *πιστεύετέ μοι ὅτι ἐγὼ ἐν τῷ πατρί | καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ἐν ἐμοί ἐστιν· εἰ δὲ μή· διὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτὰ πιστεύετέ μοι*[59]·

4. Ἐκ τῶν ἔργων φησὶ πιστώθητι ᾧ Φίλιππε· ὅτι τῆς αὐτῆς ἐνεργείας εἰμὶ τῷ ἐν ἐμοὶ μένοντι πατρὶ καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐκ παρθένου ἀπόρρητόν μου καὶ ὑπὲρ νοῦν σάρκωσιν· εἰ δ᾽ ἐνεργείας δηλονότι καὶ φύσεως· ὧν γὰρ ἡ ἐνέργεια μία, τούτων καὶ ἡ οὐσία μία· καὶ τὸ ἔμπαλιν· ὧν ἡ οὐσία ἡ αὐτή, τούτων καὶ ἡ ἐνέργεια ἡ αὐτή[60]· τοιγαροῦν εἷς υἱὸς ὁ αὐτός· καὶ οὐκ ἄλλος πέφυκα· καὶ μετὰ τὴν καθ᾽ ὑπόστασίν μου πρὸς τὸ ἀνθρώπινον ἕνωσιν· δύο φύσεων συνδρομῇ τὸ ἐμὸν δι᾽ ὑμᾶς ὑπὲρ λόγον καθυπέστησα τῆς ὑποστάσεως εἶδος· καθ᾽ ὃ διακέκριμαι τοῦ τε πατρὸς καὶ ὑμῶν· εἰ καὶ τοῖς ἄκροις πάλιν ἀμφοῖν συνάπτομαι· ὅθεν δὴ νοούμενός εἰμι τῇ θεότητι· ὁρώμενος δὲ τῇ ἀνθρωπότητι· ἀπερίγραπτος τῇ ἀσωμάτῳ μορφῇ, περιγραπτὸς τῇ παθητῇ σαρκί· ἐντεῦθεν καὶ Μανιχαῖος καταράσσεται, καὶ ὁ τούτῳ κατὰ τὴν γνωμικὴν ἀγχιστεύων σχέσιν εἰκονομάχος· ἀμφότεροι γὰρ τὴν ἐνανθρώπησιν τοῦ σωτῆρος φαντασιώδη τινὰ καὶ οὐ κατ᾽ οὐσίαν ἀληθῶς γεγενῆσθαι δι᾽ αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων εἰσάγουσιν· κἂν

[53] Cf. Luke 1:2.
[54] John 5:17.
[55] Cf. John 10:38.
[56] John 10:25.
[57] ἀποδώσω ... εἰκόνα. Cf. Gregory of Nazianzus, Oratio I 4 (ed. J. Bernardi, Grégoire de Nazianze, Discours 1–3, introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes [*SC* 247]. Paris 1978, 76, 8–9).
[58] John 14:10b.
[59] John 14:11.
[60] ὧν ... αὐτή. Cf. John of Damascus, Expositio fidei 37 (ed. B. Kotter, Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos, II [*Patristische Texte und Studien* 12]. Berlin – New York 1973, 93, 5–7).

forth from a virgin, you have been eye-witness and helper in countless workings of miracles, you have seen the transformation of water into excellent wine, you have seen the cleansing of lepers, you have witnessed the raising of the dead, you have learnt the opening of the eyes of the blind, you have learnt through your personal experience the multiplication of the bread, the walking on the sea, the subjection of the winds, the expulsion of the demons, you have knowledge of all the other portents that were performed by me, since you have been inseparable from me in our wanderings, and you do not yet know that I am in the Father and the Father is in me, because of the unity of nature and the identity of will and operation, but you say: 'Show us the Father and it is sufficient for us.' And indeed I have previously said to you: 'My Father is working until now and I, too, am working,' and if you do not believe me, believe in my works, and the works that I do testify for me, that I am acting together with the Father who has begotten me in timeless fashion as far as substance is concerned and that I am inseparable from his divinity, even if I am seen in your form, for I am in the Father and the Father is in me. And how do you say: 'Show us the Father and it is sufficient for us.' He who has seen me, Philip, has seen the Father.'" What, then, is it that is being said here? Does it mean that he who has seen the Lord with the ordinary sense of sight in his bodily appearance has seen the Father? Not at all. But what? "He who has perceived me," he says, "from the divine signs that have followed me, has perceived the Father, because one could not speak of a son without the father, nor of a father without a son. For neither does the word have being without the mind that naturally belongs to it, nor again is the mind bereft of its natural operation, that is, the word, which exists with it by nature and in substance. He, then, who has perceived me, Philip, has perceived the Father, for I am the Son, being inseparable from my Father who is naturally one with me as regards substance, even though I have suffered to bear flesh from you for you like you and beyond you, in order that I save through the voluntary passions of the flesh the human being who has gone astray, and I will return to the image the status of being in the image. He who has perceived me has perceived the father, for there is one nature of the Father and the Son, which is seen in the mind by those who possess my holy Spirit, which is of like power. He, then, who has perceived me, Philip, from the paradoxical things I have done, has perceived the Father who is and speaks in me, for he says: 'The words that I say to you, I do not say from me, but the Father who remains in me, he does the works.' Believe me that I am in the Father and the Father is in me, but if not, believe me through the works themselves."

4. He says: "Be persuaded, Philip, from the works, that I have the same operation as the Father who remains in me, even after my ineffable and incomprehensible incarnation from a virgin. But if I have the same operation then I have obviously also the same nature, for those who have the same operation also have the same substance, and *vice versa*, who have the same substance also have the same operation. Therefore I am one Son by nature, the same and not another, even after my hypostatic union with humanity. Through the concurrence of two natures I have supernaturally hypostasised the form of my hypostasis for your sake, by which I am distinguished from the Father and from you, even if I am again connected with both through the extremes. Therefore, then, I am perceived as regards my divinity, and seen as regards my humanity, uncircumscribed as regards my incorporeal form, circumscribed as regards my passible flesh." Through this the Manichaean, too, will be routed, and the Iconoclast who is close to him as regards his attitudinal relation, for both put forward in a manifest way that the inhumanation of the Saviour is imaginary and not truly substantial, even

παρηλλάχθαι τούτων ἕκαστος κατὰ τὸ σέβας δοκεῖ· ἐντεῦθεν καὶ Νεστόριος βάλλεται· καὶ Διόσκορος ἐκποδὼν γίνεται· ὁ μὲν ὡς τὴν καθ᾽ ὑπόστασιν ἕνωσιν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἑνὸς Χριστοῦ
393v καὶ θεοῦ μὴ προσιέμενος· ὁ δὲ ὡς τὴν κατ᾽ οὐσίαν διαφορὰν ἐπὶ τοῦ | ἐνανθρωπήσαντος
15 θεοῦ Λόγου ἀπαναινόμενος· τολμηρῶς ἅμα καὶ ἀμαθῶς κατὰ τῆς σωτηρίου λυττήσαντες τοῦ φιλανθρώπου δεσπότου οἰκονομίας·[61] οὔτε γὰρ διὰ τὴν[62] κατ᾽ ἄκρον πρὸς τὴν σάρκα καθ᾽ ὑπόστασιν τοῦ θεοῦ Λόγου ἕνωσιν[63] εἰς μιᾶς φύσεως γένεσιν[64] ἡ τῶν δύο κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ συνδρομὴ γέγονεν οὐσιῶν, οὔτε μὴν διὰ τὴν[65] κατ᾽ ἄκρον πρὸς τὴν σάρκα κατὰ φύσιν διαφορὰν[66] τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἑνὸς υἱοῦ καὶ θεοῦ, εἰς[67] υἱῶν δυάδα ὁ Χριστὸς τέτμηται[68]· ὡς ἕτερον
20 εἶναι τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ ἄλλον τὸν θεοῦ Λόγον μετὰ τὴν καθ᾽ αὐτὸ ἕνωσιν τῆς τε θεότητος καὶ τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος· ἤτοι τοῦ θεοῦ Λόγου πρὸς τὴν καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς μορφήν· ἄκρον δέ φημι τῆς μὲν καθ᾽ ὑπόστασιν ἑνώσεως τὸ παντελῶς ἀδιαίρετον· τῆς δὲ κατὰ φύσιν διαφορᾶς ἄκρον τὸ παντελῶς ἀσύγχυτον καὶ ἀναλλοίωτον· ὅτι μηδὲ συνεπάγεται πάντῃ[69] τῇ κατὰ φύσιν τῶν ἐξ ὧν συνέστηκεν ἑτερότητι καὶ τὴν καθ᾽ ὑπόστασιν διαφοράν, τὸ μυστήριον τῆς θείας σαρκώσεως·
25 τὸ μέν, ἵνα μὴ προσθήκην λάβῃ τὸ τῆς ἁγίας τριάδος μυστήριον· τὸ δε, ἵνα μηδὲν ᾖ τῇ θεότητι κατὰ φύσιν ὁμογενὲς καὶ ὁμοούσιον· δύο γὰρ φύσεων πρὸς ὑπόστασιν ἀλλ᾽ οὐ πρὸς φύσιν μίαν γέγονεν σύνοδος· ἵνα καὶ τὸ καθ᾽ ὑπόστασιν ἓν ἐκ τῶν ἀλλήλαις συνδραμουσῶν φύσεων
394r δειχθῇ κατὰ τὴν | ἕνωσιν ἀποτελούμενον· καὶ τὸ διάφορον τῶν συνελθόντων πρὸς τὴν ἀδιάσπαστον ἕνωσιν, κατὰ τὴν φυσικὴν ἰδιότητα πιστευθῇ, πάσης ἐκτὸς μένων τροπῆς καὶ
30 συγχύσεως· εἰ γὰρ πρὸς φύσεως γένεσιν ἡ τῶν δύο φύσεων γέγονεν σύνοδος, ἀδιάγνωστον ἂν ἦν ἡμῖν παντελῶς τὸ τῆς ἡμῶν σωτηρίας μυστήριον, οὐκ ἔχουσι πόθεν ἢ πῶς δυνηθῆναι μαθεῖν τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς τοῦ θεοῦ συγκατάβασιν, εἰς τὴν θείαν[70] διὰ τὴν ἕνωσιν τῆς σαρκὸς μεταβληθείσης ἢ τῆς θείας εἰς τὴν τῆς σαρκὸς οὐσίαν μετατραπείσης, ἢ ἀμφοῖν πρὸς ἄλλης παρ᾽ ἑαυτὰς γένεσιν κατά τινα μῖξιν ἔκφυλον συμφυρεισῶν, καὶ μηδετέρας τῶν ἐξ ὧν ἐστι
35 φύσεων τὸν λόγον ἀλώβητον φερουσῶν.

5. Τοιούτων ἡμῖν μυστηρίων ἀποκάλυψιν ἀγαπητοὶ διὰ τῆς εὐσεβοῦς ἐκείνης καὶ θαυμαστῆς πεύσεως ὁ φαεινότατος προεξένησεν Φίλιππος· τοιούτων δογμάτων σαφήνειαν ἡ τοῦ μαθητοῦ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἐχαρίσατο πρότασις· τοιούτων ἡμῖν ἀγαθῶν ὁ συμπολίτης Πέτρου καὶ Ἀνδρέου παραίτιος γέγονεν· ἴδετε φιλευσεβεῖς ἀκροάμονες καὶ τῶν κρειττόνων ἐρασταὶ
5 θεωρημάτων τοῦ ἀποστόλου Φιλίππου τὴν ἐπιστήμην; ἔγνωτε τοῦ ἰδιώτου τὴν θεοπάροχον γνῶσιν; ἐμάθετε τοῦ ἁλιέως τὴν ἐμφιλόσοφον ἔρευναν; ἀλλὰ μή τις ἁλιέα καὶ ἰδιώτην τὸν
394v πανίερον ἀκούων Φίλιππον, ἀμαθῆ | τοῦτον τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν προφητῶν ὑποπτεύσειεν· θεοσεβὴς γὰρ ὢν ὁ ἀνὴρ καὶ φιλόθεος· μελέτην ἑαυτοῦ τὸν νόμον ἐποιεῖτο καὶ τοὺς προφήτας· καραδοκῶν τὸν ἀναστησόμενον προφήτην κατὰ Μωσέα ἐκ τῶν οἰκείων αὐτοῦ ἀδελφῶν[71] διὰ
10 τὸ τῆς σαρκὸς ὁμοούσιον δηλονότι· καὶ τούτου μάρτυς ἀξιόπιστος ὁ εὐαγγελιστὴς Ἰωάννης μετὰ τὴν πρὸς Χριστὸν κλῆσιν αὐτοῦ γράφων οὕτως· *εὑρίσκει Φιλίππος τὸν Ναθαναὴλ καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· ὃν ἔγραψε Μωσῆς ἐν τῷ νόμῳ καὶ οἱ προφῆται, εὑρήκαμεν Ἰησοῦν τὸν υἱὸν Ἰωσὴφ*

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[61] The following passage is adapted from Maximus the Confessor, Quaestiones ad Thalassium 62 (ed. C. Laga and C. Steel, Maximi Confessoris Quaestiones ad Thalassium, II [*CCSG* 22]. Turnhout 1990, 117, 33–59). The borrowings are underlined and it is indicated how the original text differs from Michael's version.

[62] Quaestiones ad Thalassium (henceforth QTh): τῇ

[63] QTh: ἑνώσει

[64] QTh: εἰς μίαν φύσιν

[65] QTh: τῇ

[66] QTh: διαφορᾷ

[67] QTh: πρὸς

[68] QTh: τεμνόμενος

[69] QTh: παντελῶς.

[70] QTh: θείαν φύσιν

[71] Cf. Acts 3:22.

though each of them seems to differ according to doctrine. Through this Nestorius will be cast down, and Dioscorus will be expelled, for the one did not accept the hypostatic union of the one Christ and God, whereas the other denied the substantial difference in the inhumanated God Word, raving foolhardily and stupidly against the dispensation of the loving Lord. For neither did the concurrence of the two substances in one place result in the coming-to-be of one nature because of the extreme hypostatic union of the God Word with the flesh, nor indeed was Christ divided into a duality of sons because of the extreme natural difference between the same one Son and God and the flesh, so that one would be Christ and the other the God Word after the union of the divinity and the humanity, that is, the union of the God Word with our form. But I call extreme hypostatic union the complete indivisibility, and I call extreme natural difference the complete inconfoundability and unchangeability, since the mystery of the divine incarnation does not introduce in any way the difference in hypostasis together with the otherness in nature of that from which it is constituted, lest the mystery of the holy Trinity receive an addition, and lest there be something of the same genus and the same substance as the divinity. For two natures come together not to one nature but to one hypostasis, in order that the oneness in hypostasis is shown to be effected from the natures that have come together with one another, and the difference of those which have come together for the inseparable union according to the natural property is believed to remain without change and confusion. For if the two natures came together to constitute a nature, the mystery of our salvation would not at all be distinguished by us, there would be nothing that would allow us to understand the condescension of God to us, since the flesh would be transformed into the divine substance because of the union, or the divine substance would be changed into the substance of the flesh, or both would be commingled so as to become another substance beside them, in some outlandish mixture, and none of the natures from which it is constituted would have its essence intact.

5. The revelation of such mysteries the most luminous Philipp has procured for us, beloved, the clarification of such doctrines the proposition of the disciple of our Saviour has gifted us with, of such good things for us the fellow-citizen of Peter and Andrew has become the cause. Behold, pious listeners and lovers of the higher contemplations, the expertise of the apostle Philip, learn the God-given knowledge of the simple man, recognise the philosophical study of the fisherman! But nobody when hearing that the most sacred Philipp was a fisherman and a simple man, shall assume that he did not know the law and the prophets, for being a pious and God-loving man, he made the law and the prophets his study, waiting for the prophet who would rise up from his own brothers, according to Moses, which is evidently the case because of the consubstantiality of the flesh. And a trustworthy witness of this is the evangelist John who writes thus after having been called to Christ: “Philip finds Nathanael and says to him: ‘of whom Moses in the law and the prophets have written, we have found in Jesus the son of Joseph from Nazareth.’” Do you see the wisdom of Philip? Do you see the truth

τὸν ἀπὸ Ναζαρέτ[72]· ὁρᾷς τοῦ Φιλίππου τὴν σύνεσιν, βλέπεις τῆς μαρτυρίας τὸ ἀπαράγραπτον, εἰ μὴ γὰρ τοιοῦτος ἦν δαήμων, τῆς κατὰ τὴν παλαιὰν διαθήκην θεωρουμένης γνώσεως ὁ ἀπόστολος Φίλιππος, οὐκ ἂν περὶ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα διεξῄει, ὁ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐραστὴς Ἰωάννης· ἀλλ᾽ οὐ τῶν νῦν ἐν πενίᾳ συζῆν ἐξεταζομένων τοιοῦτοί ποτ᾽ ἂν εὑρεθεῖεν ῥᾳδίως τινές· ὅλον γὰρ ἔχουσι καταδεδουλωμένον τῇ ἀγνωσίᾳ μετὰ τῆς κατὰ σάρκα πενίας· καὶ τὸ λογικὸν μέρος τῆς ψυχῆς ἀλογισταίνειν μᾶλλον μυρίως αἱρούμενοι, ἤπερ ταῖς θείαις προσανέχειν γραφαῖς καὶ ἀκούειν δι᾽ αὐτῶν τοῦ κυρίου λέγοντος· *ἐρευνᾶτε τὰς γραφὰς ὅτι ὑμεῖς δοκεῖτε ἐν αὐταῖς ζωὴν αἰώνιον ἔχειν· καὶ αὗταί εἰσιν αἱ μαρτυρίαι περὶ ἐμοῦ*[73]· ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ μὴ ἐρευνᾶν τὰς θείας
395r γραφάς, εἰς αἱρέσεις τε καταπίπτουσιν ἔνιοι, δι᾽ ὧν τὴν πρὸς τὸν δεσπό|την ἀλλοτρίωσιν πάσχουσιν· καὶ εἰς τὸ μὴ φυλάττειν γε προσφόρως τὰς σωτηρίους τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὑποσύρονται ἐντολάς· ὅπερ πάλιν τὸ μὴ γνησίους αὐτοῦ μαθητὰς εἶναι ποιεῖ· *ὁ γὰρ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμέ* φησιν καθὼς εἶπεν ἡ γραφὴ καὶ οὐ καθώς τις βούλεται *ποταμοὶ ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας αὐτοῦ ῥεύσουσιν ὕδατος ζῶντος*[74]· πιστεύειν δέ ἐστιν εἰς αὐτὸν ὀρθῶς τὸ τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ κατὰ θεὸν ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ μὴ κατὰ ἀνθρωπαρέσκειαν ἢ κενοδοξίαν· βαβαὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀποστόλου χάριτος· εὖγε τῆς τοῦ ἱεροῦ Φιλίππου συνέσεως· ὅλην εἰσεδέξατο τὴν δωρεὰν τοῦ παναγίου πνεύματος· τὴν πρὸς τὰ κρείττω κοινωνίαν παθών· ἐφοίτησε τῷ σωτῆρι γνησίως τριετοῦς χρόνου διάστημα· ἀπήλαυσε μυρίων θαυμάτων, ὧν τε ὁ δεσπότης πεποιήκει, καὶ ὧν αὐτὸς τὴν ἐξουσίαν διὰ τῆς οἰκονομίας εἰλήφει· προέτεινεν τοὺς πόδας ἐν τῷ μυστικῷ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου νιπτῆρι· καὶ τῇ ἁφῇ τῶν δεσποτικῶν χειρῶν, ἐπλούτησε σθένος οὐράνιον· δι᾽ ἧς ἐπαφῆς στερεωθεὶς τὰς βάσεις, πρὸς τὸ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου εὐσταλῶς μετὰ τὴν τοῦ παρακλήτου ἐπιφοίτησιν ἐξέθορε κήρυγμα· εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν διέδραμεν ὁ φθόγγος τῆς αὐτοῦ διδασκαλίας· καὶ εἰς τὰ πέρατα τῆς οἰκουμένης ἡ τῶν θαυμάτων αὐτοῦ χαριτοποιὸς πληθύς· ἀπεστάλη ὁ πεντάριθμος τοῦ Χριστοῦ μαθητὴς Φίλιππος, πρὸς ἀνανέωσιν τῆς πενταδικῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων φύσεως· ἤδη
395v γὰρ πεπαλαίωτο τῇ μακρᾷ τῆς | εἰδωλομανίας λύμῃ, καὶ εἰς φθορὰν ἐπεπτώκει τῆς ζοφερᾶς ἀθεότητος· ἀπεστάλη ὡς ἄριστος στρατηγὸς πρὸς τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως Χριστοῦ σκυλεῦσαι πᾶσαν τὴν ἀντικειμένην τῶν νοητῶν τοῦ διαβόλου πολεμιστῶν παράταξιν, καὶ ἀναρρύσασθαι τοὺς ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν αἰχμαλωτισθέντας· οὐχ ὅπλα εἶχεν αἰσθητὰ πρὸς ἐχθρῶν ἄμυναν, οὐ δορυφόρων στίφη· οὐ συνασπιστῶν χαλκοχιτώνων ὅμιλον· οὐδ᾽ ἀκροβόλων εὐστόχων συμμορίαν εὔξοον, ἀλλὰ τὴν νοητὴν καὶ ἄμαχον πανοπλίαν τοῦ σταυροῦ καὶ τὴν χάριν τοῦ παναγίου πνεύματος·[75] μεθ᾽ ὧν τὰς τῶν ἀοράτων ἀλλοφύλων πολιορκήσας ἐλαφύρησε φάλαγγας· ἰατροῦ τάξιν ἐπεῖχεν ὁ ἀπόστολος Φίλιππος· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐργῶδες εἴπερ βούλοιο καὶ οὕτως αὐτὸν ἀλληγορηθῆναι· οὐ μόνον σωματικούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ψυχικοὺς ἐξιώμενος μώλωπας· δι᾽ οὓς καὶ μᾶλλον κἀκείνων οὐ κατώκνει τῆς ἰατρείας· σωρείαν φαρμάκων ποικίλων νοητῶς ἐπεφέρετο· δι᾽ ὧν τὴν κατάλληλον ἰατρείαν τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐχθροῦ δράκοντος τρωθεῖσιν ἐπεποίητο·

6. Διερχόμενος τοίνυν τὰς πόλεις τῆς Ἀσιάτιδος γαίης, πεζοπορῶν οὐχ ἁρματηλατῶν· οὐδὲ χρυσάμπυκας ἵππους ἐπισυρόμενος· ἀλλὰ βακτηρίᾳ τυχὸν ἐπερειδόμενος, παραγίνεται μετὰ Βαρθολομαίου καὶ Μαριάμνης τῶν πανενδόξων ἀποστόλων, κατά τινα πόλιν καλουμένην
396r τηνικάδε | Ὀφιορύμην· οὕτω δὲ ἐπεκέκλητο ἡ πόλις, διὰ τὸ τοὺς ὄφεις καὶ τοὺς δράκοντας ἐν αὐτῇ θεοποιεῖσθαι· ἦλθεν τοιγαροῦν ἐν αὐτῇ ὁ τροπαιοῦχος μαχητὴς Φίλιππος· καὶ εὐθέως τῇ ἑαυτοῦ εἰσόδῳ τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτοχθόνων ἀνθρώπων σεβομένους ἐφυγάδευσεν δαίμονας· τῇ τε ὀνομασίᾳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τῇ σημειώσει τοῦ ζωοποιοῦ σταυροῦ· προσέβαλλεν ὁ ἀρχιστρατηγὸς δυνάμεως κυρίου τῇ παρεμβολῇ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων τούτων· καὶ τῷ τῆς ἁγιωσύνης αὐτοῦ πυρὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ δράκοντας ἀποξηράνας, τὸ ὑποχείριον ἅπαν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν μετεποίησεν· ἦλθεν ὡς φῶς ὁ ἀπόστολος Φίλιππος ἐν τῇ Ὀφιορυμητῶν πολίχνῃ, καὶ τὸν Στάχυν τυφλὸν

[72] John 1:46.
[73] John 5:39.
[74] John 7:38.
[75] Cf. Ephesians 6:11.

of the testimony? For if the apostle Philip had not been such an expert of the knowledge that is seen in the Old Testament, the lover of truth, John, would not have said this about him. But one would not easily find such ones among the ones who are presently numbered among those who have poverty as their fellow in life, for they have beside the poverty in the flesh also the rational part of the soul enslaved through ignorance, and rather choose to be foolish in countless ways in regard of the rational part of the soul than to focus on the divine Scriptures and to hear through them the words of the Lord: "Examine the Scriptures, because you think that you have eternal life in them, and these are the testimonies about me." For as they do not examine the divine Scriptures, some have fallen into heresies, through which they suffer estrangement from the Lord, and they become accustomed to not keeping properly the salvific commandments of Christ, which again has the effect that they are not his genuine disciples, for "He who believes in me," he says, "as Scripture says," and not as somebody wishes, "rivers of living water will flow from his belly." But to believe correctly in him is to do his commandments according to God, but not according to a craving for admiration or vainglory. O the grace of the apostle! O the wisdom of the sacred Philip! He received the entire gift of the all-holy Spirit, experiencing the communion with higher things; he was apprenticed to the Saviour for a span of three years; he had the benefit of countless miracles, which the Lord performed and which to perform himself he had received the power according to the dispensation; he stretched out his feet in the mystical footwashing of the God Word, and through the touch of the hands of the Lord he gained heavenly strength. When his feet had been made nimble and firm through this touch, he leapt out to the proclamation of the Gospel after the coming of the Comforter, the sound of his teaching ran across the whole earth, and the grace-giving multitude of his miracles reached the ends of the inhabited world. Philip, the disciple of Christ who was the fifth as regards number, was sent out in order to renew the fivefold nature of human beings, for it had already become old through the long-lasting perdition of the craze for idols and had fallen into the corruption of dusky godlessness; he was sent as an excellent general by the great king Christ in order to despoil the entire opposing army of the intelligible fighters of the devil, and to rescue those who had been enslaved by him. He had no visible weapons to ward off the enemies, no array of bodyguards, no crowd of bronze-clad shield-fellows, no burnished company of well-aiming skirmishers, but the intelligible and invincible armour of the cross and the grace of the holy Spirit, with which he besieged and despoiled the phalanx of the invisible barbarians. The apostle Philip took up the role of a physician – for there is no difficulty if you wish him to be allegorised in this way, too – who healed not only the bruises of the body but also those of the soul, for which he did not hesitate to offer treatment any less than for the previous ones. He intelligibly brought with him a store of various medicines, through which he undertook the appropriate healing of those who had been wounded by the enemy dragon.

6. Traversing, then, the cities of the Asiatic land, walking on foot, not driving a chariot or dragging along horses with frontlets of gold, but perhaps leaning on a stick, he arrived with Bartholomew and Mariamne, the most glorious apostles, at some city that at that time was called Ophiorhyme, but the city was called thus because snakes and dragons were deified in it. The trophy-gaining fighter Philip, then, came to it and immediately with his entrance he put to flight the demons that were being venerated by the local population,. The supreme general of the power of the Lord attacked through the naming of Christ and the signing of the vivifying cross the camp of these Assyrians and dried out the dragons in it through the fire of sanctity, winning over to himself all those who had been subjugated by them. The apostle Philip came like light to the town of the Ophiorhymites and through his sister

ὄντα διὰ τῆς ἀδελφῆς Μαριάμνης ἐξιάσατο·[76] πρὸς τὸ ἀληθινὸν φῶς Χριστὸν δι᾽ αὐτοῦ τοὺς ὁρῶντας ἐκκαλούμενος·[77] εἰκότως οὖν ὁ κύριος ἔλεγεν· *ἀμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ὁ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμέ, τὰ ἔργα ἃ ἐγὼ ποιῶ κἀκεῖνος ποιήσει· καὶ μείζονα τούτων ποιήσει*[78]· παρεγένετο πρὸς τοὺς ἠπατημένους ὁ θεῖος ἀπόστολος· οὐκ ἐμπορείαν τινὰ κοσμικὴν ποιήσων, ἀλλὰ σωτηρίας ὁδὸν ὑποδείξων· *οὐκ ἐν ὑπεροχῇ λόγου σοφίας ἵνα μὴ κενωθῇ ὁ σταυρὸς τοῦ Χριστοῦ*[79], ἀλλ᾽ *ἐν ἀποδείξει πίστεως καὶ δυνάμεως*[80]· ἥπλωσε τὴν σαγήνην τοῦ ζωοποιοῦ λόγου, καὶ παρευθὺ τοὺς ἀκεραιοτέρους ζωγρήσας συνέλαβεν, καὶ ὀψώνιον ἄϋλον τῷ οἰκείῳ διδασκάλῳ καὶ θεῷ τούτους προσενήνοχεν· αὐτὸς γὰρ ἔφη· *ἐμὸν βρῶμά ἐστι | ἵνα ποιῶ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πέμψαντός με πατρός*[81]· θέλημα δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ ἐστιν, τὸ *πάντας ἀνθρώπους σωθῆναι καὶ εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν ἀληθείας ἐλθεῖν*[82]· ἥτις ἐστὶν αὐτὸς ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ λέγων· *ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ ὁδὸς καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια καὶ ἡ ζωή*[83]· ἤκουσεν ἀσθενοῦσα γυνὴ τοὔνομα Νικάνωρα τῆς αὐτοῦ διδασκαλίας τὴν χάριν, καὶ παραχρῆμα ὑγιασθεῖσα, τοῦ σκίμποδος κατελήλυθεν· καὶ πάντα τὰ περὶ αὐτὴν δεύτερα θεμένη, τὸν χορὸν τῶν ἀποστόλων κατέλαβεν·[84] ἀλλὰ καιρὸς λοιπὸν ἐπισκέψασθαι καὶ τοῦ ἀσυνέτου λαοῦ τὴν χαλεπὴν κατὰ φρένα πήρωσιν· εἴδωμεν τὸ δυσίατον φῦμα τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἑρπυστῆρος ἐχθροῦ τραυματισθέντων· δι᾽ ὅπερ καὶ τὸ αὐστηρὸν ἀλεξιφάρμακον ἐπενεγκεῖν, ὁ θεόθεν αὐτοῖς ἐξαποσταλεὶς ἠναγκάσθη ἀκέστωρ· ἔβλεπον τοίνυν παράδοξα οἱ δείλαιοι πράγματα, καὶ μάγους τοὺς ἁγίους ἐλοιδοροῦντο· ἐθεώρουν δαίμονας ἐλαυνομένους· πάθη ποικίλα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων φυγαδευόμενα· φύσιν ἄλογον λογικὴν λειτουργίαν ἀποτελοῦσαν·[85] καὶ τὸ θαῦμα τοῦ πράγματος εἰς ἀναισθησίας βυθὸν τοὺς ἀθλίους κατέσυρεν· τοιοῦτον γὰρ τὸ χρόνιον κακόν· τοιαύτη τῆς ἀσεβείας ἡ μακρὰ συνήθεια·

7. Τί δὲ ὁ μέγας ἀπόστολος Φίλιππος· κατοικτιζόμενος αὐτῶν τὴν ἀβελτερίαν· σχετλιάζων διὰ τὴν βαθεῖαν αὐτῶν τῆς ἀπωλείας νύκτα, προτίθησιν τὰ σωτήρια φάρμακα καὶ φησίν· ἀδελφοί μου υἱοὶ τοῦ πατρός μου ὑμεῖς ἐστε τοῦ γένους μου κατὰ Χριστὸν ὕπαρξις | τῆς ἐμῆς πόλεως τῆς ἄνω Ἰερουσαλήμ· ἡ τερπνότης τοῦ κατοικητηρίου μου· διὰ τί αἰχμαλωτεύθητε ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐχθροῦ ὑμῶν ὄφεως τοῦ εἰλισσμένου καὶ ὁλολόξου καὶ διεστραμμένου ὄντος· ᾧ οὐ δέδωκεν ὁ θεὸς χεῖρας καὶ πόδας, στρεβλὴ δὲ ἡ πορεία αὐτοῦ, ἐπειδὴ υἱός ἐστι τοῦ πονηροῦ·[86] ὦ τῆς ἀποστολικῆς εὐσπλαγχνίας· ὦ τῆς τοῦ μακαρίου Φιλίππου συμπαθείας· εἶδεν αὐτοὺς μωλωπισθέντας ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ πονηροῦ ὄφεως κακουργίας, καὶ ἀπαλοῖς τισι καὶ προσηνέσιν ἐμπλάστροις ἐκμυζῆσαι τὸν φθοροποιὸν ἰὸν τῆς καρδίας αὐτῶν κατεπείγεται· οὗτος τὰς τῆς ἰατρείας προυβάλλετο δώσεις, ἐκεῖνοι τὰς τῆς ἀγνωμοσύνης προυτείνοντο πράξεις· καὶ καθάπερ τινὲς ἄτακτοι καὶ δυσήνιοι πῶλοι ἢ ἀτίθασοι καὶ ἀνήμεροι θῆρες, οὕτως πρὸς συντριβὴν τῶν εὐεργετῶν ἐπεπήδων· ἔχοντες εἰς τοῦτο παρορμῶντα αὐτοὺς τὸν φερώνυμον ἀληθῶς τυραννογνόφον· καὶ δὴ συλλαβόμενοι τοὺς σεβαστοὺς ἀποστόλους· ὥσπερ τινὰς μιαιοφόνους ἄνδρας, ἱμᾶσι τοὺς πόδας αὐτῶν δεσμεύσαντες· καὶ διὰ μέσης τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀπηνοειδῶς σύραντες, πρὸς τὸ ἱερὸν ἀπήγαγον·[87] καὶ τοῦ μὲν τρισμάκαρος Φιλίππου τὰ σφυράδια τρήσαντες, προπάροιθεν τῆς πύλης τοῦ ἱεροῦ, εἰς φυτὸν κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἐκρέμασαν· τὸν δέ γε ἀοίδιμον Βαρθολομαῖον πρὸς τὸν τοῖχον τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀπαιωρήσαν|τες σταυροειδῶς

[76] Cf. *Passio* II 108 (41, 22–26 Lipsius–Bonnet).
[77] ἐγκαλούμενος cod.
[78] John 14:12a.
[79] I Corinthians 1:17b.
[80] I Corinthians 2:4b.
[81] John 4:34.
[82] I Timothy 2:4.
[83] John 14:6a.
[84] Cf. *Passio* II 114 (45.20–21 Lipsius–Bonnet).
[85] Cf. *Passio* II 124 (52.18–20 Lipsius–Bonnet).
[86] Cf. *Passio* II 109–110 (42.15–21 Lipsius–Bonnet).
[87] Cf. *Passio* II 121 (50.23–25 Lipsius–Bonnet).

Mariamne healed Stachys who was blind, calling the onlookers through it to the true light, Christ. Fittingly, then, did the Lord say: "Amen, amen, I say to you, he who believes in me will do the works that I do, and will do greater ones than these." The divine apostle came to those who had been duped, not in order to do some worldly business, but in order to show the way of salvation, not with the excellency of a speech of wisdom lest the cross of Christ be emptied, but in the demonstration of faith and power; he unfolded the net of the vivifying word, and immediately caught and seized the more innocent ones and brought them as immaterial payment to his own teacher and God. For he himself said: "My sustenance is that I do the will of the Father who has sent me," but the will of his Father is that all human beings should be saved and brought to the recognition of truth, which is Christ himself who says: "I am the way and the truth and the life." When a sick woman by the name of Nikanora heard the grace of his teaching she was immediately made hale and stepped down from her couch. Considering all her own affairs of secondary importance she reached the choir of the apostles. But it is now time also to look at the severe mental blindness of the foolish populace. Let us see the tumour of those who had been wounded by the enemy reptile, which was difficult to heal, and because of which the healer who had been sent to them by God was forced to apply harsh antidotes. The wretches, then, saw paradoxical things, and slandered the saints as magicians; they saw demons driven out, various illnesses expelled from human beings, the irrational nature performing a rational service, and the wondrousness of the thing dragged the miserable ones down into the pit of insensibility, for such is the chronic evil, such is the long habit of impiety.

7. What then? The great apostle Philip, taking pity on their foolishness, bewailing the deep night of their perdition, put forth the salvific medicines, and said: "My brothers, sons of my Father, you are of my race in Christ, possession of my city, Jerusalem on high, the pleasantness of my dwelling-place, why are you enslaved by your enemy, the snake, which is winding and entirely slanted and twisted, to which God did not give hands and feet, and whose movement is crooked, since it is the son of the evil one?" O the apostolic mercy! O the compassion of the blessed Philip! He saw them bruised by the evil-doing of the evil snake and hastened to draw out the corrupting poison of their heart through mild and gentle poultices. He proffered the gifts of medicine, they put forward the deeds of unkindness, and like some unruly and refractory foals or untamed and not domesticated beasts, they rushed to destroy the benefactors, having as instigator the truly rightly so-called Tyrannognophos. And having seized the venerable apostles like some murderers, they bound their feet with thongs, mercilessly dragged them through the middle of the market-place, and took them to the temple. They pierced the ankles of the thrice-blessed Philip and hanged him upside down on a tree in front of the temple, whereas they let the famous Bartholomew hang down from the wall of the temple and stretched him

ἐξετάνυσαν·[88] ἐπεχείρησαν δὲ καὶ κατὰ τῆς ἁγίας Μαριάμνης, ἀλλ᾽ ἡ χάρις αὐτὴν τοῦ παναγίου σκεπάσασα πνεύματος τῶν ἀθέων τὴν τόλμαν ἀπήμβλυνεν· καὶ ἦν ἰδεῖν ἐν ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς ἀποστόλοις ἀληθῶς τὸ τοῦ σωτῆρος πάθος παρομοιούμενον· καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ὁ θεσπέσιος Φίλιππος κατὰ κεφαλῆς ὥσπερ ἀρνὸς ἐν μακέλλῳ κρεμάμενος, τοῦ σωτηρίου πάθους τὸν τύπον ἔσῳζεν· καθὼς αὐτὸς διαλεγόμενος πρὸς τοὺς μετὰ ταῦτα πεπιστευκότας ἔλεγεν· μὴ οὖν λυπεῖσθε, ὅτι εἰμὶ κρεμάμενος κατὰ κεφαλῆς· τὸν γὰρ τύπον πληρῶ τοῦ σταυροῦ·[89] ὦ πάθους χριστομιμήτου· δι᾽ οὗ τὰ τῶν πλανωμένων ἰάθη πάθη· ὦ παθῶν δύναμις δι᾽ ἧς οἱ κακωθέντες πρὸς θάνατον ἁμαρτίας, εἰς εὐσεβείας ζωὴν ἀνερρώσθησαν· τούτων τοιγαροῦν, οὕτως κατὰ τὴν πόλιν τελουμένων, καὶ θορύβου πολλοῦ καὶ κλόνου τὸν ὄχλον συνέχοντος, παρεγένετο εἰς τὴν θεωρίαν καὶ ὁ θεῖος Ἰωάννης ὁ εὐαγγελιστής· Ἰωάννης ὁ ἠγαπημένος καὶ παρθένος· Ἰωάννης ὁ υἱὸς τῆς βροντῆς[90]· ὁ τὴν ἄναρχον τοῦ υἱοῦ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς γέννησιν ἡμῖν ὑπογράψας[91]· καὶ θεασάμενος τοὺς συναποστόλους αὐτοῦ κρεμαμένους· καὶ τὸν δῆμον τῶν ὀφιοδηκτῶν, καθάπερ ἐν σκοτομήνῃ τινὶ τῷ τῆς ἀθεΐας κεκρατημένον ζόφῳ, τοιάδε φησὶν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐμβριθῶς· ὦ τέ|κνα τοῦ ὄφεως, πόση ἐστὶν ἡ ἄνοια ὑμῶν ἡ οὖσα μεθ᾽ ὑμῶν· ἢ πόση ἐστὶν ἡ ἄγνοια ὑμῶν, ἡ οὖσα μεθ᾽ ὑμῶν· ἐπλάνησεν γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἡ ὁδὸς τῆς πλάνης· πλέον ἔπνευσεν εἰς ὑμᾶς ὁ δράκων ὁ πονηρός· διατί τιμωρεῖσθε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τούτους· ὅτι εἰρήκασιν ἐχθρὸς ὑμῶν ἐστιν ὁ ὄφις;[92] ταῦτ᾽ οὖν ἀκούσαντες ἐκεῖνοι, καὶ βύσαντες ὡσεὶ ἀσπίδες τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτῶν ὦτα, ἐπεχείρουν καὶ κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὰς χεῖρας ἐκτείνειν· οὓς ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου ἐκλύσασα, τῆς παλαμναίου προθέσεως ἀπεκώλυσεν· ἀλλ᾽ ὡς εἶδεν ὁ ἀκεστὴς Φίλιππος ἥκιστά γε μὴν τοὺς τραυματίας τοῖς χρηστοῖς καταδέσμοις βελτιωθέντας, πρὸς τὸ αὐστηρὸν καὶ ἀπότομον τῆς ἰατρικῆς μεθόδου ἀποστρέφεται μέρος· κατὰ τοὺς τῶν ἐμπείρων δοκιμωτάτους ἰατρούς· καὶ τὸ τῆς προσευχῆς κατ᾽ αὐτῶν γυμνώσας ξίφος, διὰ κολαστικῆς περιοδείας εἰς συναίσθησιν ἐλθεῖν τῶν ἰδίων αὐτῶν παρασκευάζει πλημμελημάτων· οἶδεν γὰρ πολλάκις καὶ φόβος μέγιστος ἢ κακῶν ἐπανάστασις, τῆς ψυχῆς ἐξελαύνειν τὴν ἐπείσακτον ἀταξίαν· σείεται τοίνυν ἡ γῆ τοῦ ἀποστόλου τὴν δέησιν πρὸς τὸν οἰκεῖον ἐκπέμψαντος δεσπότην, καὶ ὑποβρυχίους ποιεῖ ἐν τῷ πυθμένι τῆς ἀβύσσου· ἵνα οἱ ταῖς εὐεργεσίαις μὴ κρείττους ἑαυτῶν γεγονότες, κἂν ταῖς ἀμυντικαῖς μεταβληθῶσιν ἐπιφοραῖς· ὡς ἂν καὶ ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς τέλος λάβοι τὸ τῆς προφητείας μελῴ|δημα· *ὅταν ἀπέκτενεν αὐτοὺς τότε ἐξεζήτουν αὐτόν*[93]· ἤνοιξεν ὁ ᾅδης τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ καὶ κατέπιεν τοὺς ἀλιτηρίους ζῶντας· ἄτερ τῶν πιστευσάντων τῷ λόγῳ τῆς χάριτος·[94] ἠνοίχθη ἡ γῆ καὶ ἐδέξατο αὐτούς, καθά ποτε ἐπὶ Μωϋσέως Δαθὰν καὶ Αβειρών[95]· καὶ γὰρ ἐξέκαυσαν *πῦρ θυμοῦ κυρίου ἐν τῇ* παρανόμῳ αὐτῶν *συναγωγῇ· καὶ φλὸξ παιδείας κατέφλεξεν ἁμαρτωλούς*[96]· ὡς φοβερὰ τὰ τελούμενα· ὡς μεγάλα τε καὶ φρικτὰ τὰ τεράστια τῆς ἀποστολικῆς πίστεως· ἐξέτεινεν τὴν τῆς δεήσεως αὐτοῦ δεξιὰν ὁ μαθητὴς τοῦ σωτῆρος Φίλιππος, καὶ κατέπιεν τοὺς εἰδωλομανοῦντας, ὡς τοὺς πάλαι φαραωνίτας γῆ· κατεπόθησαν οἱ μάταιοι εἰς κευθμῶνας ᾅδου ζῶντες· ὅπως ἐπιγνῶσιν τὸν κυριεύοντα ζωῆς καὶ θανάτου· καὶ ἔχοντα ἐξουσίαν κατάγειν εἰς ᾅδου καὶ ἀνάγειν[97]·

8. Ἐν ὅσῳ δὲ ταῦθ᾽ οὕτως πέπρακτο, παρεγένετο πάλιν οὐρανόθεν, ὁ μηδέποτε καταλιπὼν τοὺς οὐρανοὺς Χριστὸς πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ φίλους καὶ μαθητάς· παραμυθεῖται τῇ ἐπαγγελίᾳ τῶν αἰωνίων ἀμοιβῶν, τοὺς διὰ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ πάσχοντας· ἐπαίρει τὴν ἀντιμισθίαν τῶν

[88] Cf. *Passio* II 125 (54.17–18, 55.12–16 Lipsius–Bonnet).
[89] *Passio* II 140 (74.17–18 Lipsius–Bonnet).
[90] Cf. Mark 3:17.
[91] Cf. John 1:1.
[92] *Passio* II 130 (59.11–13, 60.12–13 Lipsius–Bonnet).
[93] Psalm 78:34.
[94] Cf. *Passio* II 133 (64.18–20 Lipsius–Bonnet).
[95] Cf. Numbers 16:31–34.
[96] Psalm 105:18.
[97] Cf. I Kings 2:6.

out in the shape of the cross. They also turned against the holy Mariamne, but the grace of the Holy Spirit sheltered her and blunted the daring of the godless ones. And one could see in both apostles the similarity to the suffering of the Saviour, for the marvellous Philip was hanging upside down like a ram at the butcher's and in this way preserved the type of the salvific suffering, as he himself said when he conversed with those who would later believe: "Do not be grieved, because I am hanging upside down, for I fulfil the type of the cross." O sufferings in imitation of Christ, through which the sufferings of the errant ones were healed! O power of the sufferings through which those who had been maltreated so as to die the death of sin were made hale so as to lead a life of piety! As this was thus going on in the city, and great tumult and confusion had the crowd in its grip, there came to the spectacle the divine John, the evangelist, John the beloved and virginal, John the son of thunder, who had set down in writing the eternal generation of the Son from the Father. And when he saw his fellow apostles hanging and the people of the snake-bitten ones held fast by the gloom of godlessness as in some moonless night, he said the following severe words to them: "Children of the snake, how great is your foolishness, which is with you, or how great is your ignorance, which is with you, for the way of error has led you astray, or rather the evil dragon has breathed on you. Why do you punish these men, because they say that the snake is your enemy." Hearing this, they stopped the ears of their soul like asps, and tried to raise the hands against him as well, but the grace of the Lord paralysed them and prevented them from putting into practice their abominable plan. But when the healer Philip saw that the wounded ones were not at all improved through the gentle dressings, he turned to the harsh and brutal part of the medical methods, according to the most accomplished practitioners of the empiric school, and having bared the sword of prayer against them, he made sure that they came to an awareness of their own trespasses through punishing treatment. For often both a very great fear and the onslaught of evils tend to drive the adventitious disorder from the soul. The earth, then, shook when the apostle had sent his request to his own master, and caused them to be submerged in the depth of the abyss, in order that they who had not become better than their old selves through benefactions, would at least be changed through the repelling attacks, so that the song of prophecy became reality in them: "When he killed them, they sought him." Hades opened his mouth and swallowed the evil-doers alive, apart from those who had believed in the word of faith; the earth opened and received them, as once at the time of Moses it happened to Dathan and Abiron, for they inflamed the fire of the wrath of the Lord in their unlawful gathering, and the flame of chastisement burnt the sinners. How frightful is the happening, how great and awesome are the portents of the apostolic faith! The disciple of the Saviour Philip stretched out the hand of his entreaty and the earth swallowed those who raved about idols as once it swallowed the Pharaonites. The fools were swallowed alive into the hollows of the abyss, in order that they would recognise the Lord over life and death, who has the power to lead down to Hades and to lead up.

8. When this had thus been done, Christ who never left the heavens came again from heaven to his friends and disciples. He comforted them who suffered for his name with the promise of the eternal rewards; he held out with his word the reward for the passing sufferings; he restored the good cheer

προσκαίρων παθημάτων τῷ λόγῳ· ἀνακτᾶται τοῦ φοιτητοῦ τὴν ὀλιγωρίαν· ὁ πάντα παραχωρῶν πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον γίνεσθαι, καθ᾽ οὓς οἶδεν αὐτὸς λόγους τῆς ἀγαθῆς αὐτοῦ ὡς ἡμᾶς προμηθείας· ὀνειδίζει αὐτὸν ὡς μὴ τηρήσαντα τὴν ἐντολὴν μέχρι τέλους ἀδιαλώβητον,[98] εἶτα καί·[99] | ὁρᾶτε ἀδελφοὶ καὶ φυλάσσεσθε τὸ πάθος· πρὸς γὰρ νουθεσίαν ἡμετέραν ταῦτα γέγραπται· ἵνα μὴ τοῖς αὐτοῖς περιπέσωμεν· πρὸς τούτοις ἐπιτίθησιν ὡς δίκαιος, καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς παρεθείσης ἐντολῆς ἐπιτιμίαν τῷ ἀποστόλῳ· προλέγει ὁμοῦ τὸν τόπον καὶ τὸν τρόπον τῆς ἑκατέρου τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ ἐκ τοῦ σώματος ἐξόδου· καὶ τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ ζωοποιοῦ αὐτοῦ σταυροῦ χαράξας ἐν τῷ ἀέρι, δι᾽ αὐτοῦ ὡς διὰ φωτεινῆς τινος κλίμακος ἀναβιβάζει τοὺς χωσθέντας·[100] ὢ τῆς τοῦ δεσπότου φιλανθρωπίας· ὢ τῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος εὐεργεσίας· παρεγένετο αὖθις ὡς ἀγαθός, καὶ τοὺς μαθητὰς παρηγορήσων τῇ αὐτοπροσώπῳ ἐμφανείᾳ, καὶ τοὺς ὀλωλότας ἐπιστρέψων πρὸς παλίμβιον διαγωγήν· ἦλθεν πάλιν ὡς οἰκτίρμων καὶ ἐζωοποίησεν διὰ τοῦ τιμίου αὐτοῦ καὶ προσκυνητοῦ σταυροῦ, τοὺς εἰς ἄβυσσον ἀπωλείας διὰ τῆς ἀγνωσίας κατενεχθέντας· διατί δὲ τὸν σταυρὸν αὐτοῖς καταπέμπει λυτήριον τῶν καθ᾽ ᾅδου μυχῶν ὁ σωτήρ, ἵνα γνῶσιν ἐκεῖνοι τὸ τῆς πίστεως σύμβολον· ὅπως μάθωσι τοῦ σταυροῦ τὴν κατὰ τοῦ θανάτου ἰσχύν· ὅπως γνῶσιν τοῦ σταυρωθέντος τὴν ἀνυπέρβλητον κυριαρχίαν· ὅπως σημειωθῇ καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς τὸ φῶς τοῦ νικοποιοῦ σταυροῦ· ὅπως φέροιεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ ἐφεξῆς ἀνενδοιάστως σωτήριον ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου κατὰ πάσης ἀντικειμένης ἐνεργείας· ἀνήχθησαν τοίνυν οἱ ἄνδρες ἐκ τῶν κατωτάτων χωρίων τῆς | γῆς κλιμακηδὸν διὰ τοῦ φωτοφόρου καὶ θεοτεύκτου σταυροῦ· ἔδωκαν δόξαν τῷ θεῷ τῷ ποιοῦντι παράδοξα τέρατα διὰ τῶν ἐνδόξων αὐτοῦ ἀποστόλων· ἔγνωσαν τὴν κατὰ πάντων φυσικὴν δεσποτείαν τοῦ ὑπὸ τῶν πανσόφων ἀποστόλων κηρυχθέντος ἐν αὐτοῖς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· ὡμολόγησαν τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἄγνοιαν καὶ ἦτταν· ηὐχαρίστησαν τῷ σωτῆρι τῷ ἀποστείλαντι τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ δούλους, εἰς ἀπολύτρωσιν τῶν πάλαι αὐτῶν ἀγνοημάτων· προσεκύνησαν μετὰ φόβου πολλοῦ καὶ τρόμου, καὶ τοὺς τοῦ κυρίου πανευσεβεῖς μαθητάς· ὀλολύζοντες· θρηνοῦντες ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἔδρασαν εἰς αὐτοὺς ἀτόποις· γνησίως μεταμελόμενοι·[101] ὁ γοῦν μέγας ἀπόστολος Φίλιππος, τὸν περὶ πίστεως αὐτοῖς καὶ σωφροσύνης λόγον αὐτάρκως ἐκθέμενος, καὶ ἀρετῆς ἁπάσης σχεδόν, παρθενίας τε καὶ τῆς ἐν τούτοις εὐταξίας κανόνας ὑπαγορεύσας·[102] καὶ πάντα συλλήβδην φάναι τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου αὐτῷ χρηματισθέντα, τοῖς περὶ τὸν μακάριον Βαρθολομαῖον ὁσιοπρεπῶς ἐντειλάμενος·[103] καὶ διαθήκην αὐτοῖς τῷ ὄντι μακαριστήν τε καὶ θεοπρεπεστάτην καταλελοιπώς, μετὰ τὸ ἱκανῶς ἐξομολογήσασθαι διὰ θείας ἐντεύξεως, τῷ κατὰ φύσιν δεσπότῃ καὶ διδασκάλῳ Χριστῷ, παρέδωκεν τὴν ἁγίαν αὐτοῦ ψυχή, ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς ἔτι κρεμάμενος, τοῖς θεοειδέσιν ἀγγέλοις· τὸ δὲ τούτου πανίερον σῶμα καθ᾽ ὃν τρόπον συνέταξεν | τῷ ἁγίῳ Βαρθολομαίῳ κηδευθέν, ἡ τρισολβία αὐτοῦ καὶ πολυΰμνητος κάρα, παραχρῆμα μύρον εὐῶδες ἀνέβλυσεν· ἐξ ἧς ἀένναοι ποταμοὶ τῶν ἰαμάτων,[104] καὶ μέχρι τοῦ δεῦρο προχέονται εἰς δόξαν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Χριστοῦ·

9. Διὸ ἀγαπητοὶ οἱ συνηδόμενοι τῶν τοῦ ἀποστόλου παθημάτων, εὐσεβῶς ἐπιβῶμεν πρὸς τὸ τῆς ἐγκρατείας εὐάγωγον στάδιον τῆς ἐνεστώσης παμφαοῦς τεσσαρακοστῆς· νηστεύσωμεν· ἀγρυπνήσωμεν· μελετήσωμεν ἐν νόμῳ κυρίου διηνεκῶς· ἀφήσωμεν τῷ πέλας τὰ εἰς ἡμᾶς ὀλίγα σφάλματα· ὡς ἂν ἀφεθῇ ἡμῖν πρὸς θεοῦ καὶ πατρός, τὰ πολλά τε καὶ πηλίκα εἰς αὐτὸν πταίσματα· τοῦ γὰρ δευτέρου τὸ πρότερον αἴτιον, ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ ἔμπαλιν· νεκρώσωμεν

399r
399v
400r
36

[98] Cf. *Passio* II 135–136 (66.10–17, 67.9–22 Lipsius–Bonnet).

[99] It seems that something is missing here. It is, however, unlikely that a whole folium has fallen out, since the text on the next folium belongs to the same context.

[100] Cf. *Passio* II 138 (70.13–19 Lipsius–Bonnet).

[101] Cf. *Passio* II 138 (71.17–20, 72.12–16 Lipsius–Bonnet).

[102] Cf. *Passio* II 142 (79.11–17, 80.3–13, 81.3–10 Lipsius–Bonnet).

[103] Cf. *Passio* II 142 (78.17–22 Lipsius–Bonnet).

[104] Cf. *Passio* II 148 (89.11–13 Lipsius–Bonnet).

of the disciple. He who permits that everything happens for a profitable end, according to the principles of his good providence for us, which he alone knows, criticises him for not having kept the commandment unimpaired, then also ... See, brothers, and keep yourselves away from passions, for this is written for our admonishment, lest we fall into the same trap. Besides, being just, he imposed on the apostle also the punishment for the commandment that had been neglected, and at the same time prophesied the place and the manner of the departure from the body of both of the ones who were with him, and having made the sign of his vivifying cross in the air, he led up through himself as through some shining ladder those who had been buried. O the kindness of the master! O the benefaction of the Saviour! Being good, he came again in order to comfort the disciples through his personal appearance, and in order to turn back to the conduct of a new life those who were lost; being merciful, he came again and vivified through his precious and venerable cross those who through ignorance had fallen into the abyss of perdition. Why did the Saviour send down to them the cross as ransom from the vaults of Hades? In order that they would know the symbol of the faith, in order that they would learn the power of the cross against death, in order that they would learn the unsurpassed lordship of the one who had been crucified, in order that the light of the victory-bringing cross would be marked in them, too, in order that they would unhesitatingly carry it on their forehead in the days to come as salvation from all enemy activity. The men, then, were led up from the deepest places of the earth through the light-bringing and divinely-fashioned cross in the manner of a ladder; they glorified God who caused unexpected portents through his glorious apostles; they recognised the natural mastership over all of Jesus Christ who was proclaimed among them by the all-wise apostles; they confessed their ignorance and defeat; they venerated the most pious disciples of the Lord with great fear and trembling; they thanked the Saviour who had sent his own servants in order to ransom them from their old ignorance, crying, wailing about what wicked things they had done to them, genuinely repenting. The great apostle Philip, then, presented to them in a sufficient manner the teaching about faith and chastity and explained to them the rules of almost all virtues and of virginity and the good order in them, and, to say it in summary fashion, he piously told the followers of the blessed Bartholomew what had been revealed to him by the Lord, and left behind for them a truly blessed and most divine testament. And after he had sufficiently confessed through divine entreaty Christ, who is master and teacher by nature, he gave up his soul to the God-like angels while he was still hanging upside down. When his most sacred body was buried as he had told the holy Bartholomew, his thrice-blessed and much-praised head immediately poured forth sweet-smelling ointment, from which unceasing streams of healing gush forth until today to the glory of our Saviour Christ.

9. Therefore, beloved, you who rejoice at the sufferings of the apostle, let us enter the easily-managed stadium of abstinence of the imminent brightly shining forty days, let us fast, let us wake, let us constantly meditate on the law of the Lord, let us forgive the neighbour the few errors that he has committed against us, in order that the many and great sins against the God and Father be forgiven us by him, because the second is the cause of the first, and *vice versa*. Let us mortify our limbs on

τὰ μέλη ὑμῶν τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς[105]· μὴ σπείρωμεν εἰς τὴν σάρκα, ἵνα μὴ θερίσωμεν ἐξ αὐτῆς φθοράν[106]· ἥτις ἐστὶ πορνεία, μοιχεία, ἀκαθαρσία, πάθος, ἐπιθυμία κακή, καὶ ὁ λοιπὸς τῶν αἰσχίστων παθῶν ὄχλος[107]· ταῦτα γὰρ φύειν πέφυκεν ὁ σπόρος τῆς μέθης καὶ τῆς ἀδηφαγίας· ἀλλὰ σπείρωμεν εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα·[108] ὅπως θερίσωμεν ἐξ αὐτοῦ ζωὴν αἰώνιον· ὁ δὲ σπόρος τοῦ πνεύματός ἐστιν, μᾶλλον δὲ ὁ καρπός, *ἀγάπη· χαρά· εἰρήνη· μακροθυμία· χρηστότης· ἀγαθωσύνη· ἐπιείκεια· πρᾳότης· ἐγκράτεια*[109]· ἐξ ὧν ὁ ἁγιασμὸς τοῦ σώματος κατορθοῦται[110], δι᾽ οὗ καὶ τὸν σωτῆρα ὀψόμεθα[111]· οὕτω δὲ καὶ ὁ τοῦ κυρίου ἀπόστολος Φίλιππος εὐμενῶς τῇ σήμερον προσδέξεται ἡμῶν τὰς λογικὰς | θυσίας· εἴπερ ἴδοι ἡμᾶς τοιουτοτρόπως παρεσκευασμένους, εἰς ἁπαντὴν ἐξελθεῖν τῆς εὐχρήστου τῶν ἡμερῶν τεσσαρακοντάδος· καὶ ἀντιδοίη πλουσίως τὰς σωστικὰς αὐτοῦ τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν δωρεάς· χαίρει γὰρ ὁρῶν ἡμᾶς ὡς ἀειθαλῆ δένδρα τῇ τῶν ἀρετῶν κομῶντας καρποφορίᾳ· καὶ μάλιστά γε τῇ τῶν πενήτων διανομῇ καὶ τῷ εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐλέῳ ἐξ ὧν διαιωνίζειν ἡμῖν τὸ τῆς δικαιοσύνης συμβαίνει προτέρημα· *ἐσκόρπιζεν* γάρ φησιν *ἔδωκεν τοῖς πένησιν, ἡ δικαιοσύνη αὐτοῦ μένει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος*[112]· ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ *τὸ κέρας αὐτοῦ ὑψωθήσεται ἐν δόξῃ*[113]· καὶ ὄψεται ὁ ἁμαρτωλὸς διάβολος τὴν τούτου σωτηρίαν καὶ ὀργισθήσεται· τοὺς ὀδόντας αὐτοῦ βρύξει καὶ τακήσεται·[114] ταύτῃ τοι καὶ ἀξίους ἑαυτοὺς ὡς οἷόν τε ἀνθρωπίνῃ λέγω φύσει τελέσαντες προσκυνητὰς τῆς ὁμοουσίου καὶ ἀρχικῆς τριάδος, ἀξιωθησώμεθα ἐν καθαραῖς καρδίαις, καὶ τὴν θεουργὸν ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας παρθένου τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ γέννησιν ἑορτάσαι καὶ τῶν αἰωνίων ἀγαθῶν ἐπιτυχεῖν· χάριτι καὶ οἰκτιρμοῖς καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τοῦ μονογενοῦς υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ δι᾽ οὗ καὶ μεθ᾽ οὗ τῷ πατρὶ πρέπει ἡ δόξα, ἅμα τῷ ἁγίῳ καὶ ζωοποιῷ αὐτοῦ πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων ἀμήν.

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[105] Cf. Colossians 3:5.
[106] Cf. Galatians 6:8a.
[107] Cf. Galatians 5:19–20.
[108] Cf. Galatians 6:8b.
[109] Galatians 5:22.
[110] Cf. Hebrews 12:14
[111] Cf. Matthew 5:8.
[112] Psalm 111:9a; II Corinthians 9:9.
[113] Psalm 111:9b.
[114] Cf. Psalm 111:10.

earth, let us not sow into the flesh, lest we harvest from it corruption, which is fornication, adultery, impurity, passion, evil desire, and the remaining crowd of the most shameful passions, for these naturally arise from the seed of drunkenness and overeating, but let us sow into the spirit, in order that we harvest from it eternal life. But the seed or rather the fruit of the spirit is love, joy, long-suffering, uprightness, goodness, fairness, gentleness, abstention, through which the sanctification of the body is achieved, through which we will also see the Saviour. Thus also the apostle of the Lord, Philip, will today kindly receive our rational sacrifices, if indeed he sees us go out to welcome the good forty days, and will richly give us in return the salvific gifts of his benefactions, for he rejoices when he sees us like evergreen trees, luxuriant with the fruit-bearing of the virtues, and especially with the distributions among the poor and the mercy for them, through which the privilege of justice happens to be eternal in us, for he says: "He scattered, he gave to the poor, his justice remains forever, but his horn will also be raised in glory, and the sinning devil will see his salvation and will be angry, he will grind his teeth and will melt away." Thus we will make ourselves worthy venerators of the consubstantial and original Trinity, as far as it is possible for human nature, I mean, and we will be deigned worthy also to celebrate with pure hearts the birth of our Saviour Jesus Christ from a holy virgin and will gain the eternal benefits, through the grace and mercy and kindness of the only-begotten Son of God, through whom and with whom glory is fitting to the Father, together with his holy and vivifying Spirit, now and forever and for all eternity. Amen.

JAHRBUCH DER ÖSTERREICHISCHEN BYZANTINISTIK, 69. Band/2019, 257–274
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DOI: 10.1553/joeb69S257

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The Epitomator Ioannes Xiphilinos and the Eleventh-Century Xiphilinoi[*]

Abstract: Ioannes Xiphilinos, the nephew of the eponymous patriarch Ioannes VIII Xiphilinos (1063–1075), played a critical role in the transmission of the text of the Roman historian Cassius Dio. Despite his importance, however, scholars continue to reproduce an inaccurate and arbitrary biography according to which he was a monk and the author of three works: the *Epitome* of Cassius Dio, a collection of fifty-three homilies, and a *Menologion* dedicated to Alexios I Komnenos. The current article lays out the shortcomings of the prevailing consensus before surveying the evidence for the family of the Xiphilinoi in the eleventh century and positing an identification of our epitomator informed by the testimony of lead seals and the letters of Michael Psellos. It argues that our epitomator was not a monk, but was likely a student of Psellos and a high-ranking member of the imperial administration whose only extant work is the *Epitome* of Cassius Dio.

Keywords: Ioannes Xiphilinos, family Xiphilinos, Michael Psellos, Byzantine Seals, Cassius Dio

Ioannes Xiphilinos plays a critical role in the transmission of the text of Cassius Dio, a third-century Roman senator and historian whose history of Rome covered the period from the kings through the reign of Alexander Severus (r. 222–235) in eighty books. Of these, only books 36 through 60 are preserved directly, and the later books in this range contain significant lacunae. For the material before book 36, we rely on the *Epitome* of Ioannes Zonaras, a twelfth-century Byzantine administrator and later monk, while for the material after book 60 (and more realistically after 51 owing to the lacunae) we rely on the *Epitome* of Ioannes Xiphilinos, though Zonaras also preserves material from books 44–80[1]. Xiphilinos' *Epitome* is the only extant witness to the later books of Dio that is drawn almost exclusively from the text of Dio. His *Epitome* is therefore crucial to our reconstruction of Dio's work, to the study of the high empire and Severan period, and to the reception of ancient Roman history in the eleventh century. Despite the importance of Xiphilinos and his work, scholars continue to reproduce an inaccurate and arbitrary biography of the epitomator. The current article lays out the shortcomings of the prevailing consensus before surveying the evidence for the family of the Xiphilinoi in the eleventh century and positing an identification of our epitomator informed by the testimony of lead seals.

The standard description of the epitomator Ioannes Xiphilinos is as a monk, a nephew of the eponymous patriarch Ioannes VIII Xiphilinos (1063–1075), and the author of three works: the *Epitome* of Dio, which was produced during the reign of Michael VII Doukas (r. 1071–1078); a collection of fifty-three homilies; and a *Menologion* (a collection of brief notices about saints arranged calendrically according to their feast days) dedicated to the emperor Alexios I Komnenos (r. 1081–1118), which survives only in a Georgian translation[2]. Yet of these "facts" about our epitomator's life, we

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[*] The author would like to thank Stephen Rapp for his generous assistance with the Georgian text of the postscript to the *Menologion* and Ekaterina But for her assistance translating the article by Korneli Kekelidze.

[1] Additional fragments are preserved in a variety of sources, most notably in the tenth-century *Excerpta* compiled under the direction of the Byzantine emperor Konstantinos VII Porphyrogennetos.

[2] K. Ziegler, Xiphilinos, in: *RE* IX A2, 2132–2134; A. Kazhdan, Xiphilinos, John the Younger, in: *ODB* III 2211; C. T. Mallan, Style, Method, and Programme of Xiphilinus' *Epitome* of Cassius Dio's *Roman History*. *GRBS* 53 (2013) 610–644 at 612–615; L. Neville, A Guide to Byzantine Historical Writing. Cambridge 2018, 147. Berbessou-Broustet identifies him as the author of the homilies and *Menologion*, but not as a monk, B. Berbessou-Broustet, Xiphilin, abréviateur de Cassius

can be certain only of what he himself tells us in his *Epitome*[3]:

> λέγω γὰρ τοῦτο οὐκέτι ὡς ὁ Δίων ὁ Προυσαεὺς ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ Σευήρου καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων γενόμενος, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς Ἰωάννης ὁ Ξιφιλῖνος ἀδελφόπαις ὢν Ἰωάννου τοῦ πατριάρχου, ἐπὶ δὲ Μιχαὴλ αὐτοκράτορος τοῦ Δούκα τὴν ἐπιτομὴν ταύτην τῶν πολλῶν βιβλίων τοῦ Δίωνος συνταττόμενος.
>
> I am saying this no longer as Dio of Prusa, who lived during the time of the emperors Severus and Alexander, but as Ioannes Xiphilinos, the nephew of Ioannes the patriarch, who is editing this epitome of the many books of Dio during the reign of the emperor Michael Doukas.

The idea that Xiphilinos was a monk can be traced back to Hans-Georg Beck, who is also the source of the consensus that he should be identified as the author of the homilies (which are attributed in some mss. to a Ioannes Xiphilinos) and the *Menologion*[4]. The overall image that emerges from Beck, on which virtually all modern interpretations of Xiphilinos are based, is of a bookish and primarily religious author far removed from the Byzantine court and administration. But every aspect of this biography is either incorrect or arbitrary and therefore suspect[5].

Beck assigns a collection of fifty-three homilies to our epitomator on the basis of an argument by Albert Ehrhard that the homilies should be dated c. 1110 on the grounds of internal references to the Bogomil heresy, especially the condemnation of its leader[6]. This heresy reached a climax during the reign of Alexios I Komnenos when the Bogomil leader, Basileios, was executed c. 1111[7]. Beck, following Ehrhard, argues that we cannot assign the homilies to the patriarch Ioannes VIII Xiphilinos, who died in 1075, and must therefore assign them to his nephew[8]. This argument is logical only if we accept that the author of these homilies was named Ioannes Xiphilinos, and the manuscript evidence for such an identification is thin. Of the surviving manuscripts, nine attribute authorship to the patriarch Ioannes IX Agapetos (1111–1134), of which four explicitly reference his status as archbishop. Meanwhile sixteen manuscripts attribute the homilies to Ioannes Xiphilinos, of which ten explicitly mention his status as archbishop and an eleventh implies it through the phrase "our father among the saints." There are also three manuscripts that list an otherwise unknown Niketas Skoutariotes as

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Dion, in: Cassius Dion: nouvelles lectures, ed. V. Fromentin – E. Bertrand – M. Costelloni-Trannoy – M. Molin – G. Urso. Bordeaux 2016, I 81–94 at 81 n. 2. Treadgold expresses doubt about the identification of the epitomator with a monk and the author of the homilies and *Menologion*, but admits the possibility, W. Treadgold, The Middle Byzantine Historians. New York 2013, 310.

[3] Xiphilinos 87, 6–11 (ed. U. P. Boissevain, Cassii Dionis Cocceiani historiarum Romanarum quae supersunt. Berlin 1901, III 526, 10–14).

[4] H.-G. Beck, Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich (*HdA* 12, 2, 1). Munich 1959, 629–630. The idea that our epitomator was a monk has received some circumstantial confirmation from a seal belonging to a self-described monk, Ioannes Xiphilinos, see A.-K. Wassiliou-Seibt, Die Familie Xiphilinos im 11. Jahrhundert. Der Beitrag der Siegel, in: Les réseaux familiaux. Antiquité tardive et Moyen Âge, ed. B. Caseau. Paris 2012, 307–323 at 313–314. I will address this seal and the rest of the sigillographic record below. For an overview of the seals considered in this article, see Table 1.

[5] As Warren Treadgold has pointed out, there is nothing that indicates that our epitomator was a monk, and we should moreover be skeptical that our Ioannes would retain the same name if he took monastic orders, Treadgold, Middle Byzantine Historians 310 n. 7. It should be noted that Beck himself challenged the stereotype of the reclusive monk and the "monkish chronicle" in Byzantium, H.-G. Beck, Zur byzantinischen "Mönchschronik", in: Speculum historiale. Geschichte im Spiegel von Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsdeutung, ed. C. Bauer – L. Boehm – M. Müller. Freiburg – Munich 1965, 188–197 (= H.-G. Beck, Ideen und Realitäten in Byzanz [*Variorum Collected Studies Series* 13]. London 1972, XVI).

[6] A. Ehrhard, Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts. 1. Teil: Die Überlieferung (*TU* 50–52). Leipzig 1937–1952, III 531–532. Ehrhard is here following the argument of the editor of the text, S. Eustratiades, Ὁμιλίαι εἰς τὰς κυριακὰς τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐκ χειρογράφου τῆς ἐν Βιέννῃ αὐτοκρατορικῆς βιβλιοθήκης νῦν πρῶτον ἐκδιδομέναι μετὰ προλεγομένων. Triest 1903, 15–20.

[7] D. Obolensky, Basil the Bogomil, in: *ODB* I 268.

[8] Ehrhard, Überlieferung III 1, 556–559.

the author[9]. The manuscript tradition is therefore not definitive and, to the extent that it favors the authorship of *any* Ioannes Xiphilinos, it points to the patriarch. No manuscript identifies its author as a monk.

Beck and Ehrhard's attribution is also suspect on chronological grounds given that it depends on a preface with an allusion to the Bogomil heresy. However, Bonis has argued that this preface was a later addition, primarily on the grounds that it was written in a different hand in one manuscript, which he identified as the original source of the preface[10]. Although Ehrhard rejected this theory on the basis of the subjectivity of hand analysis, the same argument has since been made on content and stylistic grounds[11]. Absent the preface, there is nothing that can be used to date the homilies precisely, and thus no reason to rule out the authorship of the patriarch Xiphilinos. Moreover, even if we accept the dating of Ehrhard and Beck, there was likely another Ioannes Xiphilinos active in the early reign of Alexios I Komnenos, as will be shown below. In any case, despite all of the uncertainty that surrounds these homilies, we can say one thing for certain: there is no positive argument for assigning them to our epitomator.

The identification of our epitomator as the author of the *Menologion* is similarly tenuous. The identification can be traced back to the argument of Korneli Kekelidze based on the testimony of an incomplete copy of a Georgian translation of the *Menologion* which partially preserves a postscript describing the author[12]. According to this postscript, an anonymous Xiphilinos was inspired by a patriarch Xiphilinos to compose the *Menologion*, which he dedicated to an emperor Alexios.

There are several problems with this postscript. First, none of the Xiphilinoi are given first names, so the author is identified in the text only as *a* Xiphilinos and the patriarch only as *a* patriarch Xiphilinos (there were two). Likewise, the emperor Alexios is given no family name or numeration. Second, the discoverer of the manuscript, Kekelidze, who edited and translated the text into Russian, believed that the incipit of the postscript, the only section that identifies the author as a Xiphilinos, was a later addition on the grounds that the description of Xiphilinos as a "wise philosopher" and "first among the court scholars" would be uncharacteristically boastful for the author of a religious text in the eleventh century[13]. Third, Alexios I came to the throne in 1081, while Ioannes VIII Xiphilinos died in 1075, leaving at least a six-year gap between the two major figures in the postscript. Moreover, the patriarch is not described as "of blessed memory" or by any other phrase that would indicate that he was already deceased. Fourth, Kekelidze assumes a family relationship between the author and the patriarch Xiphilinos, despite his suspicions regarding the incipit, on the basis of the phrase "familiar behest" (*nat'esaobit`ic`a mc`nebay*), which is used to describe the patriarch's encouragement of the author of the *Menologion*[14]. Although the word for "familiar" (*nar`esaobit`i*) is derived from the root for family (*nat`esavi*), the usage here is not specific enough to indicate a family relationship[15].

All of this uncertainty argues against assuming that the anonymous Xiphilinos to whom the Georgian manuscript refers is our epitomator, as does the fact that we are aware of many more Xiphilinoi

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[9] This is counting only those manuscripts in which the attribution is in the same hand as the rest of the manuscript, and therefore not likely to be a *post facto* attribution. For a survey of the manuscript attributions, see Ehrhard, Überlieferung III 1, 532–556.

[10] K. Bonis, Προλεγόμενα εἰς τὰς "Ερμηνευτικὰς διδασκαλίας" τοῦ Ἰωάννου Η' Ξιφιλίνου πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως (2 Ἰαν. 1064–2 Αὐγ. 1075). Athens 1937, 37–44.

[11] H. Hennephof, Der Kampf um das Prooimion im xiphilinischen Homiliar, in: Studia byzantina et neohellenica Neerlandica (*Byzantina Neerlandica* 3), ed. W. Bakker – A. van Gemert – W. Aerts. Leiden 1972, 281–299.

[12] K. Kekelidze, Ioann Ksifilin, prodolatel' Simeona Metafrasta. *Christianskij Vostok* 1 (1912) 325–347. Kekelidze is cited by both Beck and the *ODB*.

[13] Kekelidze, Ioann Ksifilin 334. A marginal note in a different manuscript dated to the sixteenth century only confirms that *menologia* were attributed to a Xiphilinos by that period, and provides no further information about the identity of the anonymous Xiphilinos, Kekelidze, Ioann Ksifilin 332.

[14] Kekelidze, Ioann Ksifilin 330–331.

[15] S. Rapp, Personal Communication. May 27, 2019. The normal adjectival form of *nat`esavi* is *nat`esauri*.

active during the late eleventh century than appear to have been known to Kekelidze[16]. There is, moreover, another possibility, one which Kekelidze does not seem to have considered, that would re-date the *Menologion* by about a century[17]. The patriarch mentioned in the manuscript could be Georgios II Xiphilinos, who was patriarch of Constantinople from 1191–1198, a tenure that overlapped with the beginning of the reign of Alexios III Angelos (r. 1195–1203). This identification is both plausible on its face and recommended by its ability to resolve the gap that would otherwise exist between the death of the patriarch and accession of the ruler to whom the work is dedicated. It would also fit established patterns in the Byzantine court: authors often dedicated works to emperors at the beginning of a reign in order to curry favor with the new regime. Even if this dating is not accepted (or ultimately proven untenable by subsequent investigations of the manuscript), it remains impossible to make any positive case for identifying the epitomator Ioannes Xiphilinos as the author of the *Menologion*. The evidence is too slender and the Xiphilinoi active in the period are too numerous.

Although we cannot confidently attribute any works to our epitomator aside from the *Epitome* itself, we are still able to say a great deal about his life and circumstances. This is because he belonged to a relatively prominent family that is well-documented in the writings of Michael Psellos and a series of lead seals[18]. By examining the members of the family, we can reconstruct the life and times of Ioannes Xiphilinos. The image that emerges is not of a bookish man of God, but of an active member of the imperial administration operating close to the center of secular intellectual life in eleventh-century Constantinople, and concerned largely with secular history.

According to the funeral oration of the patriarch Ioannes VIII Xiphilinos written by Michael Psellos, who was at times a close friend and correspondent of the patriarch, Ioannes was the first member of his family to achieve any notable rank. The Xiphilinoi were originally from Trebizond, and the patriarch's anonymous parents are unknown outside of the vague praise they are offered by Psellos[19]. The major turning point in Ioannes VIII's career came after his arrival in Constantinople when he was appointed *nomophylax* by the emperor Konstantinos IX Monomachos sometime before 1047. This office was a new creation, part of a general overhaul of the legal administration in Byzantium, though its purview was perhaps mostly educational[20]. Although this was a major development in Ioannes' career, the post of *nomophylax* was not an especially high one, ranking alongside offices such as the *droungarios tes viglas*, a legal supervisor for the thematic governors, or *kritai*, which stood eighteenth in the list of offices open to non-eunuchs according to the tenth-century Escorial

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[16] Kekelidze is aware of only one other Xiphilinos, Konstantinos the *droungarios tes viglas*, who is discussed below, Kekelidze, Ioann Ksifilin 331. It is not clear why Kekelidze prefers to assign the work to the epitomator Ioannes rather than Konstantinos, though perhaps this is because Ioannes was a known author (of the *Epitome*) and Konstantinos is not explicitly attested as a relative of the patriarch.

[17] This re-dating falls within Kekelidze's range for the translation of the *Menologion* into Georgian, which he places in the second half of the twelfth century based on the existence of a thirteenth-century copy of the *Menologion* for April, Kekelidze, Ioann Ksifilin 339–340. It should be noted that this *terminus ante quem* is only valid if we assume that all of the unattributed *menologia* in the manuscript containing the postscript are the work of the same author.

[18] For the seals of the Xiphilinoi, I rely on Wassiliou-Seibt, Familie.

[19] Michael Psellos, Funeral Oration for the Most Blessed Patriarch Kyr Ioannes Xiphilinos 4, 1–16 (ed. I. Polemis, Michael Psellus. Orationes Funebres. Leipzig 2014, I 119–120). We know that his father predeceased his mother from his work on the miracles of St. Eugenios of Trebizond, see Ioannes VIII Xiphilinos, An Account of Miracles Performed by the Holy and Glorious Great Martyr Eugenios of Trebizond 1 (ed. J. O. Rosenqvist, The Hagiographic Dossier of St Eugenios of Trebizond in Codex Athous Dionysiou 154 [*Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia* 5]. Uppsala 1996, 174–176, ll. 102–105). The only modern biography of the patriarch has nothing to add on this topic or his family more generally, K. Bonis, Ἰωάννης ὁ Ξιφιλῖνος. Ὁ νομοφύλαξ, ὁ μοναχός, ὁ πατριάρχης καὶ ἡ ἐποχὴ αὐτοῦ. Athens 1937, 12–13. Although Bonis is aware of the patriarch's work on St. Eugenios, he does not bring that information to bear on his subject's biography.

[20] For the schools established by Monomachos, see W. Wolska-Conus, Les écoles de Psellos et de Xiphilin sous Constantin IX Monomaque. *TM* 6 (1976) 223–243; Z. Chitwood, Byzantine Legal Culture and the Roman Legal Tradition. Cambridge 2017, 150–183.

Taktikon (a list of offices ranked by status)[21]. Nevertheless, Xiphilinos is attested as a *magistros*, a relatively high court title, by 1054[22]. At this point, Xiphilinos' political career suffered a setback: he had fallen out of favor at court in the early 1050s and chose to leave the capital for a monastic retirement in Bithynia in 1054. More than a decade later he was plucked from this retirement and made patriarch of Constantinople in 1063, likely owing to the resurgence of the Doukai (and Psellos) under the emperor Konstantinos X Doukas. Xiphilinos was patriarch until his death in 1075 during the reign of Michael VII Doukas, under whom his eponymous nephew, our epitomator, was writing.

The patriarch Xiphilinos is the best attested and certainly most politically successful member of the family. It is because of him that we find traces of a contemporary relative, Bardas Xiphilinos, in the historiographical record. During the final days of Konstantinos X Doukas, the emperor bound his empress Eudokia Makrembolitissa by terrible oaths to never remarry, likely in order to ensure the ascent to the throne of his two minor children, Michael and Konstantinos[23]. This oath was witnessed by the court and senate and administered by the patriarch Xiphilinos. However, after Doukas' death opinion soon shifted in favor of Eudokia remarrying. The two nearest sources, Psellos' *Chronographia* and Attaleiates' *History*, remain silent about the patriarch's role in canvassing to release Eudokia from her oath. However, two later sources, Skylitzes Continuatus and Zonaras, both report that the patriarch was tricked into doing so when he was told that the empress was likely to marry his relative, Bardas[24]. The major difference between these two accounts is the nature of Bardas' relationship to the patriarch: Skylitzes Continuatus calls him a brother (*adelphos*), while Zonaras calls him a nephew (*anepsios/adelphopais*)[25]. Given that Continuatus wrote earlier, indeed he may have been a contemporary, I am inclined to favor his identification of Bardas[26]. Moreover, it is possible that Zonaras has made Bardas younger in order to play into the idea that the empress Eudokia's choice of husband was dictated by lust rather than policy, a depiction that would fit with his generally negative portrayal of the man she did eventually take as her second husband, Romanos IV Diogenes (r. 1068–1071).

The name Bardas Xiphilinos also appears on a seal from the eleventh century and describes its owner as a *patrikios* and *strategetes* of Thessaly[27]. Unfortunately, *strategetes* is not a formal rank and we cannot be sure of what precise military command lay behind it, though it is most likely to be identified with the rank of *stratelates*, a high-ranking command[28]. This supposition is supported by the

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[21] For the legal organization of the empire in the eleventh century, see N. Oikonomidès, L'évolution de l'organisation administrative de l'empire Byzantin au XI[e] siècle (1025–1118). *TM* 6 (1976) 125–152 at 133–135. For the Escorial *Taktikon*, see Idem, Les listes de préséance Byzantines des IX[e] et X[e] siècles. Paris 1972, at 302–304 for the rank of the *droungarios tes viglas*. For a survey of the office's history and evolution, see R. Guilland, Recherches sur les institutions byzantines. Berlin 1967, I 564–587.

[22] Wassiliou-Seibt, Familie 309–310.

[23] The terms of the oath survive and are quite graphic, see N. Oikonomidès, Le serment de l'impératrice Eudocie (1067). Un épisode de l'histoire dynastique de Byzance. *REB* 21 (1963) 101–128.

[24] Skylitzes Continuatus 3, 7 (ed. E. Th. Tsolakis, Ἡ συνέχεια τῆς Χρονογραφίας τοῦ Ἰωάννου Σκυλίτση. Thessaloniki 1968, 123, 1–22); Zonaras XVIII 10, 22 (ed. T. Büttner-Wobst, Ioannis Zonarae epitomae historiarum libri xiii–xviii [*CSHB* 31]. Bonn 1897, III 686, 4–10). Michael Glykas also reports the story, but copies Continuatus verbatim, except for the negative comments on Bardas' character, Michael Glykas, *Annales* 608, 1–10 (ed. I. Bekker, Michaelis Glycae Annales [*CSHB* 24]. Bonn 1836).

[25] Although *anepsios* means cousin in Classical Greek, it had come to mean nephew by the middle Byzantine period (and still does in Modern Greek), as confirmed by Zonaras' use of both *anepsios* and *adelphopais* in the same sentence.

[26] The identity of the continuator of Skylitzes is uncertain, but the current scholarly consensus favors the theory that the continuator was Skylitzes himself. For a cogent summary of the debate, see C. Holmes, Basil II and the Governance of Empire (976–1035). Oxford 2005, 83 n. 41. For an up-to-date bibliography on the controversy, see Neville, Guide to Byzantine Historical Writing 157 n. 15.

[27] Wassiliou-Seibt, Familie 311–312.

[28] Guilland, Recherches sur les institutions Byzantines I 395. There was also a tagma of the *stratelatai* active in the eleventh century, but this identification is unlikely due to Bardas' court title and the geographical reference to Thessaly. Unlike

fact that *strategetes* of Thessaly is best understood as a metonymy for the *strategetes* of Thessaloniki, the second city of the empire and a critical military command[29]. Alexandra-Kyriaki Wassiliou-Seibt argues that Bardas could not have been a high-ranking commander because *patrikios* was a relatively low rank at court, but we know that the future emperor Romanos IV Diogenes was made *doux* of Serdica, a high military posting, while still a *patrikios*[30]. If we accept that Bardas was the patriarch's brother, then his period of command most likely coincided either with Ioannes VIII Xiphilinos' initial rise in the 1040s or to the period after his appointment to the patriarchate in 1063. In either period, an officer serving in the western provinces would likely have seen active campaigning, either during the revolts of Georgios Maniakes (1043) and Leon Tornikios (1047), the invasion of the Pechenegs (c. 1047–1053), or the invasion of the Ouzoi (1064).

There are several reasons to identify the Bardas Xiphilinos attested by the seal as a brother of the patriarch. In the first place, there are no other men named Bardas attested among the Xiphilinoi in the eleventh century. Moreover, the circumstances of Bardas' command fit standard patterns: Byzantine emperors generally avoided stationing military officers in their home territories, so a Xiphilinos from Trebizond would be a natural fit for a posting to a western theme[31]. Finally, this identification lends a measure of plausibility to the story told by Skylitzes Continuatus and Zonaras. According to Attaleiates, Psellos, and Skylitzes Continuatus, the reason Eudokia wanted to remarry was the dire state of the empire's frontiers, which were under threat in every quarter, especially in the east[32]. If there was in fact a broad consensus that the empire needed a strong military hand at the helm, and this is a fair assumption given the eventual appointment of Romanos IV, then the Bardas who owned that seal would have been a reasonable candidate based on his presumptive military experience. Or to be more precise, the Bardas of the seal held a sufficiently high military command that his ambitious brother the patriarch, who was no political neophyte, could have been tricked into thinking he was a likely candidate for a military emperor.

In addition to Bardas, Ioannes had at least one other brother named Michael, who is attested in a collection of miracles of St Eugenios of Trebizond written by the future patriarch Ioannes VIII, perhaps even before his initial departure for Constantinople in the 1030s[33]. We can say nothing of this Michael except that, according to his brother, he fell ill and was healed (twice) by the saint[34]. These three (Ioannes, Bardas, and Michael) are the only members of the first generation of Xiphilinoi we

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thematic armies, tagmatic forces were not tied to specific areas of the empire. For the tagma, see H. Glykatzi-Ahrweiler, Recherches sur l'administration de l'empire byzantin aux IXe–XIe siècles. *BCH* 84 (1960) 1–111 at 24–36.

[29] Wassiliou-Seibt, Familie 311–312. A similar metonymy is attested on twelfth-century seals of the metropolitan of Thessaloniki, A.-K. Wassiliou-Seibt, Corpus der byzantinischen Siegel mit metrischen Legenden (*WBS* 28). Vienna 2015, II, no. 2756. For the subordination of Thessaly to the military command in Thessaloniki during the eleventh century, see B. Krsmanović, The Byzantine Province in Change. On the Threshold between the 10th and 11th Century. Belgrade–Athens 2008, 203–205.

[30] Skylitzes Continuatus 3, 6 (121, 14–16 Tsolakis).

[31] Breaking with this pattern likely contributed to the revolts against Michael VII Doukas launched by Nikephoros Botaneiates and Nikephoros Bryennios in 1077, A. Kaldellis, Streams of Gold, Rivers of Blood. The Rise and Fall of Byzantium, 955 A.D. to the First Crusade. Oxford 2017, 264.

[32] Michael Attaleiates, History 16, 12–13 (ed. E. Th. Tsolakis, Michaelis Attaliatae Historia [*CFHB* 50]. Athens 2011, 79, 13–80, 12) Skylitzes Continuatus 3, 7 (122, 8–13 Tsolakis). Psellos echoes the sentiment, but puts it directly into the mouth of the empress, Michael Psellos, Chronographia VII 127(b6), 6–9 (ed. D. R. Reinsch, Michaelis Pselli Chronographia [*Millennium-Studien* 51]. Berlin 2014, I 265, 12–15).

[33] The dating of the work is tenuous and depends on the assumption that the "younger Konstantinos" mentioned is Konstantinos VIII (there were three emperors by that name between 1025 and 1059) and the implication that Xiphilinos was present in Trebizond for the reading of the work. Neither of these points is certain. I am also not convinced that the plurality of the phrase "those managing the affairs of the Romans" can be taken as a reference to the joint reign of Basileios II and Konstantinos VIII. For the date, see Rosenqvist, The Hagiographic Dossier 28–29.

[34] Ioannes VIII Xiphilinos, An Account of Miracles Performed by the Holy and Glorious Great Martyr Eugenios of Trebizond 1 (172, 42–43 Rosenqvist).

can identify with certainty. The rest of the Xiphilinoi discussed here are attested due to chance and their proximity to Michael Psellos. Nonetheless, their careers and offices paint a clear picture of the family's status and circumstances in the eleventh century. Taken together, they will allow us to understand the background of our epitomator and even trace his career[35].

Michael Psellos mentions two or possibly three anonymous Xiphilinoi in his letters to Ioannes VIII Xiphilinos. Psellos describes the future patriarch's nephew, who was at that time his student, in a letter that Michael Jeffreys and Marc Lauxtermann date prior to 1052 based on the absence of religious language, which we would expect if either man were already a monk[36]:

> Οὐ περὶ τοῦ ἀνεψιοῦ πολλάκις ἠξίωσας, ἑταῖρε Ἰωάννη, ὅπως ἄν αὐτοῦ ἐπιμελοίμην ἄρτι τελοῦντος εἰς τὰ μαθήματα; καὶ νῦν οὗτος τὰ πρῶτα τῶν ὁμιλητῶν ἐμοὶ γέγονε διὰ σέ. καὶ οὐ πάνυ τοῦ θείου ἀφέστηκεν, ὥς γε μοι φαίνεται· ἥδρασται γὰρ καὶ πλατεῖα αὐτῷ ἡ διάνοια· καὶ ἡ φύσις εἰς ὀξὺ μὲν οὐ λήγει, ἴση δέ ἐστι πᾶσα καὶ "ἀπὸ πρώτης γραμμῆς" ἐοικυῖα ἑαυτῇ. καὶ ἵνα σοι ἀπὸ τῶν ποτε φίλων σχημάτων τὸ πλεῖον δηλώσαιμι, τοῦ κωνικοῦ μὲν ἀποβέβηκε, κύλινδρος δέ ἐστιν ἀκριβής. τί οὖν μοι τὰ πολλὰ ταῦτα πεπροοιμίασται; νὴ τὴν ἱεράν σου καὶ φιλτάτην ψυχήν, ἵνα γράφῃς πρὸς ἡμᾶς χάριτας ὁμολογῶν ἢ προσθήκας ἐπιζητῶν.
> "Did you not often ask about your nephew, dear Ioannes, how I have supervised him now that he is finishing his studies? Already he has become the first among my students because of you. And he has not entirely forsaken the divinity [his uncle], so it seems to me, for his broad [a pun on the name of Plato] intelligence is firmly established. Moreover, his nature does not end in a point, but is at once entirely equal and alike to itself. So that I may reveal the greater part to you by means of those once-beloved shapes, his nature diverges from the cone, but is a precise cylinder. Why have I said these many things by way of preamble? By your sacred and dear soul, so that you will write to us either granting favors or seeking help."[37]

Psellos' letter is characteristically riddling with a core message built around puns and allusions. The key to unravelling these is to recognize the valence of the adjective *plateios* "broad" which Psellos uses to describe the nephew's intellect (*dianoia*). At least since the third century AD, writers had noticed that Plato's name literally meant "broad-shouldered"[38], and here Psellos uses the word to mean "broad" with an allusion to "Platonic". Likewise, *theios*, the word for "God" or "the divinity", is a homonym for "uncle". Thus Psellos' progress-report for the young Xiphilinos playfully alludes to the young man's Platonism as well as his general intelligence, while citing his resemblance to his uncle and assuring Ioannes that Psellos has not drawn the nephew away from religion and closer to Plato (a recurring concern in the sometimes tense relationship between Psellos and the patriarch). Nevertheless, there is a playful ambiguity in the use of *theios*, as the form Psellos uses (*tou theiou*) could be either masculine or neuter. In the masculine, the word could refer either to the Christian God or to Ioannes VIII Xiphilinos, but in the neuter it would refer to the abstract divinity (*to theion*) that

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[35] I will not discuss the eleventh-century Xiphilinoi for whom we have no information but their name, such as Leon and David, Wassiliou-Seibt, Familie 312 and 318–319.

[36] M. Jeffreys – M. D. Lauxtermann, The Letters of Psellos. Cultural Networks and Historical Realities. Cambridge 2017, 293. The Ioannes of the letter is not explicitly identified as a Xiphilinos in the manuscript tradition, but the identification is likely, especially in light of its content.

[37] Michael Psellos, Letter KD 265 (ed. E. Kurtz – F. Drexl, Michaelis Pselli Scripta minora magnam partem adhuc inedita II: Epistulae [*Orbis Romanus* 12]. Milan 1941, 310, 8–19; St. Papaioannou, Michael Psellus. Epistulae, vol. 1 [*Bibliotheca Teubneriana* 2030]. Berlin – Boston 2019, 508–509 ["ante 1055", Letter Papaioannou 195]).

[38] This detail famously appears in Diogenes Laertius' life of Plato, Diogenes Laertius 3, 4 (ed. H. S. Long, Diogenis Laertii vitae philosophorum. Oxford 1964, I 122, 14–18).

appears so often in the works of Plato. This is not idle teasing: Psellos' Platonism appears to have led to a major falling out between the philosopher and the patriarch[39].

The final piece of the puzzle is Psellos' strange digression on cones and cylinders. This is clearly some sort of inside joke and consequently obscure, but there is one, and only one, other place in Psellos' corpus where he mentions both cylinders and cones: a discussion of lunar eclipses in his *De omnifaria doctrina*[40]. In this discussion, Psellos makes the following observation: "the whirlwind is called a cone, which ends in a point from a broad base, and the shadow of the earth is of this sort. Therefore whenever some body is illuminated by a body of equal size, the shadow is cylindrical, but whenever it is illuminated by a larger body, the shadow is conical."[41] Given the strong verbal correspondences, including the adjective *plateios*, it appears that, in the letter, Psellos is using these shapes to characterize his pupil as an equal to his source of illumination, that is the sort of person whose nature would cast a cylindrical rather than conical shadow because it is illuminated by a light source of equal size. In other words, the nephew's intellect is equal to that of his illuminator. The identity of that light source, whether the uncle, the divinity, or Psellos himself, is unclear from the letter, but such ambiguity complements the polysemy at the core of Psellos' teasing.

This first letter establishes that members of the patriarch Xiphilinos' family, including at least one nephew, were students of Psellos, but the second letter does not offer as much insight. Dated to c. 1053 on the basis of Psellos still being the *proedros* rather than *hypatos* of the philosophers, Psellos asks Xiphilinos to advocate on behalf of his (Xiphilinos') brother and nephew[42]. The brother is unnamed, but it is likely that he is the Bardas Xiphilinos discussed above as Michael Xiphilinos had no career that would benefit from the future patriarch's advocacy. We likewise cannot be certain that the nephew mentioned here is the same as that mentioned in the previous letter, but it is noteworthy that Psellos uses the singular, implying that the future patriarch had only one nephew or that only one nephew was pursuing a career that could benefit from Xiphilinos' support, namely a career in the imperial administration. The letter is also useful as it can be dated with certainty to the period of the future patriarch's monastic exile based on Psellos' puns on Horaia Pege, the monastery to which Xiphilinos had retired in Bithynia. We therefore have a firm *terminus ante quem* of 1063.

The use of the singular by Psellos is valuable in light of the attestation of two other potential nephews by a lead seal. This seal identifies a Georgios and a Michael who claim to be nephews of "lord Xiphilinos" (*despotes Xiphilinos*) and who, based on their joint seal and shared relationship, are likely brothers[43]. Interestingly, these two men do not identify themselves as Xiphilinoi, raising the possibility that they are distaff nephews, which would in turn explain their decision to emphasize their relationship to the anonymous *despotes* (which would otherwise have been accomplished by their family name alone). Wassiliou-Seibt takes this *despotes Xiphilinos* to be the patriarch Ioannes VIII Xiphilinos, which is plausible. However, the term *despotes* was commonly used for both patriarchs and bishops in Byzantium[44] and the Xiphilinoi remained active in the Church after the

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[39] On the basis of a surviving letter dated to 1054 that Psellos wrote in his own defense, which opens with the incredulous question "My Plato?!" (Michael Psellos, Letter Papaioannou 202, 1 [527], "post a. 1054 et ante 1.1.1064"). For a translation, see A. Kaldellis – I. Polemis, Psellos and the Patriarchs. Letters and Funeral Orations for Keroullarios, Leichoudes, and Xiphilinos. Notre Dame 2015, 168–176.

[40] Based on a word search for all related words in the corpus of Psellos available on the *TLG*.

[41] Michael Psellos, De ominfaria doctrina 129 (ed. L. G. Westerink, Michael Psellus. De omnifaria doctrina. Nijmegen 1948, 68, 95, 4–7): κῶνος δὲ ὁ στρόβηλος λέγεται, ὅστις ἀπὸ πλατείας βάσεως εἰς ὀξὺ ἀπολήγει· τοιαύτη δὲ καὶ ἡ τῆς γῆς ἐστὶ σκιά. διότι ὅτάν τι σῶμα ὑπὸ ἰσομεγέθους φωτίζηται σώματος, κυλινδρικὴ γίνεται ἡ σκιά· ὅταν δὲ ὑπὸ μείζονος, κωνοειδής.

[42] Michael Psellos, Letter M 7, 16–19 (ed. E. V. Maltese, Epistole inedite di Michele Psello. II. *SIFC* 80 [1987] 214–223 at 219, 16–19; ed. 510, 20–22 Papaioannou ["ante 1055", Letter Papaioannou 196]). Date and location in Jeffreys – Lauxtermann, Letters of Psellos 301.

[43] Wassiliou-Seibt, Familie 315–316.

[44] A. Kazhdan, Despotes, in: *ODB* I 614.

eleventh century, eventually producing a second patriarch, Georgios II Xiphilinos (1191–1198), so we cannot be certain of the identity of the *despotes*. Nonetheless, there are onomastic grounds on which to assign Gregorios and Michael to the second generation of Xiphilinoi: Ioannes VIII's brother was named Michael and the name could have been passed down to his son, who would be Ioannes' nephew, a reconstruction that accords with the dating of the seals[45]. In any case, none of these men (the two Michaels and Georgios) is attested as holding any position in the Byzantine administration, and there is no indication that this branch of the family left Trebizond. Moreover, there is Psellos' curious use of the singular in his two letters. Taken together, these considerations suggest that neither Georgios nor Michael is the student mentioned by Psellos.

There is one final Xiphilinos mentioned in the letters of Psellos, a Konstantinos Xiphilinos who is identified as a *droungarios tes viglas*. Responding to a request from this Konstantinos for a summary of Aristotle's *Logic*—a reference to a Byzantine collection known as the *Organon* that included works such as *Categories* and *Prior Analytics*—Psellos demurred, citing the difficulty of the project[46]. The letter makes clear that the pair had corresponded before; Psellos opens the letter by saying "you are imposing this second, most grievous struggle on me."[47] The letter is undated and we cannot say how Konstantinos related to the rest of the family[48], but its existence indicates the dense links that existed between the Xiphilinoi and Psellos. Owing to the absence of any reference to Konstantinos as a student (a trope that Psellos frequently belabors in his correspondence), it is likely that Konstantinos did not study with the philosopher and is not the anonymous nephew found in Psellos' other letters. This supposition is supported by the nature of the request itself: the *Organon* was a foundational text in Byzantine logic and survives in more than a hundred manuscripts preserved from the tenth through sixteenth centuries, making it the third best-attested Byzantine text after the Bible and the works of Ioannes Chrysostomos[49]. The request for an abridged version of the *Organon* implies that Konstantinos was not familiar with the work, which would likely place him outside the school of the "consul of the philosophers". This would explain the mocking tone of Psellos' response, which takes the form of an extended list of impossible feats, including the slaying of the Hydra by Herakles—Aristotle, Psellos claims, is no weaker than the regenerating Hydra against which even Herakles needed Iolaos' help!—and the birth of Dionysos from Zeus' thigh.

Konstantinos' letter suggests that the Xiphilinoi were in contact with Psellos even outside of formal professional or educational relationships. The identification of Konstantinos as a *droungarios tes viglas* is similarly informative. As mentioned above, the *droungarios* was a legal position that took over some of the legal responsibilities of the eparch of the city under Konstantinos IX Monomachos. It was one of a cluster of higher legal offices and held a moderate rank in the administration. Konstantinos demonstrates that the Xiphilinoi were broadly associated with Michael Psellos, which we might

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[45] Michael Xiphilinos, the brother of the patriarch, is not mentioned in Wassiliou-Seibt's reconstruction of the family in the eleventh century.

[46] For the *Organon*, see S. Kotzabassi, Aristotle's *Organon* and its Byzantine Commentators. *Princeton University Library Chronicle* 65 (2002) 51–62. For logic in Byzantium, including the foundational role of Aristotle, see C. Erismann, Logic in Byzantium, in: The Cambridge Intellectual History of Byzantium, ed. A. Kaldellis – N. Siniossoglou. Cambridge 2017, 362–380.

[47] Michael Psellos, Letter S 205 (ed. K. N. Sathas, Μιχαὴλ Ψελλοῦ ἱστορικοὶ λόγοι, ἐπιστολαὶ καὶ ἄλλα ἀνέκδοτα. [*Mesaionike Bibliotheke* 5]. Venice – Paris 1876, 499, 8; not included in the new edition of St. Papaioannou, Michael Psellus. Epistulae, vol. 1–2 [*Bibliotheca Teubneriana* 2030]. Berlin – Boston 2019): Δεύτερον τοῦτον ἆθλον ἐπιτάττεις βαρύτατον.

[48] Jeffreys – Lauxtermann, Letters of Psellos 413–414. The date of the letter is uncertain, but likely predates the reign of Michael VII Doukas who changed the title of the office to *megas droungarios tes viglas* and who appointed another Konstantinos, this time the nephew of the patriarch Keroularios, to the post, Guilland, Recherches sur les institutions byzantines 573–575.

[49] Kotzabassi, Aristotle's *Organon* 51–52.

have anticipated given the close links between the *nomophylax* and the consul of the philosophers, as well as with legal positions in the administration.

The Xiphilinoi surveyed so far have established the general parameters of the family's status in the eleventh century, whose salient features are their service in the western themes (Bardas), their association with legal positions and the imperial administration (Konstantinos and the patriarch), and their close ties to Psellos (the patriarch and at least one nephew). These parameters are broadly confirmed by the other Xiphilinoi attested in the eleventh century, who include an Ioannes Xiphilinos attested by two seals as an *anagrapheus* and *krites* for Thrace and Macedonia and who held the rank of *magistros*[50]; a Ioannes Xiphilinos identified as a monk by his seal[51]; an anonymous Xiphilinos, who was the *pronoetes* of Lakedaimonia and held the rank of *protoproedros*, attested in a letter to an otherwise unknown correspondent[52]; a Ioannes Xiphilinos who was a *protoproedros* and *krites*[53]; a Ioannes Xiphilinos recorded in attendance at the trial of Ioannes Italos in 1082 with the rank of *vestarches* alongside a Nikolaos Xiphilinos who held the rank of *protovestes*; [54] an Euthymios Xiphilinos, a monk and copyist attested by a subscript in 1091[55]; and a Niketas Xiphilinos, who served as *koiaistor* as well as *krites* and *anagrapheus* of Boleron, Strymon, and Thessaloniki with the rank of *magistros* in the final decade of the eleventh century[56].

Geographically, we find a concentration of the Xiphilinoi in the western themes, with specific postings to Thrace, Macedonia, and Lakedaimonia. Likewise, there is a preponderance of administrative and legal positions. A *krites* was an administrator in charge of a theme as well as a judge in legal disputes[57]. The post was often combined with that of *anagrapheus*, a type of tax official responsible for maintaining the property measurements upon which the tax system was based prior to the reforms of Alexios I Komnenos[58]. A *pronoetes*, meanwhile, was a somewhat obscure post possibly of ecclesiastical origin that acted as a financial overseer and tax collector generally charged with the administration of specific properties and often associated with the post of *anagrapheus*[59].

In addition to their offices, most of the attested Xiphilinoi also held court dignities. Unfortunately, the hierarchy of these dignities in the eleventh century is obscure due to the absence of a contemporary *Taktikon* or similar source[60]. Moreover, the second half of the eleventh century was a politically unstable period in Byzantine history, with eleven rulers and several significant revolts between 1041 and 1081. This political instability took place against a background of mounting military threats on

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[50] Wassiliou-Seibt, Familie 312–313.

[51] *Ibid.*, 313–314.

[52] A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Ξιφιλῖνος, πρωτοπρόεδρος καὶ προνοητὴς Λακεδαιμονίας. *BZ* 14 (1905) 563–567. Papadopoulos-Kerameus suggests that this is Konstantinos Xiphilinos, the *droungarios tes viglas* at an earlier stage in his career, but that is unlikely based on the exceedingly high court title of *protoproedros*, which is discussed below.

[53] Wassiliou-Seibt, Familie 317–318.

[54] J. Gouillard, Le procès officiel de Jean l'Italien: les actes et leurs sous-entendus. *TM* 9 (1985) 133–174 at 145, ll. 160–162. The *ODB* mistakenly identifies him as Niketas Xiphilinos, A. Kazhdan, Xiphilinos, in: *ODB* III 2210–2211.

[55] Wassiliou-Seibt, Familie 320.

[56] *Ibid.*, 320–322. For the administrative unification of this region, see Krsmanović, Byzantine Province 201–203.

[57] For the *krites* in the eleventh century, see Oikonomidès, Les listes 322–323; Idem, L'évolution 148–149; Glykatzi-Ahrweiler, Recherches sur l'administration 67–75.

[58] A. Kazhdan – M. W. Tkacz, Anagrapheus, in: *ODB* I 84.

[59] A.-K. Wassiliou-Seibt, Der Terminus προνοητής in der byzantinischen Verwaltung. *ZRVI* 50 (2013) 149–162; N. Bănescu, La signification des titres de πραίτωρ et de προνοητής à Byzance aux XI[e] et XII[e] siècles. *StT* 123 (1946) 387–398 at 395–398; T. Wasilewski, Les titres de duc, de catépan et de pronoétès dans l'Empire byzantin du IX[e] jusqu'au XII[e] siècle, in: Actes du XII[e] congrès international d'études Byzantines, Ochride 10–16 septembre 1961. Belgrade 1964, II 233–239; Oikonomidès, L'évolution 149–150.

[60] The closest is the Escorial *Taktikon* dating to the last quarter of the tenth century, for which see Oikonimidès, Les listes 255–277.

all of the empire's frontiers, territorial retrenchment, and corresponding fiscal pressures[61]. Under these circumstances, various emperors attempted to buy support for their regimes by granting titles, resulting in an inflation and devaluation of high court titles. Titles that would have been outstanding under Basileios II (r. 976–1025), had become relatively commonplace by the time Alexios I Komnenos came to the throne in 1081[62]. So while it remains possible to establish the general order of precedence among dignities in the eleventh century, the precise value of these titles was fluid and depreciated over the course of the century. In order from highest to lowest, the dignities of interest to us are: *proedros*, *magistros*, *vestarches*, *vestes*, and *patrikios*[63]. For many of these titles, such as *proedros*, the prefix "*proto*" was added to indicate first-class status inside a group whose membership was losing value because of inflation, but these proto- titles often became so common that they assumed the function of a distinct class of dignity.

The Xiphilinoi achieved high dignities in the imperial administration. Bardas was the lowest-ranking member of the family, being attested only as a *patrikios*, though if this is the brother of the patriarch, then the earlier date lends greater weight to that title. Ioannes the *krites* of Thrace and Macedonia was a *magistros*, as was his much later relative Niketas, who held the post of *krites* of Thessaloniki, Boleron, and Strymon. Another (?) Ioannes the *krites* was a *protoproedros*, as was the anonymous *pronoetes* of Lakedaimonia. The lowest-ranking Xiphilinoi were Ioannes and Nikolaos, who held the ranks of *vestarches* and *protovestes* respectively, but Niketas' rank of *magistros* suggests that we should not read this as a sign that the Xiphilinoi had fallen out of favor under the Komnenoi. By comparing the offices and titles held by these men we can gain some sense of their relative chronology based on the ongoing devaluation of titles. Thus, Ioannes the *magistros* and *krites* of Thrace and Macedonia would likely have an earlier date given the correspondence between that rank and that office, while the anonymous *pronoetes* is certainly later given the formerly high title of *protoproedros* that goes with his relatively low-ranking office. That Niketas was also a *magistros* suggests a stable relationship through the late eleventh century between that rank and postings as thematic *krites*.

We therefore have a sketchy picture of the family and circumstances of the Xiphilinoi during the lifetime of our epitomator. They were well-educated, with close links to Psellos and legal careers, the latter being unsurprising given Ioannes VIII's role as *nomophylax*. They held high ranks in the court across several reigns as well as high positions in the administration of the western themes, with only one member of the family attested in a military command. They were, in short, a well-connected family of bureaucrats operating primarily in the middle ranks of the administration, with exceptional members, such as the patriarch and Ioannes the *krites* and *protoproedros*, occasionally achieving higher ranks.

Can we reconstruct the career of our epitomator from the Xiphilinoi attested in the eleventh century? Any such reconstruction must necessarily be speculative, but a strong case can be made that our epitomator was the anonymous student of Psellos discussed above and the Ioannes *krites* who held the rank of *magistros* and *protoproedros* (on my reconstruction these are the same person)[64].

The biography of our epitomator begins with his eponymous uncle. According to Psellos' *Funeral Oration*, the patriarch was a bit older than Psellos, who was born in 1018. So we may assign the pa-

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[61] For the narrative of this period, see Kaldellis, Streams of Gold.

[62] Alexios continued the inflation. For an amusing and illustrative outline of this problem, see the discussion of the title *sebastos* in Oikonomidès, L'évolution 127.

[63] J.-C. Cheynet, Dévaluation des dignités et dévaluation monétaire dans la seconde moitié du XI[e] siècle. *Byz* 53 (1983) 453–477 at 473–474.

[64] Treadgold has also speculated about the possible career of our epitomator, linking him to the *vestarches* mentioned in the trial of Ioannes Italos in 1082, Treadgold, Middle Byzantine Historians 310. For reasons explained below, I find this identification unlikely.

triarch's birth between 1010 and 1017[65]. If we assume that the patriarch's sibling, our epitomator's father, was born within five years of him in either direction, and if we assume a generational gap of twenty-five years, we get a range of possible birthdates for our epitomator of 1030 to 1047. These dates are not meant to be definitive, only to establish a likely range. We can narrow this range further by recalling Psellos' letter, dated before 1052, in which he says that the future patriarch's nephew was finishing his studies. This suggests that the nephew was around twenty or twenty-five years of age, and falls on the earlier side of our hypothetical birth range. The careers of the Xiphilinoi during the middle of the eleventh century are likely to have benefitted from the patronage of the *nomophylax* and patriarch Ioannes Xiphilinos during his periods in favor at court, so we can reasonably look for major advancements in the second half of the 1040s or the period after 1064. Given the relative timing of our epitomator's education, we can expect him to have finished his studies by the time of his uncle's promotion to patriarch, at which point he would have been in his early to mid-thirties. Our epitomator would therefore have been well-positioned for a role in the imperial administration in the mid-1060s, which is within the range of dates assigned to the two seals of Ioannes Xiphilinos the *anagrapheus*, *krites*, and *magistros*[66]. In fact, it is possible that the two seals attest two different moments in our epitomator's career, an initial appointment as *anagrapheus* followed by a promotion to *krites* of Thrace and Macedonia. His rank of *magistros* was justified by his connection to the patriarch and his high position in the administration.

This reconstruction is recommended by the logic of the Xiphilinos family tree. We are told that Ioannes VIII was the first member of his family to establish himself in Constantinople, so older generations of Xiphilinoi are likely not attested by these seals. We can likewise assume that Ioannes VIII was the only one of his siblings named Ioannes, and no (potentially eponymous) cousins of the future patriarch are attested, only his brothers Bardas and Michael and, possibly, a third anonymous brother recorded in the letters of Psellos. Therefore, the Ioannes Xiphilinos who was *krites* in Thrace and Macedonia must have belonged to the second generation of Xiphilinoi after the future patriarch. Moreover, since the patriarch is never mentioned as having children (there was no taboo against this in the Byzantine Church, especially as some men joined the clergy late in life, as Ioannes VIII himself did), this *krites* must have been a nephew. It is, of course, possible that the future patriarch had many nephews named Ioannes, but only one is securely attested and there are no grounds to needlessly multiply them. Finally, in light of the repeated use of the singular "nephew" in the letters of Psellos, it seems that there was only one such person who studied with Psellos. A minimalist approach therefore recommends identifying the *anagrapheus*, *krites*, and *magistros* Ioannes Xiphilinos with our epitomator.

If this identification is accepted, then several other pieces begin to fall into place. In particular, we can probably identify the *krites* and *protoproedros* Ioannes Xiphilinos with our epitomator as well. His seal is dated to the last quarter of the eleventh century, and his promotion to the high rank of *protoproedros* (the highest rank attested for any Xiphilinos save the patriarch) can be attributed to the inflation of titles as well as the close association between the Xiphilinoi and the Doukai, who were in power under Michael VII Doukas and prominent under Alexios I Komnenos, who was married to Eirene Doukaina[67]. This identification of our epitomator undermines attempts to connect him to the *vestarches* attested at the trial of Ioannes Italos in 1082, an identification suggested by Warren Treadgold, because *vestarches* was a significantly lower rank than *protoproedros*, lower even than

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[65] Following Kaldellis – Polemis, Psellos and the Patriarchs 185 n. 25.

[66] Wassiliou-Seibt dates these seals between 1060 and 1090, Wassiliou-Seibt, Familie 312–313.

[67] For the prosopography of the Doukai, see D. I. Polemis, The Doukai. A Contribution to Byzantine Prosopography. London 1968.

magistros[68]. In order for this to be our epitomator, we would need to assume a significant fall from grace sometime before the reign of Alexios I Komnenos. While certainly not impossible, the likelier explanation is that this is a different Ioannes, probably belonging to the third generation of Xiphilinoi in Constantinople.

This reconstruction leaves several Xiphilinoi unaccounted for, in particular Konstantinos the *droungarios tes viglas*, the anonymous *protoproedros* and *pronoetes*, and the monks Ioannes and Euthymios. Too little is known to say anything with reasonable certainty about these men, save for the monk Ioannes. There is only one Ioannes Xiphilinos whom we have any reason to believe was a monk: the patriarch Ioannes VIII Xiphilinos in the years 1054–1064. Moreover, his period of monastic retirement overlaps with the dating of the seal on which the name and title are found. It is likely that this seal belonged to the uncle and not our eponymous epitomator[69].

Rather than being a monastic outlier, then, the epitomator Ioannes Xiphilinos belongs in the mainstream of Byzantine historiography in the late eleventh century. His professional background matches that of Michael Attaleiates, while his ties to Psellos have been discussed. His work and background also demonstrate marked parallels with his later contemporary Ioannes Skylitzes. Like many Xiphilinoi, Skylitzes served as a legal official in the Byzantine administration, specifically holding the posts of *droungarios tes viglas* and city *eparch* under Alexios I Komnenos[70]. Like our epitomator, Skylitzes composed a historical work by editing and compressing previous sources[71]. Xiphilinos, moreover, was composing his epitome at precisely the moment, the reign of Michael VII Doukas, when Psellos was engaged in a similar project, the composition of the *Historia Syntomos*, by which point Attaleiates had completed his *Ponema Nomikon*, tracing the history of Roman law from its monarchical foundations, and was finishing the first draft of his *History* with its extended digression on ancient and contemporary Romans[72]. The precise date of the *Epitome*'s composition cannot be fixed, though it must have been published after 1071 and likely before 1075, but the intellectual matrix from which it emerged can nevertheless be established with confidence[73].

One final feature of Xiphilinos' biography should be noted: he was born into a Byzantine empire close to the height of its power and territorial extent, but was writing during the reign of the emperor who effectively lost control of Asia Minor, which had been the empire's heartland since the seventh century and was the point of origin for his own family. In 1071, the emperor Romanos IV Diogenes famously lost the battle of Mantzikert. While scholars no longer view the battle itself as an irrecoverable disaster, the civil wars it set off occupied the majority of Michael VII Doukas' reign and their mismanagement ultimately doomed the Byzantine heartland in Asia Minor[74]. Even Trebizond, the homeland of the Xiphilinoi, fell to the invaders in the 1070s, only to be reclaimed by the quasi-au-

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[68] Treadgold, Middle Byzantine Historians 310.

[69] It is conceivable that the Euthymios Xiphilinos attested as a monk and scribe in 1091 is our epitomator operating under his monastic name, however there is no evidence to support this identification and a large number of other candidates. Even if this identification were correct, it would merely confirm that our author was not a monk when he composed his *Epitome*.

[70] Holmes, Basil 80–85; Treadgold, Middle Byzantine Historians 329–332; Neville, Guide to Byzantine Historical Writing 156–157.

[71] For Skylitzes' method, see Holmes, Basil 91–119.

[72] For Attaleiates' revision of his *History* in response to the accession of Nikephoros III Botaneiates in 1078, see D. Krallis, Michael Attaleiates and the Politics of Imperial Decline in Eleventh-Century Byzantium. Tempe 2012, 142–157.

[73] 1075 is a likely, though not definitive, *terminus ante quem* for the *Epitome* because, when mentioning his uncle the patriarch, our epitomator does not add the phrase "of blessed memory", Treadgold, Middle Byzantine Historians 310. In any case, the deposition of Michael VII Doukas in 1078 remains a firm *terminus ante quem*.

[74] The revisionist view of Mantzikert began with J.-C. Cheynet, Mantzikert. Un désastre militaire? *Byz* 50 (1980) 410–438; see also, M. Whittow, The Second Fall of Rome. The Place of the Eleventh Century in Roman History, in: Byzantium in the Eleventh Century. Being in Between, ed. M. Lauxtermann – M. Whittow. London 2017, 109–126. For the period after Mantzikert from the Byzantine perspective, see Kaldellis, Streams of Gold 252–266; from the Muslim-Turkish perspective, see A. D. Beihammer, Byzantium and the Emergence of Muslim-Turkish Anatolia. ca. 1040–1130. New York 2017, 198–243.

tonomous general Theodoros Gabras[75]. The reign of Michael VII Doukas was not only witness to this collapse, it was the moment when this period began to crystallize in historical memory as the catastrophic culmination of a long decline. We find this perspective clearly in Psellos' *Chronographia* and Attaleiates' *History*, and, given Xiphilinos' close ties to the intellectual and professional circles of those two men, we can expect that he was exposed to and to some extent engaged in this emerging historical consensus. This intellectual and professional context helps to explain the approach Xiphilinos took to the text of Cassius Dio, a topic I plan to explore in a future article.

[75] Anna Komnene, Alexiad VIII 9 (ed. D. R. Reinsch – A. Kambylis, Annae Comnenae Alexias [*CFHB* 40]. Berlin 2001, I 255, 20–257, 83); J.-C. Cheynet, La résistance aux turcs en Asie Mineure entre Mantzikert et la première croisade, in: ΕΥΨΥΧΙΑ. Mélanges offerts à Hélène Ahrweiler (*Byzantina Sorbonensia* 16). Paris 1998, I 131–147 at 132–133.

Table 1: The Eleventh-Century Xiphilinoi
according to A.-K. Wassiliou-Seibt and the current author[76]

K. no.	W.-S. no.	Name and Title(s) or Relation(s)	Date	Attestation(s)	Seal Legend	Interpretation by W.-S.	Proposed Interpretation
I	1	Ioannes, *illoustrios*, *krites*	Before 1047	One seal (DO BZS.1955.1.3879).	Metrical	Future patriarch Ioannes VIII Xiphilinos in the early stages of his career.	Identification by W.-S. accepted.
II	2	Bardas, *patrikios*, *strategetes* of Thessaly	1040–1060	One seal (V. Laurent, Les bulles métriques dans la sigillographie byzantine. Athens 1932, 526).	Metrical	Most likely the brother of Ioannes.	Identification by W.-S. accepted.
III	n/a	Michael	1030s? (Before 1075)	Ioannes VIII Xiphilinos, An Account of Miracles Performed by the Holy and Glorious Great Martyr Eugenios of Trebizond 1 (172, 42–43 Rosenqvist).	n/a	Not mentioned.	Brother of Ioannes (I).
IV	3	Leon	1050–1100	One seal (DO BZS.1958.106.977).	Non-metrical	Otherwise unknown. Portrait of St Ioannes Prodromos may suggest a link to Ioannes (I).	Not discussed.
V	8	Anonymous, nephew of an anonymous Ioannes (thought to be Ioannes [I])	Before 1052	Michael Psellos, Letter KD 265 (310, 8–19 Kurtz – Drexl = 508–509 Papaioannou [P 195]).	n/a	Identified as either Georgios (XIII) or Michael (XIV).	The epitomator Ioannes Xiphilinos.
VI	n/a	Anonymous, brother of Ioannes (I)	c. 1053	Michael Psellos, Letter M 7, 16–19 (219, 16–19 Maltese = 510, 20–22 Papaioannou [P 196]).	n/a	Not mentioned.	Possibly Bardas (II), Michael (III), or a third anonymous brother of Ioannes (I).
VII	n/a	Anonymous, nephew of Ioannes (I)	c. 1053	Michael Psellos, Letter M 7, 16–19 (219, 16–19 Maltese = 510, 20–22 Papaioannou [P 196]).	n/a	Not mentioned.	The epitomator Ioannes Xiphilinos.
VIII	4	Ioannes, *magistros*, *anagrapheus*	1060–1090	Two seals (G. Schlumberger, Sigillographie de l'Empire byzantin. Paris 1884, 165, 7).	Non-metrical	Identical to Ioannes (IX), possibly identical to Ioannes (XVIII).	The epitomator Ioannes Xiphilinos.

[76] The plan of the table closely follows the information in Wassiliou-Seibt, Familie and excludes explicit mentions of the Patriarch Ioannes VIII Xiphilinos, which are too numerous to list. The W.-S. number refers to the entries in that article, while the K. number enumerates each individual Xiphilinos attested by our sources, making no judgement as to identification. When individuals are attested only by seals, I have cited the most readily available example of that seal that contains all of the relevant information. For full sigillographic citations, see Wassiliou-Seibt, Familie.

K. no.	W.-S. no.	Name and Title(s) or Relation(s)	Date	Attestation(s)	Seal Legend	Interpretation by W.-S.	Proposed Interpretation
IX	4(a)	Ioannes, *magistros*, *krites* of Thrace and Macedonia, *anagrapheus*	1060–1090	One seal (Unedited).	Non-metrical	Identical to Ioannes (VIII), possibly identical to Ioannes (XVIII).	The epitomator Ioannes Xiphilinos.
X	5	Ioannes, monk	1066–1100	Three seals (DO BZS.1947.2.1354).	Non-metrical	A nephew of Ioannes (I), the epitomator of Cassius Dio and author of fifty-three homilies and a *menologion*.	Likely Ioannes (I).
XI	6	Anonymous, *protoproedros*, *pronoetes* of Lakedaimonia	1075–1110	One letter (563–567 Papadopoulos-Kerameus).	n/a	Otherwise unknown; insufficient evidence to identify with Konstantinos, the *droungarios tes viglas* (XVII).	Otherwise unknown.
XII	7	Michael	1075–1120	One seal (Unedited).	Metrical	Possibly identical to Michael (XIII), nephew of Ioannes (I).	Not discussed.
XIII	8	Georgios (and Michael), "Nephews of *despotes* Xiphilinos"	1064–1075	One seal (Zacos [BnF] 1126).	Metrical	Nephew of Ioannes (I).	Potentially a nephew of Ioannes (I), but could also belong to a later period. Likely the brother of Michael (XIV), but unlikely to be the singular nephew mentioned by Psellos.
XIV	8	(Georgios and) Michael, "Nephews of *despotes* Xiphilinos"	1064–1075	One seal (Zacos [BnF] 1126).	Metrical	Nephew of Ioannes (I).	Potentially a nephew of Ioannes (I), but could also belong to a later period. Likely the brother of Georgios (XIII), but unlikely to be the singular nephew mentioned by Psellos.
XV	9	Bardas, brother of Ioannes (I)	1067	Skylitzes Continuatus 3, 7 (123, 1–22, Tsolakis).	n/a	Most likely identical to Bardas (II), brother of Ioannes (I).	Identical to Bardas (II), possibly identical to anonymous (VI), brother of Ioannes (I).
XVI		Bardas, nephew of Ioannes (I)	1067	Zonaras XVIII 10, 22 (III 686, 4–10 Büttner-Wobst).	n/a	Most likely identical to Bardas (II), brother of Ioannes (I). Zonaras is mistaken about the relationship.	Identical to Bardas (II), possibly identical to anonymous (VI), brother of Ioannes (I). Zonaras is mistaken about or has misrepresented his relationship to Ioannes (I).

K. no.	W.-S. no.	Name and Title(s) or Relation(s)	Date	Attestation(s)	Seal Legend	Interpretation by W.-S.	Proposed Interpretation
XVII	10	Konstantinos, *droungarios tes viglas*	c. 1070	Michael Psellos, Letter S 205 (499, 8 Sathas; not included in Papaioannou).	n/a	Otherwise unknown. Surveys three theories and dismisses all for lack of evidence.	Did not study with Psellos and thus is not the nephew of Ioannes (I) mentioned in the letters of Psellos.
XVIII	11	Ioannes, *protoproedros*, *krites*	1075–1100	Six seals: five of Type A (DO BZS.1958.106.3219) and one of Type B (DO BZS.1958.106.3047).	Metrical	Possibly identical to Ioannes (XIX).	The epitomator Ioannes Xiphilinos at a late stage in his career. Unlikely to be Ioannes (XIX) due to *vestarches* being a significantly lower court title than *protoproedros*.
XIX	12	Ioannes, *vestarches*, member of the Senate	1082	Acts of the Trial of Ioannes Italos (145, 160–162 Gouillard).	n/a	Possibly identical to Ioannes (XVIII).	Likely a member of the third generation of Xiphilinoi due to his low rank and late appearance.
XX	13	Nikolaos, *protovestes*, member of the Senate	1082	Acts of the Trial of Ioannes Italos (145, 160–162 Gouillard).	n/a	Possibly related to Ioannes *vestarches* (XIX).	Likely a member of the third generation of Xiphilinoi due to his low rank and late appearance.
XXI	14	David	1080–1100	Two seals: one of Type A (G. R. Davidson, Corinth: Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Volume XII, the Minor Objects. Princeton 1952, no. 2718) and one of Type B (Unedited).	Metrical	Otherwise unknown.	Not discussed.
XXII	15	Niketas	1090–1125	One seal (DO BZS.1958.106.2523).	Non-metrical	Otherwise unknown; no arguments linking him to Niketas (XXIV) or Niketas (XXV).	Not discussed.
XXIII	16	Euthymios, monk and copyist	1091	Codex subscript (I. Spatharakis, Corpus of Dated Illuminated Greek Manuscripts to the Year 1453 [*Byzantina Neerlandica* 8]. Leiden 1981, I 36 no. 110).	n/a	Otherwise unknown.	Not discussed.

K. no.	W.-S. no.	Name and Title(s) or Relation(s)	Date	Attestation(s)	Seal Legend	Interpretation by W.-S.	Proposed Interpretation
XXIV	17	Niketas, *krites, koiaistor*	1098	Four seals: three of Type A (DO BZS.1947.2.1352) and one of Type B (V. Laurent, Le corpus des Sceaux de l'Empire byzantin. Paris 1900, II 1116); Testament of the Nun Maria 72 (ed. J. Lefort, N. Oikonomidès, and D. Papachryssanthou, Actes d'Iviron, 2. Du milieu du XI[e] siècle à 1204. Paris 1990, I 183).	Metrical	Identical to Niketas (XXV).	Not discussed.
XXV	17(a)	Niketas, *koiaistor*	1090–1120	Three seals (DO BZS.1955.1.4018).	Metrical	Identical to Niketas (XXIV).	Not discussed.

JAHRBUCH DER ÖSTERREICHISCHEN BYZANTINISTIK, 69. Band/2019, 275–288
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DOI: 10.1553/joeb69S275

Paolo Odorico[a]

La sténographie de Michel Psellos

Abstract: The aim of this article is to contribute to our understanding of a very controversial passage in Psellos's *Encomium of Symeon Metaphrastes*, where this author alludes to a team working for Metaphrastes, that is composed of three groups of copyists. Though it has recently been suggested again in recent studies, the conventional interpretation of this passage according to which stenography could be in play, is far from convincing. Two solutions are proposed here: either the redaction process of the Menologion of Metaphrastes was different from how it has been conceived, or—more likely—Psellos is referring to another work by Metaphrastes.

Keywords: Michael Psellos, Symeon Metaphrastes, Compilation Literature, Byzantine Scholars

L'Éloge de Syméon Métaphraste a été composé au XIe siècle par Michel Psellos pour célébrer les vertus d'un personnage ayant vécu dans la deuxième moitié du Xe siècle, Syméon Logothète et Magistros[1]. Voici brièvement le contenu de ce discours. Psellos parle d'abord de la jeunesse de Syméon. Il en loue les vertus et nous dit que l'empereur l'aimait tellement qu'il lui confia des tâches importantes (lignes 7 à 149). Par la suite, Psellos aborde son activité d'écrivain : de nombreux saints avaient vécu dans l'ascèse, des vies avaient été écrites, mais elles n'étaient pas toujours dignes des saints du passé. Personne n'avait osé les rendre élégantes et dignes des célébrés : Syméon s'était chargé de cette entreprise (lignes 150 à 199). Il avait ainsi dépassé les écrivains du passé, les historiens célèbres, et s'était servi de l'art rhétorique de façon excellente. Psellos ose à peine se comparer à lui : « Moi aussi – nous dit-il –, j'ai composé des ouvrages rhétoriques, mais ceux de Syméon leur sont supérieurs » (lignes 201 à 329). Il spécifie ensuite que son travail répondait à une commande impériale et qu'autour de lui il y avait une équipe qui l'aidait dans son travail (lignes 330 à 360 : nous reviendrons plus en détail sur cette partie). Le discours se conclut par la mort de Syméon, qui rejoignit les saints dont il avait si bien écrit la vie (lignes 361 à 392).

La partie qui nous intéresse est celle qui concerne l'activité littéraire de Syméon. Il est évident que Psellos se réfère en premier lieu au ménologe métaphrastique, c'est-à-dire au recueil de Vies de saints « traduites » dans un registre linguistique plus élevé. Mais toute la question est de savoir si le Ménologe est la seule œuvre citée, ou si le discours de Psellos est plus complexe que ce qu'une première lecture laisse apparaître. La question pourrait sembler inutile, dépourvue d'un intérêt réel, si ce n'était du passage où Psellos parle des techniques de composition. Ce passage est d'une importance majeure, en raison de la rareté des témoignages nous faisant voir un auteur dans la réalité de son travail de composition. Voici le passage en question (lignes 330 à 349) :

> « Φασί γέ τοι μηδ' ἐκ παρέργου τοῦτον ἦφθαι τοῦ πράγματος μηδὲ αὐτὸν προθέμενον, εἰ μὴ ὅσον βούλεσθαι· βασίλειοι δὲ τοῦτον παρακλήσεις ἐπὶ τοῦτο προήνεγκαν καὶ οἷς ἐφροντίζετο λόγος καὶ σύνεσις. 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

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[1] Le texte a été réédité par E. A. Fisher, Michaelis Pselli Orationes hagiographicae. Stuttgart – Leipzig 1994, 269–288. Il porte le titre Ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὸν Μεταφραστὴν κῦρ Συμεών.

πλῆθος τῶν συγγραμμάτων πολλάκις τὰ αὐτὰ ἀνακυκλεῖν τε καὶ ἐφορᾶν· ἀλλ᾽ εἰ καὶ πολὺς ὁ ζῆλος ὀνόματος καὶ ἡ φροντὶς περισσοτέρα τοῦ δέοντος ἢ μᾶλλον πρὸς τοῦτο δὴ ἀξιόχρεως, ἀλλ᾽ ὅ γε στάχυς ἐνενικήκει μακρῷ τὴν σποράν καὶ τὸ λήϊον οἷον οὐδέπω καὶ τήμερον· ὥστε καὶ εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο τῷ ἀνδρὶ διεσπούδαστο μηδ᾽ ἀποχρῶντα τἄλλα σύμπαντα καὶ καθ᾽ ἕκαστον πρὸς ἀφορμὴν εὐφημίας ἀρκεῖν, ἀλλὰ τό γε τοιοῦτον ἑλέσθαι σπούδασμα καὶ οὕτω προσκαταπράξασθαί τε καὶ ἀκριβώσασθαι αὔταρκες ἀντὶ παντὸς ἄλλου πρὸς ἐγκώμιον τῷ ἀνδρί. Ἔγωγ᾽ οὖν πρὸς μὲν τὰ τῶν θύραθεν σοφῶν συγγράμματα οὐδ᾽ ἀξιῶ συγκρῖναι τὰ σπουδάσματα τοῦ ἀνδρός ».

Le passage est certainement difficile à comprendre dans les détails, notamment là où Psellos nous parle des différentes tâches confiées aux différents collaborateurs. Particulièrement complexe est l'expression τῶν τε πρώτως ἐνσημαινομένων τὴν λέξιν καὶ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα τιθέντων. Au début des années '80, lorsque des instruments désormais incontournables comme le TLG n'existaient pas et que seule la sensibilité du chercheur permettait d'avancer dans l'interprétation de certains passages, Bernard Flusin et Joseph Paramelle, en marge d'une étude sur la *Vie* métaphrastique de Pélagie, avaient suggéré de comprendre le passage de la façon suivante[2] :

« Il faut, nous semble-t-il, distinguer, outre l'auteur lui-même qui paraît dicter son œuvre en s'aidant de travaux préparatoires (παρασκευή), trois équipes au travail : ceux qui notent les mots (ἐνσημαινομένων τὴν λέξιν), c'est-à-dire, croyons-nous, des tachygraphes ; ceux qui fixent ou posent les mots (τιθέντων), sans doute les copistes qui mettent au clair la tachygraphie ; les correcteurs enfin, qui corrigent ad sensum, sans en référer à l'auteur, l'œuvre des copistes ».

L'interprétation prudente de Flusin – Paramelle était supportée par une étude de H. Boge sur la tachygraphie[3], qui soulignait la présence de mots semblables dans l'œuvre d'Eusèbe de Césarée. Grâce au TLG, nous pouvons vérifier avec plus de latitude le sens de ces mots. Que le mot σημεῖον fasse aussi partie du langage technique de la tachygraphie est vrai. Mais l'enchaînement des mots suggère une autre réalité.

Voici le passage d'Eusèbe (Hist. eccl. VII 29, 2) :

μάλιστα δ᾽ αὐτὸν εὐθύνας ἐπικρυπτόμενον διήλεγξεν Μαλχίων, ἀνὴρ τά τε ἄλλα λόγιος καὶ σοφιστοῦ τῶν ἐπ᾽ Ἀντιοχείας Ἑλληνικῶν παιδευτηρίων διατριβῆς προεστώς, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ δι᾽ ὑπερβάλλουσαν τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν πίστεως γνησιότητα πρεσβυτερίου τῆς αὐτόθι παροικίας ἠξιωμένος· οὗτός γέ τοι ἐπισημειουμένων ταχυγράφων ζήτησιν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐνστησάμενος ἦν καὶ εἰς δεῦρο φερομένην ἴσμεν, μόνος ἴσχυσεν τῶν ἄλλων κρυψίνουν ὄντα καὶ ἀπατηλὸν φωρᾶσαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον[4].

« Malchion en particulier le persuada qu'il y avait une fourberie ; Malchion était un homme savant, et dirigeait à Antioche l'enseignement de la rhétorique dans les écoles helléniques ; en outre il avait reçu la charge de presbytère dans la communauté chrétienne de cette ville par l'extraordinaire authenticité de sa foi dans le Christ. Il fut le seul qui put démasquer cet homme sournois et trompeur (πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐνστησάμενος : scil. Paul), en s'élevant contre lui, tandis que *des tachygraphes notaient la discussion*, que nous savons être parvenue jusqu'à nous ».

Les deux mots ἐπισημειουμένων et ταχυγράφων ne signifient pas la même chose, et pour cela Eusèbe utilise les deux : « les secrétaires qui écrivent en se servant de la tachygraphie » « prennent des notes », mais cela ne signifie pas qu'ἐπισημειουμένων veut dire « note sténographique ». Imaginons

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[2] B. Flusin – J. Paramelle, La Vie métaphrastique de Pélagie *BHG* 1479, in : Pélagie la pénitente: Métamorphoses d'une légende, éd. P. Petitmengin. II : La survie dans les littératures européennes. Paris 1984, 15–45.

[3] H. Boge, Griechische Tachygraphie und tironische Noten. Berlin 1973.

[4] Eusèbe de Césarée, Histoire ecclésiastique, éd. G. Bardy (*SC* 41). Paris 1955, 213–214. Le texte a été repris par George Syncelle, Ecloga chronographica, éd. A. A. Mosshammer. Leipzig 1984, 474, 13.

que, au lieu d'ἐπισημειουμένων, l'auteur eût écrit γραφόντων : devrions-nous imaginer que le verbe γράφω signifie « écrire en ayant recours à la sténographie » ? Bien sûr que non. Ou bien, si Eusèbe utilisait le mot γραφεύς au lieu de ταχυγράφος, devrions nous traduire « les secrétaires prenaient des notes sténographiques » ? Bien sûr que non. Le mot σημεῖον (ἐπισημειουμένων) justement ne fait référence qu'aux notes prises, et l'ἐνσημαινομένων de Psellos nous renvoie au même sens.

D'ailleurs, si nous considérons les attestations du mot ἐνσημαίνω, nous ne trouvons aucun passage dans lequel il signifie autre chose que « noter », « signaler par une note », « marquer ». Sa signification première est de « signifier », « exprimer ». Le Lexique d'Hésychius et la Suda sont clairs à ce propos : ἐνσημαίνεται· ἐπιδείκνυται, selon le premier[5], et ἐνσημαινόμενος· ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐνδεικνύμενος, καὶ ἐμφαίνων, selon le deuxième[6]. Le mot assume ainsi la valeur de « indiquer », « marquer un signe ». Parmi les nombreux textes qui l'utilisent, prenons quelques exemples proches du monde de l'écriture.

Le médecin Mélétios écrit[7] : γράμμασι τὸν λόγον διὰ τῆς τῶν χειρῶν εὐφυΐας ἐνσημαινόμεθα· ἔστι γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο λογικῆς χάριτος, τὸ φθέγγεσθαι διὰ γραμμάτων ἡμᾶς· καὶ τρόπον τινὰ διὰ χειρὸς διαλέγεσθαι, τοῖς τῶν στοιχείων χαρακτῆρσι τὰς φωνὰς ἐναρμόζοντες : il s'agit d'une observation sur les propriétés de l'écriture, mais rien ne nous autorise à parler de sténographie. La phrase est reprise par Grégoire de Nysse dans le même sens : γράμμασι τὸν λόγον διὰ τῆς τῶν χειρῶν εὐφυΐας ἐνσημαινόμεθα (ἔστι μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ τοῦτο λογικῆς χάριτος ἄμοιρον, τὸ φθέγγεσθαι διὰ γραμμάτων ἡμᾶς, καὶ τρόπον τινὰ διὰ χειρὸς διαλέγεσθαι, τοῖς τῶν στοιχείων χαρακτῆρσι τὰς φωνὰς διασώζοντας)[8].

Parfois le verbe ἐνσημαίνω est utilisé pour parler de sceaux, ce qui pourrait, avec une certaine imagination, nous rapprocher de la sténographie. Ainsi, Plotin dit[9] : οἷον ἐν κηρῷ ἐνσημανθεῖσαι ἀπὸ δακτυλίων σφραγῖδες, εἴτ' οὖν εἰς αἷμα, εἴτ' οὖν εἰς ἀέρα τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἐνσημαινομένων. La métaphore aura de l'avenir, et le mot sera souvent employé en relation avec les sceaux : Nicétas Choniatès parle[10] de τιτρᾶται ὀβελίσκῳ τὸ οὖς καὶ κρόκης ἐξαφθείσης κηρὸς περιπλασθεὶς τῷ Ἀνδρονίκου σφραγιστηρίῳ ἐνσημαίνεται δακτυλίῳ ; Michel d'Ephèse expliquera[11] que ὥσπερ οἱ σφραγιζόμενοι τοῖς δακτυλίοις ἐνσημαίνουσι τῷ κηρῷ τὸ τῆς σφραγῖδος ἐκτύπωμα, τοιοῦτόν τι γίνεται ἐκ τῆς κατ' ἐνέργειαν αἰσθήσεως ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ αἰσθητηρίῳ. Cyrille d'Alexandrie utilise[12] quant à lui le mot en rapport avec la monnaie dans sa lettre festale 13, ch. 3: Ἔστι μὲν γὰρ ὁ στατήρ, ἤτοι τὸ δίδραχμον, ἀκίβδηλον νόμισμα, χαρακτὴρ δὲ αὐτῷ βασιλικὸς ἐνσημαίνεται. La liste pourrait être longue.

Or, l'interprétation de Flusin et Paramelle, selon qui l'expression τῶν … ἐνσημαινομένων signifierait « ceux qui sténographiaient » le texte dicté par Syméon, fait toujours autorité, comme le montrent les plus récentes traductions. Un livre précieux a paru, dû à la plume savante de Ch. Høgel, qui a consacré ses recherches à Syméon Métaphraste et à son Ménologe et a repris le passage de l'*Éloge* de Psellos que nous venons de voir[13]. Voici la traduction qu'il donne des lignes 333–341 :

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[5] Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon, éd. K. Latte. Copenhague 1953, I n° 3292.

[6] Suidae lexicon, éd. A. Adler. Leipzig 1928–1935, epsilon, n° 1433.

[7] Meletius Medicus, De natura hominis, in J. A. Cramer, Anecdota Graeca e codd. manuscriptis bibliothecarum Oxoniensium. Oxford 1836, III 116, 20–24.

[8] Grégoire de Nysse, De opificio hominis 8, in *PG* 44, col. 144C.

[9] Plotin, Enneades, in Plotini opera, éd. H. P. Schwyzer. Leiden 1951–1973, Enn. 4, ch. 7, 6.

[10] Nicetae Choniatae historia, pars prior, éd. J.-L. Van Dieten (*CFHB* 11). Berlin 1975, 274, 7–9.

[11] Michaelis Ephesii in parva naturalia commentaria, éd. P. Wendland (*Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* 22, 1). Berlin 1903, 14, 4–7.

[12] Cyrille d'Alexandrie, Lettres festales 12–17, éd. W. H. Burns (*SC* 434). Paris 1998, 98, 13–15.

[13] Ch. Høgel, Symeon Metaphrastes. Rewriting and Canonization. Copenhague 2002, 93–94; voir aussi B. Flusin, Vers la métaphrase, in: Remanier, métaphraser. Fonctions et techniques de la réécriture dans le monde byzantin, éd. S. Marjanović-Dušanić – B. Flusin. Belgrade 2011, 85–99.

« [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 ».

Plus récemment, une étude stylistique a été menée sur cet *Éloge* avec une traduction attentive et presque philologique, par E. A. Fisher[14] :

« He had his preparations ready at hand and <had> a team of considerable size <composed> both of those who initially *took down his dictation stenographically* and of those who subsequently transcribed it <in full>; each group <worked> in support of the other, one producing an initial <text>, the other a second <draft>. After them, the final redactors went over the written texts to compare them against the content intended <by Symeon> and to correct whatever <error> might have escaped the notice of those who drafted the texts, because <Symeon> could not possibly review the same <works> repeatedly <himself> due to their great number ».

En dernier, A. Berger a repris la même interprétation[15] :

« Es stand ihm die nötige Einrichtung zur Verfügung, und er hatte einen nicht kleinen Kreis Leute um sich, von denen einige *sein Wort in Kurzschrift aufnahmen* und andere es niederschrieben. So arbeiteten sie nacheinander, indem einer das erste tat, ein anderer das zweite. Danach kamen diejenigen, die den Text überprüften, um das, was den Schreibern entgangen war, zum richtigen Sinn zu verbessern. Denn wegen der Menge an Texten konnte er nicht dasselbe mehrfach durchgehen und kontrollieren ».

Pour résumer l'ensemble de la question, voici ce que dit Fisher[16] :

« The sequence suggested by Flusin and Paramelle is dictation by Symeon (perhaps from "prepared notes," παρασκευή, 333), stenographic recording of Symeon's dictation, full transcription of the shorthand text, and final correction by redactors of any errors made in the process. Particularly vexing is the phrase describing the standard against which the redactors assessed the draft of the metaphrastic version (πρὸς τὴν προκειμένην – ὑποκειμένην in some manuscripts – διορθώσονται ἔννοιαν, 338–39), which I interpret as a reference to correction against the shorthand text taken down at Symeon's dictation (334–35); in contrast, Høgel translates "corrected according to its intended meaning" (presumably that intended by Symeon), and Flusin and Paramelle translate "rectifiassent d'après le sens du texte," which they explicate as ad sensum. The term παρασκευή is also problematic; Flusin and Paramelle translate it "preparatifs," while Høgel interprets it quite generally as "facilities at hand" ».

Que le passage demeure plutôt obscur a été très bien signalé par N. Wilson[17], qui a posé des questions restées sans réponse. En effet, il a pointé toutes les incongruences de la traduction proposée

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[14] E. A. Fisher, Encomium for Kyr Symeon Metaphrastes. Translated with introduction and notes, in: Michael Psellos on Literature and Art. A Byzantine Perspective on Aesthetics, éd. Ch. Barber – S. Papaioannou. Notre Dame – Indiana 2017, 193–217, notamment 215.

[15] A. Berger, Serienproduktion oder Autorenwettbewerb ? Einige Bemerkungen zu byzantinischen hagiographischen Texten des zehnten Jahrhunderts, in: Byzantine Hagiography. Texts, Themes and Projects, éd. A. Rigo – M. Trizio – E. Despotakis. (*Byzantios. Studies in Byzantine History and Civilization* 13). Turnhout 2018, 299–311, notamment 299–300.

[16] Fisher, Encomium 215, n. 39.

[17] N. G. Wilson, Symeon Metaphrastes at Work. *Nea Rhome* 11 (2014) 105–107.

par Høgel. Comment imaginer dans la pratique ce processus de réalisation du travail ? Et quels sens doivent avoir les mots ? En premier lieu, il me semble que le sens de παρασκευή, comme dans tout le reste, est lié à l'interprétation totale du passage. Ce qui pose le plus gros problème est le sens de l'expression τῶν τε πρώτως ἐνσημαινομένων τὴν λέξιν, καὶ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα τιθέντων. D'où les traducteurs tirent-ils l'idée qu'il s'agit d'une écriture sténographique (« taking down the words in shorthand » selon Høgel, « took down his dictation stenographically » selon Fisher, ainsi que « sein Wort in Kurzschrift aufnahmen » selon Berger) ? Fisher déclare (n. 39) que le passage comporte des mots techniques, et que l'interprétation qu'elle donne est fondée sur l'étude de B. Flusin et J. Paramelle à propos de la Vie métaphrastique de Pélagie[18], mais renforcée par l'étude de Høgel, qui à son tour se base sur la même interprétation.

Revenons donc à la source. Comme on le voit clairement, autour de Syméon il y avait une véritable équipe éditoriale, divisée en trois groupes ; d'abord certains collaborateurs étaient chargés d'ἐνσημαίνειν τὴν λέξιν ; ensuite d'autres recopiaient les passages et enfin d'autres encore s'occupaient de vérifier que le travail de copie avait été bien réalisé en le comparant aux originaux. Il s'agissait d'une équipe imposante pour la production d'un ouvrage et, pour le mettre en place, comme Psellos nous l'affirme explicitement, « les basileis » étaient les patrons de l'opération.

La solution proposée dans les traductions est que Syméon dictait le texte et le premier groupe de collaborateurs le transcrivaient en le sténographiant, avant de le confier au deuxième groupe qui devait le mettre en texte normalisé, mais nous avons vu que le mot ἐνσημαινομένων ne nous permet pas cette interprétation. D'autre part, très justement Wilson comprend mal le fonctionnement de l'équipe qui travaille avec Syméon. Si on se fie aux traductions, Syméon serait assis en train de lire des vieux manuscrits et de dicter à un groupe de copistes le nouveau texte. Wilson a raison d'observer :

> « This is taken to mean that Symeon dictated his revised text to shorthand-writers, who were then succeeded by regular scribes for the production of copies (ibid., p. 94). If this implies that Symeon was able to read one of the old texts and compose the new version extempore, I would argue that this is most implausible ».

Reste un autre point à éclaircir dans le passage de Psellos, toujours à propos du travail effectué par les trois équipes. Si le premier groupe de collaborateurs devait « marquer les expressions », le deuxième groupe était constitué par ceux qui καὶ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα τιθέντων. On voit bien que le sens n'est pas trop clair, et qu'en réalité l'objet est manquant : τιθέντων quoi ? On pourrait penser à τὴν λέξιν, et μετὰ ταῦτα serait à comprendre au sens temporel « par la suite ». Mais l'expression n'est pas trop conséquente et déjà N. Wilson l'avait noté : « The usual translation is "writing out the text". If that is correct, the verb τιθέντων is to say the least unexpected, and though this verb has a number of usages, it is hard to see what it can mean here. Can it really refer to the production of copies? ». Wilson avait même proposé une correction en τῶν ταῦτα μετατιθέντων[19], et en ce sens nous pourrions même penser à παρατιθέντων. En effet, je pense, tout comme N. Wilson, qu'une correction du texte s'impose, et, sur la base des considérations que j'exposerai par la suite, je propose la suivante : τῶν τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα τιθέντων, ou – si on veut sauver le sens de priorité chronologique du πρώτως – τῶν μετὰ τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα τιθέντων, en supposant que le copiste ait fait un saut du même au même.

Mais le point essentiel à prendre en compte est le suivant : si le mot ἐνσημαινομένων ne peut pas signifier sténographier, il n'y a pas quelqu'un qui dicte, et d'ailleurs le texte n'en parle jamais. Le passage entier acquiert alors une tournure inquiétante : le travail de Syméon se réduirait à néant ; dans son projet, les trois équipes auraient fait le gros du boulot : et l'activité de Syméon dans tout cela ? Était-il seulement le patron, le commanditaire de l'opération ? Ce n'est pas ce que nous dit

[18] Flusin – Paramelle, La Vie métaphrastique, voir n. 2.
[19] Wilson, Symeon Metaphrastes 106.

Psellos, car il parle de la faconde et des capacités littéraires de Syméon, qui avaient joué un rôle déterminant dans l'accomplissement de l'ouvrage. Si on élimine l'idée qu'un groupe de copistes aurait sténographié ce que Syméon dictait (car le texte ne nous autorise pas cette interprétation), cela voudrait dire que Syméon n'aurait pas participé de façon directe à la composition de son ouvrage, puisque ce serait l'équipe autour de lui qui aurait fait tout le travail. Il se serait donc limité à penser et à financer l'entreprise, encouragé par « les empereurs ». Il n'aurait donc pas participé physiquement et intellectuellement aux travaux, car nous ne voyons pas à quelle étape de la production du Ménologe il serait intervenu. L'éloge de Psellos parle de la réussite du travail grâce aux capacités de Syméon, capacités qui de facto n'auraient pas été mobilisées si le travail a été accompli par d'autres. Cette lecture du passage n'a pas de sens.

Écartée donc l'hypothèse d'une dictée extemporanée du nouveau texte à partir du vieux, dans l'impossibilité que Syméon, assis devant un ou plusieurs manuscrits, lisait les Vies des saints et dictait (comme justement le souligne Wilson) le nouveau texte du Ménologe (ce que les mots n'autorisent pas à soutenir), il nous faut trouver une interprétation nouvelle du passage. Essayons de comprendre le fonctionnement des collaborateurs de Syméon, en utilisant l'interprétation traditionnelle, tout en excluant l'idée de la sténographie, qui est erronée.

La première hypothèse, celle que tous les chercheurs ont prise en considération, est que Psellos parle du Ménologe. Voyons donc comment Syméon aurait procédé. Apparemment le premier groupe de copistes aurait dû « signaler », ou « marquer » le style, qui devait être corrigé ou les passages à recopier. Imaginons donc ces gens savants en train de « marquer » les phrases ou les mots qui doivent prendre une autre tournure ou être clairement substitués, ou encore les phrases à reprendre. Ils indiquaient sur le manuscrit ces passages. Nous savons, certes, que le texte original n'était pas totalement réécrit, mais des formules et des passages du vieux texte étaient repris. Mais néanmoins les interventions n'étaient pas moindres, et je ne peux pas trop imaginer l'état du vieux manuscrit avec toutes ces annotations : si les premiers copistes avaient un marqueur en jaune, comme nous le faisons aujourd'hui, le pauvre manuscrit aurait eu un air bien méconnaissable. En outre, les premiers copistes auraient dû choisir ce qu'il fallait conserver et ce qu'il fallait changer. Le deuxième groupe aurait dû ajouter (mais quoi exactement ?) (τῶν [τὰ] μετὰ ταῦτα τιθέντων), de façon à préparer un texte révisé ensuite par les ὑπογραφεῖς, ou devait « traduire » les passages (ce qui par contre devait être le rôle de Syméon), avant l'intervention des ὑπογραφεῖς, qui, dans ce cas, étaient censés revoir et vérifier que la traduction soit fidèle. Cette interprétation (le deuxième groupe devait « traduire » les passages) n'est pas possible, car alors Syméon disparaît de la scène.

Essayons de voir s'il y a une autre interprétation possible.

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. À la fin de ce processus, le texte ainsi conçu, constitué des passages originaux, aurait été présenté à Syméon, qui aurait procédé à la « traduction ». Selon cette interprétation donc les équipes « préparaient » un texte en partant des Vies anciennes, d'où elles auraient déjà éliminé certaines parties, et Syméon serait intervenu pour les « traduire ». Il faudrait alors imaginer que Syméon serait intervenu à la fin de ce processus, qui représenterait la παρασκευὴ ἐξ ἑτοίμου κύκλος τε οὐ βραχύς, dont il est question au début du passage, pour réécrire le texte. Cette deuxième hypothèse a l'avantage de « coller » à ce que dit Psellos, mais néanmoins présente des problèmes pratiques. Si nous pouvons voir quel était le rôle de Syméon, ce que la première hypothèse ne permettait pas, je me demande si les expressions utilisées par Psellos s'adaptent à cette forme de travail d'équipe. Il affirme clairement que Syméon ne pouvait pas revenir

continuellement sur le texte. Donc la vérification devait être faite par les ὑπογραφεῖς, ce qui devient compréhensible. Mais si nous revoyons dans le détail chaque opération, l'ensemble présente des problèmes pratiques, dans la réalité du travail accompli : nous aurons dans ce cas trois équipes qui préparaient un nouveau « vieux » texte pour le présenter à Syméon pour le traduire. Possible, mais pas pratique.

Cette interprétation, qui n'avait apparemment jamais été prise en compte et qui change la façon de concevoir une production littéraire (des copistes qui préparent le texte, que Syméon traduira par la suite), est possible, à une seule condition, que le passage fasse clairement référence au Ménologe : les philologues qui se sont penchés sur ce texte trouvent justement qu'il y a une référence au Ménologe dans le texte qui précède ce passage, voire que Psellos ne parle que du Ménologe. Mais cela est-il vrai et correspond-il réellement au texte ? Rappelons-nous d'abord que l'*Éloge* n'est pas l'éloge de Syméon en tant qu'auteur du Ménologe, mais bien de Syméon Métaphraste tout court, comme le dit le titre de l'ouvrage : Ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὸν Μεταφραστὴν κῦρ Συμεών. Revenons donc sur le texte, et revoyons dans le détail l'ensemble de l'*Éloge* et sa structure. Nous pouvons le diviser en cinq parties :

1. D'abord Psellos fait une brève **introduction (l. 1–14**).
2. Ensuite il parle de la **vie et des activités de Syméon (l. 15–152)**, de ses origines, de sa formation intellectuelle, de ses intérêts et de ses vertus, de ses engagements dans la vie publique, de ses richesses : cette partie occupe plus d'un tiers du texte.
3. **Le ménologe (l. 153–322)**

   À ce point, Psellos veut entrer dans le vif du sujet, ce qui est son propos majeur et qui occupe environ 40% du texte : ἀλλὰ τί μὴ τελεώτερον χρῶμαι τῷ λόγῳ μηδὲ εἰς κορυφαίαν ἀρχὴν ἀνάγω τὸ μέγιστον τῶν ἐκείνων κεφάλαιον ; εἶμι γοῦν πρὸς τὴν πρώτην ὑπόθεσιν, βραχύ τι τὸν λόγον προκαταστήσας (« Mais pourquoi ne pas faire un usage meilleur de ce genre de narration, et ne pas mettre dans une position plus évidente la plus importante de ses réalisations ? Après avoir introduit brièvement mon discours, je passe à mon but principal »). En effet, à partir de la l. 156 et jusqu'à la l. 321, Psellos a parlé du Ménologe, en expliquant que les Vies des saints avaient été écrites souvent de façon non appropriée, qui suscitait même l'ironie. Il nous fait des considérations multiples sur le style utilisé par Syméon, sur la qualité du Ménologe, même si ses louanges ne se limitent pas à cette seule œuvre. À plusieurs reprises il commente les grandes capacités et la faconde de son héros, qui a beaucoup produit du point de vue littéraire. Ainsi il cite les τοῦ ἀνδρὸς σπουδάσματα (l. 235) et les συγγράμματα (l. 243). Et en effet Psellos renvoie aux autres œuvres de Syméon, mais il travaille par coup de pinceau, en faisant référence à des aspects que ses lecteurs pouvaient bien comprendre, mais qui sont assez obscurs pour nous. Si nous considérons l'ensemble de ce petit ouvrage, nous voyons que, après avoir loué Syméon pour ses qualités et parlé de son engagement à côté de l'empereur, Psellos passe à l'activité littéraire de son héros, en parlant certes et surtout du Ménologe, mais n'oubliant pas de faire un clin d'œil à son public à propos des ouvrages magnifiques réalisés par Syméon, dont l'activité littéraire n'est pas limitée au Ménologe.

   Ainsi, après avoir parlé du Ménologe, il utilise une hyperbole pour dire que les écrits de son héros étaient incomparables : Καὶ τί γὰρ ἄν τις τῷ τοιούτῳ (scil. le Ménologe) παραβάλλοι σπουδάσματι ; ποίαν ἀρχαιολογίαν Ἑλληνικὴν ἢ καταμέτρησιν τῆς συμπάσης γῆς ; ἡ ὁπόσα Πέρσαις καὶ ἐκείνων Βαβυλωνίοις κατώρθωται ὅσα τε μετὰ ταῦτα Ἀλεξάνδῳ τῷ Μακεδόνι ἀνδρικώτερον διηγώνισται ; ἔχει μὲν γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα φιλοτίμως καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς μετὰ καλλιλογίας ἐκτεθεικόσι τὰς συγγραφάς (l. 207–213). Psellos fait-il une référence au Ménologe, ou bien cite-

t-il sans le dire ouvertement l'ouvrage historique de Syméon[20] ? Mettre en parallèle les Vies des saints avec les histoires du passé, les récits des événements politiques et militaires de l'Antiquité, l' « archéologie » et la géographie, semble presque une moquerie, mais il se peut que cela ne soit excessif qu'à nos yeux.

4 Syméon l'écrivain (l. 322–375)

À ce point, Psellos semble avoir terminé sa tâche : juste avant le passage qui nous pose tant de problèmes, il clôt la partie consacrée au Ménologe, et il fait des considérations d'autre nature. Il change le ton et le contenu, et en guise de conclusion (ou plutôt de passage à une autre partie), il parle de sa propre activité d'écrivain (l. 322–330). Dans l'édition de E. A. Fisher il n'y a pas de passage à la ligne, mais il faudrait bien l'indiquer, parce qu'il s'agit d'un passage d'une section à une autre. Voici ce que dit Psellos : ζηλῶ μὲν οὖν ἐγὼ τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τῆς τοιαύτης εὐστομίας καὶ χάριτος, οὐδὲν δὲ ἧττον τῆς εὐχρηστίας τῶν ὑποθέσεων· εἰ γὰρ κἀμοὶ πολλὰ καὶ περὶ πολλῶν συγγέγραπται, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν ἔχοι τοιοῦτον ζῆλον καὶ μίμησιν τὰ σπουδάσματα. ἀλλὰ λογίοις μὲν ἴσως ἀνδράσι φανήσεται περισπούδαστα καὶ ζηλώσουσι ταῦτα διὰ τὴν λέξιν καὶ τὸν ποικίλον σχηματισμόν, καταφρονήσουσι δὲ οἱ πολλοί, ὅτι μὴ μέλον αὐτοῖς ζητημάτων καὶ ἐννοιῶν ἀπορρητοτέρων. « Je jalouse cet homme et une si grande élégance et grâce, et je jalouse non moins l'utilité de ces sujets. Il est bien vrai que moi aussi j'ai écrit beaucoup et sur beaucoup de sujets, mais mes écrits n'ont pas une telle ardeur et une capacité d'imitation. Cependant aux hommes cultivés probablement ces écrits sembleront extraordinaires et ils les jalouseront pour leur expression et pour les tournures variées, mais les lecteurs communs les mépriseront, car ils ne songent pas aux questions et aux sens cachés ».

Psellos a donc terminé de parler du Ménologe, et il fait référence à ses écrits, au point que toute la deuxième partie du passage cité ci-dessus se refère à sa propre écriture, qui est admirée par le public des savants, et dont le sens caché est incompréhensible pour le lecteur commun. Tout l'éloge qu'il a tissé, surtout pour le Ménologe, semble s'achever juste ici, lorsqu'il introduit ses propres considérations. S'ensuit le passage sur le patronat impérial qui fait l'objet de toutes les difficultés ; Psellos continue pour expliquer comment Syméon produisait ses ouvrages, avec des équipes, comment il avait écrit tellement d'œuvres qu'il ne parvenait pas à les revoir, comment ses capacités littéraires peuvent être comparées à celles des auteurs de l'Antiquité. Il ne parle plus du Ménologe, mais de Syméon écrivain, et justement dans ce contexte il nous dit en premier lieu que les empereurs avaient voulu la réalisation de ses œuvres (nous pourrions même imaginer que Psellos, en se comparant à Syméon, suggère qu'il devrait aussi être soutenu par les empereurs dans sa production littéraire, mais laissons de côté cet aspect), et en second lieu que Syméon était aidé par une équipe conséquente.

Syméon, dans le portrait de Psellos, était un auteur très occupé : Οὐ γὰρ ἐνῆν αὐτῷ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν συγγραμμάτων πολλάκις τὰ αὐτὰ ἀνακυκλεῖν τε καὶ ἐφορᾶν (l. 339–341).

Il avait cité auparavant les τοῦ ἀνδρὸς σπουδάσματα (l. 235) et les συγγράμματα (l. 243). Il dit qu'il avait lui-même aussi écrit plusieurs œuvres (son narcissisme est toujours présent), mais qu'il n'était pas parvenu au niveau de Syméon. Celui-ci, dans le portrait de Psellos, était un auteur qui ne disposait pas de beaucoup de temps. Certes, nous dit Psellos, le Ménologe est un ouvrage majeur, mais déjà les autres écrits de Syméon étaient des chefs d'œuvre et ils seraient bien suffisants pour tisser son éloge : ὥστε εἰ καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο τῷ ἀνδρὶ διεσπούδαστο μηδ' ἀποχρῶντα τἄλλα σύμπαντα καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον πρὸς ἀφορμὴν εὐφημίας ἀρκεῖν, ἀλλὰ τό γε τοιοῦτον ἐλέσθαι

[20] Je ne rentre pas dans la discussion autour de la paternité de Syméon de la Chronique transmise sous son nom, discussion qui a fait couler beaucoup d'encre : voir toute la question dans l'introduction à la récente édition Symeonis Magistri et Logothetae Chronicon, recensuit S. Wahlgren (*CFHB* 44/1). Berlin – New York 2006, notamment p. 3*–8*.

σπούδασμα καὶ οὕτω προσκαταπράξασθαί τε καὶ ἀκριβώσασθαι αὔταρκες ἀντὶ παντὸς ἄλλου πρὸς ἐγκώμιον τῷ ἀνδρί (l. 344–349).

Toute l'attention de Psellos est portée sur la personne de Syméon écrivain. Psellos est arrivé à la fin de son éloge, il a traité dans la première partie la vie de son héros, il l'a décrit dans ses multiples activités, il a parlé longuement du Ménologe. Maintenant et à deux reprises il compare ses propres achèvements à ceux de son célébré. Il ajoute en effet : Ἔγωγε οὖν πρὸς μὲν τὰ τῶν θύραθεν σοφῶν συγγράμματα οὐδ' ἀξιῶ συγκρῖναι τὰ σπουδάσματα τοῦ ἀνδρός. Il explique comment les écrits de Syméon sont supérieurs à tout ce qui avait été écrit auparavant, il fait des allusions à Isocrate et à Aelius Aristides, à Thucydide et Xénophon.

5 **La mort de Syméon (l. 376–392)**

Psellos conclut son éloge avec la mort de son héros, qui rejoint les saints dont il avait écrit la vie.

Comme on le voit, le passage qui nous pose tant de problèmes et qui porte sur la question des équipes qui côtoient Syméon et sur le patronage impérial, ne se trouve pas dans la section centrale, celle dont le sujet est le Ménologe, mais après, dans la quatrième partie, lorsque Psellos parle en général de l'activité d'écrivain de son héros, en commençant par le patronage impérial et par les techniques de son travail, qui représentent le premier point. Le lien entre les trois équipes et la rédaction du Ménologe, même si possible, n'existe pas dans le texte sous forme directe : Psellos a achevé bien avant de parler du Ménologe et il a changé de sujet, car maintenant c'est la façon de travailler de Syméon qui l'intéresse, comme dans la deuxième section c'était la formation et la carrière de son héros.

Après avoir porté une critique aux interprétations traditionnelles, en proposant une nouvelle lecture du passage, et face aux difficultés auxquelles nous nous confrontés, même en acceptant la seule interprétation possible à mes yeux, que j'ai présentée précédemment, j'essaie d'avancer une hypothèse, qui est – je l'avoue – un peu iconoclaste : et si Psellos faisait référence à un autre ouvrage, ou en général à d'autres ouvrages ? Certes, la lecture traditionnelle qui veut que ces équipes travaillent sur le Ménologe, la seule lecture avancée jusqu'à présent, est bien enracinée, et prend sa justification du fait que Psellos ne parle que du Ménologe. Mais, comme nous l'avons vu, la structure de l'*Éloge* ne justifie pas cette interprétation. Dans cette perspective, il me semble que, dans le passage qui nous pose tant de problèmes, Psellos fait référence simplement à la façon de travailler en général de Métaphrastes, mais d'autre part la référence aux empereurs qui l'auraient poussé à une entreprise littéraire nous fait penser que Psellos ait en tête un ouvrage précis, et cela pourrait être caché sous l'expression τό γε τοιοῦτον ἐλέσθαι σπούδασμα, qui pourrait éventuellement se référer à autre chose que le Ménologe. Lorsque, au début des années '90, je m'étais occupé de lancer le débat sur la « culture de la syllogè », j'avais cité ce passage, en suggérant prudemment que nous ne savions pas à quoi Psellos faisait référence et qu'il faudrait savoir de quel ouvrage de Syméon il parlait[21]. Høgel m'avait reproché de ne pas avoir compris que c'était bien du Ménologe dont il était question[22], mais je persiste à croire que nous devons être prudents.

Bien entendu, dans le langage pour nous cryptique de l'éloge nous ne pouvons qu'avancer des hypothèses. Le problème de l'interprétation est lié aux quelques mots qui doivent être repris avec attention. Syméon lance une entreprise littéraire, qui comporte une « préparation » (παρασκευή) et un travail de rédaction confié à trois équipes, dont la première marque les mots ou les expressions à choisir (τῶν τε πρώτως ἐνσημαινομένων τὴν λέξιν), la deuxième insère ces mots ou expressions (τῶν μετὰ

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[21] P. Odorico, La cultura della sillogé. 1) Il cosiddetto enciclopedismo bizantino. 2) Le tavole dei sapere di Giovanni Damasceno. *BZ* 83 (1990) 1–23, notamment 9–10.

[22] Ch. Høgel, Symeon Metaphrastes (voir n. 13), 93, n. 20 : « The exposition of this text as given by P. Odorico p. 9ff. is faulty in several respects ; first of all since Odorico is not aware that Psellos is describing the production of the Metaphrastic texts : „sarebbe interessante sapere a quale opera di Simeone si riferisca Psello" ».

ταῦτα τιθέντων, ou plutôt τῶν τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα τιθέντων, selon mon hypothèse) et la troisième vérifie que l'ensemble conserve le sens qui se trouvait dans l'original (πρὸς τὴν προκειμένην διορθώσωνται ἔννοιαν). Mon hypothèse est double : ou bien, comme je viens de le dire, les équipes préparaient un texte à « traduire », ou alors Psellos fait ici référence à un autre ouvrage ou ensemble d'ouvrages de Syméon, éventuellement constitué d'excerpta : cette dernière n'est qu'une hypothèse parmi d'autres possibles.

Selon la tradition manuscrite – même si toute la question doit être reprise dans des études spécifiques – Syméon serait aussi l'auteur de 24 homélies morales tirées de passages de Basile de Césarée[23] : le texte se trouve dans le tome 32 (col. 1115–1382) de la Patrologia Graeca et porte le titre grec Ἠθικοὶ λόγοι κδ΄ ἐκλεχθέντες διὰ Συμεὼν μαγίστρου καὶ λογοθέτου ἐκ πασῶν τῶν πραγματειῶν τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Βασιλείου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Καισαρείας τῆς Καππαδοκίας. Dans le catalogue d'Omont des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, par exemple, les codd. 507, 508 et 509 [*Diktyon* 50082, 50083, 50084] figurent comme témoins d'un ouvrage intitulé *Symeonis Logothetae eclogae e variis S. Basilii operibus excerptae*. Le premier de ces manuscrits est daté du XIe s., le deuxième du XIIe et le troisième du XIVe. Le manuscrit 509 porte un index au f. 1v qui donne le titre suivant : Συμεὼν μαγίστρου καὶ λογοθέτου ἐπιλογὴ λόγων κδ΄ ἀπὸ πάσης συγγραφῆς τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις μεγάλου Βασιλείου. D'autre part le manuscrit du M. Athos Laura 351 [Γ 111; *Diktyon* 27283], daté du XIVe s., attribue la paternité à Syméon de trente homélies de Jean Chrysostome, un centon encore mal connu constitué de passages tirés de ce Père de l'Église[24] : Συμεὼν Μαγίστρου καὶ Λογοθέτου ἐκλογὴ λόγων τριάκοντα ἀπὸ πάσης συγγραφῆς τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου. On notera que le titre est pratiquement le même que celui des excerpta de Basile, notamment dans l'expression λόγων … ἀπὸ πάσης συγγραφῆς. À côté de ces deux ouvrages constitués d'*excerpta*, il y a aussi des traités sur la perfection chrétienne, tirés de Macaire l'Egyptien, mais cette attribution est contestée : le Vindobonensis theol. gr. 104 [*Diktyon* 71771] les présente comme κεφάλαια τοῦ ἁγίου Μακαρίου μεταφρασθέντα παρὰ Συμεὼν τοῦ Λογοθέτου ρν΄[25] : dans ce cas, à en croire le titre, il s'agit de « metaphraseis » et non de centons, comme par contre le sont les Homélies tirées de Basile et de Chrysostome. Si l'attribution à Métaphrastes était confirmée pour toutes ces œuvres, il s'agirait bien d'une entreprise de large envergure, comportant bien 54 homélies, auxquelles on pourrait éventuellement ajouter les 150 chapitres « traduits » par lui, si la paternité s'avérait exacte.

On pourrait certes s'interroger sur la portée culturelle d'une opération de ce genre, et se demander pourquoi des rois auraient voulu patronner une production de ce genre, mais le discours nous porterait trop loin, car il concerne toute la production liée à la culture de la syllogè. Je me limite à rappeler que ce type d'ouvrages servaient à l'idéologie politique de l'Empire et étaient des moyens pour les intellectuels et pour les membres de la haute fonction de l'Etat d'affirmer leur identité de classe[26].

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[23] Voir H.-G. Beck, Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich (*HdA* 12.2.1). Munich 1959, 571 ; S. Haidacher, Studien über Chrysostomos-Eklogen (*Sitzungsberichte der Philosophisch-Historischen Klasse der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 144). Vienne 1902 ; J. Gouillard, Syméon Logothète, *Dictionnaire de Théologie catholique* 14 (1941) 2965 ; S. Y. Rudberg, Morceaux choisis de Basile sélectionnés par Syméon Métaphraste. *Eranos* 62 (1964) 100–119 ; I. Ševčenko, Poems on the Deaths of Leo VI and Constantine VII in the Madrid Manuscript of Scylitzes. *DOP* 23/24 (1969/70) 185–228 ; K. Mpones, Βασίλειος Καισαρείας ὁ Μέγας (329/330–1 Ἰαννουαρίου 379). Βίος καὶ ἔργα, συγγράμματα καὶ διδασκαλία. Athènes 1975 ; M.-H. Congourdeau, Syméon Métaphraste. *Dictionnaire de spiritualité* 14 (1990) 1386.

[24] N. Tomadakes, Εἰς Συμεῶνα τὸν Μεταφραστήν. *EEBS* 23 (1953) 115–138, notamment 119 : l'article est la réponse à S. Eustratiades, Συμεὼν Λογοθέτης ὁ Μεταφραστής. *EEBS* 8 (1931) 47–65.

[25] G. L. Marriott, Symeon Metaphrastes and the Seven Homilies of Macarius of Egypt. *Journal of Theological Studies* 18 (1916) 71–72 ; Idem, The Tractate of Symeon Metaphrastes De perfectione in Spiritu. *Journal of Theological Studies* 19 (1918) 331–333.

[26] Voir P. Odorico, Les recueils historiographiques à Byzance : un cas de « sélection de textes raffinés » (Wenxuan) ? *BSl* 75 (2017) 203–220.

Des centons de ce genre étaient à la mode au milieu du Xe s., et un autre intellectuel de l'époque, Théodore Daphnopatès, s'était aussi adonné à cet exercice : rien d'étonnant que Syméon se soit consacré à ce genre de production et que les empereurs (Constantin VII ?) l'aient encouragé.

D'ailleurs, dans l'éloge de Psellos il y a quelques mots qui peuvent renvoyer à cette mentalité ; après avoir parlé des trois équipes, l'auteur commente (lignes 339 à 344) :

> Οὐ γὰρ ἐνῆν αὐτῷ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν συγγραμμάτων πολλάκις τὰ αὐτὰ ἀνακυκλεῖν τε καὶ ἐφορᾶν· ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ πολὺς ὁ ζῆλος ὀνόματος καὶ ἡ φροντὶς περισσοτέρα τοῦ δέοντος ἢ μᾶλλον πρὸς τοῦτο δὴ ἀξιόχρεως, ἀλλ' ὅ γε στάχυς ἐνενικήκει μακρῷ τὴν σπορὰν καὶ τὸ λήϊον οἷον οὐδέπω καὶ τήμερον.
>
> « Il n'était pas possible pour Syméon de revoir encore et encore les mêmes textes et les ἀνακυκλεῖν (« retourner dans son esprit » ou les « renouveler », les « recycler » ?[27]) à cause de leur grand nombre. Mais même si son ardeur à atteindre une renommée était grande, et l'attention qu'il y portait plus importante que ce qui était nécessaire, ou plutôt conforme à la tâche, quand-même la quantité de grains a largement dépassé les graines semées, et la récolte était la plus grande qu'on ait vu à ce jour ».

Il faut retenir de cette phrase la volonté de Syméon de montrer ses capacités littéraires, sa volonté d'être reconnu (ζῆλος ὀνόματος), le fait que la récolte était plus importante que les grains qui ont servi à la produire, peut-être à interpréter comme « le produit final était plus riche que ses éléments constitutifs ». Certes, tout cela peut s'adapter au Ménologe ou à un autre ouvrage, mais encore plus à un type de production fondée sur des excerpta, qui servaient entre autres (et surtout, je dirais) à affirmer ses compétences dans un milieu fermé comme celui de la cour[28]. Et le résultat en serait plus beau encore que l'original : manière de dire que les Homélies ainsi récréées, constituées d'excerpta des deux auteurs, sont encore plus belles que les ouvrages dont les passages ont été tirés.

Selon cette deuxième hypothèse, Psellos citerait justement ce type de production, et trois équipes auraient secondé Syméon : dans ce cas, il ne serait pas vraiment l'auteur direct de ces centons, mais simplement le donneur d'ordre, et les trois groupes de collaborateurs auraient procédé de la façon suivante. Le premier groupe aurait « marqué », « signalé » (τῶν τε πρώτως ἐνσημαινομένων τὴν λέξιν) les mots-clés, ou le début d'une phrase, dans les ouvrages des auteurs d'où on tirait les excerpta. Ce procédé pouvait être fait par le biais de notes dans la marge des manuscrits, par le biais de signes ou de mots comme σημείωσαι, ceux que – je crois – les Byzantins appelaient les ἀφορμαί : j'ai déjà traité ailleurs de cette interprétation[29], qui nous permet de mieux comprendre un passage controversé de Théophane le Confesseur, et je tiens à signaler que dans ce cas je vais dans le même sens que celui reconnu par un connaisseur très avisé de la littérature byzantine, Cyril Mango[30]. Une fois que les phrases censées être recopiées avaient été repérées à travers une lecture attentive du texte, le deuxième groupe aurait recopié tout le passage : dans les collections de sentences nous trouvons souvent des formules du type καὶ τὰ λοιπά, καὶ τὸ λοιπόν pour indiquer ce qui, dans la citation, suit l'incipit. C'est justement en pensant à cette pratique que je propose une petite correction du texte de

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[27] La traduction très philologique et très attentive de Fisher, Encomium (voir n. 14) 216, omet de traduire le verbe : « <Symeon> could not possibly review the same <works> repeatedly <himself> due to their great number ».

[28] Je renvoie à mon article « Les recueils historiographiques à Byzance », (voir n. 26).

[29] Voir P. Odorico, 'Parce que je suis ignorant'. Imitatio/Variatio dans la chronique de Georges le Moine, in : Imitatio – Aemulatio – Variatio, Akten des internationalen wissenschaftlichen Symposions zur byzantinischen Sprache und Literatur (Wien 22.–25. Oktober 2008), éd. A. Rhoby – E. Schiffer (*Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse, Denkschriften* 402; *Veröffentlichungen zur Byzanzforschung* 21). Vienne 2010, 209–216.

[30] The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor. Byzantine and Near Eastern History AD 284–813, Translated with Introduction and Commentary by C. Mango and R. Scott. Oxford 1977, 1.

l'éloge de Psellos, pour donner du sens à l'expression τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα τιθέντων. En premier lieu le πρώτως peut aussi être interprété au sens absolu : « d'abord », qui n'a pas nécessairement besoin de « par la suite » : l'expression ne serait pas à comprendre dans le sens de « par la suite », mais servirait plutôt à définir le contenu de ce que le deuxième groupe transcrivait, τῶν τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα τιθέντων ; sinon, nous pourrions imaginer que le passage a été tronqué par un saut du même au même : τῶν τε πρώτως ἐνσημαινομένων τὴν λέξιν καὶ τῶν μετὰ τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα τιθέντων, même si le style lourd rend moins plausible la correction.

Si les ἀφορμαί ne marquent que le début de la phrase, il faut comprendre que les excerptores choisissaient la longueur de la citation, et que justement la troisième équipe avait la charge de vérifier que le passage était cohérent dans le nouveau contexte (οἱ τὰ συγγεγραμμένα ἐξακριβούμενοι, ἵν' ὅ τι τοὺς ὑπογραφέας λάθοι, πρὸς τὴν προκειμένην διορθώσωνται ἔννοιαν), et que la couture des différents morceaux choisis ne changeait pas le sens de l'ensemble.

Ainsi la procédure (et le passage) serait claire : une fois les mots-clés soulignés par les premiers excerptores, qui choisissent le corpus de citations à utiliser, les copistes inséraient la suite du passage, pour reconstruire un discours, certes fait de citations, mais qui devait avoir du sens dans l'ensemble et dans le détail sans trahir le sens qu'elles avaient dans l'original. Le troisième groupe avait le rôle de le vérifier (οἱ τὰ συγγεγραμμένα ἐξακριβούμενοι) pour être certains que le nouveau texte ainsi créé, constitué de citations (ce qui est le propre du centon), ne trahissait pas la pensée de l'auteur dont on tirait les excerpta (πρὸς τὴν προκειμένην διορθώσωνται ἔννοιαν). Syméon aurait supervisé le travail, qui était un travail d'équipe, car ses nombreuses activités ne lui permettaient pas de *revoir encore et encore les mêmes textes et les* ἀνακυκλεῖν : Οὐ γὰρ ἐνῆν αὐτῷ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν συγγραμμάτων πολλάκις τὰ αὐτὰ ἀνακυκλεῖν τε καὶ ἐφορᾶν.

À l'intérieur de l'*Éloge*, nous trouvons aussi des indices qui peuvent soutenir cette interprétation. Au début de l'œuvre, et bien avant de parler de la constitution du Ménologe, Psellos fait référence à la formation intellectuelle de Syméon, et à sa production littéraire. Voici ce qu'il nous dit à ce propos (l. 45–51) :

> Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὰς διατριβὰς τῶν φιλοσοφούντων ἀπέβλεπε καί τινας ἐκεῖθεν ἀρχὰς ἐκομίσατο πρὸς τὴν τῶν ζητουμένων εὕρεσιν ἀφορμάς, ἀνέκυψέ τε ἀθρόον καὶ ἤρθη μετέωρος καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀκτίνων εὗρε τὸν ἥλιον ἢ οὕτως εἰπεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου πρὸς τὰς ἀκτῖνας διέβλεψε, τὸ μὲν ἐκ τῶν ὑστέρων τὰ πρῶτα συλλογιζόμενος, τὸ δὲ ἐκ τῶν προτέρων τὰ δεύτερα τῇ φύσει συμπεραινόμενος.

Comment interpréter ce passage ? Fisher en donne une explication totalement fondée sur la philosophie :

> « When he examined carefully the discourses of the philosophers and gained from that study first principles as starting points for finding what he sought, he emerged suddenly, elevated on high and discovering the Sun from its rays or, so to speak, from the Sun he gazed at its rays. In the former case by means of a syllogistic argument he inferred the primary <cause> from its secondary <effects> and in the latter case he drew as a syllogistic conclusion <effects> secondary in nature from their primary causes ».

En effet, dans le passage il y a des références aristotéliciennes, mais je crois que l'ensemble doit être compris dans un sens différent ou plutôt complémentaire à celui-ci.

Le passage comporte des concepts et des mots techniques qui appartiennent à la culture de la syllogè[31], à commencer par συλλογιζόμενος et par ἀφορμάς. Mais c'est justement le concept dans

[31] P. Odorico, Les recueils byzantins : une question de terminologie, in : Mélanges P. Magdalino (sous presse) ; voir aussi P. Odorico, Cadre d'exposition / cadre de pensée – la culture du recueil, in : Encyclopedic Trends in Byzantium?, éd. P. Van Deun – C. Macé (*Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 212). Louvain – Paris 2011, 89–107, où se trouve aussi une bibliographie.

son ensemble qui est intéressant : selon la traduction et le commentaire de Fisher, Syméon prenait en considération les discussions des philosophes, dont il considère les principes comme point de départ ; des principes philosophiques on venait aux conséquences, et de celles-ci on pouvait revenir aux principes :

> « Psellos uses the language of Aristotelian logic to describe deductive reasoning (i.e., perceiving the existence of a cause from its effects – συλλογιζόμενος) and inductive reasoning (i.e., perceiving from a cause the existence of its effects – συμπεραινόμενος). Aristotle designated these two types of argument deductive and inductive syllogisms (see *Prior Analytics* 24b18, 68b15) ».

L'interprétation de Fisher est tout à fait correcte, mais dans le passage en question il y a aussi une référence aux pratiques de la « culture de la syllogè », qui est fondée sur ces mêmes principes philosophiques : on construisait passant du texte-source à la citation, mais de la citation on pouvait revenir au texte-source ; si nous voulons expliquer ce procédé avec les mots de Psellos, le lecteur peut ἐκ τῶν προτέρων τὰ δεύτερα τῇ φύσει συμπεραινόμενος, mais en même temps, il peut revenir en arrière et comprendre le sens primitif en partant de la citation (τὸ μὲν ἐκ τῶν ὑστέρων τὰ πρῶτα συλλογιζόμενος).

Du point de vue rédactionnel, Syméon prenait les ἀφορμάς des citations auxquelles il s'intéressait, dans un parcours qui lui permettait de passer des extraits à la source et de la source aux extraits. Ce procédé qui est à la base de la culture de la syllogè est bien présent chez les intellectuels de l'époque ; c'est exactement ce que dit Photius à propos de l'*Anthologium* de Stobée[32] : cet ouvrage est précieux parce qu'il permet de conserver « la mémoire des lectures effectuées » (ἡ τῶν ἀναγνωσμάτων μνήμη), et d'effectuer une « recherche facile des éléments » (ἡ τῶν ζητουμένων ἀταλαίπωρος καὶ σύντομος εὕρεσις)[33]. On voit bien que la formation de Syméon, dans les mots de Psellos, est constituée par le recours à ce type d'activité que nous définissons par « compilation », à laquelle il s'était sûrement adonné, puisque la tradition manuscrite nous transmet sous son nom les homélies tirées des Pères de l'Église que j'ai citées plus haut.

Cette interprétation permettrait aussi de mieux comprendre le sens de la phrase qui suit : Syméon avait confié aux autres ce travail, dont il était l'inspirateur, car il n'avait pas le temps de le faire (Οὐ γὰρ ἐνῆν αὐτῷ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν συγγραμμάτων πολλάκις τὰ αὐτὰ ἀνακυκλεῖν τε καὶ ἐφορᾶν, l. 341), et le verbe ἀνακυκλεῖν, qui de facto n'est traduit avec précision ni par Høgel ([Symeon] could not go over and look through the same text several times) ni par Fisher (<Symeon> could not possibly review the same <works> repeatedly <himself> due to their great number), prend tout son sens. Syméon ne pouvait pas « revenir » sur les textes et en même temps « surveiller » le travail accompli.

Cette lecture du passage nous permettrait aussi de mieux comprendre ce que Psellos nous dit lorsqu'il introduit le passage : lui aussi avait écrit des ouvrages, mais il n'avait pas les mêmes ζῆλον καὶ μίμησιν, et si les gens plus cultivés pouvaient apprécier τὴν λέξιν καὶ τὸν ποικίλον σχηματισμόν, la plupart des lecteurs (οἱ πολλοί) n'entraient pas dans le sens caché (μὴ μέλον αὐτοῖς ζητημάτων καὶ ἐννοιῶν ἀπορρητοτέρων) de ces écrits[34]. Il me semble que cette dernière affirmation à propos

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[32] Voici le passage complet de Photius (Bibliotheca, cod. 167, éd. Henry [*Collection Byzantine*]. Paris 1960, II 159) : Χρήσιμον δὲ τὸ βιβλίον τοῖς μὲν ἀνεγνωκόσι αὐτὰ τὰ συντάγματα τῶν ἀνδρῶν πρὸς ἀνάμνησιν, τοῖς δὲ οὐκ εἰληφόσι πεῖραν ἐκείνων, ὅτι διὰ συνεχοῦς αὐτῶν μελέτης οὐκ ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν καὶ ποικίλων νοημάτων, εἰ καὶ κεφαλαιώδη, μνήμην καρπώσονται. Κοινὸν δ' ἀμφοτέροις ἡ τῶν ζητουμένων, ὡς εἰκός, ἀταλαίπωρος καὶ σύντομος εὕρεσις, ἐπειδάν τις ἀπὸ τῶν κεφαλαίων εἰς αὐτὰ τὰ πλάτη ἀναδραμεῖν ἐθελήσειε. Καὶ πρὸς ἄλλα δὲ τοῖς ῥητορεύειν καὶ γράφειν σπουδάζουσιν οὐκ ἄχρηστον τὸ βιβλίον.

[33] Photius, Bibliotheca, cod. 167, éd. Henry, II 149.

[34] Vois à ce propos l'article de G. Cavallo, Alla ricerca del doppio pubblico di Michele Psello, in: La face cachée de la littérature byzantine. Le texte en tant que message immédiat, Actes du colloque international, Paris, 5–6–7 juin 2008, éd. P. Odorico (*Dossiers Byzantins* 11). Paris 2012, 237–246.

d'une vertu que Syméon aurait eue, s'adapte bien aux centons, et moins bien aux Vies des saints. Par la suite, après avoir présenté cette activité, Psellos revient à louer Syméon par une hyperbole : il ne pourrait nullement le comparer à ceux qui ont écrit les Panathénaïques, ni à ceux qui ont traité des guerres du Péloponnèse, parce que, même si leur style est élégant, ce qui est utile est trop bref (τὸ μὲν περιττὸν ἔκδηλον καὶ διαπρεπές, τὸ δ' ὠφελοῦν βραχύ τι καὶ ἀσθενές). Certes, cela pourrait aussi s'adapter aux vies du Ménologe, mais encore plus aux homélies composées de phrases pleines de sens caché (ἐννοιῶν ἀπορρητοτέρων), qui enchaînées donnent une richesse énorme en « utilité ».

Venons-en aux conclusions. Le passage de Psellos demeure assez obscur : c'est une réalité. Mon premier point était de donner un sens à ce passage, qui avait été interprété de façon selon moi fautive ou non assez précise, d'où ma proposition d'interprétation, qui voit Syméon intervenir sur un texte préparé ad hoc. Mais, peut-être, pouvons-nous aussi le comprendre si nous ne restons pas collés à l'idée fixe que tout a été pensé en faisant référence à un seul ouvrage, le Ménologe, qui est pour nous (et pour Psellos aussi) l'œuvre-phare de l'écrivain. L'éloge de Psellos est celui d'une personnalité littéraire qui a marqué son temps, et ses vertus sont louées dans l'ensemble de sa vie et de sa production, même si évidemment le recueil de Vies de saints tient la première place, comme d'ailleurs Psellos le dit explicitement. Sous le nom de Syméon circulaient d'autres ouvrages, et Psellos les connaissait : je crois qu'il est possible qu'il fasse référence à l'un d'entre-eux. Mes hypothèses ont-elles des chances d'être vraisemblables ? Je voudrais bien lancer le débat.

JAHRBUCH DER ÖSTERREICHISCHEN BYZANTINISTIK, 69. Band/2019, 289–301
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DOI: 10.1553/joeb69S289

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Neues zu Leben und Werk des Isidor von Kiev

Kritische Bemerkungen zu zwei Biographien

Abstract: This article discusses two recently published monographs about Cardinal Isidore of Kiev: Marios Philippides, Walter K. Hanak †, Cardinal Isidore. C. 1390–1462 [sic]. A Late Byzantine Scholar, Warlord and Prelate. London – New York 2018, and Sergej Ju. Akišin, Митрополнт Исидор Киевский (1385/1390–1463). Ekaterinburg 2018.

Keywords: Isidore of Kiev, Byzantine Manuscripts, Council of Florence, Byzantine Scholars

Im Gegensatz zu Bessarion ist sein unionistischer Mitstreiter Isidor, Metropolit von Kiev und Kardinal der römischen Kirche, nie im Mittelpunkt eines besonderen Interesses gestanden und bisher keiner monographischen Biographie gewürdigt worden, die sein ganzes Wirken umfasst. Nun erschienen gleichzeitig zwei Biographien, die an dieser Stelle in getrennter Beurteilung vorgestellt werden sollen[1].

Isidor, dessen Vor- und Familiennamen wir nicht kennen, war eine der nicht wenigen byzantinischen Gelehrtenpersönlichkeiten, die, wie Georgios Pachymeres, Nikephoros Gregoras oder Theodoros Metochites auch politische, diplomatische und in seinem Fall sogar theologisch missionarische Aufgaben wahrnahmen. Als Gelehrter und Literat hat er kein einziges größeres selbständiges Werk verfasst, so dass sein Name in den Literaturgeschichten nur in Zusammenhang mit Titeln verschiedener literarischer Genera (Rhetorik, Epistolographie, Theologie) genannt ist. Soweit nicht kirchliche Aufgaben ihn zur Beschäftigung mit dogmatischen Fragen veranlassten, galt sein ganzes Interesse unterschiedlichen Bereichen der antiken griechischen und in geringerem Maße der patristischen griechischen Literatur. Es äußert sich in Texten, seltener ganzen Handschriften, die er nachweislich besaß, kollationierte, vor allem aber exzerpierte und zur Abfassung essayähnlicher Traktate heranzog. Die meisten dieser autographen Texte sind bis jetzt unediert, obwohl sie die einzigen Zeugnisse seiner handschriftlichen Sammeltätigkeit sind und seine Persönlichkeit beleuchten. Die Möglichkeiten, die die moderne Wasserzeichendatierung bietet, erlauben auch bis zu einem gewissen Umfang eine chronologische Einordnung dieser Autographa und somit seiner Interessen oder auch offizieller Aufgaben (etwa eine Handschrift mit eigenhändigen astronomischen Einträgen zum Moskauer astronomischen Bereich). Diese Angaben helfen, die spärlichen Daten seines Lebenslaufes zu präzisieren und zu erweitern. Die Bedeutung der „Bibliothek“ Isidors als Quelle zu seinem öffentlichen wie privaten Leben ist bisher – vor mehr als 90 Jahren – nur von Giovanni Mercati erkannt worden[2], doch wurden diese Forschungen später kaum mehr weitergeführt.

Das bleibende Lebenswerk Isidors beruht auf der einen Seite auf der ersten missionarischen Grundlegung der Beschlüsse des Florentiner Konzils in Osteuropa und auf der anderen Seite auf seinen Handschriften, deren Besitz rekonstruierbar ist, so dass man von einer Bibliothek

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[1] M. Philippides, W. K. Hanak†, Cardinal Isidore. C. 1390–1462 [sic]. A Late Byzantine Scholar, Warlord and Prelate. London – New York 2018. XII, 421 S. ISBN 978-0-8153-7982-9. – S. Ju. Akišin, Митрополнт Исидор Киевский (1385/1390–1463). Ekaterinburg 2018. 322 S. 16 Farbtafeln, zwei schwarz-weiß Tafeln. ISBN 978-5-6041842-0-2.

[2] G. Mercati, Scritti d’Isidoro il cardinale Ruteno e codici a lui appartenuti che si conservano nella Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (*ST* 46). Città del Vaticano 1926. Siehe dazu auch die „Aggiunte“ in *ST* 56. Vatikan 1931, 523–525.

sprechen kann, die ihn in unterschiedlichem Umfang sein ganzes Leben über begleitete. Wir können bis heute 87 Handschriften nachweisen, in denen Spuren seiner Hand und seiner Studien erhalten sind[3]. Davon gehören 53 dem alten Bestand der Bibliotheca Vaticana („Vat. gr.“) an, doch gelangten nicht alle sogleich (oder überhaupt) in den Bestand der im Entstehen begriffenen Vatikanbibliothek[4]. Da 31 Handschriften heute späteren Fonds der Vatikanbibliothek oder gänzlich anderen Bibliotheken in Europa angehören, muss man davon ausgehen, dass Isidor kein Testament hinterlassen hat. Es ist aber wahrscheinlich, dass die 87 Handschriften bis zum Tod in seinem Besitz waren. Im Jahre 1455 lieh er sich zudem aus der Vatikanischen Bibliothek 52 weitere Handschriften aus, von denen Giovanni Mercati neun mit Sicherheit und 16 mit Vorbehalten als bis heute im Besitz der Vatikanischen Bibliothek identifizieren konnte[5]. Diese Handschriften enthalten jedoch keine Notizen des Kardinals. Daneben hat Isidor in verschiedenen Schriften weitere Codices erwähnt, die sich zu einem bestimmten Moment in seinem Besitz befanden, aber heute nicht mehr identifiziert werden können (in einem Depot in seinem Kloster in Monembasia[6] oder in Lemberg[7]). Sie belaufen sich auf etwa 20 und sind seiner Bibliothek hinzuzuzählen, deren virtueller Gesamtbestand sich damit auf 159 Exemplare erhöht.

Im Hinblick auf den Entstehungsprozess einer Handschrift aus dem Besitz Isidors kann man fünf Gruppen unterscheiden:

(1) Texte und Textteile, die er im eigenen Interesse kopierte,

(2) Texte und Textteile, die er für andere geschrieben hat (dazu gehören vor allem die Schriften Kaiser Manuels II.),

(3) Texte (meist antiker Autoren), die er philologisch und inhaltlich ergänzte,

(4) eigenständige Notizen und Notizensammlungen,

(5) mit seiner Besitzernotiz versehene Handschriften.

Bisweilen vereint eine Handschrift auch mehrere der genannten Charakteristika. Nur acht Handschriften sind (überwiegend) Vollkopien, alle anderen stellen Miszellanhandschriften mit Faszikeln unterschiedlicher Provenienz dar, die nur einzelne Hefte oder sogar nur einzelne Blätter aus seiner Feder enthalten.

Die wichtigsten Zeugnisse für eine Biographie bringen die Gruppen (2), (3) und (4). In (2) finden sich mehrere auf der Basis der Autographen gedruckte Enkomia (Manuels Leichenrede auf seinen Bruder Theodoros, Enkomion auf Johannes VIII. vom Jahr 1429, Rede auf Kaiser Sigismund mit einem Entwurfstext, Synodalreden).

Eine Fülle von Details zum Denken, Leben und Wirken bringen die in ihrem Umfang sehr unterschiedlichen Texte der Gruppe (4). Hier sind zunächst die Annotationen und Minitraktate im Um-

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[3] Die genannte Zahl umfasst alle Handschriften, die auf Spuren Isidors hinweisen und am Original kontrolliert wurden. Sie kann durch weitere kodikologisch-paläographische Forschungen Veränderungen erfahren. Obwohl Isidors Hand charakteristische Eigenheiten aufweist (einige sind aufgelistet im Repertorium der Griechischen Kopisten 800–1600. 1. Teil. Handschriften aus den Bibliotheken Großbritanniens. B. Paläographische Charakteristika, erstellt von H. Hunger [Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, *Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Byzantinistik* III/1 B]. Wien 1981, Nr. 155), müssen manche Zuweisungen nochmals überdacht werden. In einer früheren Untersuchung (P. Schreiner, I teologhi bizantini del XIV e XV secolo e i padri della chiesa, con particolare riguardo alla biblioteca di Isidoro di Kiev, in: Padri greci e latini a confronto, secoli XIII–XV, a cura di M. Cortesi. Firenze 2004, 133–141) bin ich noch von einer Gesamtzahl von 76 Handschriften ausgegangen. M. Manfredini, Inventario dei codici scritti da Isidoro di Kiev. *Studi Classici e Orientali* 46 (1997) 612–624, hat 72 Handschriften errechnet, doch beruhen seine Recherchen auf Angaben in der Sekundärliteratur und keiner Überprüfung am Original.

[4] S. Lilla, I manoscritti Vaticani greci. Lineamenti di una storia del fondo (*ST* 415). Citta del Vaticano 2004, 5.

[5] Mercati, Scritti 78–89.

[6] Mercati, Scritti 40.

[7] P. Schreiner, Ein byzantinischer Gelehrter zwischen Ost und West. Zur Biographie des Isidor von Kiew und seinem Besuch in Lviv. *BollGrott* III, 3 (2006) 215–228, bes. 297.

kreis der Konzilien von Basel und besonders Florenz zu nennen, die in den gedruckten Synodalakten nicht berücksichtigt sind, weil der Denkprozess zum Endergebnis den Herausgebern nicht wichtig genug erschien, obwohl er für die Person Isidors sehr bedeutsam ist. Andere Notizen zeigen, dass ihn bestimmte Gewürze interessieren (vgl. die in Anm. 7 genannte Lemberger Notiz), und vielleicht besaß er sogar chinesisches Geschirr[8]. Ihn beschäftigen Fragen der praktischen Medizin ebenso wie die Astrologie, aber natürlich auch die Astronomie. Tintenrezepte, oft chemisch komplizierter Art, zeigen die Verbindung von praktischer Schreibtätigkeit und theoretischem Wissen[9]. Unterschiede im Duktus in den Handschriften Isidors weisen auf die Zusammenarbeit mit anderen Kopisten hin (etwa Johannes Eugenikos, Manuel Angelos, Johannes Chortasmenos). Moderne Datierungsmöglichkeiten des Papiers können verdeutlichen, welche Themen ihn zu bestimmten Perioden interessierten (z. B. auf der Peloponnes zwischen 1410 und 1430) und wie sehr er die apostolischen Reisen ins byzantinische Reich, besonders nach Konstantinopel, zwischen 1443 und 1453 für Abschreibtätigkeit, Lektüre und Erwerb von Handschriften nutzte.

Diese aus einem umfangreichen Material herausgegriffenen punktuellen Bemerkungen sollen die Wichtigkeit autographer Texte im Rahmen seiner Biographie unterstreichen, zumal wir sie in dieser Reichhaltigkeit aus Byzanz allein von Isidor besitzen. Auf diese weithin unbekannte Tatsache muss hier mit Nachdruck hingewiesen werden, weil die beiden Biographien fast nur gedruckte Dokumentation heranziehen.

Das Leben Isidors ist bisher nur in verschiedenen Lexikonartikeln[10] sowie einem biographischen Aufsatz von J. Gill[11] unter Nennung von oft unterschiedlichen Daten summarisch zusammengefasst. Sein Name ist in allen Darstellungen zu den Konzilien von Basel und Florenz sowie den Vorgängen um die Eroberung von Konstantinopel vielfach erwähnt. Allein Giovanni Mercati hat ihm bisher ein bleibendes Denkmal gesetzt und ihn als Gelehrten gewürdigt, der er in erster Linie gewesen ist[12].

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Die Darstellung von Philippides–Hanak ist, wie man aus den Vorbemerkungen erfährt, im Zusammenhang mit deren Werk über den Fall Konstantinopels entstanden[13]. Diese historisch-politische Komponente beherrscht auch das Buch und stellt die Individualität von Person und Werk im Vergleich zur Bedeutung, die dem Zeitgeschehen beigemessen ist, ganz in den Hintergrund. Das Leben Isidors orientiert sich überhaupt nur am zeitlichen Ablauf, dem sich Tätigkeit und Werk unterordnen und daher keine selbständige Behandlung und Wertung erfahren. Die biographischen Daten zu Isidors Leben sind – nicht anders als bei den meisten Persönlichkeiten in Byzanz – mühsam zu ermitteln und verlangen die Kenntnis verborgener Quellen, besonders in den vielen autographen Texten Isidors, aber auch in der Sekundärliteratur, in der schon verschiedene Einzelheiten behandelt wurden. Die beiden Autoren haben diese Fakten vielfach nur beiläufig beachtet und wissen zudem mit chronologischen Methoden nicht hinreichend umzugehen, so dass das Curriculum Isidors in einer Fülle oft überhaupt nicht zentraler Informationen untergeht. Zudem sind die Anmerkungen (am Schluss

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[8] P. Schreiner, Texte zur spätbyzantinischen Finanz-und Wirtschaftsgeschichte in Handschriften der Biblioteca Vaticana (*ST* 344). Città del Vaticano 1991, 216, Text 33, 1.

[9] P. Schreiner – D. Oltrogge, Byzantinische Tinten-, Tuschen – und Farbrezepte (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, *Denkschriften der phil.-hist Klasse* 419). Wien 2011, Index s. v. Isidor.

[10] J. Gill, *LThK*^{2} 2 (1960) 788–789; O. Kresten, *LexMA* 5 (1991) 675–676; Ch. Hannick, *DHGE* 26 (1997) 197–201; *PLP* 4, Nr. 8300 und am gründlichsten S. Ju. Akišin – B.I. Florja, Православная Енциклопедия 27 (2011) 177–181.

[11] G. Gill, Personalities of the Concil of Florence. Oxford 1964, 65–78.

[12] Mercati, Scritti (wie Anm. 2).

[13] M. Philippides – W. K. Hanak, The Siege and the Fall of Constantinople in 1453: Historiography, Topography and Military Studies. Farnham 2011.

der jeweiligen Kapitel) von verwirrender Nachrichtenfülle und mit gelehrt erscheinenden Fakten angereichert, die gar nicht zum Gegenstand gehören.

Das *erste Kapitel*, der „Aufstieg Isidors“ (S. 1–37) umfasst die Jahre seit seiner Geburt bis etwa 1430. Das Jahr seiner Geburt lässt sich nur indirekt bestimmen, doch auch hier haben die beiden Autoren neuere Quellenaussagen nicht gekannt, etwa die Cronaca di Mantova von Andrea (oder Vidali) Schivenoglia[14], der dem Kardinal im Zusammenhang mit dem Konzil von Mantua (1459) ein Alter von 70 Jahren zuweist[15]. Das würde auf 1389 als Geburtsjahr verweisen. Auch das von den Autoren für das Geburtsjahr nicht herangezogene autographe Enkomion auf Manuel II. wäre chronologisch hilfreich[16]. Wenn es auch literarisch (nicht nur graphisch) ein Werk Isidors ist und 1403 im Jahr der Rückkehr Kaiser Manuels aus dem Westen entstand, so ist Isidor etwas früher als 1389 geboren, weil das Stück schwerlich von einem Vierzehnjährigen stammen kann[17]. In diese frühe Zeit seines Aufenthaltes in Konstantinopel fällt auch ein topographisch interessanter Traumbericht, der von den Autoren ebenfalls nicht erwähnt wird[18]. Sie behaupten vielmehr, dass Isidor in schriftlichen Dokumenten erst 1414 ins Licht der Geschichte trete[19], als er nach seiner Abreise aus Konstantinopel in die Peloponnes (unseres Erachtens 1410) die Leichenrede Kaiser Manuels auf dessen Bruder Theodoros zum Vortrag brachte. Die Chronologie seiner frühen Jahre in der Peloponnes muss sich an den Briefen und den verschiedenen Kopien der Leichenrede orientieren. Die Verfasser versuchen mit unzureichenden bibliographischen Voraussetzungen eine Datierung der Briefe, aber es blieb ihnen unbekannt, dass die (gegen die Meinung der Autoren chronologisch geordneten) Briefe (im Codex Vat. gr. 914; *Diktyon* 67545) ein Autograph sind und mit ganz anderen Ergebnissen bereits untersucht wurden[20]. Ebenso ist ihnen die Diskussion um die verschiedenen Kopien der Leichenrede unbekannt, bei deren Anfertigung Isidor zentrale Aufgaben zukamen[21]. Auch die dem Verfasser dieses Beitrages widersprechenden paläographischen Überlegungen von Antonio Rollo über die verschiedenen Kopien der Leichenrede haben Philippides–Hanak nicht zur Kenntnis genommen[22]. Sie zogen bei diesen komplizierten Datierungsfragen ferner auch nie die Lebensdaten des Guarino da Verona heran[23]. Da sie hier und anderswo mit Handschriften nicht umzugehen verstehen, haben sie auch die Gebete Isidors in dieser Vatikanischen Handschrift nicht mit in ihre Überlegungen zum Aufenthalt Isidors auf der Peloponnes herangezogen. Sie äußern sich auch nicht zur Frage, warum Isidor Konstantinopel verlassen haben könnte.

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[14] Cronaca di Mantova di Andrea Schivenoglia dal 1445 al 1484 trascritta ed annotata da C. D'Arco (*Raccolta di cronisti Lombardi* 2). Milano 1857 (Nachdruck Mantova 1976, dort S. 22).

[15] Wie verlässlich seine Einschätzungen sind, zeigt die Altersangabe von 50 Jahren für Bessarion, der 1408 geboren wurde.

[16] I. Polemis, Two praises of the emperor Manuel II Palaiologos: problems of authorship. *BZ* 103 (2010) 699–714.

[17] Es ist jedoch durchaus denkbar, dass der Text nicht unmittelbar nach der Rückkehr des Kaisers entstand, sondern ein oder zwei Jahre später, als die Feier der Rückkehr des Kaisers aber immer noch das wichtigste Ereignis im Leben des Kaisers und der Stadt darstellte.

[18] P. Schreiner, Geträumte Topographie; Isidor von Kiev, ein unbekanntes Kloster und die Justiniansäule zu Beginn des 15. Jahrhunderts im Vat. gr. 1891. *TM* 14 (2002) 553–560.

[19] Philippides–Hanak, Cardinal Isidor 27 und Anm. 29 u. ö.

[20] P. Schreiner, Literarische Interessen in der Palaiologenzeit anhand von Gelehrtencodices: das Beispiel des Vaticanus gr. 914, in: Geschichte und Kultur der Palaiologenzeit, Referate des internationalen Symposions zu Ehren Herbert Hungers (Wien, 30. November–3. Dezember 1994), ed. W. Seibt, (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, *Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Byzantinistik* 8). Wien 1996, 205–219.

[21] P. Schreiner, Ein seltsames Stemma. Isidor von Kiev, die Leichenrede Kaiser Manuels auf seinen Bruder Theodoros und eine moderne Ausgabe, in: Lesarten. Festschrift für Athanasios Kambylis zum 70. Geburtstag, ed. I. Vassis – G. S. Henrich – D. R. Reinsch. Berlin 1998, 211–225.

[22] A. Rollo, A proposito del Vat. gr. 2239: Manuele II e Guarino con osservazioni sulla scrittura di Isidoro di Kiev, Νέα Ρώμη. 3 (2006) 373–388.

[23] R. Sabbadini, Vita di Guarino Veronese. Genova 1891. Brief 679 des Guarino (ed. R. Sabbadini, Epistolario. Venezia 1915) zeigt, dass er schon seit März 1410 in Italien (Venedig) weilte. Im ersten Brief an Guarino erwähnt Isidor eine „Pest“, nämlich jene des Weltjahres 6818 (1409/10), welche die Schuld trage, dass er bisher noch nicht geantwortet habe.

Das *zweite Kapitel* (S. 38–78) ist der Tätigkeit Isidors auf dem Konzil von Basel gewidmet. Die Autoren behaupten zwar (S. 39), im Jahr 1430 sei Isidor ins hauptstädtische Demetrioskloster (als dessen Abt) eingetreten, bringen aber für diese Jahresangabe keine Belege. Isidor war im Sommer 1429 kurz in Konstantinopel gewesen, wo er einen Panegyrikos auf Kaiser Johannes VIII. hielt, der uns unten noch beschäftigen wird. Der eigentliche Grund dieser Reise (den in unverständlichem Zusammenhang die Autoren auf S. 30 erwähnen) war eine Verteidigung der Rechte des Metropoliten von Monembasia, wozu die Autoren weder Quellen noch Literatur kennen[24]. Isidor reiste sodann wieder auf die Peloponnes zurück, geriet aber wegen eines Seesturms nach Sizilien und konnte erst im Frühjahr 1430 wieder die Peloponnes erreichen. Zu dieser unfreiwilligen Reise ist ein autographer Bericht erhalten, an dessen Autorschaft Philippides–Hanak zwar zu zweifeln scheinen, ihn aber (mit Übersetzung) trotzdem abdrucken (im ersten Kapitel, S. 16–19), ohne dabei auf einen wichtigen Aufsatz gerade zu diesem Text hinzuweisen[25].

Wie lange Isidor nach seinen Jahren in Kindheit und früher Jugend (1489 ca.–1403?) nun ein zweites Mal auf der Peloponnes blieb, wissen wir nicht. Da er am 15. Oktober 1433 von Patriarch Joseph zum Delegierten auf dem Konzil nach Basel ernannt wurde, lebte er zu diesem Zeitpunkt mit Sicherheit bereits in der Kaiserstadt. Zu den Reisevorbereitungen Isidors und der Reise des Jahres 1434 nach Basel selbst sagen die Autoren überhaupt nichts, obwohl sie höchst bemerkenswert verlief, da ein Treffen mit Kaiser Sigismund (in Ulm, 24. Juni 1434) zustande kam, für das Isidor eine Rede mit einem außergewöhnlichen politisch-historischen Inhalt geschrieben hatte, die aber nicht ausgewertet wird, sondern nur in der Bibliographie genannt ist[26]. Obwohl (S. 44) die Frage gestellt ist "what was the role of Isidore at the Council of Basle?", bringen die Autoren keine Analyse, sondern nur den griechischen Text seiner Rede mit Übersetzung und die Widerspiegelung dieses Konzils in byzantinischen und russischen Quellen (S. 64–70). Isidor reiste 1435 (über Venedig) zurück und war etwa im Juli wieder in Konstantinopel, doch interessiert die Reise selbst die Autoren der Biographie nicht. Die politische Bedeutung Ungarns und der Kontakte mit Kaiser Sigismund, die im Reiseweg Isidors sichtbar wird, ist den Autoren keinen Kommentar Wert[27]. Wieso die Autoren (S. 70) behaupten können "by the onset of 1437 Isidore had completed his mission", ist schlichtweg unerklärlich.

Mit dem Konzil von Ferrara-Florenz beschäftigt sich das *dritte Kapitel* (S. 79–121), das auch die Ernennung Isidors zum Metropoliten von Moskau miteinschließt. Die Autoren haben schlecht recherchiert, wenn sie die Ernennung „Anfang 1437" datieren (S. 79). Damals war Isidor schon längst auf dem Weg nach Moskau, wie eine eigenhändige Notiz im Codex Vat. gr. 776 (*Diktyon* 67407) zeigt, dem Philippides–Hanak wohl kein Vertrauen schenken[28]. Als sei eine Biographie nur ein Lektürebuch, wird der (erste) Aufenthalt in Moskau (S. 79–89) ausschließlich durch verschiedene Auszüge aus russischen Chroniken beleuchtet, deren Abhängigkeiten aber nicht weiter diskutiert werden, so dass sich der Leser im Wirrwarr der verschiedenen Informationen nicht zurechtfinden kann. Der Weg der großen russischen Delegation von Moskau nach Ferrara, über die ein detailreicher russischer Bericht vorliegt, ist den Autoren kaum der Erwähnung wert[29]. Ebenso wie schon bei der Darstellung des

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[24] E. Kislinger, Regionalgeschichte als Quellenproblem. Die Chronik von Monembasia und das sizilianische Demenna. Eine historisch-topographische Studie (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, *Denkschriften der phil.-hist. Klasse* 294). Wien 2001, 55–61.

[25] Ewald Kislinger, Die Sizilienfahrt des Isidor von Kiew (1429). *Diptycha* 6 (1994/95) 49–65.

[26] H. Hunger – H. Wurm, Isidor von Kiev, Begrüssungsansprache an Kaiser Sigismund (Ulm, 24. Juni 1434). *RHM* 38 (1996) 143–180.

[27] P. Schreiner, Isidor von Kiev und Ungarn, in: Byzanz und das Abendland II. Studia Byzantino-Occidentalia, ed. E. Juhász. Budapest 2014, 11–23, zur Reise 14–15. Diese Publikation wird in der Bibliographie nicht genannt.

[28] P. Schreiner, Ein byzantinischer Gelehrter (wie Anm. 7)

[29] Für den deutschsprachigen Leser ist der Text am einfachsten (aber nicht unter Berücksichtigung aller handschriftlichen Varianten) zugänglich in der Übersetzung von G. Stökl, Reisebericht eines unbekannten Russen, in: Europa im XV. Jahr-

Basler Konzils gelingt es den Verfassern nicht, die Aktivitäten Isidors auf dem Konzil in Florenz aus den Texten herauszuarbeiten. Sie überlassen es durch den Abdruck originaler und übersetzter Texte wiederum dem Leser selbst, sich ein Bild von den Vorgängen zu machen. Die zentrale Frage, warum Isidor zum Unionisten wurde und wie sich diese Haltung in seinen Schriften äußert, wird nicht einmal ernsthaft gestellt. Auch die Passagen über Isidors Aufenthalt in Moskau, seine Gefangenschaft und Flucht (S. 99–113) beschränken sich auf seitenlange Auszüge aus Texten, die im Cod. Vat. slav. 12 überliefert sind, den die Verfasser für ein Dokument im Vatikanischen Archiv halten, was zeigt, dass sie die Handschrift niemals im Original konsultiert haben. Die Literatur zur Einordnung dieser Texte ist unbekannt[30]. Alle Einzelheiten des Reiseweges von Florenz nach Moskau und die Flucht Isidors nach Italien bleiben trotz teilweise reicher Dokumentation ausgespart, als sei das Flugzeug benutzt worden.

Die Zeit von 1443 bis Dezember 1452 ist Gegenstand des *vierten Kapitels* unter dem Titel „Der päpstliche Gesandte“ (S. 122–188). Es setzt aber erst 1450 ein (S. 122), und der Leser erfährt auch nicht, dass Isidor 1443 (am 11. Juli) in Siena bei Papst Eugen IV. Schutz gesucht hatte. Es ist falsch, wenn Philippides–Hanak (S. 122) eine erste Gesandtschaft Isidors nach Konstantinopel in päpstlichem Auftrag erst im Jahr 1450 annehmen, die sie explizit aber nicht nachweisen. An den sorglosen Umgang mit Daten in dieser Darstellung hat man sich jedoch schon gewöhnt. Zu Isidors Tätigkeit in dieser Zeit hat Otto Kresten schon gründliche Vorarbeit geleistet, die aber nicht zur Kenntnis genommen wird, obwohl Krestens Studie im Literaturverzeichnis genannt ist[31]. Die Kopisten- und Sammeltätigkeit Isidors in dieser Zeit im byzantinischen Reich, von der oben im einleitenden Kapitel dieses Beitrages die Rede war, kann die von Kresten gemachten Angaben noch erweitern. Bei der Darstellung der letzten Mission (von November 1452 bis zum Beginn der Belagerung Konstantinopels im Mai 1453) stützten sich die Autoren vielfach auf die Darstellung in ihrer Monographie zum Fall Konstantinopels[32]. In der Fülle der Vorgänge, die hier wiederholt werden, geht Isidor selbst nicht selten unter, und seine Person nimmt erst wieder im Zusammenhang mit der Durchsetzung der Kirchenunion (Dezember 1452) eine gewisse Gestalt an (S. 150ff.). Noch stärker als in den vorausgehenden Teilen stören in diesem Kapitel die mit Nebensächlichkeiten überfüllten Fußnoten (zur Prosopographie führender Personen und sogar zur Baugeschichte der Hagia Sophia) den Fortgang des Kontextes, während in zentraleren Fragen, wie der patriarchalen Sedisvakanz, vorhandene Arbeiten fehlen[33]. Die ausführliche Heranziehung der Verserzählung des Ubertino Pusculo sollte jedoch anerkennend hervorgehoben werden und als Anregung dienen, dieser Persönlichkeit auch von der editorischen Seite her endlich mehr Beachtung zu schenken.

Der *fünfte Abschnitt*, der die Eroberung Konstantinopels und Isidors Wirken bis zu seiner Flucht (Juni 1453) umfasst, ist über das nötige Maß hinaus in die Länge gezogen (S. 189–242), da die Autoren nicht nur aus dem Material ihrer genannten Monographie zum Fall Konstantinopels schöpfen, sondern auch sehr viele Akten und lateinische Briefe, nicht zuletzt von Isidor selbst, wiederum im

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hundert von Byzantinern gesehen (*Byzantinische Geschichtsschreiber* 2). Graz. 1965, 151–165. Zu russischen Ausgaben und weiterer russischer Literatur s. Akišin, Митрополит Исидор 86–93.

[30] Hier wäre zunächst die gründliche Beschreibung in A. Džurova, K. Stančev, A. Japundžić, Catalogo dei manoscritti slavi della Biblioteca Vaticana. Sofia 1985, 79–82, zu nennen, und besonders die Studie von J. Krajčar, Some remarks on the Vat. slav. 12. *OCP* 35 (1969) 487–508.

[31] O. Kresten, Eine Sammlung von Konzilsakten aus dem Besitz des Kardinals Isidoros von Kiev (Österreichis*che Akademie der Wissenschaften, Denkschriften der phil.-hist. Klasse* 123). Wien 1976, 101–104.

[32] Siehe Anm. 13.

[33] Wichtig in diesem Zusammenhang die weit ausgreifende Biographie zum Patriarchen Gregorios III. (genannt Mammas) von S. L. Barnalidis, Γρηγόριος ὁ γ΄, ὁ τελευταῖος πατριάρχης Κωνσταντινουπόλεως πρὶν ἀπὸ τὴν ἅλωσιν καὶ ἡ φιλενωτικὴ πολιτική του. Thessalonike 2001.

vollen Wortlaut und Übersetzung vorlegen, so dass der eigentliche Faden (die Rolle Isidors) kaum noch erkennbar ist. Auch hier wird die Biographie wieder zum Text-Lesebuch.

Im *sechsten Kapitel* (S. 243–289) wird der kurze Aufenthalt auf Kreta (von Juli bis Oktober 1453) von den Autoren dazu benutzt, auf der Basis vieler ins Lateinische übersetzter Briefe Isidors dessen Propagandatätigkeit zu beleuchten, die das Ziel hatte, Konstantinopel rückzuerobern und an die türkische Gefahr zu gemahnen. Die Autoren machen auf viele antike Anspielungen und Vergleiche in diesen Briefen aufmerksam. Sie sind ein überzeugender Beweis für das stete Interesse Isidors an der Antike und für seine immense Zitatenkenntnis, gehen aber an dieser Stelle unter und hätten in ein Kapitel zur Lektüretätigkeit Isidors gehört, das fehlt. Es wird dem Leser auch nicht klar gemacht, dass diese Sendschreiben Übersetzungen aus dem Griechischen darstellen, weil Isidor wohl nur sehr rudimentär Latein konnte.

Das *siebte Kapitel* trägt den Titel „Il Cardinale Greco Vecchio" (S. 290–328) und setzt ohne genauere chronologische Hinweise mit seiner Ankunft, aus Kreta kommend, in Italien im Dezember 1453 ein. Isidor weilte von damals an fast ausschließlich in Rom, unterbrochen von Aufenthalten in Venedig und besonders auf dem Kongress von Mantua. Die politisch wichtigste Aktivität fällt dabei zweifelsohne dem Aufenthalt in Mantua von Mai 1459 bis Januar 1460 zu. Diese Versammlung ist in der Forschung nur sehr unzureichend behandelt, und auch die vorliegende Darstellung bringt kaum neue Hinweise, zumal die Autoren weder die anfangs genannte Chronik von Mantua noch die Atti eines Kongresses in Mantua im Jahr 2000 kennen, die sich speziell diesem Ereignis des Jahres 1459 widmen[34]. Die Autoren stützen sich vor allem auf Hinweise in den *Commentarii* des Enea Silvio Piccolomini, greifen aber nicht auf Regesten des Vatikanischen Archivs oder (mit einer Ausnahme in Anm. 98) auf das Material der Gonzaga im Staatsarchiv Mantua zurück. Das Datum des Todes (27. April 1463) zitieren (S. 328, Anm. 135) die Autoren erstmals nach dem Eintrag in den Acta Consistoralia des Vatikanischen Archivs. Unverständlich und bedauerlich ist es, dass sich gleich an *drei* Stellen der Umschlagtitelei das Jahr 1462 eingeschlichen hat.

Ehe wir auf das Kapitel *Conclusions* (S. 329–347) eingehen, sind noch einige Worte zum *Appendix* (S. 348–375) und zur *Bibliographie* (S. 376–407) zu sagen.

Im *Appendix* drucken die Verfasser Teile eines von Isidor verfassten Enkomions auf (den zur Abfassungszeit bereits verstorbenen) Manuel II. und Johannes VIII. ab, doch falsche Bezugsangaben machen die Identifizierung zu einer Sucharbeit. Also: Es handelt sich um einen 1429 (in Konstantinopel) abgefassten Text, der aus den Schriften von Spiridon Lampros postum veröffentlicht wurde[35]. Die Autoren erwähnen ihn *nicht*, wie sie vermerken, in „ch. 2, text with nn. 114 and 115" (was unauffindbar ist und sich wohl auf eine frühe Kapiteleinteilung des Gesamtbandes beziehen könnte, die in der Endredaktion verändert wurde), sondern in Kapitel 1, Unterabschnitt 1, auf S. 5 mit Anm. 45 (S. 30), wo jedoch auf den Teilabdruck im Appendix nicht verwiesen wird. Noch sorgloser kann der Umgang mit Information schwerlich sein. Der Text im Appendix soll dem Leser den Umgang Isidors mit historischen Nachrichten präsent machen. Der umfangreiche Kommentar (S. 369–375) erläutert aber nur historische Fakten unabhängig von der Verwendung und Einschätzung durch Isidor. Das Enkomion ist unter dem Gesichtspunkt der historischen Kenntnisse und Interessen des Autors bestens erschlossen durch eine Arbeit von Oliver J. Schmitt, die in Anm. 45 (S. 30) nur beiläufig erwähnt ist, aber nicht an dieser Stelle im Appendix[36]. Der Abdruck weniger Passagen aus dem Enkomion in

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[34] Zur Chronik von Mantua siehe oben in Anm. 14, die Kongressakten sind herausgegeben von A. Calzone – F. P. Fiore – A. Tenenti – C. Vasoli, Il sogno di Pio II e il viaggio da Roma a Mantova. Atti del convegno internazionale (*Ingenium* 5). Mantova 2000. Firenze 2003. Biographisch dort wichtig der Beitrag von R. Signorini, Alloggi di sedici cardinali presenti alla dieta, 315–389, bes. 331 und 362–364 (zeitgenössische Charakterisierung Isidors).

[35] Sp. Lampros, Παλαιολόγεια καὶ Πελοποννησιακά III. Athen 1926, 132–199.

[36] O. J. Schmitt, Kaiserrede und Zeitgeschichte im späten Byzanz: ein Panegyrikus Isidors von Kiew aus dem Jahr 1429. *JÖB* 48 (1998) 209–242 (ohne neue Edition des Textes).

seiner hier gegebenen Form leistet keinen gewinnbringenden Beitrag zum Verständnis der Persönlichkeit Isidors und seiner historischen Interessen, auf die es eigentlich angekommen wäre.

Das Vorhandensein einer Bibliographie ist eine Selbstverständlichkeit und sollte in einer Rezension kaum einer Erwähnung wert sein. Anders leider in diesem Band. Zu Beginn (S. 376–378) steht ein Verzeichnis der zitierten Manuskripte, die in Wirklichkeit aber nur ihre Nennung in Titeln aus der Sekundärliteratur ist, da die Autoren keine Handschriften im Original eingesehen haben. Ihr Wert ist allenfalls pseudopropagandistisch, und es fehlen auch die Seitenangaben, so dass die genannten Handschriften im Buch gar nicht auffindbar sind. Das „Verzeichnis" zeigt aber auch den kenntnislosen Umgang mit Originalen. Dokumente aus Archiven sind den Handschriften in Bibliotheken gleichgestellt und werden gleichermaßen als "manuscripts" bezeichnet. Den Handschriften werden nicht Ort und Bibliothek oder Archiv vorangestellt, so dass nur der erfahrene Kodikologe erahnen kann, worum es sich handelt. Verschreibungen und Missverständnisse sind an der Tagesordnung, wie etwa „Codex Bonn. Univ." nicht eine Handschrift in der Universitätsbibliothek der ehemaligen deutschen Bundeshauptstadt ist, sondern ein Bononiensis in der Universitätsbibliothek Bologna, und unter einem Parmens. Bibl. Papalt. (sic), ist natürlich eine Handschrift der Biblioteca Palatina in Parma gemeint. Beispiele dieser Art könnten eine ganze Seite füllen.

Kaum sorgfältiger ist der Umgang mit Quellenwerken (S. 378–388), wo oft die alphabetische Einordnung Schwierigkeiten bereitet oder lateinische Titel nicht verstanden werden. So wird etwa der Katalog der griechischen Handschriften in Oxford von H. O. Coxe unter „R" eingeordnet, mit dem Stichwort *Recensionem codicum graecorum continens* (abgesehen davon, dass ein Katalog keine Quelle ist, sondern als Referenzwerk zur Sekundärliteratur gehört).

Bei der Anführung der Einzelquellen wären Titelüberschriften (oder eine Zeile Abstand) dringend nötig gewesen, um die verschiedenen Autoren auseinanderzuhalten. Alte und (kritische) neue Ausgaben ein und desselben Textes sind wahllos aneinander gereiht und in der Vollständigkeit ihrer Aufzählung recht willkürlich. Man erwartet an dieser Stelle auch keine Auflistung antiquarischer Ausgaben, wenn es neue gibt.

Die alphabetische Einordnung von Autoren aus dem Mittelalter und der Renaissance (besonders italienischer Provenienz) entspricht nicht immer jener der modernen Autoren, sondern soll denen von Spezialbibliographien (Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani; P.O. Kristeller, Iter Italicum; Cosenza, Biographical and Bibliographical Dictionary) angeglichen werden (etwa Filippo da Rimini, nicht: da Rimini Filippo).

Auch der Umgang mit modernen Autoren fällt jedoch nicht immer leicht. So ist die biographische Studie über Kaiser Manuel Palaiologos von Jules Berger de Xivrey unter De Xivrey, Berger (letzteres als Vorname!) zu finden (und zudem den Quellen, nicht der Sekundärliteratur zugeordnet). Wir verzichten darauf, weitere Beispiele anzuführen. Die Bibliographie und die Bezugsstellen im Haupttext müssten komplett umgeschrieben und vielfach neu systematisiert werden, um ihren Zweck zu erfüllen.

Betrachten wir zum Schluss noch, was die Autoren in den *Conclusions* (S. 329–347) zu sagen haben, um daran das Gesamturteil des Rezensenten anzuschließen. Die Autoren entwerfen auf diesen Seiten ein gut (und oft erstmals) dokumentiertes Bild der Einschätzung Isidors in der griechischen und russischen Literatur der Jahrzehnte nach seinem Tod, das man sich freilich ausführlicher und analytischer gewünscht hätte. Auf den letzten Seiten (S. 339–341) versuchen sie, durch plakative Schlagwörter Isidor ein letztes Mal in den Mittelpunkt zu stellen, was sie in den vorausgehenden 300 Seiten nicht unternommen haben. Sie stellen die Frage, warum der Kaiser gerade Isidor in der Welt herumgeschickt habe, was auch Anlass gibt, wenigstens einmal auf die Reisen insgesamt einzugehen. Kaiser Manuel hatte von 1399 bis 1403 den Westen kennengelernt, und Johannes VIII. war in seine Fußstapfen getreten: man brauchte Wissen und Bildung, um im „Westen" auftreten zu

können, aber diese Eigenschaften beeindruckten gleichermaßen auch den russischen Großfürsten. Doch die Autoren haben diesen Gedanken nie aufgegriffen, weil sie nicht in der Lage waren, den Zeugnissen seiner Bildung nachzugehen. Sie setzen die Bezeichnung „scholar" in den Titel, bleiben aber den Beweis schuldig, inwieweit er ein „Gelehrter" war. Er ist für sie ein „warlord", weil er aktiv an der Verteidigung Konstantinopels 1453 teilnahm. Wenn man diesen (modernen) Begriff historisch untersucht (was an dieser Stelle nicht geschehen kann), so zeigt sich, dass diese Bezeichnung für Isidor niemals zutreffen kann. Der neutrale Titel „prelate" sagt nur über seine bekannte Funktion in der römischen Kirche etwas aus. In der Zusammenfassung (S. 340–341) wird er auch noch mit dem Prädikat eines „ecclesiastic" versehen, dessen Denken „tief im Mittelalter" (was auch immer hier „Mittelalter" bedeuten soll) verwurzelt („firmly grounded") gewesen sei. Soll sich dieses Prädikat auf eine bestimmte Geisteshaltung beziehen, die im Buch aber nirgends hervorgehoben wird? Beruhigend ist immerhin, dass die Verf. ihn doch *nicht* für einen „Renaissance man" halten (S. 340). Es ist aber nie der Versuch unternommen, ihn an byzantinischen Gelehrten, derer es in der Paläologenzeit viele gab, zu messen, um in diesem Vergleich der Besonderheit seiner Person ein Profil zu geben.

Die Autoren wollten wohl eine Biographie schreiben, die durch die drei Schlagworte „scholar, warlord, prelate" im Titel abgegrenzt ist; aber haben sie sich wirklich Gedanken gemacht, wie die Biographie einer Persönlichkeit des 15. Jahrhunderts aussehen soll? Biographien zu Theodoros Metochites oder Georgios Gemistos Plethon hätten Anhaltspunkte gegeben[37]. Dazu hätte vor allem Isidors Bibliothek herangezogen werden müssen, Bücher, die er kopierte (für sich und andere), die er besaß und annotierte oder (nach 1453) aus dem Besitz der im Entstehen begriffenen Vatikanischen Bibliothek auslieh[38]. Die etwas schwierige, aber genial kritische Untersuchung von Giovanni Mercati hätte einen fundierten Wegweiser dargestellt[39]. Die Verfasser wissen jedoch mit Handschriften und ihrer Auswertung auch nicht das Mindeste anzufangen. Isidor war vom Basler Konzil (1434) bis Mantua (1459) vor allem Diplomat und Politiker mit gründlichem historischen Wissen (wiewohl er kein Geschichtsschreiber war), wie sein Panegyrikos von 1429 und seine Rede an Kaiser Sigismund zeigen, die als biographische und intellektuelle Dokumente überhaupt nicht ausgewertet werden. Sein theologischer Einsatz verschwindet in diesem Buch hinter den bekannten allgemeinen Urteilen zu den Konzilsdiskussionen, die man an anderer Stelle besser und klarer nachlesen kann[40].

Das Buch zeigt aber auch an entscheidenden Stellen, wie Ergebnisse Dritter völlig unbeachtet bleiben, weil man die Bibliographie nicht recherchiert (obwohl es doch eine Byzantinische Zeitschrift gibt, in der alle monierten Titel verzeichnet sind) oder manche Darstellungen auch modernsprachliche Anforderungen stellen, denen die Autoren offensichtlich nicht gewachsen waren. Zahlreiche Quellen verlangen philologische und kodikologisch-paläographische Kenntnisse, die nicht vorhanden sind, wie die willkürlichen Zitierweisen im Index augenscheinlich machen.

So ist leider zu konstatieren, dass das Buch insgesamt ein wissenschaftliches Ärgernis darstellt und als Biographie unbrauchbar ist.

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[37] H.-G. Beck, Theodoros Metochites. Die Krise des byzantinischen Weltbildes im 14. Jahrhundert. München 1952; F. Masai, Plethon et le platonisme de Mistra. Paris 1956; C. M. Woodhouse, Gemistos Plethon. The Last of the Hellenes. Oxford 1986.

[38] Dieser Aspekt ist in der Einleitung zu diesem Beitrag ausführlich dargestellt (oben, S. 290–291).

[39] Mercati, Scritti (wie Anm. 2).

[40] V. Pryymych, Unionsgespräche bei den Konzilien des 15. Jahrhunderts. Kiewer Metropoliten als Mittler zwischen Byzanz und Rom. Regensburg 2018.

Was Philippides / Hanak im Titel versprachen, aber ganz und gar nicht geleistet haben, gelingt im Rahmen der Möglichkeiten gedruckter Literatur in hohem Maße Sergej Jurevič Akišin in seiner Kandidatenarbeit am Geistlichen Seminar in Jekaterinburg.

Der Autor konzentriert, wie es in einer Biographie zu erwarten ist, seine Darstellung ganz auf die Persönlichkeit und behandelt Ereignisse der Zeitgeschichte nur im nötigen Umfang. In der Einleitung (S. 9–13) gibt er einen erschöpfenden Einblick in die Literatur zu Isidor, in der auch entlegene Titel nicht nur zitiert, sondern auch gelesen und verarbeitet worden sind. Es zeigt sich, in wie großem Umfang sich russische Gelehrte mit Isidor befasst haben und die Stimmen dem Freund der Union gegenüber nicht immer nur negativ gewesen sind. Viele dieser Titel sind bisher außerhalb Russlands unbekannt geblieben und werden hier – sicher erstmals auch für russische Leser – zusammenfassend und wertend geboten. Die Sympathie des Verfassers für die Intellektualität Isidors ist allenthalben deutlich.

Der Verfasser gliedert den Lebenslauf Isidors in drei Phasen, die auch die Hauptkapitel des Bandes ausmachen:

(I) Von der Geburt bis zur Ernennung als Metropolit Kievs (vor 1390 bis 1436),

(II) Metropolit in Russland (1437), Vertreter des russischen Episkopats auf dem Konzil von Ferrara-Florenz und Vertreibung aus Moskau (1441) und

(III) von seiner Ankunft in Italien (1443) bis zu seinem Tod (1463).

Er bezeichnet an anderer Stelle (S. 247) diese drei Abschnitte seines Lebens treffend als byzantinische, russische und italienische Periode.

Im *ersten Abschnitt* (S. 33–69) diskutiert Akišin ausführlich die Chronologie der Geburt und die frühen Jahre. Da ihm die oben erwähnte Chronik von Mantua und das (geschätzte) Alter Isidors zu diesem Zeitpunkt (1459) bekannt sind, legt er sich auf den Zeitraum 1385/1390 für die Geburt und Monembasia als Geburtsort fest. In den Spekulationen um Isidors Abkunft übernimmt er (wenngleich mit gewisser Distanz) Vermutungen von Haris Kalligas, die vielfach der freien Phantasie entspringen[41]. Auf den Aufenthalt in Konstantinopel, besonders die ersten Jahre, geht der Verfasser nicht ausführlich ein (S. 40–44), obwohl zwei ihm bekannte (nur) indirekt datierte Quellen (Traumschilderung, Monodie auf Manuel) einen gewissen Anhaltspunkt (um 1403 oder bald danach) geben[42]. Zurecht betont er, dass Isidor vielleicht mit Hilfe des Manuel Chrysoloras rasch in den Kreis um Kaiser Manuel aufgenommen wurde. Ein besonderes Augenmerk widmet der Verfasser den Anfängen des langen peloponnesischen Aufenthalts (zweite Hälfte 1410–ca. 1431/32), anhand der eigenhändigen Briefe Isidors. Er vermutet einen Eintritt in das Michaelskloster in Monembasia, aber diese Festlegung lässt sich doch nur mit Bedenken auf Notizen zu diesem Kloster im Jahr 1426 stützen.[43] Auch ist der Ausdruck „er nahm das Mönchskleid an" (принимает монашество) nicht eindeutig. Isidor war bereits in Konstantinopel Mönch in einem unbekannten Kloster, wie sein Traumbericht aus dem Jahr 1405 zeigt[44]. Er hat also schon vor 1405 das Mönchskleid genommen, was bedeutet, dass er damals 16 Jahre alt gewesen ist[45]. Auch diese Überlegung stellt eine weitere Hilfe bei der Ermittlung des Geburtsjahres (1489 oder nicht lange vorher) dar. Die öfter gestellte Frage, warum

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[41] H. A. Kalligas, Byzantine Monemvasia. The Sources. Monemvasia 1990, 169–170, bringt nicht haltbare Hinweise auf eine Verwandtschaft Isidors mit der palaiologischen Despotenfamilie in Mistras, die an die ebenso wenig glaubwürdige Verbindung Bessarions mit dem trapezuntinischen Kaiserhaus erinnern (vgl. T. Braccini, Bessarione Comneno? La tradizione indiretta di una misconosciuta opera storica di Giano Lascaris come fonte biografico-genealogica. *Quaderni di Storia* 64 [2006] 61–115).

[42] Siehe dazu oben, Anm. 16 und 18.

[43] Mercati, Scritti (wie Anm. 2), 56.

[44] Vgl. oben, Anm. 18. Es ist kaum anzunehmen, dass Isidor als Laie in diesem Kloster Gast gewesen ist. Die Vertrautheit mit der Topographie Konstantinopels zeigt, dass er schon einige Zeit hier lebte.

[45] Pl. De Meester, De monachico statu iuxta disciplinam byzantinam. Romae 1942, 352 und 367.

Isidor auf die Peloponnes zurückging – nämlich um sich wieder stärker dem mönchischen Leben zu widmen als dies am Kaiserhof in Konstantinopel möglich war – findet damit eine Antwort. Isidor hat in der Folgezeit etwa 20 Jahre auf der Peloponnes verbracht, und zusammen mit den frühen Jahren nach seiner Geburt vor dem Aufenthalt in Konstantinopel, kommen wir auf mehr als 30 Jahre. Diese Tatsache führt Akišin zu einer sehr überzeugenden Überlegung hinsichtlich Isidors latinophiler Haltung. Er weist auf die lateinisch-griechische Mischkultur in diesem Raum hin (S. 49), in der er einen entscheidenden Grund für das Verständnis des römisch-lateinischen Glaubens sieht, das ihn in späteren Jahren zum Befürworter der Union machte (S. 65). Diese Position zeigt sich erstmals in seiner Rede auf dem Basler Konzil (S. 62–66), in dessen Zusammenhang der Autor auch deutlich auf die sprachlichen Probleme beidseitiger lateinisch-griechischer Übersetzungen und überhaupt der Probleme der sprachlichen Verständigung hinweist. In dem schwierigen und von der Literatur her noch nicht besonders durchdrungenen Gefüge im Ablauf des (fast ewigen) Konzils gelingt es Akišin gut, die Gestalt Isidors nicht untergehen zu lassen.

Im *zweiten Abschnitt* über die russische Periode (S. 71–135) zeigt sich auch die gründliche Kenntnis der russischen Kirchengeschichte. Der Gesamtvorgang, der sich über die Jahre 1436 bis 1443 hinzieht, ist skurril genug: Isidor zieht als (letzter) griechischer Metropolit nach Moskau, nimmt mit Billigung des Großfürsten als Sprecher des russischen Episkopats trotz prorömischer Haltung am Konzil von Ferrara-Florenz teil und kehrt als Kardinal der Römischen Kirche wieder nach Russland zurück, um als Flüchtling nicht in Konstantinopel, sondern in Italien eine neue Heimat zu finden.

Der Aufenthalt Isidors in Russland war unter Verwendung russischer und westlicher Quellen erstmals (und letztmals) ausführlich vom russisch-französischen Jesuiten Paul Pierling 1896 behandelt worden[46]. Akišin hat die russischen Chroniken nochmals durchgesehen, analysiert und so dem Leser inhaltlich zugänglich gemacht (S. 76–82), während Philippides–Hanak ausgewählte Stellen nur nebeneinander abdrucken und übersetzen, die Auswertung aber dem Benutzer überlassen. Er schildert sehr anschaulich, dass Isidor als Grieche (und Abgesandter des Kaisers und Patriarchen) von Anfang an nicht erwünscht war, aber trotzdem den Großfürsten (Vasilij II. Vasiljevič) durch sein diplomatisches Geschick und seine Bildung – er war книжен (*knižen*), wie die Chroniken sagen – überzeugte. Der Verfasser zeigt (S. 85–86) deutlich die Argumente auf, die für den Großfürsten entscheidend waren, Isidor die Delegation zum Konzil anzuvertrauen. Er kommentiert dann (S. 86–93) den Reisebericht, leider nur soweit er die russischen Lande betrifft, und arbeitet die kirchengeschichtlichen Gesichtspunkte dieser Visitationsreise unter Berücksichtigung einer reichen, nahezu unbekannten russischen Literatur heraus. Bedauerlich, dass die Reisestrecke nicht durch eine Karte illustriert ist! Zum Konzil von Ferrara-Florenz gibt es bekanntlich eine unüberschaubare Literatur, in der Isidor beinahe verschwindet. Akišin hat erstmals die Rolle des russischen Metropoliten in den Mittelpunkt gestellt (S. 94–115), die ihn als Diplomaten und Politiker zeigt, eine wichtige Eigenschaft, für deren zusammenfassende Darstellung man sich einen eigenen Abschnitt gewünscht hätte. Ausführlicher und aktueller als es Pierling machen konnte (von Philippides–Hanak ganz zu schweigen), sind der Rückweg Isidors, der schon eine Missionsreise für die Union war, und seine Flucht aus Moskau behandelt (S. 115–135). Die Skepsis gegenüber dem griechischen Metropoliten, der in Moskau zu augenscheinlich als römischer Kardinal aufgetreten war, hatte sich nun zum offenen Hass umgewandt. Der Verfasser sammelt alle Nachrichten für den wenig sicher dokumentierten Rückweg (über das litauische Fürstentum nach Ungarn) und verbindet sie mit neueren Arbeiten (S. 125–129).

Das dritte Kapitel (S. 137–184) umfasst jene zwanzig Jahre, die Isidor überwiegend in Italien verbrachte. Die Frage „Rom oder Konstantinopel" als Zielpunkt von Isidors Rückreise (oder Flucht) stellte sich spätestens in Buda (23. März 1443). Der Metropolit entscheidet sich bekanntlich für

[46] P. Pierling, La Russie et le Saint Siège. Études diplomatiques. I. Les Russes au Concil de Florence. Paris 1886.

Rom. Akišin (S. 190) sieht den Grund in der Furcht vor feindlichen Reaktionen in Konstantinopel. Man sollte daneben aber nicht vergessen, dass er dorthin als Bittsteller, seiner Diözese verlustig, gekommen wäre und neben vielen von den Türken aus Kleinasien vertriebenen Bischöfen hätte leben müssen, während ihm in Rom alles zur Verfügung stand, was einem Kardinal zukam. Die Zeit seiner Legate ins byzantinische Reich (1443–1453) ist (im Gegensatz zu Philippides–Hanak) sachlich und chronologisch gut aufgearbeitet und gibt einen Überblick über seine Aufgaben als Diplomat und Gelehrter.

Die Rolle Isidors bei der Verteidigung Konstantinopels ist vielleicht etwas zu wenig hervorgehoben; auf jeden Fall vermeidet es aber Akišin, den Kardinal als großen Krieger herauszustellen, wie dies Philippides–Hanak in überzogener Weise und sogar im Titel des Buches tun. Die letzten Jahre Isidors in Rom werden bei Akišin zu einem sehr faktenreichen Bericht (S. 161–181), in dem er auch die wenig verbreiteten Arbeiten des verdienstvollen Paul Pierling auswertet. Zum Konzil von Mantua zieht er auch neueste Arbeiten heran, welche aber die dringend nötige Recherche nach Originalen im Gonzaga-Archiv nicht ersetzen können. Am Ende dieses Abschnitts folgt eine Charakteristik seiner Persönlichkeit (S. 182–184), die aber meines Erachtens zu allgemein und wenig aussagekräftig erscheint: Ihm sei ein „lebendiges religiöses Gefühl eigen gewesen", und auf jeden Fall war er „ein griechischer Patriot".

Im *vierten Abschnitt* „Bibliothek und literarisches Vermächtnis" (S. 185–246) verlässt der Autor die linear chronologische Ordnung seiner Darstellung und wendet sich dem Werk des *Gelehrten* zu, der er, nach Meinung des Rezensenten, in erster Linie gewesen war. Akišin konzentriert sich vor allem auf eine Aufzählung und knappe Analyse Isidors eigener Schriften und Traktate, soweit sie gedruckt vorliegen. Neben der grundlegenden Arbeit von Giovanni Mercati[47] hat er auch später edierte kleinere Texte eingesehen und gelangt zu einem respektablen und biographisch verwertbaren Überblick, auch wenn die vielen nur handschriftlich vorliegenden Texte und Notizen nicht berücksichtigt werden konnten. Zu letzteren zählen etwa auch zahlreiche Notizen, die in Zusammenhang mit der Konzilsarbeit stehen und sein theologisches sowie philosophisches Denken besser beleuchten könnten. Es zeigt sich, was der Verfasser vielleicht nicht deutlich genug unterstreicht, dass das eigene Œuvre Isidors (besonders im Vergleich zu anderen Gelehrten der späteren Paläologenzeit) eher bescheiden und (wie mir scheint) oft wenig originell war, aber trotzdem wichtige Hinweise zu seinem Charakter und seiner Persönlichkeit gibt. Von ungewöhnlicher Bedeutung ist Isidors Interesse an Handschriften und die damit verbundene Tätigkeit als Kopist. Eine Rekonstruktion der Bibliothek, für die ebenfalls Giovanni Mercati bereits Grundlagen legte, ist aber ohne unmittelbare und langwierige Arbeit an den Handschriften nicht möglich, wie im einleitenden Abschnitt dieses Beitrags gezeigt wurde. Der Autor beschränkt sich daher (S. 185–189) auf verschiedene Überblicksdarstellungen zur „Bibliothek" in der Sekundärliteratur, die es rechtfertigen, Isidor als „großen Bibliophilen" zu bezeichnen. Mit diesem Kapitel hat Akišin, freilich allein auf der Basis gedruckten Materials, einen wichtigen Beitrag zur Person Isidors als Gelehrtem geleistet, der in der oben rezensierten Biographie trotz der Nennung „scholar" im Titel gänzlich fehlt.

In einem Anhang (S. 255–274) bringt der Verfasser eine russische Übersetzung von sechs der vierzehn griechischen Briefe, die sich als Seminararbeit aus dem Jahr 1916 im Archiv der Moskauer Geistlichen Akademie fanden, und versieht sie mit erklärenden Anmerkungen. Diese Texte sind für den russischen Leser nützlich, werden aber in die vorliegende Rezension nicht miteinbezogen. In Anbetracht der vielen zitierten Originaltexte wäre ein Handschriftenverzeichnis wünschenswert gewesen, und auch ein kurz gefasstes Curriculum Isidors mit den wichtigsten Daten hätte gute Dienste getan.

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[47] Mercati, Scritti (wie Anm. 2).

Eine Biographie, die sich nur wenig auf Vorbilder stützen kann und vom Verfasser her eine Erstlingsarbeit darstellt, weist notwendig Lücken auf und lässt Wünsche offen. Die (abgesehen von Kap. 4) linear chronologisch angelegte Studie erlaubt keine biographischen Querschnitte, um Isidors intellektuelle Entwicklung zusammenfassend darzustellen. Eine solche Sichtweise hätte weitere Kapitel verlangt (und wohl auch das Studium unedierter Texte), etwa Isidor als Politiker und Historiker – auf der Quellenbasis der Panegyriken, Sendschreiben und politischen Briefe nach 1453 – oder als Diplomat, wozu sich in Isidors Werk immer wieder Aussagen und Ansätze finden. In diesem Zusammenhang hätte es sich gelohnt, die außergewöhnlich vielen und langen Reisen – der Rezensent hat etwa 15.000 km im Zeitraum von 1433 bis 1453 errechnet[48] – gesondert zu untersuchen und kartographisch zu illustrieren. Der Verfasser geht an verschiedenen Stellen auch auf Sprache und Stil ein, die (vielleicht mit Hilfe eines Philologen) einer eigenen Untersuchung Wert sind, besonders wenn man an die Umarbeitung der Trauerrede Manuels für seinen Bruder denkt oder die umgangssprachlichen Elemente in den Tintenrezepten mit heranzieht[49]. Letztere hätten auch Material für einige Worte zu Isidor als erfahrener Kopist hergegeben.

Diese Ergänzungen und Erweiterungen sollten Gegenstand einer zweiten Auflage werden, die als Übersetzung das Buch auch einem breiteren Kreis zugänglich machen müsste. Auf jeden Fall verdient diese Untersuchung die volle Beachtung der wissenschaftlichen Forschung und leistet einen wesentlichen Beitrag zur spätbyzantinischen Kirchen- und Geistesgeschichte. Isidor tritt dank dieser Darstellung als Gelehrter, Diplomat, Politiker (und ein wenig auch als Theologe) aus dem Schatten heraus und erfährt eine längst notwendige Rehabilitierung.

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Die Rezension zeigt, dass man die beiden Titel kaum miteinander vergleichen kann. Nur Akišins Darstellung verdient die Bezeichnung „Biographie“. Sie ist auch sprachlich gut lesbar und übersichtlich im Anmerkungsapparat, während die Persönlichkeit Isidors bei Philippides–Hanak im Dschungel einer faktenüberlasteten und allgemeinen Geschichtsdarstellung schlichtweg untergeht.

Trotz negativer und positiver Bemerkungen darf nicht vergessen werden, dass das Studium der Bibliothek Isidors, deren Bedeutung in nur wenigen Linien anfangs herausgestellt werden konnte, eine unumdingbare Voraussetzung bildet, um Isidor als Gelehrten, Diplomaten und Theologen wirklich erfassen zu können, als letzten byzantinischen Humanisten, der im Westen Zuflucht fand, dort aber nie zu Hause war.

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[48] Schreiner, Ein byzantinischer Gelehrter (wie Anm. 7), 222.

[49] Schreiner–Oltrogge, Byzantinische Tinten-, Tuschen- und Farbrezepte (wie Anm. 9).

JAHRBUCH DER ÖSTERREICHISCHEN BYZANTINISTIK, 69. Band/2019, 303–321
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DOI: 10.1553/joeb69S303

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A Note on the Dossier of Geographical Glosses Used by the Compilers of the So-called Version B of the Logothete Chronicle under the Macedonian Emperors[*]

Abstract: The article explains the list of geographical references included in the chronicle of the Pseudo-Symeon 705.16–707.10 (Bekker) as the result of the careless copying of a dossier of glosses connected with the preparatory work for a lost volume of the Historical Excerpts of Constantine VII. Comparison is made with other contemporary chronicles, such as Book VI of Theophanes continuatus and the so-called Logothete Chronicle B in order to substantiate this hypothesis. It is suggested that Ps-Symeon worked on a copy of the Logothete Chronicle A, which he used as a basis to create a new version of the text expanded with new sources and materials. The problems thus detected make it necessary to reconsider the position of Logothete B in the stemma and to take into account the use of dossiers and the "contamination" (i.e. sharing of sources) among the various versions of the Logothete complex.

Keywords: Logothete Chronicle, Theophanes continuatus, Geographical Glosses, Text Compilation, Macedonian Renaissance

INTRODUCTION

Every antique historian was expected occasionally to embellish his narrative with beautiful and inspiring descriptions of the history and geography of the territory where the action, in particular military, took place. This was especially necessary when the historical narrative took place beyond the civilized and urban areas to which the readers belonged and entered remote foreign lands which required some sort of learned introduction. Such was the practice since Herodotos, who adorned his narrative with many geographical excursuses, and it soon became a golden rule for historians to display geographical connoisseurship, frequently embedded in etymological explanations.

This pattern prompted abuses already denounced by Lucian, who, in his famous treatise *Quomodo historia conscribenda sit*, mocked an historian who "explained every city, every mountain and plain, every river, in order to be clear and forceful, as he thought"[1]. However, Lucian's condemnation of this abuse was in fact a recommendation for more sober use of such descriptions, for at the end of his opuscule he writes that "There is particular need of moderation in explanations of mountains, fortifications, and rivers, lest you appear to make vulgar display of your facility with words, neglecting history to your own advantage"[2]. I translate by "explain" and "explanation" the Greek terms ἑρμηνεύω and ἑρμηνεία for they convey better the idea of learned exegesis implied here by Lucian who does not use the terms ἐκφράζω or ἔκφρασις commonly employed for literary descriptions. En-

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[*] This article has been made possible thanks to the funding provided by the Spanish Ministry of Science for the project "El autor bizantino II" (FFI2015-65118-C2-1-P).

[1] … πάσας πόλεις καὶ πάντα ὄρη καὶ πεδία καὶ ποταμοὺς ἑρμηνεύσας πρὸς τὸ σαφέστατον καὶ ἰσχυρότατον, ὡς ᾤετο, Lucian, Quomodo historia conscribenda sit, ch. 19.

[2] Μάλιστα δὲ σωφρονητέον ἐν ταῖς τῶν ὀρῶν ἢ τειχῶν ἢ ποταμῶν ἑρμηνείαις ὡς μὴ δύναμιν λόγων ἀπειροκάλως παρεπιδείκνυσθαι δοκοίης καὶ τὸ σαυτοῦ δρᾶν παρεὶς τὴν ἱστορίαν. Ibid., ch. 57.

cyclopaedic dictionaries such as the *Ethnika* of Stephen became an indispensable tool in the hand of learned historians[3].

It therefore comes as no surprise that geography constituted one of the most important concerns in the recovery of classicizing history in the reign of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus. Not only were the *Ethnika* of Stephen much consulted at this time, and the famous collection of historical excerpts supposedly included some three volumes of mainly geographical content entitled περὶ οἰκισμῶν, περὶ ἐθνῶν and περὶ ἐθῶν, but other works emanating from Constantine's circle also contained a great deal of geographical information of a markedly antiquarian character, such as the *De administrando imperio* and the *De thematibus*[4].

THE CASE IN POINT

It is against this background that I want to examine some geographical explanations or glosses scattered in the historical narrative of three manuscripts of the so-called Version B of the Logothete chronicle:

Vat. gr. 167 (*Diktyon* 66798): usually referred to as Book VI of Theophanes continuatus, a new edition of this text is currently being prepared by M. Featherstone and myself for the *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae*. We shall refer to it here as **TC VI** with indication of page, line and (in brackets) chapter in the edition of I. Bekker[5].

Vat. gr. 153 (*Diktyon* 66784): edited by B.M. Istrin, this text is very close to that in Holkham gr. 61 (Oxford, *Diktyon* 48129), which is unedited. We shall refer to it here as **Log B (Istrin)** in order to differentiate it from the other main version of Log B represented by Vat gr. 163 (*Diktyon* 66794) which is also unedited but does not contain any of the geographical glosses discussed by us here. All three manuscripts, Vat. gr 153, Vat. gr. 163 and Vat. gr 167, will be used by S. Wahlgren in his intended edition of Logothete B in the *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae*. For Vat. gr. 153 we shall refer here to the pages and lines of the edition by Istrin[6].

Paris gr. 1712 (*Diktyon* 68341): usually referred to as Pseudo-Symeon, this text is highly abbreviated in comparison to the two previous versions. Athanasios Markopoulos is currently preparing an edition of it for the *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae*. We shall refer to it here as **Ps-Sym** with indication of page, line and chapter in the edition of I. Bekker[7].

The geographical glosses under consideration are found in the account of the reigns of the Macedonian emperors up to Romanos II in only these three manuscripts, as well as in Holkham 61, where the text is almost identical to that in Istrin's edition of Vat. gr. 153, but in none of the numer-

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[3] See now M. Billerbeck et al. (ed), Stephani Byzantii Ethnica (*Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae* 43), Berlin – New York 2006–2017, 5 vols.

[4] For the geographical volumes in the Constantinian Excerpts see A. Németh, Imperial systematization of the Past. Emperor Constantine VII and his historical excerpts. Budapest 2010 (Doctoral Thesis), 81–82; For the geographical content of *De administrando imperio* and *De thematibus* see the overview of P. Magdalino, Constantine VII and the historical geography of Empire, in: Imperial geographies in Byzantine and Ottoman space, ed. S. Bazzaz – Y. Batsaki – D. Angelov. Washington 2013, 3–42, and A. Németh, The Excerpta Constantiniana and the Byzantine appropriation of the past. Cambridge 2018, 121–144.

[5] I. Bekker, Theophanes Continuatus, Ioannes Cameniata, Symeon Magister, Georgius Monachus Continuatus (*Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*). Bonn 1838, 353–481. For occasional references to the first four books see now M.J. Featherstone – J. Signes Codoñer, Chronographiae quae Theophanis Continuati nomine fertur libri I–IV (*CFHB* 53), Berlin 2015.

[6] B.M. Istrin, Prodolzhenie chroniki Georgiia Amartola po Vatikanskomu spisku No. 153, in: B.M. Istrin, Chronika Georgiia Amartola v drevnem slavianorusskom perevode. Tekst, issledovanie i slovar II. Petrograd 1922, 1–65.

[7] Bekker, Theophanes Continuatus 603–760.

ous manuscripts of related versions such the original Logothete chronicle (Logothete A)[8], nor in the above-mentioned Vat. gr. 163 or in the history of Ioannes Skylitzes[9].

The glosses are mostly short explanations of certain geographical names mentioned in the narrative and are not very numerous. Their interest to us lies not in the information they provide, but rather in the various ways in which they have been inserted into the narrative of TC VI, Log B (Istrin) and Ps-Sym, for this allows us to draw conclusions concerning the working methods of the authors who produced these three versions and their mutual relationship. This latter point is a very troubled question on which there is, as yet, no consensus and which is obviously of prime importance to the critical editions now in progress[10].

Here below we have listed all the geographical glosses in two columns. In the left column we copy the text of the glosses as they are transmitted in Ps-Sym, numbered in the order of appearance in the text. In the right column we put the references as transmitted in TC VI, also numbered in the order of appearance, making them coincide at the same level, when possible, with the corresponding reference in the list of Ps-Sym. As the order of appearance of the glosses is frequently different in the two columns, there are inevitably empty spaces. If there is no correspondence, that is, if a gloss is found in Ps-Sym which does not appear in TC VI or vice-versa, this is expressly noted. If, however, the correspondence exists but the passages appear at different levels in the two lists, we put the cross-reference to the passage number, either above or below, in the other column. The geographical glosses in Log B (Istrin) are listed under TC VI, as their sequence is the same and their wording almost identical.

Besides the numerical reference to the passage, we provide also a short summary of the context of the narrative where the glosses are inserted, and we print in small capitals the geographic name which triggers the learned explanation. When the gloss has no relation at all to the adjacent narrative, we put the name in square brackets preceded by an asterisk. We use arrowheads in the left column to refer to other passages connected with the geographical glosses, mainly taken from works by Constantine VII or produced in his circle. We will not be occupied here with the original sources on which the mythical and etymological information of the glosses depends. Aubrey Diller, who dealt with these antiquarian glosses, suggested that they were mainly taken from Strabo and Stephen of Byzantium, although the question needs to be studied again in detail. We will come later to some of the conclusions advanced by Diller, who also pointed to connections between Genesios and Ps-Sym for their common use of some geographical glosses[11].

Passage I	Passage I
Ps-Sym / Basil I (686.16–687.5 = § 1) [Basil I came from Adrianople] **1.** Adrianople: ὥρμητο δὲ ἀπὸ Ἀδριανουπόλεως τῆς Μακεδονίας, ἥτις πρότερον μὲν Ὀρεστιὰς ἐκαλεῖτο ἐξ Ὀρέστου υἱοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος, ὃς ζήλῳ δικαίῳ διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα Κλυταιμνήστρας δολοφο-	**TC V** / Basil I (§ 4.3)[12] [Basil I came from Adrianople] Adrianople: No gloss here. *Cf. infra* **TC VI** 12

[8] Edited by St. Wahlgren, Symeonis Magistri et Logothetae Chronicon (*CFHB* 44/1). Berlin – New York 2006.

[9] I. Thurn, Ioannis Scylitzae Synopsis Historiarum (*CFHB* 5). Berlin – New York 1973. Skylitzes based his history on an older and better copy of TC VI than that in Vat gr. 167, but he has omitted the geographical glosses, apparently considering them inappropriate and disruptive to his narrative.

[10] References works are A. Markopulos, Ἡ Χρονογραφία τοῦ Ψευδοσυμεών καὶ οἱ πηγὲς της. Ioannina 1978 (Doctoral Thesis), and the lengthy introduction of Wahlgren, Symeonis Magistri 1*–139*.

[11] A. Diller, Excerpts from Strabo and Stephanus in Byzantine Chronicles. *TAPA* 81 (1950) 241–253.

[12] We refer to book V of TC by chapter and line in the edition of I. Ševčenko, Chronographiae quae Theophanis Continuati nomine fertur. Liber quo Vita Basilii imperatoris amplectitur (*CFHB* 42). Berlin – New York 2011.

νίαν ταύτην σὺν Αἰγίσθῳ ἀπεκτονηκὼς λίαν ἐκμέμηνεν, καὶ ἐν τῇ συνελεύσει Ἕβρου Ἄρξου τε καὶ Ἀρτάβου τῶν τριῶν ποταμῶν λουσάμενος τῆς νόσου ἀπήλλακτο· ἔνθα ταύτην οἰκοδομήσας ἐπὶ τῷ ἰδίῳ ὀνόματι κέκληκεν. Ἀδριανὸς δὲ Καῖσαρ εὐκτίστοις ἐρύμασιν αὐτὴν μεγαλύνας πόλιν Ἀδριανοῦ μετακέκληκεν. αὕτη τρίτης ἡμέρας παρὰ ἀνδρὸς εὐπετοῦς ἐν διόδῳ Φιλιππουπόλεως σταδιάζεται,

2. Haimos:
… ἠγκαλισμένη ὄρει τῷ Αἵμῳ, παρ᾽ ᾧ οἱ τρεῖς ποταμοὶ ἐς μισγάγκειαν οἷον συμβάλλετον ὄμβριμον ὕδωρ. *Cf. infra* **Ps-Sym** no. 2bis (Passage III)

Passage II	Passage II
Ps-Sym / Leo VI (705.14–16 = § 13)	**TC VI /** Leo VI (366.15–17 = § 20) [= Log B (Istrin) 31.32–33]
[Attack of Leo of Tripoli]	[Attack of Leo of Tripoli]
3. Tripolitans: Τριπολῖται δὲ ἐκλήθησαν διὰ τὸ τριῶν ἐκ γενεῶν συναχθῆναι, ἐξ Ἀράβων καὶ Τυρίων καὶ Σιδονίων ἀποίκων.	**1.** Tripolitans: καὶ Τρίπολις μὲν ὠνόμασται ἡ κατὰ Φοινίκην τρισὶ διαιρεθεῖσα ταῖς γενεαῖς ἐξ Ἀραδίων καὶ Τυρίων καὶ Σιδονίων ἀποίκων. ➤ Περὶ οἰκισμῶν of Excerpta Const.?
Passage III	Passage III
Ps-Sym / Leo VI cap. 13 (705.16–707.10 = § 13)	**TC VI** / Leo VI (367.5–22 = § 20) [= Log B (Istrin) 32.9–22]
[Sea route of Himerios against Leo of Tripoli] No gloss here. *Cf. infra* **Ps-Sym** no. 8	[Sea route of Himerios against Leo of Tripoli] **2.** Hellespont: καθ᾽ Ἑλλήσποντον, ἣν Μιλησίων κατῴκισαν ἄποικες [*sic*], Ἑλλήσποντον τὸν ἀπὸ Ἕλλης τῆς Φρίξου ἀδελφῆς τῷ ἐκεῖσε πελάγει ῥιφείσης οὕτως ἀγορευόμενον. ➤ Etymologicum Gudiaum s.v. Ἑλλήσποντος· ἡ ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς θάλασσα παρακειμένη τῇ Τροίᾳ, οὕτω προσαγορευθεῖσα ἀπὸ Ἕλλης τῆς Φρίξου θυγατρὸς τῷ ἐκεῖσε πελάγει διαρριφείσης.
4. Aegean sea: ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τὸ Αἰγαῖον πέλαγος τὴν κλῆσιν ἀπείληφεν ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν ὑδάτων φορᾶς, ἀϊσσούσης κατὰ τρόπον αἰγός.	**3.** Aegean Sea: καὶ Αἰγαῖον πέλαγος, ὃ τὴν κλῆσιν ἀπείληφεν ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν ὑδάτων φορᾶς ἀϊσσούσης κατὰ τρόπον αἰγός,
5. Strobilos: ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Στρόβηλος ὠνομάσθη ἀπὸ τῆς τοπικῆς θέσεως,	**4.** Strobilos: καὶ Στρόβηλος μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς τοπικῆς θέσεως,
Cf. infra **Ps-Sym** no. 9	**5.** Kibyrra: Κιβύρρα δὲ ἀπὸ Κιβύρρου ἀδελφοῦ Μαρσοῦ τε καὶ Κιδράμου

➤ *De thematibus*, Asia 9: Κιβύρρα πόλις ἐκείνη, ἐξ ἧς καὶ τὸ θέμα τὴν ἐφύβριστον καὶ πονηρὰν ὀνομασίαν ἐκληρονόμησεν.

6. Lampsakos: καὶ Λάμψακος ἀπὸ φωτὸς λάμψεως, ὅπερ ἐν νυκτὶ Φωκέων θεμελιούντων ταύτην καὶ εὐξαμένων θεόθεν ἐπέλαμψεν, καὶ ἡ τῶν θεμελίων βάσις καλῶς κεκραταίωται.

6. Lampsakos: καὶ Λαμψάκῳ, ἀπὸ φωτὸς λάμψεως ὠνομασμένῃ, ὅπερ νυκτὶ Φωκαέων θεμελιούντων ταύτην εὐξαμένων θεόθεν ἐπέλαμψεν, καὶ ἡ τῶν θεμελίων βάσις καλῶς κεκραταίωτο,

7. Imbros: καὶ Ἴμβρος ἀπὸ Ἴμβρου κέκληται υἱοῦ Ἀνθέος, οὗ γενέτης Στάφυλος, Διονύσου φίλτατος υἱός.

7. Imbros: μετὰ ταῦτα τῇ Ἴμβρῳ διεληλυθώς, ἥτις ἀπὸ Ἴμβρου κέκληται υἱοῦ Ἄνθου, οὗ γενέτης Στάφυλος Διονύσου φίλτατος ἔγγονος,

8. Hellespont: καὶ Ἑλλήσποντος ἀπὸ Ἕλλης τῆς Φρίξου ἀδελφῆς, τῷ ἐκεῖσε πελάγει ῥιφείσης.

Cf. supra **TC VI** no. 2

9. Kibyrra: Κιβύρρα δὲ ὑπὸ Κιβύρρου ἀδελφοῦ.

Cf. supra **TC VI** no. 5

10. Thasos: ἡ δὲ Θάσος Χρυσῆ πρῴην ἐλέγετο.

8. Thasos: τῇ Θάσῳ προσπελάσας, ἣν Χρυσῆν οἱ πρὶν διεφημίζοντο,

11. Samothrake: Σαμοθρᾴκη δὲ ἡ ἐν τῇ Θρᾴκῃ χερρόνησος, ἥτις πρῴην Θηριοῦσα διὰ τὸ θηρίων πεπληρῶσθαι, καὶ ἱερὰν νυμφῶν οὖσαν, ὠνομάζετο, μετέπειτα δὲ τοῦ ῥοῦ συρραγέντος εἰς νῆσον συνέστη, καὶ ὑπὸ Σαμίων κατοίκων ἐν κατασχέσει γενομένη Σαμοθρᾴκη μετωνομάσθη.

9. Samothrake: Σαμοθρᾴκην δὲ ἐν Θρᾴκῃ χερόνησον τὴν πρότερον Θηριοῦσαν διὰ τὸ θηρίων πεπληρῶσθαι, ἱερὰν Νυμφῶν οὖσαν, μετέπειτα τοῦ ῥοῦ συρραγέντος εἰς νῆσον συστῆναι καὶ ὑπὸ Σαμίων μετοίκων ἐν κατασχέσει γενέσθαι καὶ Σαμοθρᾴκην κληθῆναι, τοὺς πολεμίους κατέλαβεν.

12. *[Laodikeia]: Λαοδίκεια κατωνομάσθη ἀπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς Σελεύκου τοῦ Ἀντιόχου, ὃς ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι ταύτης ἔκτισε τὴν Λαοδίκειαν.

No correspondence in the text of **TC VI**
➤ Laodicea is mentioned in De cer. 657.10–11 in the context of the expedition of Himerios

13. Tenedos: Τένεδος δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Τέννου τοῦ υἱοῦ Κύκνου τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος, καὶ τοῦ ἐν αὐτῇ ἱεροῦ ἕδους τῆς Ἀθήνης.

The island is mentioned without gloss in **TC VI** 438.2 = § 3 of the reign of Const. VII
➤ Diod. Siculus 5.83.4: οὐ παραλειπτέον δ’ ἡμῖν περὶ τῶν παρὰ τοῖς Τενεδίοις μυθολογουμένων περὶ τοῦ κτίσαντος τὴν πόλιν Τέννου· Κύκνον γάρ φασι τὸν πατέρα etc.
➤ Περὶ οἰκισμῶν of Excerpta Const.?

14. *[Mesembria]: Μεσημβρία δὲ ἡ πρὶν Μεμνεβρία, ἀπὸ τοῦ Μέμνου Θρᾳκὸς τοῦ ταύτην οἰκίσαντος καὶ βρία τὸ παρά τισι Θρᾳκῶν πόλισμα λεγόμενον· πρὸς δὲ τὸ εὐφραδέστερον Μεσημβρία νῦν ὀνομάζεται. *Cf. infra* Passage VII

Cf. infra **TC VI** no. 12

2bis. *[Haimos]: Αἷμος ἀπό τινος ἀναιρεθέντος ἐκεῖσε δι’ Ἡρακλέους καὶ τὸν τόπον αἱμάξαντος·

Cf. infra **TC VI** no. 11

ἀκρωτήριον δέ ἐστι Θρᾴκης. *Cf. supra* **Ps-Sym** nr. 2 (Passage I)

15. *[Medeia]: Μήδεια ἀπὸ Μήδης τῆς Αἰήτου θυγατρὸς κατωνόμασται.

No correspondence in the text of **TC VI**
➤ Medeia is the ancient Salmydessos in Thrace

16. *[Selymbria]: Σηλυβρία ἀπὸ Σήλυος τοῦ Θρᾳκῶν βασιλέως, ὅστις αὐτὴν ᾤκισεν.

No correspondence in the text of **TC VI**
➤ Stephanus Byz. s.v. Σηλυμβρία, πόλις Θρᾴκης. κέκληται δὲ ἀπὸ Σήλυος.
➤ De thematibus, Europa 1: ἥ τε Μεσημβρία καὶ Σηλυμβρία, βασιλέων προσηγορίας ἔχουσαι πόλεις
➤ Περὶ οἰκισμῶν of Excerpta Const.?

17. *[Amathia]: Μακεδονία ἡ πρὶν Ἀμαθία λεγομένη ἀπὸ ἀρχαίου τινὸς ἡγεμόνος. ἦν δὲ καὶ πόλις Ἀμαθία λεγομένη πρὸς τῇ θαλάσσῃ τῷ ἔθνει ἐπώνυμος.

No correspondence in the text of **TC VI**

18. *[Nikopolis]: Νικόπολις κατὰ τὸ ἐπώνυμος τῆς νίκης, ἣν Αὔγουστος Σεβαστὸς κατὰ Ἀντωνίου καὶ Κλεοπάτρας εἰργάσατο, καὶ τὴν Αἰγυπτίων ἀρχὴν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὑπέκλινεν.

Cf. infra **TC VI** no. 13

19. *[Hieron]: Ἱερὸν Εὐξείνου, ὃ παρὰ τῶν τῆς Ἀργοῦς πλωτήρων διερχομένων ἐκεῖσε ἀνίδρυται.

Cf. infra **TC VI** no. 17

20. *[Pharos]: Φάρος δὲ ἀφιδρυμάτιον ᾧ πυρσὸς ἐπιτίθεται εἰς ὁδηγίαν ἀπρόσκοπτον τοῖς ἐν νυκτὶ παροδίταις.

Cf. infra **TC VI** no. 15

21. *[Rhos]: Ῥῶς δέ, οἱ καὶ Δρομῖται, φερώνυμοι ἀπὸ Ῥῶς τινὸς σφοδροῦ διαδραμόντες ἀπηχήματα τῶν χρησαμένων ἐξ ὑποθήκης ἢ θεοκλυτίας τινὸς καὶ ὑπερσχόντων αὐτούς, ἐπικέκληνται. Δρομῖται δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀξέως τρέχειν αὐτοῖς προσεγένετο. ἐκγένους δὲ τῶν Φράγγων καθίστανται. — *Cf. infra* **Ps-Sym** no. 21bis (Passage IX)

Cf. infra **TC VI** no. 14

22. *[Trikephalos]: ὁ δὲ Τρικέφαλος βουνὸς κατὰ τὸ Ὀψίκιον ἀπὸ τοῦ τριχῇ κεφαλοῦσθαι τῷ σχήματι εἴρηται,

No correspondence in the text of **TC VI**

23. *[Rhadenos]: ὥσπερ καὶ Ῥαδηνὸς ἀπὸ Ῥάδης κώμης τοῦ τῶν ἀνατολικῶν θέματος.
Cf. infra Passage VI

Cf. infra Passage VI

Passage IV	Passage IV
Cf. supra **Ps-Sym** no. 1 (Passage I)	**TC VI** / Const. VII (387.15–24 = § 8) [=Log B (Istrin) 42.27–43.1] [Pankratios treachously delivers Adrianople to Symeon] **10.** Adrianople: τὴν Ἀδριανούπολιν τῷ Συμεὼν προδέδωκεν, ἥτις τὸ πρὶν μὲν Ὀρεστιὰς ἐκαλεῖτο, ἐξ Ὀρέστου υἱοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος, ὃς ζήλῳ δικαίῳ διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα Κλυταιμνήστρας δολοφονίαν ταύτην σὺν Αἰγίσθῳ ἀποκτείνας λίαν ἐκμέμηνεν καὶ ἐν τῇ συνελεύσει Ἔβρου Ἄρζου τε καὶ Ἀρτάκου τῶν τριῶν ποταμῶν γε λουσάμενος τῆς νόσου ἀπήλλακτο· ἔνθα ταύτην οἰκοδομήσας ἐπὶ τῷ ἰδίῳ ὀνόματι κέκληκεν· Ἀδριανὸς δὲ Καῖσαρ εὐκτίστοις οἰκήμασιν αὐτὴν μεγαλύνας πόλιν Ἀδριανοῦ μετακέκληκεν. αὕτη τρίτης ἡμέρας παρὰ ἀνδρὸς εὐπετοῦς ἐν διόδῳ Φιλιππουπόλεως σταδιάζεται,
Cf. supra **Ps-Sym** nos. 2 (Passage I) and 2bis (Passage III)	**11.** Haimos: … ἠγκαλισμένη τῷ ὄρει τῷ Αἵμῳ, παρ’ ᾧ οἱ τρεῖς ποταμοὶ συμβάλλονται τὸ ὀμβρινὸν ὕδωρ.

Passage V	Passage V
Ps-Sym / Const.VII–Rom. I (728.21–729.19 = § 14) [Leo Phokas arrives at Chrysopolis] **24.** Chrysopolis: τὴν Χρυσόπολιν καταλαβών, ἥτις ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀλέξανδρον περιτυχόντα τῇ πόλει τοῦ Βύζαντος κατά τινά τε ταύτης χῶρον τὸν αὐτοῦ λαὸν στρατηγῆσαι, ἐφ’ ὅτῳ τεθεικότα περίβολον προσονομάσαι Στρατήγιον, καὶ ἐκεῖθεν μεταναστεύσαντα καὶ τοῖς ἀντίπεραν προσελθόντα χρυσίον ἱκανὸν ἐπιδοῦναι τῷ οἰκείῳ λαῷ, Χρυσόπολις προσηγόρευται. οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ χρυσὸν ἐκ μετάλλων αὐτῆς γίνεσθαι ταύτην φασὶν ὠνομάσθαι,	**TC VI** / Const. VII (396.1–3 = § 13) [Leo Phokas arrives at Chrysopolis] Chrysopolis, Damalis and Chalkedon are mentioned without gloss both in TC and Log B (Istrin) 47.7–8 ➤ Περὶ οἰκισμῶν of Excerpta Const.?
25. Chalkedon: ὥσπερ καὶ ἡ Χαλκηδὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔχειν χαλκόν, ἢ ἀπὸ Χαλκίδος θυγατρὸς Νικομήδους τῆς ταύτην κτισάσης.	No correspondance in the Text of **TC VI**
24bis. Chrysopolis: ἐν τοιαύτῃ γοῦν τῇ Χρυσοπόλει καὶ ἡ τοῦ Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοῦ Χάρητος παράκοιτις ἐτελεύτησε, Δάμαλις ὀνομαζομένη, αὐτοῦ τοῦ Χάρητος Ἀθήνηθεν πεμφθέντος ἐπαμῦναι τοῖς Βυζαντίοις·	

26. Damalis: ἧς ὑπὲρ τοῦ μνημείου δάμαλις βοῦς καθ᾽ ὁμωνυμίαν ἐν κίονι ἀνεστήλωται, συμβεβλημένον καὶ ἐπίγραμμα ἔχον ὧδε,

Ἰναχίης οὐκ εἰμὶ βοὸς τύπος, οὐδ᾽ ἀπ᾽ ἐμεῖο
κλήζεται ἀντωπὸν Βοσπόριον πέλαγος.
κείνην γὰρ τὸ πάροιθε βαρὺς χόλος ἤλασεν [Ἥρης,
ἐντάφιον τόδ᾽ ἐγὼ Κεκρόπος εἰμὶ νέκυς.
εὐνέτις ἦν δὲ Χάρητος· ἔπλων δ᾽ ὅτε ἔπλεν [ἐκεῖνος
τῇδε Φιλιππείων ἀντίπαλος σκαφέων.
βοΐδιον δὲ καλεῦμ᾽ ἂν ἐγὼ τότε, νῦν δὲ [Χάρητος
εὐνέτις ἠπείροις τέρπομαι ἀμφοτέραις.

Καταλαβὼν οὖν τὴν Χρυσόπολιν, ὡς εἴρηται, διέστησε παρατάξεις…

➤ The same verses appear in *De thematibus* Europa 12: Μαρτυρεῖ δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τοῦ κίονος τῆς ἀντίπεραν γῆς Χρυσοπόλεως, ἐν ᾧ μαρμαρίνη δάμαλις ἵδρυται, φάσκον οὕτως·
Ἰναχίης οὐκ εἰμὶ βοὸς τύπος, οὐδ᾽ ἀπ᾽ ἐμεῖο
κλήζεται ἀντωπὸν Βοσπόριον πέλαγος.
Κείνην γὰρ τὸ πάροιθε βαρὺς χόλος ἤλασεν [Ἥρης
ἐς Φάρον, ἥδε δ᾽ ἐγὼ Κεκροπίς εἰμι νέκυς.
Εὐνέτις ἦν δὲ Χάρητος· ἔπλων δ᾽ ὅτε πλῶεν [ἐκεῖνος
τῇδε Φιλιππείων ἀντίπαλος σκαφέων·
Βοιίδιον δὲ καλεῦμαι ἔθ᾽ ὡς τότε· νῦν δὲ [Χάρητος
εὐνέτις ἠπείροις τέρπομαι ἀμφοτέραις

Passage VI	Passage VI
Ps-Sym / Const.VII–Rom. I (735.11 =§ 28) [Ioannes Rhadenos drungarios of the fleet] No gloss here. *Cf. supra* **Ps-Sym** no. 23 (Passage III)	**TC VI** / Rom. I (405.14 = § 14) [Ioannes Rhadenos drungarios of the fleet] No gloss here either in TC or in Log B (Istrin) 52.3 ➤ Suda: Ῥαδηνός: ἀπὸ τόπου τινός
Passage VII	Passage VII
Ps-Sym / Const.VII–Rom. I (§ 34) [The ambassadors of the emperor meet the Bulgars] Mesembria is not mentioned in the summary made by Symeon of his source. *Cf. supra* **Ps-Sym** no. 14 (Passage III)	**TC VI** / Rom. I (413.3–6 = § 22) [=Log B (Istrin) 55.25–28] [The ambassadors of the emperor meet the Bulgars in Mesembria] **12.** Mesembria: ἐν Μεσημβρίᾳ, τὸ πρὶν μὲν Μενεβρίᾳ καλουμένῃ, ἀπὸ Μένου Θρᾳκὸς τοῦ ταύτην οἰκίσαντος καὶ Βρίᾳ τὸ παρά τισι Θρᾳκῶν πόλισμα λεγόμενον· πρὸς δὲ τὸ εὐφραδέστερον Μεσημβρία ὀνομάζεται. ➤ De thematibus, Europa 1: ἥ τε Μεσημβρία καὶ Σηλυμβρία, βασιλέων προσηγορίας ἔχουσαι πόλεις ➤ Περὶ οἰκισμῶν of Excerpta Const.?
Passage VIII	Passage VIII
No correspondence in the text of **Ps-Sym**, who probably suppressed this passage when he summarized his sources. *Cf. supra* **Ps-Sym** no. 18 (Passage III)	**TC VI** / Rom. I (420.8–10 = § 29) [=Log B (Istrin) 59.6–8] [The Bulgarian prince Michael attacks Nikopolis]

	13. Νικοπολις: τὴν Νικόπολιν προσχωρῆσαι καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖσε πάντα ληΐσασθαι. Νικόπολις δὲ ἐπωνόμασται κατὰ τὸ ἐπώνυμον τῆς νίκης, ἣν Αὔγουστος Σεβαστὸς κατὰ Ἀντωνίου καὶ Κλεοπάτρας εἰργάσατο καὶ τὴν Αἰγυπτίων ἀρχὴν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὑπέκλινεν. ➤ De *thematibus*, Europa 8: Νικόπολις μητρόπολις. Ἐκλήθη δὲ Νικόπολις δι' αἰτίαν τοιαύτην· Καῖσαρ ἐκεῖνος ὁ σεβαστὸς καὶ περιώνυμος Αὔγουστος πόλεμον ἔσχε μετὰ Κλεοπάτρας τῆς Αἰγυπτίας καὶ Ἀντωνίου τοῦ ταύτης ἀνδρός· ὃς ἦν πρότερον ἐπ' ἀδελφῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος γαμβρός, ἀπέστη δὲ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς δι' ἔρωτα τῆς Κλεοπάτρας αὐτῆς καὶ τῆς Αἰγυπτίων γῆς πάσης ἐκράτησεν. Ναυτικῷ οὖν στόλῳ ἐπὶ ναυσὶ χιλίαις καὶ διακοσίαις συνέβαλον μετὰ Καίσαρος ἐν πολέμῳ, ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἀκρωτηρίῳ τῷ καλουμένῳ Ἀκτίῳ· καὶ νικήσας ὁ Καῖσαρ τὸν Ἀντώνιον καὶ τὴν Κλεοπάτραν ἔκτισε πόλιν, καλέσας αὐτὴν Νικόπολιν, διὰ τὸ ἐκεῖσε ἡττηθῆναι τὸν Ἀντώνιον.
Passage IX	Passage IX
Ps-Sym / Const.VII–Rom. I (746.12–13 = § 46) [The Rhos attack Constantinople] **21bis.** Rhos: κατέπλευσαν οἱ Ῥῶς οἱ καὶ Δρομῖται λεγόμενοι, οἱ ἐκ γένους τῶν Φράγγων ὄντες. *Cf. supra* **Ps-Sym** no. 21 (Passage III)	**TC VI** / Rom. I (423.15–17 = § 39) [=Log B (Istrin) 60.26–27] [The Rhos attack Constantinople] **14.** Rhos: οἱ Ῥὼς κατὰ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως μετὰ πλοίων χιλιάδων δέκα, οἱ καὶ Δρομῖται λεγόμενοι, οἳ ἐκ γένους τῶν Φράγγων καθίστανται. ➤ Περὶ ἐθνῶν of *Excerpta Const.*?[1]
Passage X	Passage X
Ps-Sym / Const.VII–Rom. I (746.16–747.1 = § 46) [The Rhos come close to Pharos at Hieron in the Euxine Pontus] **20bis.** Pharos: πλησίον τοῦ ἐν τῷ Εὐξείνῳ Πόντῳ Φάρου ἐγένοντο (Φάρος δὲ καλεῖται ἀφίδρυμά τι ᾧ πυρσὸς ἐπιτίθεται πρὸς ὁδηγίαν τοῖς ἐν νυκτὶ παροδίταις. *Cf. supra* **Ps-Sym** nr. 20 (Passage III)	**TC VI** / Rom. I (423.22–424.7 = § 39) [=Log B (Istrin) 60.32–61.3] [The Rhos come close to Pharos at Hieron in the Euxine Pontus] **15.** Pharos: πλησίον τοῦ Φάρου ἐγένοντο (Φάρος δὲ καλεῖται ἀφίδρυμά τι, ᾧ πυρσὸς ἐπιτίθεται εἰς ὁδηγίαν τοῖς ἐν νυκτὶ παροδίταις),

[1] R.J.H. Jenkins (ed.), Constantine Porphyrogenitus. De administrando imperio. Vol. II, Commentary. London 1962, 2–3, conjectured a work περὶ ἐθνῶν as the source of some of the chapters in the *De administrando imperio*. Németh, The Excerpta 62, note 180, connects this work with the volume of the same title attested for the Constantinian excerpts. The explanation of the name Rhos, in particular as transmitted in Ps-Sym 21 above, is tellingly absent in the *De administrando imperio*, although it would fit in perfectly with the chapters concerning this people in the work.

27. Euxine Pontus: Εὔξεινος δὲ Πόντος κατὰ ἀντίφρασιν καλεῖται· κακόξεινος γὰρ ἐλέγετο διὰ τὰς συνεχεῖς τῶν ἐκεῖσε ληστῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιξενουμένους καταδρομάς, οὕς φασιν ἀνελὼν Ἡρακλῆς, ἀδείας τυχόντες οἱ παροδῖται τοῦτον Εὔξεινον ἐπωνόμασαν,

19bis. Hieron: ἐν τῷ Ἱερῷ λεγομένῳ, ὃ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν εἴληφε διὰ τῶν τῆς Ἀργοῦς πλωτήρων ἐκεῖσε διερχομένων αὐτόθι ἀνιδρύσαι μὲν ἱερόν. *Cf. supra* **Ps-Sym** no. 19 (Passage III)

16. Euxine Pontus: οὗτος πρὸς τῷ τοῦ Εὐξείνου πόντου στόματι παρεδρεύων, ὃς κατὰ ἀντίφρασιν κέκληται· κακόξεινος γὰρ διὰ τὰς συνεχεῖς τῶν ἐκεῖσε ληστῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιξενουμένους καταδρομάς, οὕς, ὡς φασίν, ἀνελὼν Ἡρακλῆς, καὶ ἀδείας τυχόντες οἱ παροδῖται, τοῦτον Εὔξεινον ἐπωνόμασαν,

17. Hieron: ἐν τῷ Ἱερῷ λεγομένῳ ἀθρόον τούτοις ἐπίθετο, ὃ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν εἴληφεν διὰ τὸ τῆς Ἀργοῦς πλωτήρων ἐκεῖσε διερχομένων αὐτόθεν ἀνίδρυσαν ἱερόν.
➤ Περὶ οἰκισμῶν of *Excerpta Const.*?

ANALYSIS OF THE EVIDENCE

1) Ps-Sym and TC VI+Log B (Istrin) have 17 glosses on geographical names in common. There are 10 additional glosses in Ps-Sym which do not appear in TC VI nor in Log B (Istrin): five of these glosses refer to names mentioned in the narrative of both Ps-Sym and TC VI+Log B (Istrin), but the other five refer to names which do not appear in any of the three works.

2) The difference in the sequence of the 17 common glosses in Ps-Sym from that in TC VI+Log B (Istrin) is due to their insertion in different places in the two texts, for Ps-Sym inserts many glosses without any connection in the text, especially in passage III. A special case is represented by the first two glosses which Ps-Sym inserts at the very beginning of the book on Basil I (passage I). If we consider this circumstance, the sequence order of both lists is not so different as it would at first appear.

This situation can be represented by the following table, where I have put in bold the names which appear in the same order in both lists, and I have added an asterisk to those glosses of Ps-Sym which are inserted into his text without any connection to the narrative. I distribute the glosses of Ps-Sym in three groups according to their correspondence—or not—with TC VI+Log B (Istrin) and their connection to the narrative.

Glosses of Ps-Sym (listed and numbered according to their order of appearance in the text)	Glosses of TC VI+Log B (Istrin) (listed according to order of appearance in Ps-Sym, but numbered according to their order in TC VI+Log B)
Group A	
1. **Adrianople**	10. **Adrianople**
2 + 2 bis. **Haimos**	11. **Haimos**
3. Tripolitans	1. Tripolitans
4. **Aegean Sea**	3. **Aegean Sea**
5. **Strobilos**	4. **Strobilos**
6. **Lampsakos**	6. **Lampsakos**
7. **Imbros**	7. **Imbros**

8. Hellespont	2. Hellespont
9. Kibyrra	5. Kibyrra
———	———
10. **Thasos**	8. **Thasos**
11. **Samothrake**	9. **Samothrake**
———	———
14. ***Mesembria**	12. **Mesembria**
18. ***Nikopolis**	13. **Nikopolis**
———	———
19 + 19bis. *Hieron	17. Hieron
20 + 20bis. *Pharos	15. Pharos
21 + 21bis. *Rhos	14. Rhos
27. Euxine Pontus	16. Euxine Pontus

Group B	
12. *Laodikeia 15. *Medeia 16. *Selymbria 17. *Amathia 22. *Trikephalos	These place-names are not found in TC VI+Log B (Istrin)

Group C	
13. Tenedos 23. *Rhadenos 24 + 24 bis. Chrysopolis 25. Chalkedon 26. Damalis	These place-names occur in TC VI+Log B (Istrin), but there are no glosses on them.

3) TC VI and Log B (Istrin) have exactly the same number of glosses and all of them are inserted into their texts in the same way and with the same wording. It is evident that they represent the same branch of textual tradition, whereas Ps-Sym is based on a different branch, for he has more glosses and, more importantly, the glosses common to both him and TC VI+Log B (Istrin) present a different wording and are inserted into the text in other passages, or in the wrong place in a passage. This is particularly true for glosses nos. 12 and 14–23 of Ps-Sym, all in passage III, which are inserted in the text several pages before the names which they explain occur in the narrative. Most of these glosses are, however, inserted in their proper place in the narrative of TC VI+Log B (Istrin).

4) There is a further group of 5 glosses in Ps-Sym (Group B) that refer to geographical names which are not mentioned at all in the narrative, neither in the place where the gloss is inserted nor anywhere else in the chronicle: 12 Laodikeia, 15 Medeia, 16 Selymbria, 17 Amathia and 22 Trikephalos. The explanation for this is surely to be sought in the source used by Ps-Sym, which appears to have been the same as that used by TC VI+Log B (Istrin), for all three versions add a very similar set of glosses to the original text of the chronicle of Log A, where there is no trace of them. All these glosses are also absent from Vat. gr. 163, which preserves a version of the text different from that transmitted by TC VI+Log B (Istrin).

5) All the glosses refer to geographical names (cities, islands, seas, mountains etc.) except for Ps-Sym nos. 3 and 21, which refer to peoples (Tripolitans and Rhos), and Ps-Sym no. 23, which explains a family name (Rhadenos). Nearly all the glosses follow the same pattern, giving an etymological explanation of given names, usually derived from eponymous persons and historical events connected with them. This is common procedure in geographical repertoires, as in Stephen of Byzantium, and also, more pertinently, in works of the imperial circle of Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos. Indeed, we have found a correspondence for some of the glosses in the *De thematibus*, either quoted in full, as in the case of Nikopolis (Europa 8) and Damalis (Europa 12, with the poem), or implicitly, as in the case of Mesembria + Selymbria (Europa 1) and Kibyrra (Asia 14). There are a few more correspondences in other contemporary works, which we have indicated with arrowheads in the table above. This small sample may not appear sufficient to prove a connection of the glosses with Constantine's circle, but we must not forget that Constantine's dossiers are lost and that works based on them, such as the *De thematibus*, used only a tiny part of the vast material assembled. It its therefore significant that most of the glosses collected here deal with the foundation of cities, as reflected also in the vocabulary used (numbering according to the list for Ps-Sym):

Tripolitans 3: ἀποίκων
Lampsakos 6: θεμελιούντων
Samothrake 11: κατοίκων
Laodikeia 12: ἔκτισε
Mesembria 14: οἰκίσαντος
Selymbria 16: ᾤκισεν
Hieron 19 and 19bis: ἀνίδρυται, ἀνιδρύσαι
Pharos 20 and 20bis: ἀνιδρυμάτιον, ἀφίδρυμα
Chalkedon 25: κτισάσης

The foundation of cities was the subject of the volume *De fundationibus* (Περὶ οἰκισμῶν) to which we have referred in the table in cases where no correspondence of the gloss in TC VI was to be found. In itself, this is perhaps not enough evidence to postulate that the list of geographical glosses is connected with the redaction of the Constantinian dossier of *Excerpta historica*. But the connection has already been proven in the case of the first books of TC VI, where occasional use was made of citations taken from the volumes of the Constantinian excerpts[13].

INFERENCES AND WORKING HYPOTHESES

Based on this evidence we can make the following inferences and advance some hypotheses.

1) The first question to consider is the reason why Ps-Sym grouped together in passage III many glosses which TC VI and Log B (Istrin) inserted into the appropriate passages.

Aubrey Diller has suggested that the dossier of Ps-Sym in passage III, what he called "the great series of notices" was original, whereas the archetype of TC VI and Log B (Istrin) tried to make sense of it and "found places for some of them (i.e. the notices) further on in the chronicle", although "most of them remained quite irrelevant and were either omitted or accommodated by making a place for them". Moreover, he even suggested that the improbable route followed by the Byzantine admiral Himerios in order to face the attack of Leo of Tripoli, as described in TC VI (367.5–22), was "forged … in order to serve as a scaffold for part of the intractable historical notices in the great series in

[13] J. Signes Codoñer, The author of Theophanes Continuatus I–IV and the Historical Excerpts of Constantine VII Prophyrogenitus, in: Investigatio Fontium II. Griechische und lateinische Quellen mit Erläuterungen, ed. L. Horváth – E. Juhász (*Antiquitas – Byzantium – Renacentia* 30). Budapest 2017, 17–42.

Ps-Symeon 705–705"[14]. Both assumptions, however, imply that the author of the archetype of TC VI and Log B (Istrin) not only tried to make sense of—or put to intelligent use—the collection of random glosses of passage III (instead of getting rid of them!), but that he was even convinced that they were conceived for an underlying, lost narrative he tried to reconstruct. This is certainly a strange way of making sense of a dossier of glosses, but the main point is that he was successful in finding a place for some glosses in the later narrative. And this is to be explained not by a stroke of luck or as the result of his perseverance (the probability calculus is clearly against this), but because the glosses were in fact listed with the purpose of commenting on the geographical names that popped up in the chronicle, as the case of Rhadenos (no. 22 in Ps-Sym) clearly proves. Thus, the compiler of Log B did not look for a place to a random set of glosses, but rather, he inserted them in the right place, whereas Ps-Sym did not. Diller's interpretation is to be rejected.

On the other hand, the supposition that Ps-Sym is based on a text similar to the one transmitted by TC VI and Log B (Istrin) appears unlikely, for in that case we should assume that Ps-Sym first looked for geographical glosses further on in the text, then purposely extracted them from their corresponding passages and finally put them together in a separate list, inserting it into his narrative without any kind of explanation or introduction. This procedure does not work for several reasons. To begin with, there are geographical glosses in Ps-Sym's list that do not appear in TC VI and Log B (Istrin), namely nos. 12, 15, 17, and 22. Moreover, it is not only that the glosses, as copied in TC VI and Log B (Istrin), are not marked as such in their narratives (making it difficult to find them), but also that a separate list of geographical glosses, as transmitted in passage III in Ps-Sym, would have made sense if it had been copied separately, as a kind of dossier, as happens in many manuscripts, whereby coherence is not required, since antiquarian interest suffices to explain their compilation. This is, however, not the case, for the first geographical gloss, referring to the Tripolitans, is directly related to their mention in the passage, whereas those which immediately follow, mentioning the Aegean, Strobilos, Imbros and Hellespont, also have a connection with the expedition of Leo of Tripoli and are each introduced with forms like ὡσαύτως, ὁμοίως or a simple καί, betraying the copyist's intention to produce some kind of sequence. The other glosses, however, refer to names which do not appear at this point of the narrative and are copied after a simple δὲ or even without any connecting particle. If it was an autonomous list that the author or copyist of the text intended to produce, he would have marked it as such from the beginning.

The fact that the text of the Parisinus 1712, f. 258v has the names of the glossed terms copied in the margin, in contrast with the manuscripts of TC VI and Log B (Istrin) where the glosses are not marked, also requires explanation. This might appear to be evidence of some kind of autonomous dossier or list of geographical names. However, the copyist of the Parisinus could have marked the terms as glosses in the margin when he detected the catalogue-like nature of the passage, or, alternatively, Ps-Sym could have copied them from his source, if this was already a dossier. This appears to me the most plausible explanation, for it would explain the strange procedure of Ps-Sym who started copying glosses on the terms mentioned in his narrative and then went on to produce a list of geographical glosses detached from the original textual context which had triggered their composition, without producing any coherent digression or dossier. It seems that Ps-Sym copied the list, uncritically and probably without much change, from a source other than the main historical source he used for his chronicle, that is, a version of the Logothete chronicle other than TC VI and Log B (Istrin). This list, then, had not already been inserted in the text of Ps-Sym's source at the point of the narrative where he copied it when mentioning Himerios' sea route through the Aegean to reach the fleet of Leo of Tripolis. Rather, this list—containing all 21 glosses of Ps-Sym for passage III, as well

[14] Diller, Excerpts 244.

as the other 6 glosses he inserted in the appropriate passages—must have been copied on a separate sheet added to the quires in which the version of the Logothete chronicle was copied and which Ps-Sym used as his source.

2) Why was this list made in the first place? Considering the learned content of the glosses and the requirements of antique historiography which we mentioned earlier, it appears that the list might have been made with the purpose of embellishing the bald narrative of the Log A chronicle. We might surmise that a person, perhaps related to Constantine's circle (see below no. 4) was charged to draw up from the narrative a list of proper names amenable to learned comments and to explain them with the corresponding historical glosses. He did so, copied the list on a sheet and probably marked with symbols in the text of the Logothete chronicle which Ps-Sym was using as his source the geographical or historical names where the corresponding glosses should be inserted. This resembles the three-stage procedure András Németh has established for the compilation of the Constantinian excerpts. Németh rules out for the *Excerpta Constantiniana* the direct transfer of notices from the source manuscripts to the final copies and assumes the intermission of a work phase where drafts were produced in which the original passage was adjusted into the form of the final excerpt[15].

Therefore, the idea advanced by Romilly Jenkins, that the notices or glosses were taken directly by Ps-Sym, TC VI and Log B (Istrin) from "a separate hand-book, an archaeological catalogue of names" is to be rejected. It makes no sense, for all the glosses shared by our authors refer to the narrative, that is, were collected specifically for their text and copied in the order in which the geographical (and also the personal names such as Rhadenos) appeared in the chronicle[16]. The same goes for Diller, who correctly pointed to the existence of various sources for the notices[17], but apparently did not consider any intermediary phase or draft between the sources and the texts of our authors.

In any case, Ps-Sym did not do a very good job when inserting the glosses from the draft into the narrative. He did not just copy from the list the glosses on the names of the islands and coastal cities of the Aegean where Himerios' fleet landed on his expedition against Leo of Tripolis, but he continued copying further glosses from the list which should have been inserted at a later stage of his chronicle. That is, he was not attentive to the content and did not realize that most of the names on the list belonged to other passages. One possible explanation for this apparent lack of attention is that Ps-Sym's chronicle was the product of teamwork.

3) If we accept this hypothesis, other peculiarities of the glosses of Ps-Sym can be more easily explained. First, the glosses on geographical names that do not appear in the text, either in passage III or later on in the chronicle, can be explained by their inclusion in the separate list. It is easily conceivable that whoever drew up the list of geographical glosses for the text of Logothete A added some extra names which were related to the ones mentioned in the narrative of the chronicle, for instance the reference to Selymbria (no. 16 of Ps-Sym, not mentioned in the chronicle) on account of its ety-

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[15] Németh, The Excerpta chapter 3, pp. 88–120. For collections of excerpts see also P. Manafis, Collections of historical excerpts: Accumulation, selection and transmission of history in Byzantium (Doctoral Thesis). Gent 2018. Manafis has written a review of Németh's book in *The Medieval Review* 19.06.04, online: https://scholarworks.iu.edu/journals/index.php/tmr/article/view/27409 (accessed 07.01.2020).

[16] R.J.H. Jenkins, The supposed Russian attack on Constantinople in 907: evidence of the Pseudo-Symeon. *Speculum* 24 (1949) 403–406, here 405. Jenkins suggested that a lost story of the Russian attack on Constantinople lay behind some of the names listed by Ps-Sym in passage III, namely nr. 14–22. But he did not notice that most of these names appeared in the later narrative of TC VI in connexion with events that had nothing to do with the Russian attack. However, he could be right in suggesting that the mention of Trikephalos in nr. 22 "may indicate that the invaders, as in 941, gained a footing also in Bithynia".

[17] Diller, Excerpts 405.

mological connection to Mesembria; or the name of a mountain such as Trikephalos in Opsikion (no. 22 of Ps-Sym, also not mentioned in his chronicle) on account of its relation to other mountains beside the Hellespont (Haimos in nos. 2 and 2bis of Ps-Sym)[18]. In other cases, we might posit that the compiler of the list used a (more detailed?) version of the chronicle which differed from Ps-Sym's final text, or that he expanded the list with references found in other sources. For instance, the fact that Laodikeia (no. 12 of Ps-Sym) is mentioned in the *De cerimoniis* in the context of the Himerios' expedition might possibly explain its presence in the list.

In any case, it was up to the compiler to select from the list the glosses to be inserted at the relevant places in the narrative. Whereas TC VI and Log B (or their common source) did a fine job, Ps-Sym did not, but inserted glosses in passages to which they had no direct relation.

There are also other problems in the text of Ps-Sym which are easily explained by this hypothesis and thus corroborate it. As we have seen, there are glosses in Ps-Sym to names that only appear in TC VI and Log B (Istrin): Mesembria and Nikopolis each get a gloss in Ps-Sym (nos. 14 and 18) though they are not mentioned in his text, for the later passage where they were mentioned was either suppressed by Ps-Sym or else retained but without reference to the name. It is only because we have both names in TC VI and Log B (Istrin) in passages VII and VIII that we understand why Ps-Sym inserted two glosses on these two cities that receive no mention at all in his text.

There are also some proper names which have glosses in Ps-Sym but are mentioned without any comment in TC VI and Log B (Istrin), for instance Chrysopolis, Chalkedon and Damalis (passage V) or Rhadenos (passage VI). TC VI and Log B (Istrin) simply did not insert any gloss in these passages from the existing list because they forgot to do so or they thought it unnecessary.

In other cases, glosses inserted in passage III of Ps-Sym are repeated, occasionally with different wording or complementary information, when the pertinent geographical name appears again later in the text (nos. 19bis, 20bis and 21bis). This would appear to indicate that the compiler (or the copyist!) resorted again to the list of geographical glosses, forgetting that he had already inserted these same glosses before. This repetition would be more easily understood if the text was compiled by several hands.

4) In view of the previous considerations it is safe to conclude that Ps-Sym worked on a version of the Log A chronicle which was used as a working copy for creating a new version of the text and was expanded with new sources and materials, such as our list of geographical glosses. Considering the learned content of the glosses, their connection with Constantine's historical team seems very likely. Whether this occurred during Constantine's reign after the banishment of Romanos I (945–959) or even after his death by some of his partisans (for instance, Basil Lekapenos) is for the moment impossible to ascertain through the evidence at hand (see below). But the fact that Genesios, who dedicated his history to Constantine VII, used a very similar set of geographical glosses, listed by Aubrey Diller[19], would suggest that he had a common background with the authors of the revised version of the Logothete. Diller also remarked that Ps-Sym and Genesios share three geographical glosses inserted in the narrative of the reigns of Michael II and Theophilos[20], which makes the connection of Logothete B and Ps-Sym with the Palace team and dossiers all the more probable.

However, it appears that this working copy of Log A was also used by others. The list of glosses was inserted into the text by the copyist of Log B (Istrin), who revised the text of Log A but did not continue it, for it stops at 948, with Romanos I's death (four years after his overthrow in 944). TC VI is based on a version of this text, for, as we have said, the glosses are inserted in exactly the

[18] See however supra note 17 for Jenkins's suggestion.
[19] Diller, Excerpts 246–248.
[20] Diller, Excerpts 246.

same passages and with the same wording as in Log B (Istrin), unlike the case of Ps-Sym. But TC VI continued the chronicle down to the death of Romanos II in 963, and for this he necessarily used a complementary source. The tradition represented by Vat. gr. 163 could have been this source, for it contains an extended version of Log B that ends in 963. However, as Vat. gr. 163 does not contain any of the glosses, its tradition could not have provided the model for TC VI for the period 886–948. If we connect the text of TC VI with the branch represented by Vat. gr. 163 for the period 944–963, then the possibility of contamination must be examined, unless we suppose that the continuation for 944–963 was transmitted independently of the previous version of Log B, which would require further evidence.

On the other hand, as the text of Ps-Sym also ends in 963 and preserves the Continuatio, a question immediately arises: if Ps-Sym used his source *before* the glosses were properly inserted in their context, a task performed by the branch of the tradition represented by Log B (Istrin) and TC VI, how could it be that Log B (Istrin) ends in 948? Obviously, had the copyist of Log B (Istrin) used a source containing the Continuatio, he would have copied it, but this was not the case. This leaves no other apparent option than to suppose that the copyist of Ps-Sym copied from its source *after* the glosses had been incorporated in the model of Log B (Istrin), when no Continuatio for the period 944–963 was yet written. This would mean that both Log B (Istrin) and Ps-Sym consulted the same source with the glosses written on a separate sheet, but used them in a different way.

Ps-Sym has occasional material found only in his text[21], a circumstance which, along with the heavily abbreviated nature of his text, puts the chronicle at the very end of the transmission process. But Ps-Sym also contains some passages, even for the period before 948, common to him and TC VI but unknown to Log B (Istrin)[22], which again speaks for contamination in TC VI, as we have established that TC VI depended on the tradition of Log B (Istrin) for the period 886–948.

The model of Vat gr. 163 which brings the chronicle down to 963 will have been copied from the same source as Ps-Sym. and Log. B, probably also *after* the model of Log B (Istrin) and Ps-Sym had incorporated the glosses. There are two main reasons for this supposition:

1) because Vat. gr. 163 has no trace of the glosses (either because the copyist did not use the list on the separate sheet or because this list had been lost);

2) because the Continuatio of Vat gr. 163 is much more detailed than that of Ps-Sym (and coincidental with the one of TC VI), and it seems unlikely that even so a clumsy and hasty compiler as Ps-Sym did not use much of the historical material collected in Vat. gr. 167.

To be sure, we are here entering slippery territory, for we would need examples to demonstrate the differences in the text of Continuatio between TC VI (= Vat. gr. 167), Vat. gr. 163 and Ps-Sym (= Paris. gr. 1712), and this would require much more space and time than we have in the present article. The fact, however, that Ps-Sym has the shortest version of the Continuatio, Vat gr. 163 a more detailed one and Vat. gr. 167 the longest, speaks at first sight for a process of increasing expansion of their common source. This common source appears to have been a kind of dossier, a working copy based on Log A (or perhaps on the dossier made for the composition of Log A?) that we might call the "Old Logothete dossier" (OLD), which would have incorporated a heterogeneous array of texts conceived as an amplification of the original narrative, such as:

1) the list of geographical glosses, used by Log B (Istrin), TC VI and Ps-Sym;

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[21] See for instance Ps-Sym 703.6–7, 713.13–715.6, 775.5–10 or 755.20–22.

[22] Ps-Sym 716.8–14 = TC 378.10–17 (with explicit and laudatory mention of Emperor Nikephoros II and accordingly written post 963) or Ps-Sym 740.4–10 = TC 411.17–412.2.

2) ceremonial reports and notices about the buildings of the Palace, taken from Constantine's dossiers and mainly used for the composition of TC VI, probably at the time of Basil Lakapenos, as already demonstrated by Michael Featherstone[23];

3) notices of events for the period of 948–963, unknown to Log B (Istrin), but used by Ps-Sym, Vat. gr. 163 and TC VI to different degrees for the *Continuatio*.

If OLD was used by both TC VI and Ps-Sym this would also eliminate the need to postulate contamination in the case of Ps-Sym for the period of 912–963 as it is already proved that Ps-Sym used both TC VI and Genesios as a source for the period of 815–886. If our hypothesis is correct, Ps-Sym would have used OLD as a source rather than TC VI itself for the later part of his chronicle. But then, it must be explained why certain passages common to TC VI and Ps-Sym do not appear in Log B (Istrin) or Vat. gr. 163, which seem also to be derived from OLD. Would successive additions to OLD explain the differences?

PERSPECTIVES AND RISKS

It is quite a complicated panorama that emerges from all these considerations which will be fully understood only after the corresponding critical editions have been completed. But it appears that concepts such as "dossier" and "contamination"[24] play a fundamental role in every attempt to draw a stemma of the textual tradition of Logothete B. This is the reason why I think that Wahlgren's stemma for the Logothete B must be revised, for it does not consider either of these concepts which are crucial to the understanding of the dynamics of the composition[25]. In fact, Wahlgren postulates a common archetype for all the witnesses of Log B—that is, Log B (Istrin+Holkham), TC VI and Vat gr. 163—except for Ps-Sym, but this leaves unexplained both the absence of the glosses in Vat. gr. 163 and of the Continuatio in Log B (Istrin+Holkham).

"Dossiers" have been frequently denied as the working method of the Imperial court during the reign of Constantine VII. Recently Warren Treadgold, who tends to reduce the lost copies of historians to a minimum[26], has even questioned the existence of such dossiers on account of the cost of writing materials[27]. Hopefully, the recent book of A. Németh will definitively put an end to such doubts, for he establishes with a high degree of certainty the working method of the imperial literary circle mainly on the basis of the compilation of the Constantinian excerpts, although his conclusions also apply to other works, such as the *Suda*, TC VI and Genesios.

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[23] M. Featherstone, Theophanes Continuatus VI and De cerimoniis I,96. *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 104 (2011) 115–123; M. Featherstone, Theophanes Continuatus: a history for the Palace, in: La face cachée de la littérature byzantine. Le text en tant que message immédiat, ed. P. Odorico (*Dossiers byzantins* 11). Paris 2012, 123–135; M. Featherstone, Basileios Nothos as compiler: The De cerimoniis and Theophanes Continuatus, in: Textual Transmission in Byzantium: between Textual Criticism and Quellenforschung, ed. J. Signes Codoñer – I. Pérez Martín (*Lectio. Studies in the transmission of texts and ideas* 2). Turnhout 2014, 353–372; M. Featherstone, Further evidence for the extent of missing folia in Vat. gr. 167 at the end of Theophanes Continuatus, in: Scritti per Mgr. Paul Canart. Vatican State 2020 (in press).

[24] I use here the term 'contamination' without any negative connotation to refer to the conflation of readings between different branches of a given work, probably as a result of teamwork or combined use of sources and versions of the same text. The traditional concept of archetype, from which the tradition deviates, does not apply here, for the historical texts were subject to changes and additions that meant an improvement of the original in the eyes of the writers or copyists.

[25] Wahlgren, Symeonis Magistri (see n. 8), 139*.

[26] See my review of W. Treadgold, The Middle Byzantine Historians. Houndmills. Basingstoke 2013. in *JÖB* 66 (2017) 222–226.

[27] W. Treadgold, The lost Secret History of Nicetas the Paphlagonian, in: The steppe lands and the world beyond them. Studies in honor of Victor Spinei on his 70th birthday, ed. F. Curta – B.P. Maleon. Iasi 2013, 645–676, here 666–667, quoted with approval by C. Zuckerman, Emperor Theophilos and Theophobos in three tenth-century chronicles: discovering the 'common source', *REB* 75 (2017) 101–150, here 103–104.

"Contamination", on the other hand, would appear to be the inescapable conclusion of teamwork and the confection of dossiers, where the fine dividing line between direct and indirect transmission is blurred. The fact that Log A presents a homogeneous tradition despite the many manuscripts transmitting this version[28], whereas the Logothete B complex—including TC and Ps-Symeon—is transmitted in a handful of manuscripts with enormous variations in content is to be explained, I think, by contamination between the few different versions produced in the Palace milieu during a short time span and as result of a teamwork. The search for authors in the Logothete B complex seems an impossible mission.

Certainly, there have been abuses in the previous usage of the concepts of "dossier" and "contamination", especially in the later works of Paul Speck, who nevertheless produced very innovative research in his first publications. But it is time to find a balanced approach and allow both concepts a permanent place in the editions of the Macedonian period, especially for those texts produced at court in a period which has been given various names—at present the concept of "sylloge culture" as advanced by Paolo Odorico has gained some ground[29]—, but which is certainly defined to a great extent by the compilation and excerpting of sources of every kind.

Establishing the exact relationship of the various versions of the Logothete B complex cannot be achieved solely through the detailed study of variant readings, which to a great extent occupy the careful and detailed introduction of Wahlgren in his edition of Log A. Other aspects must also be taken into consideration, which will help us to understand the interests of the copyists-authors and their working methods. In particular, it seems essential to consider structures and to identify the thematic units that make up the chronicle, that is, the chapters and paragraphs into which the narrative is usually divided in our editions, for these are the working units of the compilers and explain the exchanges in the collected dossiers. M. Featherstone and I shall pay much attention to this aspect in our future edition of TC VI. A single edition of all the versions of Log B would undoubtedly put the process of composition of these versions in the shade.

There is also risk in comparing isolated passages and drawing conclusions from them without careful examination of the whole complex. In a recent study C. Zuckerman has compared four unrelated passages of TC VI, Genesios and Ps-Sym and concluded, wrongly in my view, that Ps-Sym had direct access to the common source of TC VI and Genesios for the books I–IV. The textual evidence supporting his views is based on mistakes in Ps-Sym in consequence of his combination of the narratives of Genesios and TC VI, whose wording he follows closely without adding any new information[30]. It is a preconception of what actually happened that guides Zuckerman's analysis of the texts[31].

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[28] However, as Diller, Excerpts 243, already noticed, Parisinus gr. 854 (*Diktyon* 67485), a witness of Logothete A, contains the geographical gloss on the city of Adrianople which we included above in the table with no. 1. This gloss, which apparently does not appear in any other manuscript of Logothete A, is reproduced by Wahlgren, Symeonis Magistri in his apparatus criticus on page 260, although he does not refer to the problem in his introduction. For the value of Parisinus gr. 854 see also D. Serruys, Recherches sur l'Épitomé (Théodose de Mélitène, Léon le Grammarien, Syméon Logothète etc.). *BZ* 16 (1907) 1.51, with reference to the gloss on Adrianople at p. 14. For editions of the manuscript see Wahlgren, Symeonis Magistri 132*–133*.

[29] See Németh, The Excerpta 13–14.

[30] For instance, Ps-Sym 627.3–4 states that the Persian Babek was the husband of a Constantinopolitan wife who gave birth to Theophobos. In fact, Theophobos's father was a noble Persian known to the Persian rebels led by Babek. On this subject, Zuckerman, who considers Ps-Sym closer to the common source, states only (p. 118) "Curiously, his late father of royal race is identified as Babak in person".

[31] As there is no space here to refute in detail some of his arguments, I simply refer to J. Signes Codoñer, El periodo del segundo iconoclasmo en Theophanes Continuatus: análisis y comentario de los tres primeros libros de la crónica. Amsterdam 1995, where a systematic comparison of both works, especially concerning the episode of Theophobos, is carried out. Zuckerman does not discuss in his article the arguments presented there.

Similarly, we should try here to avoid generalizations from the above statements, for the use of sources in the various versions of the Logothete B complex may change from one section to the next, according to the needs of the redactors and the work in progress. What I propose here is a reconsideration of the methodological basis on which the study of these chronicles has until now been carried out, in order that systematic consideration of teamwork, compilation of dossiers, "contamination" and, not least, historical context should be the rule along with text-critical analysis of variant readings. More contributions will follow in which we shall try to shed more light on the Log B complex, considering aspects such as the changing sequence of episodes, the chronological frame, levels of language, and, not least, the connection of passages added in some versions to the historical context and particular interests of the commissioner, precisely the line followed by Michael Featherstone in several publications[32]. Hopefully, the overall picture gained at the end will confirm the provisory conclusions advanced in the present article.

[32] Besides the articles mentioned above, see now M. Featherstone, Iterum Theophanes Continuatus VI, in: Constantinople: Queen of Cities. Festschrift for Paul Magdalino, ed. D. Smythe – Sh. Tougher. Leiden (in press), who notes the relevance of the Kourkouas family has in several episodes added to the narrative of TC VI and connects this with the importance the family had as a supporter of Emperor Nikephoros II, during whose reign the dossier of TC VI was most probably compiled by order of Basileios Lakapenos.

JAHRBUCH DER ÖSTERREICHISCHEN BYZANTINISTIK, 69. Band/2019, 323–333
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DOI: 10.1553/joeb69S323

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Symeon the Logothete and Theophanes continuatus

Abstract: The chief aim of this paper is to clarify some points relevant to a new edition of the so-called Version B of the Chronicle of Symeon the Logothete. The genealogical relationship between Symeon's chronicle, Version B, and the so-called Theophanes continuatus (the ms. Vat. gr. 167) is analysed, and the different stages in the development of the tradition are described, particularly in terms of how consecutive layers of text are added. Furthermore, contamination between Version B/Theophanes continuatus and the Chronicle of Pseudo-Symeon is discussed.

Keywords: Symeon the Logothete, Logothete Chronicle, Theophanes continuatus, Byzantine Manuscripts, Text Transmission

The medieval world chronicle constitutes a literary genre in which new manuscripts of existing works are produced with little respect for the sources from which they are copied: segments of text are often—but by no means always—added or subtracted, stylistic changes are made, and new versions—indeed, new works—are created. In other words, it is a genre which abounds in what textual critics call *open traditions*.

A typical example of an open tradition is that of the *Chronicle* of Symeon Magistros and Logothetes, a work which tells the history of the world from the Creation down to the summer of AD 948 and ends with the death and burial of Emperor Romanos I Lekapenos[1]. About thirty manuscripts transmit this history in a relatively unified form: although they often differ from each other, they have so much in common that, as I endeavoured to do in my edition (see n. 1), their common ancestor can be reconstructed with a fair degree of certainty. This main form of the *Chronicle* has been referred to as Version A[2].

Other manuscripts contain versions of the text, or continuations past the date of 948. The purpose of this paper is to clarify some points about different varieties of the *Chronicle*, so as to pave the way for future editions. In particular, we will discuss the so-called Version B of the *Chronicle* of the Logothete and how it is related to the so-called Theophanes continuatus, and we will pay some attention to the *Chronicle* of Pseudo-Symeon—texts all dependent upon the main form of the Logothete.

VERSION B OF THE CHRONICLE OF THE LOGOTHETE

This is the name conventionally given to a version of the *Chronicle* of the Logothete, a version edited by Istrin, albeit not in a satisfactory manner: His edition is based on a single manuscript (the Vaticanus gr. 153, the copy of a still existing, although severely mutilated, manuscript) and is generally sloppy and lacking the necessary knowledge of the tradition[3].

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[1] Ed. St. Wahlgren, Symeonis Magistri et Logothetae Chronicon [*CFHB* 44, 1]. Berlin – New York 2006. The reader is referred to this edition for background reading and bibliography.

[2] A somewhat improper denomination, one might think, since it would seem more logical to reserve the term *version* for a text which is the converted form of another. In German, Version A has been referred to as the *Urtext*/*ursprüngliche*(*re*) *Fassung*.

[3] Ed. V. M. Istrin, Prodolženie chroniki Georgia Hamartola po Vatikanskomu spisku 153. Petrograd 1922. The text will be re-edited by me, and this paper is part of the preparations for this undertaking.

A list of the relevant manuscripts reads as follows[4]:

Chicago Univ. libr. 47 (Gr. 3), a. 1785 (*Diktyon* 12978) (a copy of parts of Vat. gr. 153)
Holkhamensis gr. 61, s. XV (*Diktyon* 48129) (a copy of Vindob. hist. gr. 40)
Parisinus suppl. gr. 665, s. XV (*Diktyon* 53400) (a ms. closely related to Vat. gr. 163)[5]
Vaticanus gr. 153, s. XIII (*Diktyon* 66784) (this is the ms. used by Istrin; a copy of Vindob. hist. gr. 40)
Vaticanus gr. 163, s. XIII–XIV (*Diktyon* 66794)
Vaticanus Palat. gr. 86, s. XVI (*Diktyon* 65819) (a copy of Vat. gr. 163)
Vindobonensis hist. gr. 40, s. XI (*Diktyon* 70917) (a ms. which is not well preserved: the text ends in the reign of Basil I, while the copies made from it came into being before it was mutilated)

For the period from the year 886 (the inception of the reign of Leo VI), the following should be added:
Vaticanus gr. 167, s. XI[6] (*Diktyon* 66798)
Vat. gr. 167 is the manuscript published as Theophanes continuatus, for which see further details below.

The text of Istrin, Prodolženie, covers the period of time from 842 until 948, that is, from the inception of the reign of Michael III to the burial of Romanos I. The chronological limits are set by the content of the manuscript employed (Vat. gr. 153), a manuscript which, before 842, contains the *Chronicle* of George the Monk.

To clarify some points about the transmission of this Version B and its chief characteristics, I suggest dividing the text into the following main parts:

1. 842–886 (Michael III–Basil I)
Main MSS: Vat. gr. 163; Vindob. hist. gr. 40 (with copies, a.o. Vat. gr. 153, and copies of copies).
This is a text/set of texts, in which the main manuscripts very often diverge from each other and, when this is the case, have to be edited separately[7].

2. 886–913 (Leo VI–Alexander)
Main MSS: Vat. gr. 163; the copies (such as Vat. gr. 153) of Vindob. hist. gr. 40 (which has been mutilated and does not transmit this part of the work); Vat. gr. 167 (= Theophanes continuatus).
This is a reformulated version of Symeon's *Chronicle*, upon which there are layers of additions.

3. 913–948 (The Regency Council–Romanos I–Constantine VII)
Main MSS: the same as in section 2.
This is, essentially, nothing but Symeon's *Chronicle*, upon which there are layers of additions.

The rationale of this division is partly that the textual basis shifts, in terms of manuscripts transmitting the work, and partly that there are some chief characteristics which differ from one part of the

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[4] To the manuscripts listed here should be added: Ed. V. M. Istrin, Knigy vremennyja obraznyja Georgija Mnicha: chronika Georgija Amartola v drevnem slavjanorusskom perevode: tekst, izsledovanie i slovar, 1–3. Petrograd 1920–1930. Cf. F. Scholz, Die Chronik des Georgios Hamartolos. In altslavischer Übersetzung hrsg. von V. M. Istrin, mit einer Einleitung und bibliographischen Hinweisen von F. Scholz, 1–3. Munich 1972. I shall discuss this Old Slavonic version in a separate paper (see, however, n. 15 below, a preliminary assessment of its stemmatical affiliations). Cf. Symeon (43*–46* Wahlgren).

[5] It is not likely that it could contribute to the reconstruction of the B-text, and it is not used in this paper.

[6] Of which there are apographs, see Vita Basilii (17*–31* Ševčenko), and Theophanes continuatus I–IV (5*–9* Featherstone–Signes-Codoñer) (for full bibliographical references, see n. 10).

[7] The part dealing with the reign of Michael III in Vat. gr. 163 has already been edited once, by J. M. Featherstone, The Logothete Chronicle in Vat. gr. 163. *OCP* 64, 2 (1998) 419–434.

text to the others (such as, in part 2, the tendency to reformulate). To illustrate this in detail, we will take a look at preliminary editions of text taken from the different parts.

1. The Reigns of Michael III and Basil I

At the beginning of this part, the main manuscripts (the Vat. gr. 163 and the Vindob. hist. gr. 40) differ widely from each other. However, they soon converge—as can be seen if we read on until paragraph three[8]:

Μιχαὴλ καὶ Θεοδώρα[9]

§ **1**: B (= Vindob. hist. gr. 40) (i.e. deest vel aliter habet in C [Vat. gr. 163]): Μετὰ δὲ Θεόφιλον Μιχαὴλ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ διϊθύνειν καταλιμπάνεται σὺν μητρὶ Θεοδώρᾳ τὰ τῆς βασιλείας σκῆπτρα· καὶ ἐβασίλευσε σὺν τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ ἔτη τέσσαρα· καὶ μόνος ἔτη δέκα· καὶ σὺν Βασιλείῳ ἔτος ἓν καὶ μῆνας τέσσαρας.
οὗ τὰ τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς ὅ τε πατρίκιος Θεόκτιστος καὶ Μανουὴλ ὁ πρῶτος μαγίστρων ἠξίωνται· καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ πολύ· διαφθαρείσης γὰρ αὐτῶν τῆς ὁμονοίας κάτεισι μὲν Μανουὴλ ἐκ τοῦ παλατίου, ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν κινστέρναν χώροις τοῦ Ἄσπαρος τὴν οἴκησιν ἔχων, ἀποκαταστήσας τὸν ἑαυτοῦ οἶκον μοναστᾶις καταγώγιον· πλὴν ὡς συγκλητικὸς προήρχετο.

C (i.e. deest in B): Μιχαὴλ δὲ ὁ τούτου υἱὸς σὺν τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη δεκατέσσαρα.
τελευτῶν δὲ ὁ Θεόφιλος κατέλιπε φροντιστὰς καὶ ἐπιτρόπους τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ Θεοδώρας τόν τε Θεόκτιστον εὐνοῦχον καὶ τηνικαῦτα κανίκλειον καὶ λογοθέτην τοῦ δρόμου τυγχάνοντα· καὶ τὸν πατρίκιον Βάρδαν τὸν τῆς αὐγούστης ἀδελφόν· καὶ Μανουὴλ μάγιστρον ἐξ Ἀρμενίων καταγόμενον, ὃς καὶ θεῖος τῆς δεσποίνης ἀπὸ πατρὸς ὑπῆρχεν.

(here § 2 follows, omitted in this paper)
§ 3: B et C fere eundem textum exhibent

3 ἀποστέλλει δὲ κατὰ Κρήτης τὸν λογοθέτην Θεόκτιστον· ὃς στόλῳ πολλῷ καὶ στρατῷ βαρεῖ ἐκεῖ κατελθὼν τὰ πρῶτα μὲν τοὺς Ἀγαρηνοὺς κατεπτόησε τῇ τούτου στρατιᾷ μὴ δυναμένους ἀνταγωνίζεσθαι, ἔπειτα δὲ φεύγει αὐτός, μηδενὸς τοῦτον διώκοντος· φήμης γὰρ ἀνὰ τὸν στρατὸν γεγονυίας ὡς Θεοδώρα ἄλλον βασιλέα εἰς τὰ βασίλεια ἀνεβίβασεν, ἐκπλαγεὶς ἐπὶ τούτῳ γενόμενος πρύμναν ἐκρούσατο καὶ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἀνεστρέφετο, τὸν στρατὸν ἐν Κρήτῃ καταλιπὼν ἔργον μαχαίρας γενόμενον.

This somewhat odd phenomenon of divergence and then convergence, followed again by divergence, can be observed several times but is more common in the early stages. Later on (still in the part covering the years 842–886) there is more of a common text, recognisable as a somewhat reworked version of the Chronicle of the Logothete.

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[8] Paragraphs are added in accordance with Symeon (Wahlgren), to the chapter 131 of which the following corresponds. The apparatus is, for the time being, only concerned with similarities between Symeon the Logothete (= SLA), Pseudo-Symeon (= PS), and Theophanes continuatus (= ThCont). For an edition of Pseudo-Symeon see n. 10 and n. 17.

[9] **3–5** Μιχαὴλ – τέσσαρας: cf. PS 647.3–5 **6–9** οὗ – προήρχετο ≉ SLA PS **6–9** καὶ sec. – προήρχετο: cf. ThCont IV.18 **10** Μιχαὴλ – δεκατέσσαρα: cf. PS 647.3–5 **11–14** τελευτῶν – ὑπῆρχεν: cf. ThCont IV.1.3–8, ≉ SLA PS § 3: cf. PS 654.12–15 (ad quae cf. SLA 131, § 3–§4, l. 21)

2. The Reigns of Leo VI and Alexander (886–913): The Additional Evidence of Vat. gr. 167 (Theophanes continuatus)

In this part, it should first and foremost be noted that the textual basis is larger, since the Vat. gr. 167 also transmits more or less the same text. The Vat. gr. 167 is the famous manuscript transmitting the *Chronicle* of Theophanes followed by a continuation, commonly referred to as Theophanes continuatus.

The continuation of Theophanes is divided into larger sections, covering the time from 813 until 962. In recent times, the first of these sections, or books I–IV, have been edited by Featherstone–Signes-Codoñer, whereas book V, the biography of Emperor Basil I commonly referred to as the *Vita Basilii*, has been edited by Ševčenko[10]. Book VI, starting with the reign of Leo VI, is the section of interest to us, since it is part of the tradition of the *Chronicle* of the Logothete.

To return to Version B: from the beginning of the reign of Leo VI there is, more or less, one text only, transmitted by the same manuscripts (as for the years 842–886) *plus* Vat. gr. 167[11]. It is a text without the divergence and convergence that we observed above. Instead, it has two other, chief characteristics.

One is the tendency to add sentences or even larger segments. Since this tendency is also present in section three (dealing with the years 913–948), it will be discussed below.

The other tendency is to reformulate in a way which, probably, is typical of the times (this is, after all, the age of Symeon the Metaphrast)[12]. In order to illustrate how this works, we may look at the following, taken from the reign of Emperor Alexander:

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[10] Books I–IV: edition: Chronographiae quae Theophanis Continuati nomine fertur Libri I–IV, rec., anglice vert., indicibus instr. M. Featherstone et J. Signes-Codoñer (*CFHB* 53). Berlin – New York 2015. Book V: edition: Chronographiae quae Theophanis Continuati nomine fertur Liber quo Vita Basilii Imperatoris amplectitur, rec., anglice vert., indicibus instr. I. Ševčenko (*CFHB* 42). Berlin – New York 2011. An edition of book VI is in preparation by Featherstone and Signes-Codoñer. For an older, complete, edition see: Theophanes continuatus, Ioannes cameniata, Symeon magister, Georgius monachus, ed. I. Bekker (*CSHB* 33). Bonn 1838, 3–481.

[11] It should be noted that this is past the ending of the (now) mutilated Vindob. hist. gr. 40, and that this branch of the tradition is represented by its apographs, Vat. gr. 153 and Holkh. gr. 61.

[12] It has been claimed that Symeon the Chronicler and Symeon the Metaphrast were one and the same person (for references and a discussion, leaning towards a conclusion in the negative, see Symeon (3*–4* Wahlgren). Also, it has been claimed that Symeon the Chronicler wrote not only the more original chronicle but also Version B (so W. Treadgold, The Middle Byzantine Historians. Basingstoke – New York 2013). I do not want to open these discussions again, since I consider the whole matter too speculative and therefore unprofitable.

A-Text, Ch. 134: 2 ἀποστείλας δὲ ἤγαγε Νικόλαον ἐκ Γαλακρηνῶν, καταγαγὼν Εὐθύμιον πατριάρχην, καὶ ἐνεθρόνισε τὸ δεύτερον αὐτοῦ Νικόλαον. ἐποίησε δὲ σελέντιον καὶ σύνοδον Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν τῇ Μαναύρᾳ, ἀγαγὼν Εὐθύμιον ἐκ τοῦ Στενοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀγαθοῦ καὶ συγκαθίσας ἅμα Νικολάῳ πατριάρχῃ ἐποιήσαντο τὴν κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ καθαίρεσιν, ἀτίμως ἀποτίλλοντες τοῦ ἱεροπρεποῦς καὶ ἀξιαγάστου ἀνδρὸς τὴν τιμίαν γενειάδα καὶ ἄλλας τινὰς ὕβρεις καὶ ποινὰς αὐτῷ ἐπιφέροντες,

ἃς ἡσύχως καὶ πράως ὑπέμεινεν ὁ τίμιος καὶ ἱερὸς ἀνήρ. καὶ ὑπερωρίσθη πάλιν εἰς τὰ Ἀγαθοῦ, ἔνθα τελευτήσας κατατίθεται ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ μονῇ, ἐν τῇ πόλει, τῶν Ψαμαθίου.

3 οὗτος Ἀλέξανδρος διὰ τὰς ὑπονοίας, ἃς ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Λέων ἔτι ζῶν εἶχε κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ, ἀεὶ τοῖς κυνηγεσίοις καὶ τοῖς ἔξω παλατίοις ἐσχόλαζε, μηδὲν βασιλέως ἔργον διαπραττόμενος, ἀλλὰ διάγων ἐν τρυφαῖς καὶ ἀσελγείαις καὶ μέθαις καὶ περὶ ταῦτα ἀεὶ διακείμενος. ὅθεν ἄρξας αὐτὸς οὐδὲν γενναῖον εἰργάσατο, ἀλλὰ παρευθὺ Ἰωάννην παπᾶν, τὸ ἐπίκλην Λαζάρην, ῥαίκτορα πεποίηκεν, ὃς καὶ κακῶς τὸ ζῆν ἀπέρρηξε μετὰ θάνατον Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐν τῷ Ἑβδόμῳ σφαιρίζων.

B-Text: 2 ἀποστείλας δὲ ἤγαγε Νικόλαον ἐκ Γαλακρηνῶν, καταγαγὼν **τοῦ πατριαρχείου** Εὐθύμιον, καὶ ἐνεθρονίασε τὸν αὐτὸν Νικόλαον τὸ δεύτερον. ποιήσας δὲ σελέντιον ἐν τῇ Μανναύρᾳ Ἀλέξανδρος κατήγαγεν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀγαθοῦ τὸν Εὐθύμιον· καὶ ἅμα Νικολάῳ καθεσθεὶς τὴν αὐτοῦ καθαίρεσιν ἐποιήσαντο. εὐθὺς δὲ **ὥσπερ ἀνήμεροι θῆρες ἐμπεπηδηκότες** τοῦ ἱεροπρεποῦς ἀνδρὸς τὴν σεβασμίαν γενειάδα ἀπέτιλλον καὶ **ἐπιτράχηλον** ὤθουν καὶ ἄλλας ἀνυποίστους ποινὰς τούτῳ ἐπέφερον, ἐπιβάτην ἀποκαλοῦντες καὶ μοιχόν, καὶ **ἀλλοτρίᾳ ἐπιπηδήσαντα γυναικί.** ὁ δὲ ἱερὸς ἐκεῖνος ἀνὴρ καὶ αἰδέσιμος πράως πάντα καὶ ἡσύχως ὑπέφερεν. **ὑπερόριος οὖν** ἐν τοῖς Ἀγαθοῦ **ἀποσταλεὶς** καὶ **τέλει τοῦ βίου χρησάμενος** ἐν τῇ πόλει θάπτεται εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ μονὴν τὴν ἐν τῷ Ψαμαθίᾳ ὑπάρχουσαν.

3 ὁ οὖν Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ πάλαι τοῦτο ἔργον ἔχων τὸ ἀβροδίαιτος εἶναι καὶ τοῖς κυνηγεσίοις προσέχειν διὰ τὰς ὑποψίας τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ Λέοντος, καὶ μηδὲν βασιλέως ἔργον διαπράττεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὸ τρυφᾶν καὶ ἀσελγείαις σχολάζειν **ἠγαπηκώς**, μονώτατος ἄρξας οὐδὲν γενναῖον ἢ λόγου ἄξιον κατεπράξατο· ἅμα γὰρ τῷ μονοκράτωρ γενέσθαι Ἰωάννην παπᾶν (Λαξάρης τούτῳ ἐπώνυμον) ῥαίκτωρα πεποίηκεν· ὃς καὶ κακῶς τὸ ζῆν ἀπέρρηξε μετὰ θάνατον Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐν τῷ Ἑβδόμῳ σφαιρίζων.

The left column reproduces the text of Symeon (WAHLGREN). On the right is the text as present in the manuscripts of Version B[13]. As we can see, the texts are parallel and tell the same story, sentence for sentence, with no major additions or subtractions. As far as language is concerned, there are several points in this text where I would like to suggest that the B-text is evidence of a slightly higher register than the A-text, e.g.:

καταγαγὼν **τοῦ πατριαρχείου** Εὐθύμιον: this is instead of the A-text's καταγαγὼν Εὐθύμιον πατριάρχην. Added is a separative genitive, a well-known stylistic shibboleth.

ὑπερόριος οὖν ἐν τοῖς Ἀγαθοῦ **ἀποσταλεὶς**: this is instead of the A-text's simple ὑπερωρίσθη.

τέλει τοῦ βίου χρησάμενος: this is instead of the A-text's simple τελευτήσας.

ἠγαπηκώς: in general, perfect forms are rarer in the A-text than in the B-text.

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[13] Here I have ignored deviations between the manuscripts, since they are of no significance to my argument; the reader may be interested to know that, at the end of § 2, there is a major addition in Vat. gr. 167; this is cited in the discussion of Pseudo-Symeon below.

Furthermore, there are short additions, arguably of a poetic kind, in the B-text. An example is the phrase ὥσπερ ἀνήμεροι θῆρες ἐμπεπηδηκότες, referring to a moment during the interrogation, in AD 912, of Patriarch Euthymius, characterizing the people as well as their action.

Of a similar kind is the phrase ἀλλοτρίᾳ ἐπιπηδήσαντα γυναικί, viz. the obviously preposterous accusation, directed against Euthymius, that he had been sleeping with another man's wife.

In sum we can see that, on the way from A to B, there is a slight reworking which, so I would suggest, goes in the direction of introducing a higher style. On occasion new information, perhaps with a poetic touch to it, is added.

3. From the Regency Council to the Death of Romanos I (913–948)

In this section of the text, covering the years 913–948, the tendency to reformulate is no longer observable. The following passage may serve as an example of what the text is like. It is taken from the section describing the rule of Constantine VII after the dethronement of Romanos Lekapenos, cf. Symeon 137 (340–342 Wahlgren), and is, as above, presented with an apparatus reduced to a minimum:

Αὐτοκρατορία Κωνσταντίνου[14]

Ὑπελείφθη οὖν αὐτοκράτωρ Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ τούτου γαμβρὸς *μηνὶ Δεκεμβρίῳ κ΄, ἰνδικτιῶνος γ΄, ἐν ἔτει ϛυνδ΄*. **2** ὃς παραυτίκα Βάρδαν τὸν τοῦ Φωκᾶ τῇ τοῦ μαγίστρου ἀξίᾳ τιμήσας ὡς χρόνῳ πολλῷ τὴν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἀνδραγαθίαν πολλάκις ἐπιδειξάμενον, δομέστικον τῶν σχολῶν προχειρίζεται· *καὶ Κωνσταντῖνον* **τὸν Γογγύλην** *ναυμαχίας ἡγήτορα, καὶ στρατιάρχας τινὰς τῶν εὐχρήστων*· εἶτα Βασίλειον ᾧ ἐπίκλην Πετεινὸς πατρίκιον καὶ μέγαν ἑταιρειάρχην· τὸν δὲ τοῦ γένους τῶν Ἀργυρῶν Μαριανὸν τὰ μοναχικὰ ἀποδύσας πατρίκιον καὶ κόμητα τοῦ σταύλου πεποίηκεν· ὡσαύτως καὶ Μανουήλ, τὸν ἐπιλεγόμενον Κουρτίκιον, πατρίκιον καὶ δρουγγάριον τῆς βίγλας. (here §§ 3–4 follow, omitted in this paper) **5** μετ᾽ ὀλίγον οὖν οὗτοι αἰτησάμενοι τὸν ἴδιον πατέρα θεάσασθαι, ἐν τῇ Πρώτῃ νήσῳ παρεγένοντο· καὶ τοῦτον ἐν τῷ μοναχικῷ σχήματι θεασάμενοι πένθει κατεσχέθησαν ἀφορήτῳ· οἷς ἐπιδακρύσας ὁ πατὴρ ἔφη· υἱοὺς ἐγέννησα καὶ ὕψωσα, αὐτοὶ δέ με ἠθέτησαν· εἶθ᾽ οὕτως ἐξωρίσθησαν· ὁ μὲν Στέφανος εἰς Προικόννησον· *ἥντινα Νεβρίαν ὠνομασμένην κατὰ χρησμὸν δεδομένον ἀποίκοις Σαμίων· οἷς ἀφικομένοις πρὸς νῆσον καὶ τῷ θεῷ ἱλασκομένοις ἀριστοποιουμένοις τε ἀωρία ἐτύγχανεν ὁπόθεν ὕδωρ κομίσοιντο. γυνὴ δέ τις ἔφη αὐτοῖς, εἰ ἔχετε πρόχοον, δώσω ὑμῖν ὕδωρ. ὅπερ λαβόντες, ὡς ὁ χρησμός, καὶ γῆν ἐξῃτήσαντο. τῆς δὲ καὶ ταύτην δεδωκυίας Πρόχοον τὴν νῆσον ὠνόμασαν καὶ τοῖς ἀργυροῖς νομίσμασι πρόχοον εἰκόνιζον*· ἀπὸ δὲ Προικοννήσου εἰς Ῥόδον, ἀπὸ δὲ Ῥόδου εἰς Μιτυλήνην· ὁ δὲ Κωνσταντῖνος εἰς Τένεδον, ἐκεῖθεν εἰς Σαμοθρᾴκην, ἐν ᾗ καὶ ἀνταρσίαν μελετήσας *καὶ τὸν ἐκ βασιλικῆς κελεύσεως τὴν αὐτοῦ φυλακὴν πεπιστευμένον Νικήταν πρωτοσπαθάριον ἀναιρήσας καὶ αὐτὸς* παρὰ τῶν αὐτὸν φυλασσόντων ἐσφάγη. *οὗ τὸ σῶμα παρακομισθὲν ταφῇ παραδίδοται μεγαλοτίμως, ἐν ᾗ περὶ τούτῳ ἡ πρώτη αὐτοῦ κεκήδευται σύμβιος Ἑλένη τοὔνομα*. Μιχαὴλ δὲ τὸν τοῦ βασιλέως Χριστοφόρου υἱὸν τὰ βασιλικὰ πέδιλα **Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ Πορφυρογέννητος** ἀφελόμενος κληρικὸν **καὶ μάγιστρον** *καὶ ῥαίκτωρα* πεποίηκεν. **ὅσοι δὲ ἐπέβαλον χεῖρας ἐπὶ τῇ καταβάσει Ῥωμανοῦ βασιλέως, ταῦτα πεπόνθασιν κτλ.**

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[14] C = Vat. gr. 163; V = Vat. gr. 153; Y = Vat. gr. 167; **2–3** μηνὶ – ϛυνδ΄ add. V Y (i.e., hic et infra, non exhib. C neque Symeo A) **5–6** καὶ pr. – εὐχρήστων add. V Y (τὸν Γογγύλην exhib. Y, non exhib. V, de C non constat) **7** scripsi: Μαριανὸς C V Y § 5, **5–9** ἥντινα – εἰκόνιζον add. V Y **10–12** καὶ sec. – αὐτὸς add. V Y **12–13** οὗ – τοὔνομα add. V Y **15** κληρικὸν C, κληρικὸν καὶ ῥαίκτωρα V, κληρικὸν καὶ μάγιστρον καὶ ῥαίκτωρα Y **15–16** ὅσοι etc. add. Y, cf. continuationem post 948 in C

As can be seen, I have introduced some distinctions into the text, dividing it up so that every word or phrase belongs to one of three categories, representing different layers. Default text (without italics or bold) is that common to all manuscripts. In italics are additions common to the mss. Vat. gr. 153 and Vat. gr. 167, but lacking in Vat. gr. 163. In bold are additions found in Vat. gr. 167 only. In other words, Vat. gr. 163 contains nothing but the default text (non-italics/non-bold); Vat. gr. 153 and Vat. gr. 167 contain the same text as well as the one in italics; Vat. gr. 167 contains the first-mentioned text, the one in italics, and the one in bold.

The text common to all manuscripts is almost identical with the text published in Symeon (Wahlgren) (deviations from this are mostly errors attributable to accident rather than intention).

It should be clear to the reader what all this means: it is a case of a more original text, upon which consecutive layers of additions have been placed. What it means in terms of the genealogical relationship of the manuscripts thus analysed will be spelt out below, where a stemma is also drawn.

MORE ABOUT THE ADDITIONS: NUMBER OF LAYERS, AMOUNT OF ADDED MATERIAL

Although there is little doubt that there are layers of additions and although distinguishing main layers is justified, it is worth stressing that we do not know what additions were made by one person and at one time.

First of all, the additions are of differing degrees of appropriateness. In some cases, only the date of an event has been added, as in the first paragraph of the last piece of text edited above, with *μηνὶ Δεκεμβρίῳ κ΄, ἰνδικτιῶνος γ΄, ἐν ἔτει ϛυνδ΄,* referring to 20 December 944, when Romanos I Lekapenos was removed from power.

Also by no means inappropriate (at least if the new information is correct) are additions such as the following (also from the text immediately above):

137, 5 ἀνταρσίαν μελετήσας *καὶ τὸν ἐκ βασιλικῆς κελεύσεως τὴν αὐτοῦ φυλακὴν πεπιστευμένον Νικήταν πρωτοσπαθάριον ἀναιρήσας καὶ αὐτὸς* παρὰ τῶν αὐτὸν φυλασσόντων ἐσφάγη.

This is skilfully done: the more original text runs ἀνταρσίαν μελετήσας παρὰ τῶν αὐτὸν φυλασσόντων ἐσφάγη, into which, without any disturbance or infringement of the overall syntactic structure, is added an explanation as to why, ultimately, Stephen Lekapenos was put to death.

At the other end of the scale we have additions which are neither relevant nor skilfully integrated into the whole. Downright obnoxious—interrupting, as it does, the flow of the text—is the excursus on the etymology of Proeconnesus:

137, 5 ἐξωρίσθησαν· ὁ μὲν Στέφανος εἰς Προικόννησον· *ἥντινα Νεβρίαν ὠνομασμένην κατὰ χρησμὸν δεδομένον ἀποίκοις Σαμίων· οἷς ἀφικομένοις πρὸς νῆσον καὶ τῷ θεῷ ἱλασκομένοις ἀριστοποιουμένοις τε ἀωρία ἐτύγχανεν ὁπόθεν ὕδωρ κομίσοιντο. γυνὴ δέ τις ἔφη αὐτοῖς, εἰ ἔχετε πρόχοον, δώσω ὑμῖν ὕδωρ. ὅπερ λαβόντες, ὡς ὁ χρησμός, καὶ γῆν ἐξῃτήσαντο. τῆς δὲ καὶ ταύτην δεδωκυίας Πρόχοον τὴν νῆσον ὠνόμασαν καὶ τοῖς ἀργυροῖς νομίσμασι πρόχοον εἰκόνιζον·* ἀπὸ δὲ Προικοννήσου κτλ.

This is a typical gloss, which seems to have entered the main text by accident.

In sum, the additions are very different as regards their type and pertinence. They rather suggest that different minds have worked on the text, some with more, some with less skill. To round off the discussion about the additions, see the following overview:

NUMBER OF ADDED WORDS: PERCENTAGE ACCRETION OF TEXT AS COMPARED TO IMMEDIATELY PRECEDING VERSION

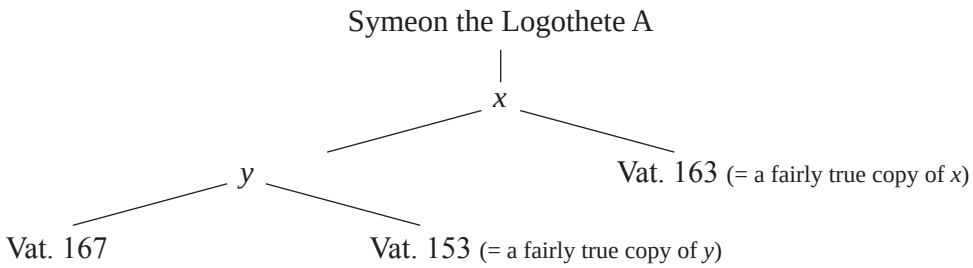
	Layer 0	**Layer 1 (Vat. gr. 153/Vat. gr 167)**	**Layer 2 (Vat. gr. 167)**
Leo VI (= Symeon 133 (Wahlgren)	4250	460 (10.8%)	160 (3.4%)
Alexander (Ch. 134)	520	7 (1.3%)	60 (11.4%)
Regency (Ch. 135)	2340	180 (7.7%)	0
Romanos I (Ch. 136)	6200	340 (5.5%)	1220 (18.7%)
Constantine VII (Ch. 137)	460	110 (23.9%)	430 75.4%)

By "Layer 0" the text common to all manuscripts is meant (whether reformulated or not as compared to Symeon's *Chronicle*). Layer 1 comprises the additions made in Vat. gr. 153 and Vat. gr. 167 but lacking in Vat. gr. 163[15]. Layer 2 encompasses the additions made in Vat. gr. 167 only, but lacking in the other manuscripts. With reference to the discussion above about the varying appropriateness of the additions, it must be stressed that talking about layers here is only a matter of convenience: there is no guarantee that all additions attributed to, say, Layer 2, were indeed added at one time and by one person.

As can be seen, there are great variations between the different chapters as to how much is added. In the (admittedly short) chapter on Emperor Alexander, Layer 1 adds just the following: *μηνὶ ἰουνίῳ ς΄ (ἐν) ἡμέρᾳ κυριακῇ ἰνδικτιῶνος πρώτης* (the precise date of the emperor's death). In the subsequent chapter, which deals with the period of the regency council, 913–919, Layer 2 does not add a single word. It is hard to say why this is so; perhaps some epochs and historical processes are more engaging than others to the Byzantine copyist or author.

INTERIM SUMMARY: A STEMMA APPLICABLE TO VERSION B OF SYMEON THE LOGOTHETE AND THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS COVERING THE YEARS 886–948

To summarize, we may draw the following stemma:



The manuscripts mentioned here are those cited in the editions of main parts 2 and 3 above[16].

In sum, the stage in the tradition represented by *x* is, for the years 886–913, a reformulated version of Symeon's *Chronicle*. Of this, Vat. gr. 163 seems to be a fairly true copy, whereas *y* contains a layer of additions (Layer 1, above).

Furthermore, Vat. gr. 153 seems to be a fairly true copy of *y*, whereas Vat. gr. 167, known as Theophanes continuatus, in addition to Layer 1 exhibits its own, unique, set of additions (Layer 2).

[15] It may be noted that the Old Slavonic version has the Layer 1 additions but not those of Layer 2 (cf. above, n. 4).

[16] As far as the main Part 1 (see above), covering the years 842–886, is concerned, the stemma is, in principle, also valid. However, as we have seen, the texts of the manuscripts sometimes diverge so widely that a common stemma is meaningless.

Put in the language of the textual critic: the additions of Layer 2 are separative errors proving that Vat. gr. 167 cannot be the ancestor of the other manuscripts. On the other hand, because of the fact that it is a more recent manuscript, Vat. gr. 153 cannot be the ancestor of Vat. gr. 167 (Vat. gr. 153 also has errors of its own, a matter on which, for the time being, the reader has to take my word).

Furthermore, the existence of *y* is proven by Layer 1, representing additions which are conjunctive errors uniting Vat. gr. 153 and Vat. gr. 167. The same conjunctive errors are also separative errors, proving that *y* is not the ancestor of Vat. gr. 163. On the other hand, because of the fact that it is a more recent manuscript, Vat. gr. 163 cannot be the ancestor of *y*, since *y* must be older than Vat. gr. 167, which is older than Vat. gr. 163 (Vat. gr. 163 also has errors of its own, a matter on which, for the time being, the reader has to take my word).

Finally, the existence of *x* is proven by a great number of secondary features shared by all the manuscripts mentioned in the stemma, a case in point being the tendency to reformulate, as discussed above with regard to part 2.

In actual fact, all this is not in contradiction with Theophanes continuatus (28* Featherstone–Signes-Codoñer), where what is essentially the same stemma is drawn. However, the ways by which we arrive at this conclusion differ.

PSEUDO-SYMEON

Having come this far, we will turn briefly to the so-called *Chronicle* of Pseudo-Symeon. In essence, this is what is contained in the ms. Parisinus gr. 1712, a partial edition of which is available in the Bonner corpus[17]. An analysis of the sources of Pseudo-Symeon has been provided by Markopoulos, whereas a complete edition, up to modern standards, remains a desideratum[18].

From the year 813 the main source of Pseudo-Symeon is Symeon the Logothete, and Pseudo-Symeon can be said to be a version of the Logothete with additions and, to some extent, reformulated passages (although not quite the kind of reworking described above) and, not least, shortenings and subtractions.

To state only what is pertinent to my planned edition of Version B of the Logothete: Pseudo-Symeon, although belonging to the wider Logothete tradition, does not belong to the smaller circle of Version B/Theophanes continuatus as described above. It is neither the source of Version B/Theophanes continuatus nor derived from it, and it is not possible to locate the Parisinus gr. 1712 within our proposed stemma[19].

However, there are readings in Pseudo-Symeon which are clearly related to the tradition of Version B/Theophanes continuatus.

Sometimes, but far from always, the additions of the Layer 1 identified above (readings common to Vat. gr. 153 and Vat. gr. 167) are found, in more or less the same form, in Pseudo-Symeon, such as the following (describing the subsequent fate of the cleric who gave his blessing to the marriage of Leo VI and Zoe Zaoutzina in 898 AD)[20]:

133, 23 (καὶ εὐλογεῖται μετ᾽ αὐτῆς) *παρὰ κληρικοῦ τοῦ παλατίου, ᾧ ἐπίκλην Σινάπης. ὁ μὲν οὖν εὐλογήσας καθῃρέθη*

Cf. Pseudo-Symeon (Theophanes continuatus ... Symeon magister [703, 1–2 Bekker]): παρά τινος κληρικοῦ τοῦ ἐπίκλην Σινάπης. καὶ ὁ μὲν εὐλογήσας καθῃρέθη

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[17] See Theophanes continuatus ... Symeon magister (603–760 Bekker) (see n. 10).

[18] A. Markopoulos, Ἡ χρονογραφία τοῦ Ψευδοσυμεών καί οἱ πηγές της. Ioannina 1978.

[19] See also Symeon (87*–89* Wahlgren).

[20] Chapters and paragraphs are, as above, in accordance with Symeon (Wahlgren).

Furthermore, we may take a look at the beginning of the chapter on the rule of Constantine VII, also cited above:

> **137, 1** Ὑπελείφθη οὖν αὐτοκράτωρ Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ τούτου γαμβρὸς *μηνὶ Δεκεμβρίῳ κ΄, ἰνδικτιῶνος γ΄, ἐν ἔτει ϛυνδ΄.* **2** ὃς παραυτίκα Βάρδαν τὸν τοῦ Φωκᾶ τῇ τοῦ μαγίστρου ἀξίᾳ τιμήσας ὡς χρόνῳ πολλῷ τὴν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἀνδραγαθίαν πολλάκις ἐπιδειξάμενον, δομέστικον τῶν σχολῶν προχειρίζεται· *καὶ Κωνσταντῖνον* **τὸν Γογγύλην** *ναυμαχίας ἡγήτορα, καὶ στρατιάρχας τινὰς τῶν εὐχρήστων·*

Both of the additions, that in paragraph 1 as well as that in 2, are present in Pseudo-Symeon[21]. In paragraph 2 the Layer 2 addition (i.e. a reading found in Vat. gr. 167) **τὸν Γογγύλην** is not present in Pseudo-Symeon. It can thus be observed that the majority of the additions paralleled in Pseudo-Symeon belong to Layer 1. This could lead us to believe that the connection between Version B/ Theophanes continuatus and Pseudo-Symeon has something to do with Layer 1. However, there are cases suggesting rather a connection with Layer 2, e.g. the following, taken from the chapter on Emperor Alexander's reign, referring to the subsequent fate of a man who took part in the interrogation of Patriarch Euthymius already referred to above in our discussion on style:

> **134, 2 ὁ δὲ τοῦ πατριάρχου κληρικὸς ὁ τὰς πολιὰς αὐτοῦ τίλας εἰς τὴν Μαγναύραν ἐν τῷ ἐξορίζεσθαι αὐτόν, τὴν αὐτὴν ὥραν ὁ οἶκος αὐτοῦ πυρκαϊᾷ παρεδόθη ἀοράτῳ. εὗρε δὲ καὶ τὴν θυγατέραν αὐτοῦ ἐπειλειμμένην καὶ κρατηθεῖσαν τάς τε χεῖρας καὶ τὸ στόμα καὶ τὴν λαλιάν· ἥτις καὶ κλινήρης οὖσα διήρκεσε τὴν ἐφήμερον τροφὴν ζητοῦσα μέχρι Νικηφόρου βασιλέως Νικητοῦ.**
> Cf. Pseudo-Symeon (Theophanes continuatus ... Symeon magister [716, 8–14 Bekker]): τῷ δὲ κληρικῷ τῷ τίλαντι τὰς τρίχας τοῦ πατριάρχου συνέβη εὐθὺς ἐν τῷ ἐξορίζεσθαι τὸν ἅγιον, αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ, πυρίκαυστον γενέσθαι τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ ἐξ ἀοράτου πυρός, ἡ δὲ θυγάτηρ αὐτοῦ παντελεῖ ἐπιληψίᾳ ἐκρατήθη, μὴ δυναμένη στόμα ἢ χεῖρα ἢ ἄλλο τὸ οἰονοῦν μέρος κινεῖν ἢ φωνὴν ἀφιέναι· ἥτις καὶ κλινήρης οὖσα καὶ προσαιτὶς διήρκεσεν μέχρι Νικηφόρου βασιλέως τοῦ Νικητοῦ.

A provisional impression: parallels with Layer 1 seem to be more exact than those with Layer 2. However, this is not always the case.

Cautiously summarized, I see it as the most plausible explanation of the situation at hand that cross-contamination has taken place between the different members of the wider Logothete family. How, and in what direction, we do not know. Suffice it to say that Pseudo-Symeon is not part of the primary evidence relevant to the editor of Version B of the Logothete/Theophanes continuatus, yet interesting as a subsidiary source[22].

THE CONTINUATION PAST 948

Finally, some words on the continuation past the year 948 (ending, in different manuscripts, at different points in the early 960s, shortly before the usurpation of power by Nikephoros II Phokas in AD 963). This continuation is, in differing forms, met with in Vat. gr. 163, Vat. gr. 167 (Theophanes continuatus) as well as in Par. gr. 1712 (Pseudo-Symeon). Of these, Theophanes continuatus and

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[21] See Theophanes continuatus ... Symeon magister (753 Bekker) (lines 2 and 4–5 respectively) (see n. 10).

[22] For a recent discussion of the complex to which Pseudo-Symeon and its sources belong, together with an up-to-date bibliography, see C. Zuckerman, Emperor Theophilos and Theophobos in Three Tenth-Century Chronicles: discovering the "Common Source". *REB* 75 (2017) 101–150.

Pseudo-Symeon were edited by Bekker (cf. n. 10), whereas the continuation contained in Vat. gr. 163 was edited much more recently, by Markopoulos[23].

As to its quantity, the text transmitted in the Vat. gr. 163 amounts to about 3000 words, that in Vat. gr. 167 to 6000 words, and that in Par. gr. 1712 to 1500 words.

It seems to be the case that the discrepancy between Vat. gr. 163 and Vat. gr. 167 is here larger than in earlier parts. Nonetheless, a preliminary evaluation indicates that the same relationship between the manuscripts is valid as before. This means that in Vat. gr. 163 we probably have a fairly true, although mutilated, copy of a work conceived as a continuation of Symeon's chronicle. In Vat. gr. 167 we have an expanded version of the same[24]. In Par. gr. 1712 we have a third version of the same, exhibiting what is characteristic of Pseudo-Symeon: abbreviation (often, we may think, not done so as to yield a successful result).

CONCLUSION

The most important aim of this paper has been to show how the *Chronicle* of Symeon the Logothete, the so-called Version B of the same and Theophanes continuatus relate to each other and that, despite variation, their genealogical relationship can be described in precise terms.

Inevitably, the question arises as to how to deal with all this in an edition. Does it make sense to proceed with separate editions of Version B and Theophanes continuatus, or is it more meaningful to edit them together?

For the time being, I would like to suspend my judgement on the matter. In any event, we have to ensure that a future edition highlights how closely related to each other—indeed, often identical—these works are.

To illustrate how a more original text is added to, layer after layer, an electronic edition would, if having no other advantage, probably be more effective and look tidier than a paper edition made according to the principles outlined above.

For the period from 886 it seems doubtful whether it makes much sense to talk about Theophanes continuatus at all. It is part of the Logothete tradition—often page for page, word for word, the very same text—and, as transmitted in the Vat. gr. 167, without any doubt at all the product of accumulated work in several stages. It is true that, because of the additions, a different text comes out at times. But to look for one intention, one authorial voice, in this product is a questionable approach.

This, finally, takes us to what may seem like a shortcoming of this paper: the lack of historical reference. What about Constantine VII, Theodore Daphnopates and Basil the Nothos—to name some of the personages who have been thought instrumental in the ongoing rewriting of history to which our manuscripts bear testimony? Most scholarship concerning these texts has been guided by an historical interest, and has often arrived at surprisingly precise conclusions about sponsorship, censorship and authorship[25]. Without denying the legitimacy of this interest, it is my belief that philological spadework must come first.

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[23] A. Markopoulos, Le témoignage du Vaticanus gr. 163 pour la période entre 945–963. *Symm* 3 (1979) 83–119.

[24] In this conclusion I beg to differ from Markopoulos, Témoignage, who claims that Vat. gr. 163 is an abbreviated version of Theophanes continuatus. However, while it is fairly easy to expand a text, I would argue that, at least in the case of chronicles, it is difficult to abbreviate sensibly (which would have to be the case if the shorter text, Vat. gr. 163, were to be dependent on the longer).

[25] As an instance one might mention the discussion about Basil the Nothos, summarized in Theophanes Continuatus I–IV (14*–19* Featherstone–Signes-Codoñer). However attractive these assumptions may be, it is necessary to remember that what we meet with in the manuscripts is the accumulated work of the many.

JAHRBUCH DER ÖSTERREICHISCHEN BYZANTINISTIK, 69. Band/2019, 335–355
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DOI: 10.1553/joeb69S335

Besprechungen

Eustathii Thessalonicensis exegesis in canonem iambicum pentecostalem. Recensuerunt indicibusque instruxerunt Paolo Cesaretti – Silvia Ronchey (*Supplementa Byzantina* 10). Berlin – Munich – Boston: De Gruyter 2014. XI + 385* + 492 pp. ISBN 978-3-11-022730-7.

Eustathios of Thessalonike (c. 1115–1195) is well known among Byzantinists and Medievalists as a scholar, writer, and church official. Recent scholarship provided access to his work in the form of critical editions to his orations and correspondence[1]. Eustathios is also noted as the author of an apologetic historical account, the *Capture of Thessalonike.* However, the scholarly public got acquainted with the learned archbishop as an exegete and commentator of classical authors. Since the 19th century, Eustathios' Commentary on Dionysios Periegetes has been accessible, and it is M. van der Valk's modern edition of the παρεκβολαὶ to the *Iliad* which gives insight into the erudite's thought and methods based on a work which is not fragmentary[2]. Since then, E. Cullhed broadened our perspective by publishing a volume on Eustathios' *Commentary on Homer's Odyssey*[3].

The volume under review presents Eustathios as a commentator of a religious topic and, at the same time, illustrates the versatility of a Byzantine teacher in commenting upon his own tradition, which was a 12th-century novelty. The *Exegesis on the iambic canon of the Pentecost*, similarly to the commentary on the *Iliad*, is a work which Eustathios prepared for many years. In the editors' view, the polymath commented upon the odes from 1186 until the mid-1190s, so it can be viewed as Eustathios' swansong, bearing characteristics of his life-long reading activity. Paolo Cesaretti and Silvia Ronchey contribute to scholarship with an erudite edition, which was more than three times longer in the making than the original work[4]. Nevertheless, it was a worthy effort, since the reader now has a critical edition which embraces the entire (surviving) textual tradition. The project started with the aim of replacing Cardinal Mai's edition, republished in the *Patrologia Graeca* series. The editors completed this aim successfully producing a thorough edition which can be compared to the richness of Eustathios' commentary.

The edition comprises almost 800 pages as the fruit of scholarly collaboration between Cesaretti and Ronchey. The introduction has two main parts: a "storico-letteraria" from Cesaretti's pen and a subsequent philological one from that of Ronchey. The first part gives an overview about Eustathios of Thessalonike's life and œuvre; afterwards the exegesis is discussed from a plethora of aspects. These are Byzantine hymnography and its exegetical tradition, commentators of the present canon and the date of Eustathios' commentary. Furthermore, Cesaretti dedicated a section to Eustathios' editorial practice and to the debated question of authorship, which is followed by a detailed examination of structure and addressees. The next part examines the sources which Eustathios applied and finally, Eustathios' place in the tradition and his innovative methods are treated. Ronchey's philological introduction is thorough. The reader gets a very clear picture about every single manuscript concerning the relationship of the codices and, moreover, regarding the co-editor's rationale. As is clear from the overview, the edition focuses rather on literary and philological issues. This is justified by the fact that Eustathios wrote a philological and literary commentary; considering the exegete's theological remarks, the co-editor is right that they are parainetic rather than theological in nature[5]. The growing number of critical texts from Eustathios' pen, together with the present outstanding edition, provide raw material to revisit Eustathios' theological viewpoint in his works.

The text of the canon, together with Eusthatios' commentary, shows the successive efforts of the co-editors to produce a critical, and therefore readable text. Ronchey was responsible for the *Proem* and *Odes* 1–3, Cesaretti for *Odes* 4–9. The editors put great effort into identifying the sources which Eustathios' used. It was a hard task, as Eustathios seems to have

[1] See the list of Eustathios' works in: Eustathios von Thessalonike, Reden auf die Große Quadragesima, ed. S. Schönauer. Frankfurt 2006, 9*–24*, and 7*–30* in the present edition. The list must be complemented with Bourbouhakis' recent contribution (E. C. Bourbouhakis, Not Composed in a Chance Manner: The Epitaphios for Manuel I Komnenos by Eustathios of Thessalonike. Uppsala 2017).

[2] Like Eustathios' commentary on Aristophanes, or on Pindar.

[3] Eustathios of Thessalonike, Commentary on Homer's Odyssey, Vol. 1: On Rhapsodies A–B, ed. E. Cullhed. Uppsala 2016.

[4] A series of publications show the work in progress: P. Cesaretti, Eustathios' Commentary on the Pentecostal Hymn ascribed to St John Damascene: a New Critical Edition. *Svenska Kommittén för bysantinska Studier* 5 (1987) 19–22; S. Ronchey, An Introduction to Eustathios' Exegesis in Canonem Iambicum. *DOP* 45 (1991) 149–158; S. Ronchey, Come tradurre i testi bizantini: il caso di Eustazio, in: Del tradurre, ed. M. Bettini et al. Rome – Padova 2011, 87–94, and in the volume under review 290*–298*.

[5] p. 138*.

tested the literacy of his audience. The results concur with those of other modern scholars, such as M. van der Valk, and prepare the ground for reconstructing Eustathios' library. Ronchey's contention that Eustathios used compendia and lexica instead of the original works is remarkable[6]. The *Indices*, which are the work of Cesaretti, constitute a highly informative section in the volume which helps the reader to navigate within the *corpus Eustathianum*, moreover through Byzantine and classical literature. As has already been suggested[7], the editors could have reached a wider audience by translating Eustathios' exegesis into a modern language, which would have been helpful for Byzantine scholars, too, taking into consideration the polymath's sophisticated language.

The poetic paratext(s) in the original hymn and Eustathios' attitude towards its content is a promising research topic, as Vassilis A. Sarris has already singled out[8]. In my opinion, further analysis of the question could add to our understanding of why Eustathios of Thessalonike wrote the longest commentary on one single hymn in so much detail. Moreover, it would also illustrate Eustathios' attitude towards orthodoxy and heterodoxy and reveal his opinion about the use of θύραθεν παιδεία in the orthodox tradition[9]. One of the key questions which Cesaretti discusses in detail is the Pentecostal hymn's authorship[10]. Eustathios' *Prooimion* is a highly rhetoricised piece and the savant first argued for John the Damascene's authorship (l. 125–127); afterwards (l. 140–145) he contended that the 'real' author of the hymn was John Arklas. Sarris concluded that Eustathios' own poetic theory regarding figure poems shows clear similarities with the author's vision of his own poetry[11]. Moreover, according to Eustathios, the poet insinuates (σκημτίζει) some meanings, "he does not boldly express them, but masks them instilling doubts and double meanings and portraying them faintly in the poem, which becomes a magnificent cipher. This cipher of the Canon is based on a variety of cryptographic techniques: anagrams, alliterations, sound-plays, homophones, figures"[12]. However, Eustathios did not explain the underlying words in the hymn explicitly, as they would reveal, as Sarris highlighted, that the author mimicked the dithyrambic form; furthermore, the dubious author Dionysios the Aeropagite also emerges from the paratext of the poem. Thus, though Eustathios believed that Arklas was the poet, whose poetic theory he favoured, he rather attributed the hymn to John of Damascus and did not give an explicit account of the underlying meanings of a basic liturgical text which might have caused problems in its use during church services. Even though Sarris' hypothesis is attractive, it needs further elucidation.

Based on what has been said so far, I think that the contribution of Silvia Ronchey and Paolo Cesaretti is outstanding, and I warmly recommend the volume to interested readers.

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[6] Ronchey, An Introduction to Eustathios' Exegesis 158.

[7] See M. Lauxtermann's review of the edition in *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* 2015.09.48, online: <http://bmcr.brynmawr.edu/2015/2015-09-48.html> (18.10.2019).

[8] V. A. Sarris, Λυκοφρονείως ἢ ἄλλως διθυραμβικῶς: Eustathius' Enigmatic Stylistic Terms in the Polyphony of the Iambic Pentecostal Canon, in: Reading Eustathios of Thessalonike, ed. F. Pontani et al. Berlin – Boston 2017, 253–284.

[9] As has already been pinpointed, it was not alien to Eustathios' mind to set Odysseus' bath in Circe's cave in parallel with the bath of the holy baptism. Similarly, Eustathios contended that the author of the present hymn is a "Christian Pindar" who expressed the Pentecostal multilingualism of the apostles by means of poetic polyphony. The prelate justified the use of pagan/ classical poetic elements with the argument that the hymn's author was a πνευματικός, a divinely inspired poet, see p. 184*–185* in the Introduction.

[10] p. 83*–103*. Other researchers also pinpointed that it was "a thorny issue" see V. Skrekas, School Teaching Through the Iambic Canons and Paraphrase, in: Reading in the Byzantine Empire and Beyond, ed. T. Shawcross – I. Tóth. Cambridge 2018, 377–395, at 391.

[11] Sarris, Λυκοφρονείως ἢ ἄλλως διθυραμβικῶς 273–277.

[12] Sarris, Λυκοφρονείως ἢ ἄλλως διθυραμβικῶς 274–275.

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Helga Gickler, Kaiser Michael IX. Palaiologos: sein Leben und Wirken (1278 bis 1320). Eine biographische Annäherung (*Studien und Texte zur Byzantinistik* 9). Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang 2015. 224 S. ISBN 978-3-631-66150-5.

Bei der zu besprechenden Arbeit handelt es sich um die im Jahr 2013 an der Universität zu Köln eingereichte Dissertationsschrift Helga Gicklers (G.) über Kaiser Michael IX. Palaiologos. In einem ersten Abschnitt (S. 11–18) gibt G. einen Überblick über den Forschungsstand und kommt zu dem Ergebnis, dass Michael IX. bislang nicht nur ungenügend berücksichtigt worden sei, sondern dass seine Leistungen zudem auch eher negative Beurteilung gefunden hätten. Im Anschluss (S. 19–34) stellt G. die maßgeblichen literarischen Quellen zum Leben und Wirken des Kaisers vor: die Geschichtswerke des Georgios Pachymeres (die „ergiebigste Quelle" [S. 20]), des Nikephoros Gregoras und des Ioannes Kantakuzenos, die Briefe des Patriarchen Athanasios I., die Chronik des Katalanen Ramon Muntaner, das *Directorium ad faciendum passagium transmarinum* (eine Art Kreuzzugsaufruf eines – wohl französischen – Anonymus), die Rede des Michael Planudes anlässlich der Krönung des Kaisers sowie vier Reden anlässlich seines Todes. Den epigraphischen Zeugnissen (es handelt sich in der Regel um Stifterinschriften in Kirchen) widmet G. ein eigenes Kapitel (S. 35–46). In Abschnitt 4, der den – ein wenig irreführenden – Titel „Michael IX. in seiner Funktion als Basileus" trägt (S. 47–66), geht G. zunächst auf den Titel des „Mitkaisers" ein, den sie – mit Constantin Zuckerman – zwar als Forschungskonstrukt identifiziert, doch als „analytical tool" gleichwohl für legitim erachtet. Im weiteren Verlauf

des Abschnitts stehen die von Michael erlassenen Urkunden, sodann acht (laut G. jedoch neun) Kaiserlisten im Mittelpunkt. Der Abschnitt schließt mit einem kurzen Blick auf Michaels Tätigkeit als Feldherr. In Abschnitt fünf (S. 67–85) geht G. – chronologisch gesehen – einen Schritt zurück und blickt auf Michaels Jugend. Hier stehen die gescheiterten Verhandlungen über eine Ehe mit Katharina von Courtenay, die Krönung Michaels zum Kaiser sowie seine Heirat mit Rita-Maria von (Klein-)Armenien im Mittelpunkt. Was die letztlich gescheiterten ersten Eheverhandlungen betrifft, so deutet G. den Umstand, dass Georgios Pachymeres bei ihnen eine wichtige Stellung einnahm, indem er den westlichen Gesandten Auskunft über den Charakter Michaels IX. gab, als Hinweis auf ein Lehrer-Schüler-Verhältnis der beiden Akteure (S. 70). In Kapitel 6 (S. 87–104) widmet sich G. der militärischen Betätigung Michaels IX. in Kleinasien (1302–1304). In Kapitel 7 (S. 105–123) stehen die Ereignisse um die Katalanische Kompanie unter Führung Rogers de Flor im Mittelpunkt des Interesses. Besondere Aufmerksamkeit widmet G. dem zwischen Andronikos II. und Roger de Flor geschlossenen Vertrag, der nicht direkt, sondern bloß über die Werke des Georgios Pachymeres und Ramon Muntaner – allerdings widersprüchlich – überliefert ist. Der folgende achte Abschnitt („Michael IX. als General in Thrakien [1304–1313]“ [S. 125–167]) greift die Auseinandersetzungen des Reichs mit der katalanischen Kompanie wieder auf. In Abschnitt neun (S. 169–177) wendet sich G. den letzten Jahren des Kaisers, vor allem jedoch dem Schicksal seiner Töchter und Söhne zu. In einem letzten Abschnitt (S. 179–198) blickt G. auf das Jahr von Michaels Tod. Die „klassische“ Ansicht, dass Michael durch den tragischen Tod seines Sohnes Manuel seelisch zerbrochen und gestorben sei, teilt sie nicht, sondern vermutet im Falle Manuels einen gezielten Anschlag, im Falle Michaels Gift, wobei sie bei beiden vermuteten Morden Andronikos III. als Drahtzieher identifiziert.

Soweit in aller Kürze zu Aufbau und Inhalt dieses Buchs, das – trotz einer Reihe von Flüchtigkeitsfehlern, die durch eine nochmalige Durchsicht leicht hätten beseitigt werden können[1] – gut lesbar und in flüssigem Stil geschrieben ist.

Die folgenden Anmerkungen sind nicht als eine Kritik am Inhalt an sich oder als Zweifel an dem Wert dieser Studie zu verstehen, sondern beziehen sich auf die Konzeption, die dem Buch zugrunde liegt. Die Arbeit ist nämlich über weite Strecken keine Biographie Michaels IX., auch keine – wie im Untertitel suggeriert – „biographische Annäherung“, sondern vielmehr eine Geschichte des byzantinischen Reiches im frühen 14. Jahrhundert – mit einem gewissen Fokus auf Michael IX. Dies ist zunächst durchaus legitim und nicht kritikwürdig. Dieser konzeptionelle Unterschied wird rasch klar, wenn man einen Blick in Herrscherbiographien der letzten Jahre – etwa Frieds Karls-, Görichs Barbarossa- oder Leppins Justiniansbiographie – wirft[2]. Sicherlich ist ein Vergleich mit diesen Biographien in mehrerer Hinsicht unfair, insbesondere angesichts der unterschiedlichen Quellenlage. Auf der anderen Seite sind beispielsweise die Informationen über die Kindheit Karls des Großen ebenfalls äußerst dünn gesät; und trotzdem gelingt es Fried, „sein“ Bild von diesen Jahren zu zeichnen, grundsätzliche strukturelle Elemente der Epoche, die „seinen“ Herrscher prägten, darzustellen und zu problematisieren. Solcherlei Dinge finden sich in G.s Werk nicht. Stattdessen setzt sie nach den einleitenden Kapiteln I–IV (Forschungsstand, Quellenüberblick, Kaiser-Mitkaiser-Problematik) mit Michaels Jugend bzw. genauer gesagt mit den – letztlich gescheiterten – Hochzeitsverhandlungen, die im Jahr 1288 begannen, ein. Auch die Informationen über den Erwachsenen Michael IX. scheinen offensichtlich zu spärlich zu sein, um eine abgerundete Biographie des Herrschers verfassen zu können. Zumindest ist dies der Eindruck, den man – gerade in der zweiten Hälfte des Buches – vermittelt bekommt: ganze Abschnitte (häufig auf Pachymeres beruhend) betreffen Michael IX. bestenfalls am Rande.

Das alles spricht keinesfalls gegen das Buch an sich, geschweige denn gegen die Leistung G.s; denn der Leser bekommt mit dem Buch eine kritische Darstellung der betreffenden Jahre byzantinischer Geschichte auf aktuellem Forschungsstand geliefert – aber eben keine Biographie Michaels IX. Kapitel 3 („Epigraphische Zeugnisse“) etwa, aber auch jene Teile des vierten Kapitels („Michael IX. in seiner Funktion als Basileus“), in denen die Kleinchroniken ausgewertet werden, führen vor Augen, wie G. in beiden Quellengattungen minutiös jeglichen noch so kleinen Beleg ausfindig zu machen vermochte, ohne dass diese Belege Substantielles zur Biographie des Kaisers beitragen würden. Andere Quellengattungen (insbesondere wären hier Münzen zu nennen) wurden dagegen von der Autorin – möglicherweise zu Unrecht – ausgeblendet. Selbst wenn diese zu keinen neuen Erkenntnissen geführt hätten, wäre durch ihr Heranziehen doch zumindest das Bild abgerundet worden, und zwar in dem Sinne, dass G. somit sämtliche Quellen über diesen Kaiser zusammengeführt hätte.

Vielleicht ist es Ausdruck der Unmöglichkeit, eine wirkliche Biographie Michaels IX. zu verfassen, dass G. ihre Untersuchung ohne eine Zusammenfassung beendet. Denn in einer solchen hätte der Leser zu erfahren erwartet, was die wesentlichen Züge des Lebens und der Herrschaft dieses Kaisers gewesen wären. Zumindest ein Punkt, der sich wie ein roter Faden durch die Untersuchung zieht, hätte hier hervorgehoben werden können. Denn G. weist – im Widerspruch zu einem Großteil der älteren Forschung – immer wieder darauf hin, dass die militärischen Niederlagen des Kaisers nicht dessen

[1] So etwa: S. 7] Bizantinoslavica: Byzantinoslavica; S. 8] TIP: TIB und Vizantoloshkog: Vizantološkog; S. 11, Anm. 1] und: and; S. 12] Hetʾum II: Hetʿum II; ebd., Anm. 9] linken: linkem; S. 15] Bozidar: Božidar; S. 19] chismatisch: schismatisch; S. 20] Συγγραφικαί ἱστορίαι: Συγγραφικαὶ ἱστορίαι; S. 27] istorico: istoriko, facul'teta: fakul'teta; S. 30, Anm. 174] paidaia: paideia; S. 36, Anm. 36: proedos: proedros; S. 42, Anm. 266: Pelargonia: Pelagonia; S. 43] Treskavetsch: Treskavec; S. 52, Anm. 339 und 343: Gkroutzioukostas: Gkoutzioukostas; S. 55] αὐτοκατορεία: αὐτοκρατορεία; Chryssobulle: Chrysobulle; S. 68] Nikol: Nicol; S. 70, Anm. 461] Michel: Michael

[2] K. Görich, Friedrich Barbarossa: Eine Biographie. München 2011; H. Leppin, Justinian: Das christliche Experiment. Stuttgart 2011; J. Fried, Karl der Große: Gewalt und Glaube. Eine Biographie. München 2014.

Inkompetenz, sondern den mangelnden Ressourcen geschuldet gewesen seien, die sein Vater, Andronikos II., ihm zur Verfügung gestellt habe. Stattdessen endet das Buch jedoch – ziemlich unvermittelt und abrupt – mit einem äußerst knappen Verweis auf vier Trauerreden, die anlässlich des Todes Michaels IX. verfasst und die bereits in Abschnitt 2 kurz vorgestellt worden waren. Hier vermisst man allerdings – insbesondere angesichts der mehrfach betonten Quellenknappheit – eine eingehendere Analyse.

Ebenfalls sinnvoll wäre eine Karte mit den wichtigsten genannten Orten zur Orientierung gewesen; wünschenswert zudem – angesichts der in großer Detailliertheit vorgenommenen Beschreibung des epigraphischen Befunds – die eine oder andere Abbildung. Die Quellenangabe auf S. 10 (wikipedia.org + Datum) zu der Abbildung des Kaisers aus der berühmten Zonaras-Handschrift (Mutinensis gr. 122) ist ungenügend.

So bleibt letztlich nach Beendigung des Buches ein gemischtes Gefühl zurück: der Person Michaels IX. nicht wirklich nahegekommen, hat man gleichwohl – und hier liegt die Stärke dieser Studie – hinsichtlich der politischen Geschichte des byzantinischen Reiches zu Beginn des 14. Jahrhunderts zahlreiche Anregungen erhalten. So sei jedem, der über diese Zeit forscht, die Lektüre dieser Untersuchung wärmstens ans Herz gelegt.

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Mediterranean Holocene Climate, Environment and Human Societies (*Quaternary Science Reviews* 136, Special Issue), ed. Alexandra Gogou – Adam Izdebski – Karin Holmgren. Amsterdam et al.: Elsevier 2016. 252 pp. ISSN 0277-3791.

The editors of this volume together with their co-authors state in the first paper: "(…) many researchers do not read journals and books published by those from the other disciplines" (p. 16). This may also be true when Byzantinists are confronted with a special issue of a journal called *Quaternary Science Reviews*, thus focusing on the Quaternary period covering the last 2.6 million years of natural history of our planet, a timespan far beyond the Byzantine Millennium. They would, however, miss a plenitude of new insights and fresh data on the interplay between environmental or climatic change and socioeconomic dynamics for various periods and regions of the Byzantine world and the late antique and medieval Mediterranean. The volume under review is thus one among several recent publications combining historical and archaeological evidence with new "proxy" data from the natural sciences for the purpose of reconstruction of palaeo-environmental conditions in the Late Roman and Byzantine Empire. While some of these studies were published in journals and series more accessible to historians[1], papers in natural scientific journals beyond the usual frame of reference in particular may equally escape the attention of specialists in Byzantine history[2], as the editors of the volume under review indicate.

The interdisciplinary character of this special issue is reflected in the composition of its editorial board: Alexandra Gogou is a chemical oceanographer and organic biogeochemist at the Institute of Oceanography, Hellenic Centre of Marine Research (HCMR), in Anavyssos (Greece); Adam Izdebski is a Byzantinist holding an assistant professorship at the Jagiellonian University in Krakow and, since 2018, head of the Palaeo-Science and History research group at the Max Planck-Institute for the Science of Human History in Jena (Germany); Karin Holmgren is a biologist and geographer and professor at the Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences in Uppsala. As they, together with Juerg Luterbacher, Marie-Alexandrine Sicre and Elena Xoplaki, explain in the introduction (pp. 1–4), the 13 research papers in the volume emerged from a workshop held at the Navarino Environmental Observatory (NEO), Costa Navarino (Greece) in April 2014, which united 61 specialists from the disciplines of history, archaeology, palaeoclimatology, palynology, geomorphology, hydrology and climate modelling for the purpose of discussing the environmental dynamics of the Mediterranean during the Holocene (i.e., the current geological epoch starting c. 11,700 years ago after the last glacial period). Within this spatial and temporal framework, not all papers cover regions or periods of relevance for Byzantine studies; this review therefore focuses only on the studies of interest for Byzantium´s history.

The first paper, however, although more general in its scope, deserves the attention not only of those specializing in the environmental and socioeconomic history and historical geography of Byzantium, since it describes possible avenues for "Realising consilience: How better communication between archaeologists, historians and natural scientists can transform the study of past climate change in the Mediterranean" (pp. 5–22, by Adam Izdebski et al.[3]), and thus for inter-

[1] Two selected recent examples: J. Haldon et al., The climate and environment of Byzantine Anatolia: integrating science, history and archaeology. *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 45 (2014) 113–161; A. Izdebski – G. Koloch – T. Słoczyński, Exploring Byzantine and Ottoman economic history with the use of palynological data: a quantitative approach. *JÖB* 65 (2015) 67–110.

[2] Two selected recent examples: Special Issue: Society and environment in the East Mediterranean ca 300–1800 CE. Resilience, adaptation, transformation, ed. J. F. Haldon et al. Human Ecology 46/3 (2018) 273–398; L. Mordechai et al., The Justinianic Plague: An inconsequential pandemic? Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences, online December 2, 2019: <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1903797116> (03.01.2020).

[3] Full list of authors: Adam Izdebski, Karin Holmgren, Erika Weiberg, Sharon R. Stocker, Ulf Büntgen, Assunta Florenzano, Alexandra Gogou, Suzanne A.G. Leroy, Jürg Luterbacher, Belen Martrat, Alessia Masi, Anna Maria

disciplinary cooperation more generally. With "consilience", the authors borrow a concept from the socio-biologist Edward O. Wilson, who argued for a basic unity of human knowledge, which can be approached from different angles for the mutual benefit of humanities and sciences[4]. They, however, also highlight that Wilson's search for the "simplest possible explanation" led him to prioritize interpretations from his own field over those from other disciplines, which is a general problem for such endeavours (p. 8). In the following section, Izdebski et al. illustrate the similarities between history, archaeology and palaeo-environmental sciences, which all aim at reconstructing the past from traces in the present and embed their reconstructions in narratives (pp. 8–9). These disciplines, however, prioritize different sources (historiography, material culture, "proxy" data as "natural archives", such as "marine, coastal plain and lake sediments, ice cores, tree rings, corals and cave speleothems", p. 9) and hence also different explanatory models. Natural sciences often only consider climatic and environmental factors (with the danger of climate determinism), while historians may ignore non-anthropogenic factors. As Izdebski et al. concede, historical geography was always interested in environmental and climatic conditions, but (according to the authors´ interpretation) traditionally treated them as a rather static "theatre" for human activities. Yet, they acknowledge the pioneering works of scholars such as Johannes Koder[5], who already in the 1980s and 1990s introduced a more nuanced discussion of climatic dynamics for the Mediterranean (pp. 9–12). As they explain, however, "early descriptive efforts to correlate societal change with environmental and climate changes were hampered by lack of precise chronologies (…), or by the fact that the data on climate and society were derived at a far distance from each other" (p. 6). Furthermore, Izdebski et al. expound the problems of diverging terminologies and disciplinary jargons (pp. 13–14), different starting points and designs of research projects (pp. 14–15) and diverse publication cultures, which privilege concise peer-reviewed papers in prestigious journals in the sciences and longer monographs in historical studies (pp. 15–18). Nevertheless (in my view, rightly), Izdebski et al. identify a "common research agenda" which demands a closer cooperation between historians, archaeologists and palaeo-environmentalists, not ignoring but even embracing the different approaches and explanatory models in order to achieve a more balanced view of the complex interplay of climatic and societal dynamics (pp. 18–19).

The next relevant paper by Erika Weiberg et al.[6] is devoted to a long-term perspective on "The socio-environmental history of the Peloponnese during the Holocene: Towards an integrated understanding of the past" (pp. 40–65) and, following the aforementioned chapter by Izdebski et al. on "consilience", combines available historical, archaeological (especially from intensive and extensive field surveys such as in Laconia, Eastern Corinthia or Nemea Valley) and proxy data (such as oxygen isotope data from Alepotrypa Cave and Kapsia Cave or pollen evidence from Vravron, Lake Lerna or Kotychi) for the southern Greek mainland. Weiberg et al. observe some interesting overlaps such as that "the early Byzantine phase of settlement expansion occurred during a time of substantial climatic fluctuations, judging from the Alepotrypa record and the Kapsia records" (p. 50). They equally indicate, however, the limitations of their data due to either inconsistent dating or regional diversities (p. 51: "It is not possible to draw firm conclusions about correspondences between climatic and socio-economic changes that occurred after around AD 600, especially in light of the opposing signals from the records of Kapsia and Alepotrypa (…). These inconsistencies may be attributed to dating problems, but they may also be due to climatic differences between the immediate west coast and the inland/east coast.") or even the actual lack of proxy evidence (p. 51: "During the Middle Byzantine period [AD 1000–1200], there is a very close correspondence between the environmental [pollen] and archaeological-historical records […]. Both suggest agro-pastoral intensification across many areas of the Peloponnese and Attica. Unfortunately, the speleothems from Kapsia and Alepotrypa stopped growing before AD 1000, leaving us [at present] with no regional palaeoclimate record against which we may compare the socio-economic developments"). They thus illustrate well the potential and problems of this kind of research and warn about simplistic or premature deductions (such as that beneficial climatic conditions would automatically correlate with socio-demographic growth or vice versa, see also below).

A more local perspective is provided by Ilaria Mazzini et al.[7] in their paper on the "Holocene evolution of Lake Shkodra: Multidisciplinary evidence for diachronic landscape change in northern Albania" (pp. 85–95). Based on palaeo-environmental data from two sediment cores taken from Lake Shkodra, now the largest lake on the Balkans, they reconstruct an increased anthropogenic impact on the region from c. 50 BCE onwards, which they connect with the intensification of settlement and land use under Roman rule (p. 93). Around that time, the area was characterized by big swamps; this, according to Mazzini et al. only changed from around 750 CE onwards, when "the swamp was transformed, rather abruptly,

Mercuri, Paolo Montagna, Laura Sadori, Adam Schneider, Marie-Alexandrine Sicre, Maria Triantaphyllou, Elena Xoplaki.

[4] E. O. Wilson, Consilience: The Unity of Knowledge. New York 1998.

[5] J. Koder, „Zeitenwenden". Zur Periodisierung aus byzantinischer Sicht. *BZ* 84/85 (1991/1992) 409–422; J. Koder, Historical aspects of a recession of cultivated land at the end of the late antiquity in the east Mediterranean. *Palaeoclimate Research* 10 (1994) 157–167.

[6] Full list of authors: Erika Weiberg, Ingmar Unkel, Katerina Kouli, Karin Holmgren, Pavlos Avramidis, Anton Bonnier, Flint Dibble, Martin Finn, Adam Izdebski, Christos Katrantsiotis, Sharon R. Stocker, Maria Andwinge, Kalliopi Baika, Meighan Boyd, Christian Heymann.

[7] Full list of authors: Ilaria Mazzini, Elsa Gliozzi, Michael Galaty, Lorenc Bejko, Laura Sadori, Ingeborg Souli-Märsche, Rexhep Koçi, Aurelien Van Welden, Salvatore Bushati.

into a large but shallow lake" (p. 93). This significant transformation they are not able to connect with any climatic change at that time; again, Mazzini et al. assume effects of human interventions into the hydrology of the surroundings, which in turn also became more attractive for settlement (pp. 93–94). One should be aware, however, of the rather tentative character of this scenario, which would demand more palaeo-environmental and archaeological evidence in order to determine the actual underlying mechanisms.

While the following paper by Joanne Clarke et al.[8] on "Climatic changes and social transformations in the Near East and North Africa during the 'long' 4th millennium BC: A comparative study of environmental and archaeological evidence" (pp. 96–121) includes some proxies important for the Byzantine period, such as carbon isotope data from the Sofular Cave or oxygen isotope data from Lake Van (both in Turkey), its temporal coverage ends some millennia before the (re-) foundation of Constantinople. The same is true for the study of Bülent Arıkan, Francesca Balossi Restelli and Alessia Masic on "Comparative modeling of Bronze Age land use in the Malatya Plain (Turkey)" (pp. 122–133).

More similar to the above-mentioned contribution of Ilaria Mazzini et al. is that by Mario Morellón et al.[9] on "Human–climate interactions in the central Mediterranean region during the last millennia: The laminated record of Lake Butrint (Albania)" (pp. 134–152). They reconstruct that significant changes in environmental conditions in the coastal lagoon coincided with the major transitions in the climatic regime in the Mediterranean in general, from the "Medieval Climate Anomaly" (MCA, in their dating, 800–1400 CE) to the "Little Ice Age" (1400–1800 CE), and correlate them with the variability of the "North Atlantic Oscillation" (NAO), a weather phenomenon affecting climatic conditions in large parts of Western Afro-Eurasia (pp. 146–148). They also compare these climatic dynamics with the extent of human occupation based on archaeological data from the City of Butrint without succumbing to the lure of climate determinism, see pp. 148–149: "The subsequent decline of the city of Butrint after the Venetian occupation in c. 1386 AD coincides with the onset of the Little Ice Age (1300–1800 AD), characterized by colder and more humid conditions and lower but highly fluctuating water salinity in the lake (…). However, the depopulation and shift of the settlement to the Triangular Fortress (built in the 15th century AD) in the Vivari Channel shore is attributed to the comparatively more important role played by the nearby colony of Corfu (…), rather than to the deterioration of climate experienced in the area. In fact, Butrint was mostly used as a supplier of fish and timber to the island (…). Thus, the role of this climatic crisis in Butrint's decline is highly speculative, considering that it coincides with a period of political instability prior to Venetian occupation (13th century), when the city was located in an area of conflict between Byzantines, Angevines and Venetians." Morellón et al. likewise include some interesting proxy data from other lakes within the Byzantine world, such as Lake Nar (in Turkey) or Lake Dorjan, Lake Prespa and Lake Ohrid in Southeastern Europe (p. 145).

The last four papers of the volume under review focus on the Roman and Byzantine period in the central and eastern Mediterranean. The first of these is the paper "Climate, environment and society in southern Italy during the last 2000 years. A review of the environmental, historical and archaeological evidence" by Laura Sadori et al. (pp. 173–188)[10]. They compare isotope and pollen data from the Lago di Pergusa in central Sicily with historical and archaeological evidence (such as the frequency of coin findings) from the island and other palaeo-climate proxies for the Mediterranean (such as from Lake Shkodra, see above) and identify two humid periods from c. 450 to 750 CE and c. 1400 to 1800 CE and a pronounced dry period from c. 1100 to 1350 CE. Accordingly, they correlate the first humid period with a time of agricultural growth as it can also be observed in various regions of the Eastern Mediterranean in the 5th to 6th centuries. For Sicily, the continuation of this period well into the 8th century CE would also correspond well with the increased significance of the island as a source of surplus for the Byzantine Empire after the loss of the Levant, Egypt and North Africa to the Arabs in the 7th century (pp. 180–182)[11]. Sadori et al. argue, however, that "this situation may have changed after AD 750. The economic crisis that occurred on Sicily may have coincided with a change in the local hydrological conditions that were crucial to agriculture. It is therefore possible that the period of increased aridity that preceded and accompanied the Islamic conquest – the beginning of the dry period is dated to 750–850 AD while the decisive phase of the conquest occurred between 827 and 878 AD – contributed to the success of the invaders. Byzantine society on Sicily may have been weakened by the agricultural transformations required to deal with a changed climate (visible at Pergusa) as well as a general economic decline (attested by various types of evidence)" (p. 183). This is a relatively bold claim to make, and, considering the margins of dating of the palaeo-environmental data, one may question the line of cause and effect, i. e. to what extent climatic changes and to what extent the Arab raids on Sicily contributed to the beginning of the economic downturn[12].

Adam Izdebski, Jordan Pickett, Neil Roberts and Tomasz Waliszewski deal with "The environmental, archaeological

[8] Full list of authors: Joanne Clarke, Nick Brooks, Edward B. Banning, Miryam Bar-Matthews, Stuart Campbell, Lee Clare, Mauro Cremaschi, Savino di Lernia, Nick Drake, Marina Gallinaro, Sturt Manning, Kathleen Nicoll, Graham Philip, Steve Rosen, Ulf-Dietrich Schoop, Mary Anne Tafuri, Bernhard Weninger, Andrea Zerboni.

[9] Full list of authors: Mario Morellón, Flavio S. Anselmetti, Daniel Ariztegui, Brunhilda Brushulli, Gaia Sinopoli, Bernd Wagner, Laura Sadori, Adrian Gilli, Arben Pambuku.

[10] Full list of authors: Laura Sadori, Carlo Giraudi, Alessia Masi, Michel Magny, Elena Ortu, Giovanni Zanchetta, Adam Izdebski.

[11] See also now A. M. Mercuri et al., The Late Antique plant landscape in Sicily: Pollen from the agropastoral villa del Casale - Philosophiana system. *Quaternary International* 499 (2019) 24–34.

[12] Cf. also E. Vaccaro, Sicily in the eighth and ninth centuries AD: a case of persisting economic complexity? *Al Masaq* 25 (2013) 34–69, a study also cited in the paper of Sadori et al.

and historical evidence for regional climatic changes and their societal impacts in the Eastern Mediterranean in Late Antiquity" (pp. 189–208), contrasting the historical, archaeological and palaeo-environmental evidence for Asia Minor and for the Levant (especially Northern Syria and Palestine) in the period 200 to 800 CE. They identify a "late Roman drought" for c. 350 to 470 CE, "followed by a dramatic shift to much wetter conditions"; while the dry period may have motivated "water economizing efforts in urban settlements" (as derived by the authors from various pieces of archaeological evidence), the following "increased moisture availability" contributed to the "expansion of rural settlement and agriculture on land that today is not suitable for intensive agriculture", such as in the Negev (pp. 200–205). This remarkable correspondence between climatic conditions and the "efflorescence" of the Eastern Roman Empire in the 5th to 6th centuries, however, does not hold for the following "crisis" of the 7th century; as Izdebski et al. argue, "dating from scientific proxy evidence leaves no doubt that the shift to drier conditions in Anatolia occurred ~730 AD. Dating is not so clear in the Levant, since the chronological resolution of the proxy evidence for this period is less good. However, in multi-proxy records the decline in cultivation appears to precede the shift in climate, which means that this initial change in land use was caused by the Arab conquest and the world-system crisis that followed, and not by climate. This suggests that in the Levant drier conditions also started after ~670 AD or even later" (p. 205). If this scenario holds, it is equally remarkable that the "shift to drier conditions in Anatolia" overlaps with the beginning of the rule of the "Isaurian" emperors Leon III (717–741 CE) and Constantine V (741–775 CE), usually identified as a period of stabilization of the Byzantine Empire after the first century of the Arab onslaught. We have to reckon, however, with regional diversity within Asia Minor as reflected in the differences in the estimated end dates for the "Beyşehir Occupation Phase" (BOP, usually equated with termination of the agricultural regime of antiquity) in various pollen sites[13]. Overall, the chapter by Izdebski et al. is definitely one of the most thought-provoking ones for Byzantinists in the volume under review.

The next paper by Alexandra Gogou et al.[14] focuses on "Climate variability and socio-environmental changes in the northern Aegean (NE Mediterranean) during the last 1500 years" (pp. 209–228). Based on the analysis of a marine record from the Athos basin in northern Greece (retrieved from a scientific research vessel at a water depth of 1018 m, which may illustrate the investment necessary for this kind of research), the authors reconstruct changes of sea surface temperatures (SST) and other palaeo-environmental factors and compare this with other proxy data such as pollen (especially for the Macedonian highlands and the Rhodope Mountains[15]) as well as historical evidence, especially demographic data for villages in the charters of the Athos monasteries. Their data suggests a SST cooling trend from c. 500 to 850 CE, followed by a warming trend from c. 850 to 950 CE in the Northern Aegean. Another positive trend of SST is identified from the end of the 11th century onwards, while the time from c. 1250 to 1400 CE is characterized by "arid-like conditions", with a transition "towards more humid conditions" after c. 1400 CE (pp. 218–219). Gogou et al. then identify potential "links between climate and socio-environmental changes in the north Aegean area over the last 1500 years", such as "two major cycles of economic and demographic expansion" in the lands of Macedonia and Rhodope from the 11th to the 14th century ("culminating in 1200–1350 AD") and in the early modern period ("culminating in 1500–1600 AD"). An earlier "increase in olive pollen in Macedonia after 800 AD" they connect with the re-establishment of Byzantine authority in southern Macedonia from the late 8th century onwards (pp. 221–222). Although some of these developments may have benefited from beneficial climatic conditions, Gogou et al. rightly reject the "simplistic hypothesis that climate 'amelioration' was responsible for the economic growth" (p. 222). Their important conclusions deserve to be cited in full: "rather, it should encourage further exploration of the causal mechanisms behind the observed phenomena, which would help to understand the role of climate in the proper context. One should remember that neither during the Middle Ages nor during the early modern period, climate was the sole factor behind the increase in the scale of human impact on the region's environment. On the contrary, in each case it is possible to point out different societal factors, such as political and military stability, demand for specific products, either on foreign markets or on the part of the state apparatus (in the case of cereals), the possibility to meet local supply needs by imports (in the case of walnut, vine and olive), as main drivers of the observed socioenvironmental changes. Nevertheless, it is clear that in particular in the case of the more temperature-sensitive crops the average temperature conditions were crucial for achieving yields that made their cultivation profitable, or at least viable" (pp. 222–223). They identify, however, a clear correlation between "a decline in anthropogenic impact" and the plague epidemics of the Black Death from the mid-14th century onwards (p. 223). Recovery and demographic expansion only started again in the early Ottoman period (pp. 223–224).

The last paper of the volume by Elena Xoplaki et al.[16] on "The Medieval Climate Anomaly and Byzantium: A review of

[13] J. Haldon, The Empire that would not die. The Paradox of Eastern Roman Survival, 640–740. Cambridge, Mass. – London 2016, esp. 215–248. See also N. Roberts, Revisiting the Beyşehir Occupation Phase: Land-Cover Change and the Rural Economy in the Eastern Mediterranean during the First Millennium AD. *Late Antique Archaeology* 11/1 (2018) 53–68.

[14] Full list of authors: Alexandra Gogou, Maria Triantaphyllou, Elena Xoplaki, Adam Izdebski, Constantine Parinos, Margarita Dimiza, Ioanna Bouloubassi, Juerg Luterbacher, Katerina Kouli, Belen Martrat, Andrea Toreti, Dominik Fleitmann, Gregory Rousakis, Helen Kaberi, Maria Athanasiou, Vasilios Lykousis.

[15] This data is discussed in detail in Izdebski – Koloch – Słoczyński, Exploring Byzantine and Ottoman economic history.

[16] Full list of authors: Elena Xoplaki, Dominik Fleitmann, Juerg Luterbacher, Sebastian Wagner, John F. Haldon, Eduardo Zorita, Ioannis Telelis, Andrea Toreti, Adam Izdebski.

the evidence on climatic fluctuations, economic performance and societal change" (pp. 229–252) is essential reading for all interested in the environmental and socio-economic history of Byzantium, since it provides a paradigmatic case of the new kind of research manifest in the volume under review. After an insightful introduction on Byzantium´s history during the so-called "Medieval Climate Anomaly" (MCA, c. 850–1300 CE), the authors describe the "potential impact of climate and its variability on the Byzantine state and economy during medieval times", especially on the cultivation of the essential crops of grain, vine and olive (pp. 232–233). They outline the "evidence on the economic performance of Byzantium (AD 850–1300)" coming from historical archives (again, the village tax charters from Mt. Athos, for instance) and archaeology (coin finds, settlement numbers stemming from surveys such as in Laconia or Boeotia) as well as palynology (pollen data for various regions of the Byzantine Empire[17]) (pp. 233–236). Xoplaki et al. then provide an up-to-date description of the "climatology of the Byzantine lands" (p. 236), followed by an overview on the "palaeoclimate evidence for the medieval Byzantine region", including "documentary textual evidence" (pp. 236–237, building on the pioneering work of Ioannis Telelis[18]) and "natural proxies" (pp. 237–238) for the Balkans and Asia Minor. This most valuable synopsis is accompanied by very helpful graphs and maps. Due to its more technical jargon and theoretical character, the following section on "climate model simulations" (pp. 238–243) may be less appealing for the Byzantinist , but it provides the basis for some interesting "hypotheses" on "potential links between climatic and societal changes that took place during specific periods in Byzantium" (pp. 243–246), such as correlations between "a long-term trend towards wetter conditions in ca. AD 850–1000 in western Anatolia" or "stable and relatively warm-wet conditions in northern Greece AD 1000–1100" and periods of agricultural expansion in these regions (p. 245). These findings on "climatic changes and societal change in Byzantium (ca. AD 850–1300)" are synthesized for various periods and regions (pp. 246–248), including interesting observations on the (political and socio-economic) recovery of Byzantium in the 12th century despite "generally drier conditions", which may indicate that "Byzantine society in southern Greece during the twelfth century seems, in consequence, to be relatively resilient in a context of less favourable climatic conditions" (p. 247). During the last quarter of the 12th century prior to 1204, however, when "the empire experienced considerable internal instability", it also experienced "unusual climatic conditions" including colder and drier winters and summers (pp. 247–248). The hypothesis of the authors regarding the end of their period of interest (and of the MCA), marked by the collapse of Byzantine rule in Asia Minor in the late 13th/early 14th century, is, however, less convincing (p. 248). Though the temporal overlap between the first observable effects of the following "Little Ice Age" and the rise of the Turkish emirates in western Asia Minor may suggest a causal relation between the one and the other, the evidence is inconclusive and the quantity and quality (especially dating) of the data is not sufficient to prove such a scenario for the time being[19]. Nevertheless, the contribution by Xoplaki et al. is ground-breaking and its conclusion deserves to be cited in full: "(…) we suggest that climate was a significant contributory factor in the socio-economic changes that took place in Byzantium during the MCA, but that it was not the sole factor. Rather, the impact of climate change amplified or exacerbated a range of inter-related pressures that placed stress on various key elements of Byzantine society and economy. These included external forces such as the social dislocation and economic disruption generated by the Turkic raids and subsequent occupation of much of Anatolia from the AD 1050s on; the Pecheneg raids and dislocation in the Balkans from the AD 1070s; and the conflicts with Venice and other western powers that led up to the fall of Constantinople to the Latins in AD 1204. But they also included pre-existing and systemic internal socio-economic tensions between the state, various factional elements of the ruling elite, and the taxpaying rural populations of the provinces. The inter-relationship between these varying factors reinforces the conclusion that a comprehensive answer to the question of Byzantine social, economic and cultural resilience in the face of both climate change as well as other systemic or conjunctural pressures requires more detailed research into the underlying mechanisms and the exact nature of the causal relationships between human and natural environmental factors" (p. 249).

Xoplaki et al. as well as the other papers in this excellent volume thus indicate further avenues of this new and exciting interdisciplinary research. The special issue of *Quaternary Science Reviews* is exemplary for the sources, methods, potentials, problems and pitfalls (and how to avoid them) of palaeo-environmental and climate historical studies on the Late Roman and Byzantine Mediterranean. Therefore, it deserves a wide readership among specialists for the history and archaeology of these fields.

*Johannes Preiser-Kapeller**

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[17] Again, the one also to be found in Izdebski – Koloch – Słoczyński, Exploring Byzantine and Ottoman economic history.

[18] Esp. I. G. Telelis, Μετεωρολογικά φαινόμενα και κλίμα στο Βυζάντιο. 2 vols., Athens 2004; I. G. Telelis, Climatic fluctuations in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East AD 300-1500 from Byzantine documentary and proxy physical paleoclimatic evidence – a comparison. *JÖB* 58 (2008) 167–207.

[19] J. Preiser-Kapeller – E. Mitsiou, The Little Ice Age and Byzantium within the Eastern Mediterranean, ca. 1200–1350: An Essay on Old Debates and New Scenarios, in: The Crisis of the 14th Century. Teleconnections between Environmental and Societal Change?, ed. M. Bauch – G. J. Schenk. Berlin – Boston 2019, 190–220, esp. 210–211.

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Kostas N. Konstantinides, Ἠπειρωτικὰ Μελετήματα. Ζητήματα ἀπὸ τὴν πνευματικὴ ζωὴ στὴ μεσαιωνικὴ Ἤπειρο / Epirotan Studies. Aspects of Intellectual Life in Medieval Epiros. Ioannina: Idryma Ioseph kai Esther Gkane 2018. XII + 256 S. ISBN 978-618-81023-6-1.

Der Band versammelt acht bereits (zwischen 1999 und 2015) publizierte Beiträge des bekannten Byzantinisten, Kulturhistorikers, Kodikologen und Paläographen Kostas N. K(onstantinides). Es handelt sich dabei jedoch nicht um bloße *Variorum Reprints*, sondern um aktualisierte, verbesserte und erweiterte Versionen der ursprünglichen Veröffentlichungen, die bislang nur in teilweise regionalen und nicht leicht zugänglichen Publikationen zu konsultieren waren.

Das Buch teilt sich in zwei große Teile: Der erste Teil umfasst die Artikel Nr. I–VII, der zweite Teil Beitrag Nr. VIII, welcher als Epimetron fungiert und ursprünglich als Rede anlässlich des Jahrestages der griechischen Einnahme Ioanninas im Jahr 1913 gehalten wurde. Die Beiträge (in griechischer Sprache) sind am Ende jeweils mit einer Zusammenfassung auf Englisch versehen. Eine vorangestellte Einleitung (S. XIII–XVII) bietet kurze Zusammenfassungen der acht Beiträge, am Ende des Bandes (S. 233–256) finden sich ausführliche Indices zu Namen und Orten sowie zu modernen Autoren.

Im Zentrum der Beiträge steht, wie der Titel des Buches verrät, im weitesten Sinne das geistige Leben im mittelalterlichen Staat von Epiros (auch Despotat von Epiros), der sich nach der Einnahme Konstantinopels durch die Lateiner im Jahr 1204 ebenso wie die Reiche von Nikaia und Trapezunt gebildet hatte[1].

Beitrag Nr. I (S. 3–43) mit dem Titel „Ἡ πνευματικὴ ζωὴ τοῦ κράτους τοῦ Ἠπείρου (1204 – *c.* 1340)“ („Das geistige Leben im Staat von Epiros [1204 – *c.* 1340]“) fungiert nach K. (XIII) als Einleitung für die darauffolgenden Aufsätze. Erwähnung finden jene Gelehrte, die nach der Einnahme Konstantinopels in den Westen nach Arta und Ioannina geflohen waren, sowie gelehrte Bischöfe, die bereits vor 1204 inthronisiert worden waren. In diesem Zusammenhang werden Personen wie Ioannes Apokaukos, Demetrios Chomatenos und Georgios Bardanes genannt[2]. Von besonderem Interesse ist auch Konstantinos Hermoniakos (S. 17–18), der für den epirotischen Despoten Ioannes II. Angelos Dukas Komnenos (= Giovanni Orsini) und dessen Frau Anna ein in Achtsilbern gehaltenes Gedicht zum Trojanischen Krieg verfasste. Für den Stellenwert von Bildung am epirotischen Hof spricht auch die für die Auftraggeber verwendete Anrede φιλολογικώτατοι („äußerst gelehrt“)[3]. Zeichen für die Gelehrsamkeit in Epiros im 13. (und 14.) Jahrhundert ist auch die Produktion von Handschriften (S. 20–26), ebenso das Verfassen von Versen, die sowohl auf Siegeln als auch auf Bauwerken als Inschriften erhalten sind (S. 26–28)[4], wenngleich festgehalten werden muss, dass sich auf Dauer kein geistiges Zentrum bilden konnte, insbesondere nach dem Tod der noch in Konstantinopel ausgebildeten geistigen Elite (S. 31).

Beitrag Nr. II (S. 45–64) „Προσωπογραφικὰ τῆς οἰκογένειας τῶν Φιλανθρωπηνῶν. Ὁ στρατηγὸς Ἀλέξιος καὶ ὁ ἱερέας Μιχαὴλ οἱ Φιλανθρωπηνοὶ (13ος–14ος αἰῶνες)“ („Prosopographisches zur Familie Philanthropenoi. Der *strategos* Alexios und der Priester Michael Philanthropenos [13.–14. Jahrhundert]“) beschreibt die Tätigkeit zweier Mitglieder der im Titel genannten aristokratischen Familie der Philanthropenoi[5]. Während Alexios Philanthropenos im späten 13. Jahrhundert in Kleinasien gegen die Türken kämpfte, nach einem fehlgeschlagenen Aufstandsversuch, zu dem er gedrängt worden war, geblendet wurde, in der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts aber erneut erfolgreich gegen die Türken vorging (S. 47–52), soll der Zeitgenosse des Alexios, der Priester und spätere *megas oikonomos* der Metropole von Ioannina Michael, das Kloster auf der Insel im See von Ioannina erneuert haben, wie eine Inschrift aus dem Jahr 1541/42 berichtet (S. 53–56). Auch eine handschriftliche Notiz (Cod. Benaki 26 [Μπ. 53] [Diktyton 8088], s. XIII/XIV) bestätigt Michael als Stifter (S. 54). Die Inschrift von 1541/42 (nach dem byzantinischen Weltjahr ZN [= 7050]) besagt, dass seit der Erneuerung der Kirche durch Michael Philanthropenos im Jahr 1291/92 (nach dem byzantinischen Weltjahr ϛΩ [= 6800]) 240 (CM) Jahre vergangen seien. Wie sich jedoch leicht errechnen lässt, beträgt der Abstand 250 und nicht 240 Jahre. Während ursprünglich davon ausgegangen wurde, dass in der Inschrift CN (= 250 Jahre) zu korrigieren sei,[6] tritt K. dafür ein, die Erneuerung der Kirche durch Michael durch die korrigierte Schreibung ϛΩΙ in das Jahr 1301/02 zu versetzen. Dieses Datum würde seiner Meinung nach auch gut zur Datierung des gescheiterten Aufstands des Alexios Philanthropenos im Jahr 1295 passen, da danach Teile der aristokratischen Familie gezwungen gewesen sein könnten, das Reich von Nikaia zu verlassen (S. 56–57).

„Λογιοσύνη στὴν Ὀρθόδοξη ἐπισκοπὴ Κέρκυρας κατὰ τὸν 13ο αἰῶνα: Ἡ περίπτωση τοῦ Βασιλείου Πεδιαδίτου“ („Gelehrsamkeit im orthodoxen Bistum von Kerkyra im 13. Jahrhundert: Der Fall des Basileios Pediadites“) lautet Beitrag Nr. III (S. 65–83), der sich Leben und Werk des im Titel

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[1] Zu Bildung, Ausbildung und insgesamt zum geistigen Leben der Zeit (vor allem in Nikaia und später in Konstantinopel) siehe das wohl bekannteste Werk von K.: Higher Education in Byzantium in the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries (1204 – ca. 1310) (*Cyprus Research Centre, Texts and Studies of the History of Cyprus* XI). Nikosia 1982.

[2] Letzterer verfasste, wie von K. festgehalten (13), sein eigenes Grabepigramm: Dazu ergänze A. Rhoby, Byzantinische Epigramme auf Stein (Byzantinische Epigramme in inschriftlicher Überlieferung 3 (*Veröffentlichungen zur Byzanzforschung* 35). Wien 2014, Nr. GR69.

[3] E. Legrand, La guerre de Troie. Poème du XIVe siècle en vers octosyllables par Constantin Hermoniacos publié d'après les manuscrits de Leyde et de Paris. Paris 1890, 4 (v. 22).

[4] Das heute verlorene Epigramm auf dem Turm der Stadtmauer von Dyrrachion (26, Anm. 87) ist nun auch ediert bei Rhoby, Epigramme auf Stein, Nr. AL2.

[5] Zur Familie siehe die Einträge in *PLP* 29735–29779.

[6] Siehe z. B. M. Acheimastou-Potamianou, Οι τοιχογραφίες της Μονής των Φιλανθρωπηνών στο νησί των Ιωαννίνων. Athen 2004, 17.

Genannten widmet. Pediadites (ca. 1141/42–1219) begann seine Karriere in Konstantinopel, wo er dem Klerus der Hagia Sophia angehörte; er wirkte darüber hinaus als Lehrer in der Schule des heiligen Paulus und war *maistor ton grammatikon*. Von 1202 bis Ende 1217 / Anfang 1218 war er Erzbischof von Kerkyra[7]. In einem von Ilias Nesseris verfassten Anhang (S. 75–77) ist die Edition eines von Pediadites verfassten und im Cod. Laur. Plut. 71.32 überlieferten *schedos*, eines Lehrstücks für den Unterricht, zu finden. Dieses besteht aus einem Prosa- und einem Versteil. Ein wichtiges und interessantes Werk des Pediadites ist sein 1213 oder 1214 zu datierender Brief an Papst Innozenz III., in dem er die Einladung zum Vierten Laterankonzil im Jahr 1215 ablehnt (S. 70–71).

Beitrag Nr. IV mit dem Titel „Ἡ μελέτη τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν χειρογράφων τῶν Ἠπειρωτικῶν Συλλογῶν“ („Das Studium der griechischen Handschriften in epirotischen Sammlungen“) (S. 85–104) erzählt die Geschichte der Erforschung der in Nordwestgriechenland im Mittelalter kopierten Codices, die bereits am Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts aufgenommen worden war. Insbesondere hervorgehoben wird in diesem Zusammenhang die Leistung des Polyhistors Spyridon P. Lampros (1851–1919), dessen Verdienste für die Byzantinistik gar nicht hoch genug zu würdigen sind (S. 86–88). In den Anmerkungen zum Beitrag versammelt K. die neueste Literatur, womit dieser Beitrag in Zukunft die Grundlage für das weitere Studium von heute über die ganze Welt verteilten epirotischen Handschriften – sei es, dass sie in Epiros kopiert wurden, sei es, dass sie im Mittelalter nach Epiros gelangten – bilden wird. Der einen Überblick bietende Beitrag Nr. IV stellt auch die Grundlage für die drei folgenden Beiträge (Nr. V–VIII) dar, die auf spezifische epirotische Handschriften eingehen.

In Beitrag Nr. V „Ἕνα χειρόγραφο ἀπὸ τὰ Τζουμέρκα τοῦ ἔτους 1225: Oxford, Cromwell 11“ („Eine Handschrift aus Tzumerka des Jahres 1225: Oxford, Cromwell 11“) (S. 105–135) wird ein solcher heute im Ausland, in diesem Fall in Oxford, aufbewahrter Codex behandelt. Von besonderem Interesse ist der von dem Schreiber Michael Papadopulos (*RGK* I A 285) verfasste Kolophon (S. 111–115). Dieser beginnt mit den Versen (in normalisierter Orthographie) Ὥσπερ ξένοι χαίροντες ἰδεῖν πατρίδας / οὕτως καὶ οἱ γράφοντες βιβλίου τέλος („Wie die Fremden sich freuen, die Heimat zu sehen, so freuen sich auch die Schreiber über das Ende des Buches“), wobei es sich um eine Variante eines weit verbreiteten Buchepigramms handelt[8]. Danach steht ein Gebet an Christus, daraufhin die Angaben zum Kopisten, worauf wiederum ein kurzes Gebet an den Herrn folgt. In einem weiteren Prosatext erfährt man, dass Michael Papadopulos aus dem Thema Ioannina stammt und ἐν τῶ δρόγγω του Τζερμερνικου (sic) lebt (S. 112), wobei δρόγγος entweder eine Variante zum gängigeren δροῦγγος darstellt, was so viel wie „Distrikt“ bzw. „Bezirk“ heißt[9], oder auf slawischem *drǫgă* beruht, was „Berg“ bzw. „Bergregion“ bedeutet (S. 113). Tzemernikon ist eine Region in der Nähe von Ioannina, vermutlich das jetzige Gebiet Tsumerka, das ca. 30 Kilometer südöstlich der epirotischen Hauptstadt liegt[10]. Wie K. erwähnt (S. 111), bezeichnete Herbert Hunger die Schrift des Papadopulos etwas abschätzig als „richtungslose, primitive Gebrauchsschrift einer ungeübten Hand ohne jeden ästhetischen Anspruch“[11] (Schriftproben zugänglich S. 125–126 und 128–134); doch bereits Papadopulos selbst behauptet im Kolophon von sich, dass er „ein bäuerlicher Kopist“ bzw. „ein auf dem ‚Land‘ tätiger Kopist“ (χωρικὸς καλογράφος) sei (S. 112). K. behandelt auch ausführlich die Geschichte des Codex, die Paläographie, die Ikonographie, und geht am Ende auch kurz auf das Schicksal der Handschrift in der Neuzeit ein (S. 116–117).

Beitrag Nr. VI „Τὰ χειρόγραφα τῆς Βύλιζας: Μία ἐπισκόπηση“ („Die Handschriften von Vyzila: ein Überblick“ (S. 137–169) behandelt die Codices des ebenfalls im Bezirk Ioannina gelegenen Klosters *Euangelismos Theotoku*, das auch Vyliza genannt wird. In diesem Kloster befand sich wahrscheinlich einst die umfangreichste und bedeutendste Sammlung von epirotischen Handschriften, doch sind heute bei weitem nicht mehr alle von Spyridon P. Lampros im Jahr 1892 kurz beschriebenen Codices vorhanden[12]. Im Zuge des Transfers von Handschriftensammlungen im epirotisch-thessalischen Raum am Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts gelangten 14 Codices auch in die Griechische Nationalbibliothek, wo sie als Nummern EBE 1902–1915 firmieren. Neun der erhaltenen Codices datieren in das 14. und 15. Jahrhundert, die anderen gehören in das 17. und 18. Jahrhundert (S. 146–149). Im Kloster selbst wurden die meisten Handschriften nicht kopiert, sondern sie hatten ihren Ursprung auf dem Berg Athos, in Konstantinopel und in Ioannina (S. 149–151). Von besonderem Interesse ist Nr. 5 in Lampros' Katalog, der erst im Jahr 1966 wiederentdeckt wurde und heute als sehr wertvolles Stück im Kloster aufbewahrt wird (S. 149). Näher geht K. auf Codex EBE 1905 (= Nr. 7 Lampros), ein Evangeliar, ein, das im Jahr 1464 kopiert wurde (S. 151–153), indem er die vom Kopisten Alexios verfassten Paratexte *in extenso* ediert; dabei handelt es sich – wie von K. richtig angezeigt – um zwei Epigramme[13], doch auch der dritte Text beginnt metrisch (mit dem besonders weitverbreitenden Θεοῦ τὸ δῶρον-Typus[14]), setzt sich aber in Prosa fort (S. 152).

Ebenso wie Beitrag Nr. V beschäftigt sich auch Beitrag Nr. VII mit dem Titel „Ἕνα χειρόγραφο ἀπὸ τὰ Μετέωρα στὴ Συλλογὴ τοῦ Robert Curzon: *BL*, Additional 39618“ („Eine Handschrift aus Meteora in der Sammlung von Robert

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[7] In der im Beitrag genannten Bibliographie zu ergänzen wäre der Eintrag bei J. Preiser-Kapeller, Der Episkopat im späten Byzanz. Ein Verzeichnis der Metropoliten und Bischöfe des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel in der Zeit von 1204 bis 1453. Saarbrücken 2008, 188.

[8] Database of Byzantine Book Epigrams (DBBE): <https://www.dbbe.ugent.be/types/2148> (03.01.2020).

[9] Siehe LBG s.v. δροῦγγος.

[10] P. Soustal (unter Mitwirkung von J. Koder), Nikopolis und Kephallēnia (*TIB* 3). Wien 1981, 274.

[11] RGK I B 285.

[12] Sp. P. *Lampros*, Ἡ Μονὴ Βυλίζης καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ χειρόγραφα. *DIEE* 4 (1892) 353–356.

[13] Database of Byzantine Book Epigrams (DBBE): <https://www.dbbe.ugent.be/types/2673> und <https://www.dbbe.ugent.be/types/2674> (03.01.2020).

[14] Database of Byzantine Book Epigrams (DBBE): <https://www.dbbe.ugent.be/types/3805> (03.01.2020).

Curzon: *BL*, Additional 39618“) (S. 171–206) mit nur einer Handschrift. Der heute in der British Library aufbewahrte, ursprünglich aus Megalo Meteoro stammende Codex gelangte durch den aristokratischen Reisenden Robert Curzon Junior (1810–1873) im Jahr 1834 nach England. K. unterteilt seinen Beitrag in drei Teile: Am Beginn steht eine Biographie Curzons (S. 172–176), danach beschreibt K. dessen Aufenthalt in Meteora (S. 176–182), gefolgt von einer ausführlichen Beschreibung der Handschrift mit kodikologischen und paläographischen Angaben (S. 182–190). Als Anhang fungieren Exzerpte aus Curzons Reisebericht „Visits to Monasteries in the Levant“ (London 1849), in denen Angaben zu den Bibliotheken der vier Meteora-Klöster zu finden sind (S. 191–195). Im Cod. BL Add. 39618, der in das 16. Jahrhundert datiert, sind sechs verschiedene Schreiberhände nachweisbar (S. 186). Überliefert ist vor allem die Verschronik des Konstantinos Manasses (allerdings nur die Verse 1–2752, ed. O. Lampsidis, Athen 1996), daneben auch ein knappes Exzerpt aus dem Geschichtswerk des Michael Glykas. Der Reist verteilt sich auf Hymnographisches, Liturgisches und anderes Theologisches, wobei nicht alles ediert ist. Auch ein kurzes *schedos* des Manuel Moschopulos ist in der Handschrift überliefert. Am Ende des Codex (f. 76r) steht der Beginn einer über wenige Zeilen laufenden anonymen Kurzchronik, die ebenfalls unediert zu sein scheint.

Wie bereits eingangs erwähnt, hebt sich Beitrag Nr. VIII „Οἱ ἀπαρχὲς τῆς οἰκονομικῆς καὶ πνευματικῆς ἀνάπτυξης τῶν Ἰωαννίνων (13ος–15ος αἰῶνες)“ („Die Anfänge der wirtschaftlichen und geistigen Entwicklung Ioanninas [13.–15. Jahrundert]“) (S. 207–232) von den anderen Artikeln insofern ab, als es sich um einen Vortrag handelt, der mit bibliographischer Dokumentation in den Anmerkungen versehen wurde. Es ist auch der einzige Aufsatz, der keine englische Zusammenfassung am Ende hat. Gerichtet ist der Beitrag an eine Festversammlung, an deren Spitze der damalige Präsident der Hellenischen Demokratie Konstantinos Stephanopoulos stand. Nach einer kurzen Einführung in die Geschichte von Ioannina (das nach K. erstmals zu Beginn des 10. Jahrhunderts in den Quellen erwähnt wird [S. 209])[15], welche auch die Beschreibung der Fluchtbewegung von Aristokraten und Gelehrten nach Westgriechenland im Zuge der Ereignisse von 1204 miteinschließt (S. 209–212), erwähnt K. die Geschichte des Bistums von Ioannina (S. 212–214) ebenso wie ausführlich das berühmte Chrysobull Andronikos' II. vom Februar 1319[16], durch welches der Stadt nach dem Ausscheiden aus dem Epirotischen Reich und der Wiedervereinigung mit Byzanz frühere Privilegien zurückgegeben werden (S. 214–219). Ein weiterer Abschnitt widmet sich der Stadt bis zur Inbesitznahme durch die Osmanen im Jahr 1430 (S. 219–222). Danach beschreibt K. die frühen geistigen Strömungen (S. 222–224), auch der Chronik von Ioannina ist ein kurzes Kapitel gewidmet (S. 224–226). K. schließt den Beitrag mit kurzen Bemerkungen zur Geschichte der Stadt während der Turkokratie, und in einer direkten Hinwendung an den anwesenden Staatspräsidenten erwähnt er auch den Beitrag zypriotischer Freiwilliger in den Balkankriegen; diese durchaus persönlich gehaltene Bemerkung geht wohl darauf zurück, dass K. selbst aus Zypern stammt.

Das Buch stellt einen Streifzug durch die wichtigsten, in den letzten beiden Jahrzehnten entstandenen Arbeiten des Verfassers zu Epiros im Mittelalter dar. Jeder Beitrag ist mit Gewinn zu lesen. Besonders zu begrüßen ist, dass die Bibliographie jedes Abschnittes auf den neuesten Stand gebracht wurde. Auch jenen, die des Neugriechischen nicht mächtig sind, sei der Band empfohlen, da durch die ausführlichen englischen Zusammenfassungen der Inhalt gut zu erfassen ist. Auch das Layout des Buches ist sehr ansprechend. Darüber hinaus sind die Abbildungen mit bester Auflösung gedruckt.

Zusammenfassend ist festzustellen, dass das Buch einen wertvollen Beitrag zur Geschichte des geistigen und kulturellen Lebens im späten griechischen Mittelalter darstellt. Es sei daher sowohl Studierenden als auch etablierten Forscherinnen und Forschern zur Lektüre empfohlen.

*Andreas Rhoby**

[15] Nach Soustal, Nikopolis und Kephallēnia 165, geht die erste sichere Erwähnung auf das Jahr 879 zurück. Soustal erwähnt auch, dass sich ein bei Prokopios (aed. IV 1, 39–42 Haury) angeführter Bericht über eine Insel, die vom Land her zugänglich ist, auf Ioannina bzw. die Insel im See von Ioannina beziehen könnte.

[16] In der Bibliographie nachzutragen ist das Regest bei F. Dölger, Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des Oströmischen Reiches von 565–1453, 4. Teil: Regesten von 1282–1341 (*Corpus der griechischen Urkunden des Mittelalters und der Neueren Zeit* A I). München – Berlin 1960, Nr. 2412.

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Storytelling in Byzantium. Narratological approaches to Byzantine texts and images, ed. Ch. Messis – M. Mullett – I. Nilsson (*Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia* 19). Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet 2018. X + 318 S. ISBN 978-91-513-0362-8.

Narratologie, die Wissenschaft vom Erzählen, hat zwar in den letzten Dekaden des vergangenen und verstärkt in den ersten Dekaden des neuen Jahrhunderts antike Texte als Forschungsgegenstand entdeckt und ist gerade dabei, die Anwendbarkeit ihrer theoretischen Kategorien an mittelalterlichen Erzähltexten des westlichen Mittelalters zu erproben. Die Literatur des mittelalterlichen Byzanz blieb jedoch bis auf wenigen Ausnahmen von der mainstream- Diskussion so gut wie unberührt. Diese Lücke versucht nun vorliegender Band zu schließen. Präsentiert werden im Rahmen des internationalen Forschungsnetzwerkes „Texte et récit à Byzance“ erarbeitete wissenschaftliche Erkenntnisse, die methodologische Zugangsweisen der klassischen und postklassischen Narratologie auf ihrer Tauglichkeit bei der Interpretation byzantinischer li-

terarischer Texte überprüfen. Auffällig und zugleich erfreulich ist dabei, dass die überwiegende Mehrheit der Beiträge nicht nur wissenschaftliches Neuland aus byzantinistischer Sicht betreten, sondern auch jungen Forschern zu verdanken sind.

Der Band enthält 14 Beiträge (chapters), die in drei Sektionen gegliedert sind. Hinzu kommen eine Einführung, die über den *status quaestionis* berichtet und die Beiträge kurz präsentiert, sowie ein Nachwort, in dem Bilanz gezogen und künftige Perspektiven skizziert werden. Das verbindende Leitprinzip ist die Überzeugung, dass Narrativität nicht als Gattung, sondern vielmehr als Modus anzusehen ist, und daher als solcher diversen, auch gemeinhin nicht als narrativ geltenden Textsorten zu eigen ist. Neben den großen erzählenden Gattungen, etwa historiographischen und hagiographischen Werken, stehen ebenso liturgische Dichtung und Orts- und Kunstbeschreibungen im Zentrum der Aufmerksamkeit. Die einzelnen Beiträge werden in Sektion 2 (religiöse Dichtung, Hagiographie) und Sektion 3 (Historiographie) nach Gattungszugehörigkeit gruppiert. In Sektion 1 liegt der Fokus auf dem Aspekt des narrativen Raumes als gemeinsamer Nenner der untersuchten Texte, die unterschiedlichen literarischen Gattungen – Ekphrasis, Roman, Hagiographie und Historiographie – angehören.

Den Auftakt macht der allein in der Sammlung diachronisch angelegter Beitrag von Myrto Veikou (S. 15–32), der Narrativität, genauer den narrativen Raum, in Beschreibungen von ideologisch und historisch bedeutsamen Kunstdenkmälern zu Konstantinopel – Hagia Sophia, Muchrutas-Palast, Apostelkirche, ein spätantikes Mosaik im Kaiserpalast – untersucht. In all diesen Texten, zeitlich vom 6. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert reichend, ist der Raum, so Veikou, weit mehr als bloß ein setting für die Erzählung. Denn Raum schafft hier in wörtlichem Sinne die Erzählung selbst, ist sie doch nicht an Ereignishaftigkeit und Entwicklung gebunden, sondern ausschließlich in der Bewegung des den Raum durchwandernden Individuums bzw. der umherschweifenden Augen verankert[1]. Die beschriebenen Räume verkörperten für die damaligen Rezipienten jene kulturellen Werte, die wesentlicher Bestandteil byzantinischer Identität waren. Das interpretatorische Rüstzeug mit den zentralen Kategorien der „dichten Beschreibung“ (thick description), „in die tiefe gehende Kartierung“ (deep-mapping), „Gestaltung des (öffentlichen) Raums“ (place making) und „nicht-darstellende narrative Mittel“ (non-representational narrative devices) übernimmt Veikou von Ethnologie und Kulturanthropologie sowie von der Humangeographie, allesamt Wissenschaften, die ihren Fokus auf den Menschen, seine Erfahrungen, sein alltägliches, sowohl spontanes als auch ritualisiertes Handeln in Zeit und Raum legen. Die Akzentverschiebung von der darstellerischen, visuellen Ebene hin zum kultur-historischen Background der Darstellung ist zweifellos eine willkommene Ergänzung zur herkömmlichen, visuell und deskriptiv orientierten Analyse und Interpretation der Ekphraseis von Kunstdenkmälern. Die Rezensentin kann sich allerdings nicht des Eindrucks erwehren, dass die angewendeten Kategorien dem Gegenstand nicht ganz angemessen, sozusagen hierfür „eine Nummer zu groß“ sind. Ein Forschungsansatz, der ganz auf den Menschen, seine sozialen Handlungen, die Interaktion mit der Lebenswelt und ihre materiellen Komponenten ausgerichtet ist, lässt sich schwer auf literarische Produkte übertragen, in denen der tätige und beobachtende Mensch mit seinen Emotionen, Erfahrungen und Handlungen höchstens implizit anwesend ist. Dies gilt umso mehr, da Anlass, Entstehungs- und Rezeptionskontext der jeweiligen Beschreibungen unzureichend bekannt sind und als einzige, den Texten zugrunde legende soziale Praxis, sieht man von der Ekphrasis der Hagia Sophia von Paulos Silentiarios ab, allein das „Sightseeing“ erkennbar ist. Trotz dieser Einschränkung ist der Interpretationsansatz an sich anregend, vermag er doch Werken, die manch ein Forscher als oberflächliche, wenn auch prunkvolle Paradestücke epideiktischer Rhetorik betrachtet und bloß als – unzuverlässige – Hilfsmittel bei der Rekonstruktion nicht mehr oder schlecht erhaltener Denkmäler benutzt, historische Relevanz und ideologische Tiefe zu vermitteln. Eine kleine Korrektur sei hier erlaubt: Veikou zitiert (S. 28) eine Passage aus der Vision des Mönches Kosmas, die sie als einen „Russian text“ bezeichnet. In Wirklichkeit handelt es sich dabei um die Beschreibung des himmlischen Jerusalem, ein typisches byzantinisches Produkt jenes eschatologischen Denkens, das so manche hagiographische Werke des 10. Jahrhunderts charakterisiert[2].

Die nächsten zwei Beiträge zum narrativen Raum eröffnen einen gleichsam externen Zugang, indem sie Byzanz durch fremde Augen betrachten. Ellen Söderblom Saarela (S. 33–51) widmet sich der Beschreibung des als exotisch und zauberhaft dargestellten Byzanz im altfranzösischen Roman *Partonopeus de Blois* (verfasst wahrscheinlich um 1170). Der anonyme Autor versetzt darin seinen Helden von Frankreich in ein imaginäres Konstantinopel, lässt ihn dort zunächst die Liebe und nach unzähligen Abenteuern auch die Hand von Kaiserin Melior, und somit die Kaiserwürde und die Herrschaft über das byzantinische Reich, gewinnen. Das hier vorexerzierte Szenario einer friedlichen Inbesitznahme des byzantinischen Reiches durch den Westen geht mit der Anerkennung der kulturellen Überlegenheit von Byzanz einher, dessen Ausstrahlung sich der Held nicht entziehen kann: er lernt Griechisch und lauscht entzückt den Geschichten aus alten Zeiten, die seine Frau ihm erzählt. Die analysierte Stelle beschreibt den sich sukzessive öffnenden Raum und die vom Anblick der mächtigen, prunkvollen Stadt ausgelösten Empfindungen durch das Auge des langsam schreitenden Helden (nicht des Erzählers selbst, so S. 35), aber mit der Stimme des Erzählers. Söderblom Saarela vermutet, dass die byzantinische Tradition der Ekphrasis auf den französischen Autor eingewirkt haben könnte. Die Ekphrasis in *Partonopeus* orientiert sich aber nachweislich an westlichen Berichten über die Wunder Konstantinopels (etwa dem des Odo von Deuil) sowie an der Beschreibung von Städten in den um etwa zehn Jahren älteren romans d’antiquité. Diese werden jedoch in rein exter-

[1] Nicht vom ungefähr ist das Beschreiben häufig als eine dem Erzählen entgegensetzte textuelle Praxis betrachtet worden, s. etwa Ph. Hamon, Introduction à l’analyse du descriptif. Paris 1981.

[2] S. dazu zuletzt A. Timotin, Byzantine Visionary Accounts of the Other World. A Reconsideration, in: Byzantine Narrative. Papers in Honour of Roger Scott, ed. J. Burke et alii (*Byzantina Australiensia* 16). Melbourne 2006, 404–420.

ner Fokalisierung durch die jeweiligen Erzähler dargeboten; ausgespart sind daher die zwischen Verzückung und Angst schwankenden Gefühlsregungen des Beobachters[3]. Eine thematische und stilistische Abhängigkeit von zeitgenössischen byzantinischen Ekphrasen (so S. 47–48), etwa jenen im Roman des Eustathios Makrembolites, halte ich daher für unwahrscheinlich, zumal die Raumbeschreibung in *Partonopeus* der für den Roman des Makrembolites charakteristischen exegetischen Dimension gänzlich entbehrt. Die Ekphrasis von Chief d'Oire (= Konstantinopel) erinnert hingegen an ähnlich gestaltete Beschreibungen im späteren volkssprachlichen Roman der Palaiologenzeit, welche die gleiche interne Fokalisierung und personale Darstellungstechnik aufweisen, wobei allerdings der Weg der Imitation, sollte es eine solche geben, der umgekehrten Richtung folgen würde[4].

Der Beitrag von Milan Vucašinović (S. 53–70) analysiert zwei der ältesten Dokumente der mittelalterlichen serbischen Literatur: die *Vita* des Heiligen Symeon, aus der Feder von dessen Sohn, des ersten serbischen Königs Stefan II. Nemanja, des Erstgekrönten (1216), und die des Heiligen Savas, verfasst vom athonitischen Mönch Domentjan (1253/54). Der Schwerpunkt liegt dabei auf dem in beiden *Bioi* reichlich vorhandenen Briefwechseln – eine Singularität im breiteren Kontext des byzantinischen hagiographischen Schrifttums, in dem sie gründen – und dessen narrativer Funktion. Es gelingt dabei Vucašinović zu zeigen, dass Briefe, ob *in extenso* zitiert oder bloß erwähnt, vom personenzentrierten Erzähler dazu benutzt werden, um einen Handlungs- und/oder Szenenwechsel vorzunehmen. Briefe sind darüber hinaus mit der Konstruktion und Vergegenwärtigung des Erzählraums verbunden. Sie funktionieren als eine Art symbolischer Inbesitznahme neuer Räume und bewirken dadurch eine Ausdehnung der erzählten Welt.

In ihren Beitrag vergleicht AnnaLinden Weller die teilweise divergierenden Berichte des Johannes Skylitzes und des armenischen Historikers Aristakēs Lastivercʿi über die 1022 entflammte Rebellion des Nikephoros Phokas und Nikephoros Xiphias gegen Kaiser Basileios II. Laut Skylitzes endete sie mit dem Mord am ersteren durch die Hand seines Mitverschwörers und dessen Verbannung in ein konstantinopolitanisches Kloster. Lastivercʿi seinerseits erwähnt die Rolle des Xiphias mit keinem Wort und schreibt den Mord an Phokas einem David Senacherim zu, einem byzantinischen Vasallen armenischer Abstammung. Auch die Begründung der Revolte fällt in den beiden Historikern unterschiedlich aus. Lastivercʿi führt eine plötzliche Sinnesverwirrung des bis dahin treuen Vasallen als Grund für dessen Abfall vom legitimen Kaiser an, Skylitzes wiederum macht die Enttäuschung der zwei bis dahin treuen Generäle, die bei der Durchführung des georgischen Feldzuges übergangen und zurückgelassen worden waren, dafür verantwortlich. Diese Abweichungen liegen laut Wellner einerseits in den unterschiedlichen kulturell-ideologischen Welten der Autoren (die sie als „storyworlds" bezeichnet) und andererseits in der schablonenhaften, typologischen Erzählweise, die beiden – und, ich würde hinzufügen, mittelalterlichem Erzählen überhaupt – gemeinsam ist. Dieser Auffassung, wiewohl sie in der Substanz nicht neu ist, kann man zustimmen, meint hier *de facto* „storyworld" wohl nichts anderes als die selbstverständliche Verankerung eines jeden Textes – und eines historiographischen insbesondere – in der sozio-kulturellen Realität der Zeit, in der Textproduktion- und Rezeption stattfinden und die ihre unabdingbare Voraussetzung bildet. Besteht man aber doch auf dem Konzept von „storyworld" in dem von David Herman intendierten Sinn[5], auf den sich Wellner beruft, ist trotzdem schwerlich „all of Byzantine society as a story world, a collection of idealized model persons, of typoi" zu bezeichnen. Die byzantinische Gesellschaft, in diesem Fall jene des 11. Jahrhunderts, ist keine story, sondern eine (uns leider heute unzureichend bekannte) Realität. Sie bildet zwar die Grundlage zur Herausbildung und Entwicklung der literarischen Topoi und Typen („mental models"), derer sich Literaten bedienten für Darstellungen von und Urteilen über die Vergangenheit, welche aber nicht mit diesen zu vermengen oder gar zu verwechseln ist. Es bedeutet wahrlich keine Entdeckung, dass die armenische und die byzantinische Gesellschaft neben gemeinsamen auch unterschiedliche ideologische Muster hatten, die zu verschiedenen Darstellungsweisen und Interpretationen historischer Ereignisse führten. Hinzu treten aus sozialem Status und Ausbildung der jeweiligen Autoren resultierende Unterschiede, die m. E. eine nicht unerhebliche Rolle gespielt haben dürften. Es verwundert demnach nicht, dass Skylitzes, hoher Zivilbeamter der staatlichen Verwaltung und Lastivercʿi, gelehrter Vardapet (Priester) der armenischen Kirche, die gleichen Ereignisse unterschiedlich begründeten und bewerteten. Was schließlich die kontroverse Identität des Mörders von Nikephoros Phokas in den zwei Quellen betrifft, so dürften doch alle drei genannten Persönlichkeiten – Phokas, Xiphias und David Senacherim – *realiter* in die Affäre verwickelt gewesen sein. Xiphias, der Phokas nicht selbst tötete, sondern, laut Skylitzes (367, 49 Thurn: λόχους ἔχων προευτρεπισμένους, ἀποκτίννυσι) aus dem Hinterhalt meucheln ließ, mochte sich zu diesem Zwecke der Dienste Senacherims bedient haben, welcher dann den Mord zum Anlass eines erneuten Seitenwechsels nahm. Sollte hier tatsächlich eine „hyper-lokale" Berichterstattung vorliegen (so S. 84 in Bezug auf die armenische Version der Ereignisse), so erfolgte sie wohl in beiden Berichten, wobei jeder Autor die Rolle jener Person hervorhob, von der er meinte, sie sei seinem intendierten Publikum am meisten vertraut. Ein Ersetzen von Xiphias durch Senacherim, wobei Lastivercʿi aber „presence and narrative usefulness of the model person" (d.h. der treue und loyale Verwaltungsbeamte) beibehalten habe,

[3] Dazu C. Croizy-Naquet, Thèbes, Troie et Carthage. Poétique de la ville dans le roman antique au 12e siècle. Paris 1994.

[4] Dazu mit speziellem Bezug auf Partonopeus jetzt C. Cupane, Intercultural Encounters in the Late Byzantine Vernacular Romance, in: Reading the Late Byzantine Romance. A Handbook, ed. A. J. Goldwin – I. Nilsson. Cambridge 2019, 40–68.

[5] D. Hermann, Narrative ways of worldmaking, in: Narratology in the Age of cross-disciplinary narrative Research, ed. S. Heinan – R. Sommer. Berlin 2009, 71–87, hier 71–72: "Storyworlds are mental models of the situations and events being recounted – of who did what to and with whom, when, where, why, and in what manner".

„whose role both Xiphias and Senacherim occupy“ (S. 85), scheint mir wenig wahrscheinlich. Die Existenz eines literarisch ausgearbeiteten Typus „vorbildlicher Verwalter“ parallel zu jenem eines „idealen Kaisers“, der Kraft seiner topischen Allgemeingültigkeit über Sprachbarrieren hinweg übertragbar wäre, ist ja unbelegt, wäre allenfalls nur durch einen hier nicht geleisteten umfassenden Vergleich der Quellen nachzuweisen.

Die zweite Sektion ist dem biblischen und hagiographischen storytelling gewidmet. Das biblische Erzählen ist Gegenstand des ersten und letzten Beitrags. Sie rahmen somit gewissermaßen die Gruppe ein. Die beiden hervorragend ausgearbeiteten Beiträge beziehen ihren kombinierten Reiz durch das Zusammenspiel von unterschiedlichen Erzählmedien, dem Schriftmedium im ersten, dem figurativen im zweiten. Uffe Holmsgaard Eriksen (S. 91–110) analysiert in vorbildlicher Weise die narrativen Teile in der liturgischen Dichtung des Romanos Melodos unter Anwendung der von G. Genette etablierten erzähltheoretischen Kategorien und zeigt dabei die Art, in der der Melode die diegetische Erzählweise des biblischen Hypotexts in die mimetische Dialogform transponierte. Eriksen fokussiert dabei auf das bekannte, bereits homerische Motiv des anagnorismos (Wiedererkennens), das er zu Recht als ein von Romanos in Dienste der Didaxe bewusst eingesetztes narratives Mittel sieht. Judith Soria ihrerseits analysiert (S. 71–87) die narrative Struktur dreier spätbyzantinischer, den Passionszyklus darstellender Wandmalereien in serbischen Kirchen. Es ist dies eine sehr willkommene Einbeziehung eines weiteren Mediums in das Forschungsfeld von Narrativität, ein Medium, das, soweit ich sehe, in der diesbezüglichen byzantinistischen Forschung bis dato unbeachtet geblieben ist. Soria leistet also geradezu Pionierarbeit; allein Ulrich Moennig hat vor einigen Jahren den Freskenzyklus der Vita Christi (und Mariens) in der Chora-Kirche ansatzweise unter dem Gesichtspunkt des biographischen Erzählens betrachtet und literarischen Texten zur Seite gestellt[6]. Soria zeigt, wie Narrativität aus dem Zusammenwirken von Bild und Schrift in enger Anlehnung an den biblischen Hypotext entsteht. Wo die Ikonographie mit ihrer charakteristischen Gestik an Grenzen der Ausdrucksfähigkeit stößt, ergänzt das geschriebene Wort des Evangeliums die implizierten Erzählinhalte. Eingegangen wird insbesondere auf die Figuren der Apostel (speziell auf Petrus), die das Geschehen rezipieren, ohne es zunächst zu verstehen. Aus der Kluft zwischen Aktion (etwa die Fußwaschung) und Erklärung ihrer Bedeutung entsteht die narrative Spannung, die sowohl die dargestellten Protagonisten als auch und vor allem den Betrachter zu einem tieferen Verständnis der Botschaft Christi hinführen.

Hagiographisches Erzählen steht im Zentrum der übrigen Beiträge zu dieser Sektion. Laura Borghetti (S. 111–136) analysiert die auf das Leben und Wirken der Besungenen bezogenen narrativen Splitter in den Hymnen der Dichterin Kassia auf weibliche Heilige. Nicht zu Unrecht wird das Schrifttum über Heiligenleben, die vielleicht umfangreichste und populärste Erzählgattung im mittelalterlichen Byzanz, dem Märchen gleichgestellt und folgerichtig von Borghetti anhand des von Vladimir Popp und Algirdas Greimas entwickelten Aktantenschemas mit seinen Standardfunktionen – Held, Gegenspieler, falscher Held, Helfer, Schenker, Prinzessin – untersucht. Dieses Schema besitzt ausreichende Flexibilität, sodass es meistens reibungslos funktioniert. Einige Parallelisierungen, etwa die Belegung der Funktion „Prinzessin“ mit Christus (so S. 122), scheinen gleichwohl weit hergeholt, zumal dieser wenig später als „Helfer“ aufgefasst wird, was zu seinem Wesen doch viel besser passt. Rollenwechsel ist zwar im Popp´schen Modell möglich, setzt jedoch einen Handlungsablauf voraus, der ihn begründet; da dies hier gänzlich fehlt, bleibt es bei der simplen Behauptung. Darüber hinaus ist zweifelhaft, ob der euchologische Schlussteil der Hymnen, wo die Dichterin *in sua propria persona* auftritt und die Fürsprache der Heiligen für sich und die Gemeinde erfleht, als narrativ aufzufassen und mit Hilfe narratologischer Kategorien zu analysieren sei (so S. 125–127). Man vergleiche etwa den oben besprochenen Beitrag von Eriksen, wo dies ausdrücklich verneint wird (S. 92–94). Von einem „euchologic narrative“ zu sprechen ist meines Erachtens dem Wesen und der Intention der Gedichte nicht angemessen.

Bei Julie Van Pelt (S. 137–157) geht es um den Topos der verheimlichten Identität anhand der *Vitae* von Iohannes Kalybites, Theodora und Symeon Salos. Sie versteht das Motiv als eine performative Tat, eingebettet in der Performanz des Textes und damit auf der Ebene der *histoire/fabula* und auch auf der des *discours* korrespondierend. Der Topos erlaubt darüber hinaus ein raffiniertes Spiel zwischen dem Kenntnisstand der intradiegetischen Zuhörerschaft (die um die Verstellung des Heiligen nicht weiß) und jenem des Rezipienten des Textes, welcher das Allwissen des Autors teilt.

Lorenzo Ciolfi (S. 159–176) seinerseits beleuchtet die Handhabung der narrativen Zeit in der spätbyzantinischen *Vita* des als Heiligen verehrten Kaisers Johannes III. Dukas Vatatzes. Er identifiziert dabei vier Zeitebenen, die sich von der fernen Vergangenheit der Vorfahren über die Lebenszeit des Kaisers und die seinem Tod unmittelbar folgende Zeit mit den von ihm bewirkten Wunderheilungen bis hin zur Gegenwart des Verfassers erstrecken. Ciolfi kann dabei zeigen, dass der Erzählrhythmus mittels Digressionen verlangsamt wird, die Stimmen anderer literarischen Gattungen inkorporieren und im Dienste der Satire und politischer Kritik stehen.

Die dritte und letzte Sektion ist dem historiographischen Erzählen gewidmet. Leider thematisiert keiner der darin enthaltenen Beiträge die derzeit intensiv geführte Diskussion über Möglichkeiten und Wege einer narratologischen Analyse historiographischer Texte (vgl. dazu in Auswahl: Wirklichkeitserzählungen: Felder, Formen und Funktionen nicht-literarischen Erzählens, hrsg. von C. Klein – M. Martinez. Stuttgart 2009 [hier vor allem den Beitrag von S. Jaeger, Erzählen im historiographischen Diskurs, 110–135]; Faktuales und fiktionales Erzählen. Interdisziplinäre Perspektiven, hrsg. von M. Fludernik – N. Falkenhayner – J. Steiner. Würzburg 2015; M. Fludernik, Experience, Experientiality, and Historical Narrative. A View from Narratology, in: Erfahrung und Geschichte. Historische Sinnbildung im Pränarrativen, hrsg. von Th. Breyer – D. Creuz. Berlin – New York 2010, 40–72, sowie D. Cohn, The Distinction of Fiction. Baltimore – London 1999, v. a. 18–36, 109–131). Die Autoren beschreiten stattdessen sehr

[6] Dazu U. Moennig, Biographical Arrangement as a generic Feature and its multiple Use in Late-Byzantine Narrative. *Phrasis* 1 (2010) 107–147, hier 134–138.

unterschiedliche Interpretationswege, die nicht unbedingt in den Bereich der Narratologie fallen.

Charis Messis (S. 201–222) untersucht die als Buch 5 des sogenannten Theophanes continuatus überlieferte *Vita Basilii* unter dem Gesichtspunkt der literarischen Subversion, wobei er – mit Berufung auf die diesbezügliche Sicht von Dimiter Angelov („subversive meaning could be discovered and even invented in the process of reception")[7] – die Rolle der (primären) Rezipienten hervorhebt. Gestützt auf Michael Psellos, unterscheidet Messis drei Kategorien von Lesern/Hörern: nicht ambitionierte (ἰδιώτιδες), gebildete (σπουδαῖοι) und, spärlich gesät, „Spezialisten" (d.h. Kollegen, Angehörige der Rhetoren-Zunft), dazu fähig, den zwischen den Zeilen, manchmal sogar jenseits der Autorenintention verborgenen Sinn zu entschlüsseln. Solche Rezipienten wären demnach in der Lage gewesen, Anspielungen auf homosexuelle Beziehungen zu entdecken, die ein Autor bewusst oder unbewusst in den Text einfließen ließ. Konkret Michael III. und Basileios I. hat die Forschung schon lange vor Messis ein homosexuelles Verhältnis unterstellt. Zeitgenössische Quellen schweigen jedoch verständlicherweise darüber. Einen Hinweis will Messis in der Episode der *Vita Basilii* (§13 50–52 Ševčenko) entdeckt haben, welche schildert, wie Basileios das entlaufene Pferd des Kaisers wieder bändigte und einfing, es dann vom Kaiser als Geschenk erhielt, und zwar während einer Hasenjagd (S. 212–215). Letztere sei, so Messis, eine Anspielung auf die Homosexualität der involvierten Personen, wofür er nur auf nicht spezifizierte Belege aus der klassischen Literatur verweist. Das unbändige Pferd wiederum symbolisiert die eigenwillige Eudokia Ingerina, Michaels Geliebte, die er mit Basileios verheiratete. Die übliche Rezeption hat im Geschehen bloß eine beeindruckende Kraft- und Mutprobe gesehen, die einem epischen Helden gut anstand. Es passt ins Bild, dass – was Messis entging – viel später, wohl im 13. Jahrhundert, der durchschnittlich gebildete Redaktor der Grottaferrata-Fassung von Digenes Akrites seinen Helden genau diese Tat vollbringen ließ (G IV 1054–1065, 130–131 Jeffreys), wobei freilich die Rahmenbedingungen etwas abweichen: Das Pferd gehört Akrites, nicht dem Kaiser, welcher den Helden besucht, und der Vorfall ereignet sich nicht während einer Jagd[8].

Anastasia Sirotenko (S. 223–242) vergleicht die Darstellung von Kaiser Herakleios und seiner siegreichen Feldzüge gegen die Perser in der Chronik von Theophanes und in den epischen Gedichten des Georgios von Pisidien. Gezeigt wird, wie der spätere Chronist sich vom enkomiastischen Diskurs von Pisides, der zusammen mit Theophylaktos Simokattes eine Hauptquelle für diese Zeit war, absetzte und eine viel kritischere Haltung dem Kaiser gegenüber einnahm. Die Argumentation ist zwar kompakt und überzeugend, der Verzicht auf die Anwendung narratologischer Interpretationskategorien erweist den Beitrag jedoch als klaren Fremdkörper innerhalb des Bandes.

Stanislas Kuttner-Homs (S. 243–262) bietet eine Lektüre zur *Chronike Diegesis* des Niketas Choniates, konkret dem der Regierungszeit des Isaak Angelos und dessen Bruder Alexios gewidmeten Teil, in dem er als einen Hypotext die thebanische Sage über das Schicksal des Ödipus und seiner Familie zu erkennen glaubt. Die von Niketas zum Erkennen des Subtextes gelieferte „Lektürehilfe" sei, so der Verfasser, das Eigenzitat, also spezifische formularische Redewendungen, die auf verborgene thematische Gemeinsamkeiten hinweisen. Eine solche sei etwa die Erwähnung des Zankapfels der Eris im Werkkorpus des Niketas. Laut Kuttner-Homs (S. 247–252) verbirgt sich hinter dem mythologischen Bild eine Anspielung auf einen inzestuösen Hintergrund der Ehe zwischen Kaiser Isaak Angelos und Margarete von Ungarn. Nur in einer der drei angegebenen Stellen (Chron. Dieg. 260, 61–62 van Dieten) leitet aber das Bild des Zankapfels den Bericht über eine tatsächlich inzestuöse Eheschließung ein, nämlich jene von Andronikos I. geplante zwischen seiner Tochter Eirene und Alexios Komnenos, die Kinder der gleichen Mutter, Theodora Komnene, waren. Die daraufhin in der Synode entstandene Unstimmigkeit wird mittels des mythologischen Vergleichs passend charakterisiert (eine der beiden anderen Stellen [*ibidem* 648, 43–44 van Dieten] bezieht sich auf die von den Kreuzfahrern bei der Eroberung der Stadt 1204 zerstörte Statue; die zweite [Oratio 5, 42–44 van Dieten] hat zwar einen unmittelbaren Bezug zur Vermählung von Isaak und Margarete, dient jedoch als Gegenpol dazu: nicht Zwietracht erwächst aus der legitimen Eheschließung zwischen Ebenbürtigen, sondern allgemeine Eintracht und Wohlgefallen. Wie Kuttner-Homs selbst zugibt [S. 248], dient das mythologische Bild entgegengesetzten Zwecken, was die Annahme eines identischen Kontexts ohnehin hinfällig macht). Die Argumentation stützt sich denn auch in der Folge auf ein ganz anderes Argument, jenes nämlich der gemeinsamen Abstammung beider Brautleute, Isaak und Margarete, aus dem römischen Geschlecht der Julio-Claudier, was sie, sofern man bereit ist die Kluft von über tausend Jahren zu ignorieren, zumindest theoretisch zu Verwandten machte. Diese These jedoch steht und fällt mit der Interpretation des Textes von Choniates, die leider falsch ist. Was erstens die vermeintliche Abstammung Margaretes aus der *gens Iulia* betrifft (Oratio 5, 40, 17–19 van Dieten: ἀναφέρει τὰς πρώτας τοῦ γένους καταβολὰς ἐς Καίσαρας Ἰουλίους καὶ Αὐγούστους), so ist seit langem nachgewiesen, dass es sich dabei um eine geläufige Redewendung handelt, mit der gelehrte Schriftsteller des 12. Jahrhunderts die Herkunft diverser westlicher Herrscherfamilien, vor allem der Deutschen, aber auch der Ungarn, umschrieben[9]. Die römische Genealogie des Isaak Angelos basiert zweitens auf dessen vermeintlichem Anspruch, dem Geschlecht des trojanischen Aineias anzugehören. Dies ist allerdings ein gründliches Missverstehen des Wortlautes des Textes von Niketas. An der diesbezüglichen Stelle (284, 49–52 van Dieten) kritisiert der Historiker vielmehr ironisch die Trägheit des Isaak, welcher sich geweigert hatte, die ihm angetragene Verantwortung für die Verteidi-

[7] D. Angelov, Power and Subversion in Byzantium: Approaches and Frameworks, in: Power and Subversion in Byzantium, ed. M. Saxby. Farnham – Burlington 2013, 12.

[8] Über die Episode in Digenes Akrites und in der Vita Basilii s. rezent G. Prinzing, Liudprand's Antapodosis and Digenes Akrites, in: Reading in the Byzantine Empire and beyond, ed. T. Shawcross – I. Toth. Cambridge 2018, 336–350.

[9] E. Jeffreys – M. Jeffreys, Who was Eirene the Sevastokratorissa? *Byz* 64 (1994) 40–68, hier 55–62.

gung von Nikaia, das Andronikos I. belagerte, zu übernehmen: „Gleich Aineias nahm er Abstand vom Kampf, da er die Zukunft zu kennen schien und stellte sich das ihm bestimmte Kaisertum vor wie jener (sc. Aineias) den Ruhm seines Geschlechts. Darum legte er keinen Wert darauf, sich als Feldherr zu profilieren“ (κατ᾽Αἰνείαν τοῦ μάχεσθαι ἀφιστάμενος, ὡς ἔοικε, τὸ μέλλον εἰδὼς καὶ τὴν ἀποκειμένην αὐτῷ βασιλείαν ὡς ἐκεῖνος τὴν τοῦ γένους εὔκλειαν φανταζόμενος οὐ περὶ πολλοῦ τὸν ἡγεμόνα ἐτίθετο) Niketas Choniates spielt hier auf eine bekannte homerische Passage an und manipuliert diese gekonnt im Dienste seines satirischen Zweckes. Ilias Y 300 f., schildert wie Aineias, von Apollon zum Zweikampf mit Achilles angestiftet, sich dem zunächst mit dem vernünftigen Argument zu entziehen versucht, jener sei unbesiegbar, da die Götter ihn beschützen. In der Folge lässt sich der trojanische Held aber doch darauf ein und wird von Poseidon vor dem sicheren Tod bewahrt, hat doch das Schicksal, wie die Götter wissen, Anderes für ihn vor. Die Unverhältnismäßigkeit des Vergleichs bringt die bittere Ironie des Historikers glänzend zur Geltung. Das mangelhafte Textverständnis geht mit einem gravierenden narratologischen Fehler einher, verwechselt doch Kutter-Homs die Stimme des heterodiegetischen, allwissenden Erzählers, der hier seine eigene, kaiserkritische Meinung kundtut, mit jener der dargestellten Figur, des Isaak selbst. Da nun kein Inzest, nicht einmal ein theoretischer, vorliegt, bricht das über viele Seiten errichtete Ödipus-Konstrukt in sich zusammen. Analog sind Kuttner-Homs Spekulationen über mögliche verwandtschaftliche Beziehungen des Isaak Angelos mit der byzantinischen Familie der Aineiaden, welcher die sebastokratorissa Eirene angeblich angehörte (so S. 249 mit Anm. 34), grundlos. Eine solche Familie hat es in Byzanz nicht gegeben: mit der seltenen Wendung γένος μὲν οὖν σόν εἰς τὸ τῶν Αἰνειάδων spielt der Lobdichter Manganeios Prodromos verallgemeinernd auf die westliche, vermutlich normannische Abstammung von Eirene an[10]. Bedauerlich ist, dass die Herausgeber des Bandes es verabsäumt haben, den noch unerfahrenen jungen Autor vor solch peinlichen Fehlern zu bewahren.

Niketas Choniates Darstellungskunst steht auch im Zentrum der Ausführungen von Tomasz Labuk (S. 263–285). Die höchst dramatische Schilderung von Leben und Tod des Andronikos Komnenos liest er unter dem modernen Gesichtspunkt einer „trickster story“, was Erzählungen über hochbegabte aber widersprüchliche, unstete und letztlich umstürzlerische Persönlichkeiten meint, die gegen die soziale Ordnung rebellieren, letztlich scheitern und ein böses Ende nehmen. Gewiss mag die Erzählweise des Niketas einen modernen Leser zu einer solchen Auslegung animieren, wobei Labuk sich ohnehin davor hütet, dem byzantinischen Autor eine solche Intention zu unterstellen (S. 265 und 267). So reizvoll seine kontextunabhängige Lektüre des Textes auch sein mag, ist sie insofern problematisch, weil dies zumindest teilweise an der Realität von Autor und Zeit vorbeigeht. Es würde der stilistisch und inhaltlich auf Antithesen aufgebauten Darstellungsweise des Niketas besser gerecht werden, wenn man neben das Bild eines Andronikos-trickster auch jenes des gescheiterten Reformers stellen würde: Produkt eines Systems, das er aus charakterlichen, aber auch zeitgenössisch strukturell begründeten Zwängen zunehmend mit Gewalt zu ändern versuchte und dadurch Opfer nicht nur seiner selbst, sondern auch eines sich seit langem anbahnenden politischen und ökonomischen Wandels, den weder er noch seine Nachfolger aufzuhalten vermochten. Eine Interpretation „from within“ sollte immer die unentbehrliche Voraussetzung im Umgang mit einem Text sein, zumal eines der Prämoderne. Nur eine historische und diachronische Narratologie erlaubt es, meiner Ansicht nach, der Alterität mittelalterlichen Erzählens gerecht zu werden[11].

Autobiographie ist eine besonders raffinierte Erscheinungsform des Erzählens, weil sie Faktualität und Fiktionalität zugleich verpflichtet ist. Ihr gilt der abschließende Beitrag von Aglae Pizzone (S. 287–304). Ausgehend von den autobiographischen Einlagen in den Chiliaden des Iohannes Tzetzes zeigt sie nicht nur, dass der autobiographische Gestus von Anbeginn im Plan des Werkes eingeschrieben war, sondern ihm über seine literarische Zielsetzung hinaus auch eine wichtige Funktion bei der Konsolidierung des prekären sozialen Status des Tzetzes zukam.

Ziehen wir die Bilanz aus den vorangehenden Beobachtungen, so ist festzuhalten, dass vorliegender Band durch die Vielfalt der wissenschaftlichen Ansätze und die breitgefächerte Auswahl an untersuchten Texten und Gattungen der in der Einleitung formulierte Zielsetzung gerecht wird, also die Sinnhaftigkeit narratologischer Methodik in der byzantinischen Literaturanalyse zu demonstrieren. Der transgenerische Ansatz stellt eine der Stärken des Bandes dar. Die zyklische Wandmalerei ebenfalls einzubringen und erzähltheoretisch zu untersuchen, so muss hervorgehoben werden, verleiht eine zusätzliche, intermediale Dimension[12]. Allein bedauerlich ist hingegen das fast gänzliche Fehlen der fiktionalen Literatur, die doch von jeher das zentrale Feld narratologischer Debatte war und ist. Sie ist nur durch einen einzigen Beitrag (Söderblom Saarela S. 33–51 über *Partonopeus de Blois*) vertreten, der den byzantinischen literarischen Raum nur am Rande berührt. Man könnte daraus sogar folgern, der Sammelband ziele implizit darauf ab, die immer noch in der erzählanalytischen Forschung vorherrschende Fixierung auf fiktionale Werke zu durchbrechen.

Wie auch immer, alle Autoren des Bandes beherrschen das erzähltheoretische Rüstzeug, vor allem jenes der klassischen Narratologie, und gehen souverän damit um. Postklassische, kontextbezogene Narratologie findet hingegen spärlich Anwendung (nur seitens Veikou, Vukasinović und ansatzweise Weller), wohl weil der Kontext meist unzureichend bekannt und nur aus den Texten selbst zu erschließen ist. Was der Band insgesamt – sei es nur durch einige Fehler und Lücken – gleichzeitig demonstriert, ist, wie grundlegend und unent-

[10] Vgl. Jeffreys – Jeffreys, Who was Eirene 54.

[11] Ich schließe mich hier der Ansicht von E. von Contzen, Why we need a medieval Narratology. A Manifesto, *Diegesis* 3/2 (2014) 1–21, an; vgl. bereits M. Fludernik, The Diacronization of Narratology. *Narrative* 11/3 (2003) 331–348.

[12] Dazu passend s. den Sammelband Erzähltheorie transgenerisch, intermedial, interdisziplinär, hrsg. von V. Nünning – A. Nünning. Trier 2002.

behrlich bei aller Interdisziplinarität und Offenheit modernen Methodologien der Textinterpretation gegenüber weiterhin philologisch-historische Kompetenz bleibt.

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Alexios G. C. Savvides, The Beginnings and Foundation of Byzantine Studies. A Survey with a Bibliographical Appendix. Athens: Hêrodotos 2018. 389 S. ISBN 978-960-485-228-4.

Die vorliegende Monographie ist der erste Band einer auf zwei Bände angelegten Studie, welche die Entwicklung byzantinistischer Studien vom 16. bis zum 21. Jahrhundert beleuchtet. In dem im Jahr 2018 publizierten ersten Band behandelt der Autor Alexios G. C. S(avvides) in vier großen Kapiteln den Weg der Byzantinistik bis in das 19. Jahrhundert. Vorangestellt sind ein langes Vorwort und einleitende Bemerkungen. Am Ende finden sich Zusammenfassungen auf Französisch und Griechisch, ebenso ein umfangreicher bibliographischer Anhang, welcher mehr als die Hälfte des Buches einnimmt. Wie der Autor selbst einräumt (46), ist der Band eine erweiterte Fassung eines ausführlichen Essays in der Zeitschrift *Mésogeios* 9–10 (2000) 127–180.

Vorauszuschicken ist, dass weite Passagen des Buches durchaus informativ sind, so der Abschnitt zum 16. Jahrhundert, welcher die editorischen Leistungen der Humanisten bis zu Hieronymus Wolff und dessen Nachfolgern behandelt (S. 59–75). Ebenso interessant ist die Auseinandersetzung mit dem Interesse an Byzanz im Frankreich des 17. Jahrhunderts (S. 77–90).

Diese beiden und auch die darauffolgenden Kapitel (zum 18 und 19. Jahrhundert) sind allerdings nicht frei von teilweise gravierenden Fehlern und falschen Interpretationen. Darüber hinaus verstören zahlreiche unpassende Aussagen des Autors, die vor allem in den einleitenden Teilen des Buches zu finden sind. Schon im Vorwort, im zweiten Absatz, mokiert sich S. darüber, dass die Zahl jener Byzantinisten, welche Neugriechisch beherrschen, stark zurückgegangen sei (S. 41). Insbesondere attackiert S. in diesem Zusammenhang die anglophone Byzantinistik (S. 46). So heißt es in einer hier *in extenso* wiedergegebenen Passage, die sich bereits auf den zweiten Band der Studie bezieht: „Greek byzantology (written either in Greek or in other languages by Greek scholars) will be treated in detail in the present monograph's sequel and will take its rightful place by merit and not by the simple fact that it was the official language of the Byzantine world. Indeed Anglophone byzantinology, which in recent years heavily rests on English and other Western languages translations of the original Byzantine Greek sources, would much profit by English translations of works in Greek! Gone are the days, it seems, when a noteworthy number of scholars in the Western world could read and utilize bibliography in Modern Greek" (S. 46–47). S. schreckt auch nicht davor zurück, das Werk englischsprachiger Kolleginnen und Kollegen zu diskreditieren: Zu Liz James' Band *A Companion to Byzantium* (Chichester 2010) bemerkt er „It is indeed rather unfortunate that this collective volume of divergent essays was deemed eligible for translation into Greek" (S. 45), und bei Dionysios Stathakopoulos' *A Short History of the Byzantine Empire* (London 2014) kritisiert er, dass dieser Georg Ostrogorskys im Rahmen des *HdA* publizierte *Geschichte des byzantinischen Staates* (München ^{3}1963) und Donald Nicols *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261–1453* (Cambridge ^{2}1993) als „outdated" bezeichnet. Gleichzeitig beschwert sich S. auch darüber, dass bei Stathakopoulos „the authoritative Byzantine history manuals by a series of eminent Greek University professors at Athens and Thessalonica universities" fehlen (S. 136–137)[1]. Recht absurd mutet auch die Aussage von S. an, dass „the extended use of the computer" die Kreativität der Forschung einschränke und dazu führe, dass mehr „book-catalogues" – was immer S. damit meint – anstatt „original syntheses" publiziert würden (S. 56)[2].

Während die Aufzählung verstörender Aussagen fortgesetzt werden könnte, sei auch darauf hingewiesen, dass das Buch viele inhaltliche Lücken und zahlreiche Fehler aufweist, von denen nicht alle als Flüchtigkeitsfehler abgetan werden können: Bei der Erwähnung des Interesses an der griechischen Kultur vonseiten des deutschen Protestantismus im 16. Jahrhundert fehlt die Erwähnung von Martin Kraus (Crusius), jenem Gelehrten aus Tübingen, der insbesondere auch an Neugriechischem interessiert war (S. 62)[3]. In Lukas Notaras' berühmter antiunionistisch geprägter Aussage zu Türken und Lateinern heißt es nicht, dass es besser wäre, „in Konstantinopel den türkischen Turban anstatt der lateinischen Mitra zu sehen" (S. 63), da Diether Roderich Reinsch schon vor vielen Jahren festgestellt hat, dass φακιόλιον nicht als „Mitra", sondern als „Krone" zu übersetzen ist[4]. S. zitiert Reinsch nicht, jedoch – wie an vielen anderen Stellen auch – sich selbst. Johannes Löwenklau (Leunclavius) edierte die Verschronik des Konstantinos Manasses nicht – wie von S. behauptet –, sondern übersetzte sie nur ins Lateinische[5]. Ebenso ist lange

[1] Diese griechischen Forscher erwähnt S. in einer langen Auflistung mit ihren biographischen Daten (117–122).

[2] Immerhin jedoch bezeichnet S. die Bände der *TIB* als „notable exception" (56, Anm. 6).

[3] Siehe z. B. D. Wendebourg, „Alles Griechische macht mir Freude wie Spielzeug den Kindern". Martin Crusius und der Übergang des Humanismus zur griechischen Landeskunde, in: Graeca recentiora in Germania. Deutsch-griechische Kulturbeziehungen, ed. H. Eideneier (*Wolfenbütteler Forschungen* 59). Wiesbaden 1994, 113–122.

[4] D. R. Reinsch, Lieber den Turban als was? Bemerkungen zum Dictum des Lukas Notaras, in: Φιλέλλην. Studies in Honour of Robert Browning, ed. C. N. Constantinides u. a. (*Istituto di Studi Bizantini e Postbizantini di Venezia – Bibliotheke* 17). Venedig 1996, 377–389.

[5] Siehe dazu A. Paul – A. Rhoby, Konstantinos Manasses. Übersetzt, kommentiert und mit einer Einleitung verse-

erwiesen, dass der Autor Manasses nicht mit dem Metropoliten von Naupaktos gleichen Namens zu identifizieren ist, wie S. meint (S. 69)[6]. Mittlerweile bekannt ist auch, dass der lange Joseph Genesios genannte Autor (S. 81) gewissermaßen ein Phantomname ist, da es sich um getrennte Personen namens Joseph und Genesios handelt[7]. Um einen schweren, unentschuldbaren Lapsus handelt es sich bei der englischen Übersetzung des Titels von Goars berühmtem *Euchologion*[8], welchen S. als „collection of Greek wishes" (sic) widergibt (S. 81). Nicht nur als Byzantinist, sondern auch als Grieche hätte S. doch wissen müssen, dass dieses Buch nicht von „Wünschen", sondern von „Gebeten" handelt. Der Titel von Theodoros Gazes' Traktat Περὶ ἀρχαιολογίας Τούρκων ist nicht als „On the archaeology of the Turks" zu übersetzen, da ἀρχαιολογία in diesem Zusammenhang so viel wie „alte Geschichte" bedeutet[9]. Gelegentlich verwechselt S. auch die jeweils Konstantinos genannten byzantinischen Kaisern: z.B. „Constantine VIII Porphyrogennetus (913/945–959)" (S. 61), „the last Constantine, Constantine XII Palaeologos Dragases" (sic) (S. 99).

Auffallend ist auch S.' Unkenntnis der neuesten Bibliographie, vor allem jener des 21. Jahrhunderts. Generell ist die deutschsprachige Sekundärliteratur im Buch unterrepräsentiert. S.' ständige Klage *Neograeca non leguntur*, könnte man somit ein *Germanica non leguntur* entgegenhalten. Zu Philipp Fallmerayer (S. 106) fehlen etwa die Arbeiten Michael Grünbarts,[10] Peter Schreiners und anderer[11], zu Karl Krumbacher (S. 112–113) ebenfalls die rezenten Studien Peter Schreiners und anderer[12]. Zu Fallmerayer schreibt S. auch Widersprüchliches: Auf der einen Seite bezeichnet er ihn als „anti-Slavist" (S. 106), auf der anderen Seite bezeichnet er dessen Hauptziel „Panslavism" (S. 107). Bei S. unerwähnt sind auch die großen Prosopographie-Werke *PmbZ* und *PLP*. Das *RbK* umfasst nicht, wie von S. behauptet (S. 142, Anm. 6), nur drei zwischen 1966 und 1978 erschienene Bände, sondern ist mittlerweile auf sieben Bände angewachsen, wobei Band VII noch nicht vollständig vorliegt. S. ist offenbar auch der jüngst erschienene Band „Byzanz" im Rahmen von *DNP*[13] unbekannt. Ebenso fehlt der für die Fragestellung des Buches essentielle, von Foteini Kolovou herausgegebene Sammelband zur Byzanzrezeption[14]. Weitere bibliographische Lücken ließen sich zuhauf hinzufügen.

Die als überlanger Anhang fungierende Bibliographie (S. 131–250), in welcher S. danach trachtet, alle Teilbereiche der Byzantinistik abzudecken, ist willkürlich und nicht mit aktuellen Werken versehen. Der Nutzen dieser unkommentierten Auflistung erschließt sich dem Benützer / der Benützerin des Buches nicht.

Gewidmet ist das Buch dem verstorbenen Johannes Irmscher, dem in der DDR wirkenden Byzantinisten: Die Würdigung liest sich folgendermaßen: „In memory of Johannes Irmscher (1920–2000): a veritable homo hellenicus, byzantinus, neohellenicus and quintessential philhellene" (S. 9). An verschiedenen Stellen im Buch streicht S. Irmschers Werk hervor; er bezeichnet ihn als „great scholar" (S. 51, Anm. 1) und beschwert sich, dass Irmscher nicht oft genug zitiert werde (S. 183). Dem Credo *De mortuis nihil nisi bene* ist auch der Rezensent verpflichtet. Irmscher war mit Sicherheit ein guter Wissenschaftler, der durch seine zahlreichen Publikationen der Byzantinistik und der Neogräzistik zu neuen Erkenntnissen verholfen hat. Wenn S. Irmscher jedoch so sehr in den Mittelpunkt stellt, dann wäre es auch angebracht gewesen, über dessen unrühmliche Rolle in der DDR zu berichten. Wie schon seit längerer Zeit erwiesen ist, war Johannes Irmscher unter dem Decknamen Johannes freiwillig I.M. („inoffizieller Mitarbeiter") des Ministeriums für Staatssicherheit (MfS, kurz „Stasi") im Unrechtsstaat Deutsche Demokratische Republik (DDR). Er denunzierte seine Mitarbeiter und Kollegen sowohl politisch als auch privat[15]. S. beweist an zahlreichen Stellen im Buch eine Vertrautheit mit den Biographien der von ihm

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hen (*Bibliothek der griechischen Literatur* 87). Stuttgart 2019, 55–56. Editor der Verschronik ist im Jahr 1616 Johannes von Meurs (Ioannes Meursius), doch dieser ist der erste Herausgeber, und er edierte die Chronik nicht „once again", wie von S. behauptet (S. 72).

[6] Siehe Paul – Rhoby, Konstantinos Manasses 4–5.

[7] Siehe zuletzt L. Neville, Guide to Byzantine Historical Writing. Cambridge 2018, 105–106.

[8] J. Goar, Euchologion sive Rituale Graecorum. Paris 1647 (Reprint der 2. Auflage Venedig 1730, Graz 1960).

[9] Vgl. J. Koder, Archaiotes, Palaiotes, Archaiologia. Zur Unterscheidung von alter und neuer Zeit aus byzantinischer Sicht, in: Polidoro. Studi offerti ad Antonio Carile, ed. G. Vespignani. Spoleto 2013, 507–521.

[10] M. Grünbart, Jakob Philipp Fallmerayer. Bibliographie der Sekundärliteratur 1900–2011 (*Instrumenta Fallmerayeriana* 3). Wien 2011.

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genannten Gelehrten (z. B. S. 115–122). Zu Irmschers Werdegang ist zumindest in diesem Band nichts zu lesen. Ob eine kritische Auseinandersetzung im zweiten Band der Studie zu finden sein wird, wird sich weisen.

Wie bereits gezeigt werden konnte, ist der vorliegende Band nicht nur aufgrund der Widmung problematisch. In der vorliegenden Form hätte er nicht gedruckt werden dürfen; auch hätte er einem strengen internationalen *peer review*-Verfahren nicht standgehalten. Dazu kommt, dass das Englisch mangelhaft ist, da es offenbar nicht von einem native speaker kontrolliert wurde. Ständig spricht S. von „byzantinology", was er anstatt des weit gebräuchlicheren „Byzantine Studies" verwendet. Zu den bereits oben erwähnten unwissenschaftlichen Aussagen gesellen sich auch unwissenschaftliche Exkurse, die höchstens Platz in einer Fußnote gehabt hätten. So eröffnet S. inmitten der Behandlung der byzantinistischen Studien im 16. Jahrhundert einen Absatz mit der Frage „May I be permitted at this point a pertinent South African *excursus*?" (sic) (S. 64). In den darauffolgenden Zeilen beschreibt S. seine Erfahrungen nach einem Vortrag in Südafrika.

Tendenziell nationalistisch geprägte Untertöne finden sich ebenfalls im Buch: S. behauptet etwa, dass nur in Griechenland byzantinische Geschichte in ihrer Gesamtheit unterrichtet wird (welch eine von Unkenntnis geprägte Aussage!), und dies sei seiner Meinung nach gerechtfertigt „since it [i.e. Byzantine history, Anm. des Rezensenten] is considered an integral part of Greek national history" (S. 55).

Zusammenfassend kann festgehalten werden, dass trotz des teilweise informativen Charakters einzelner Kapitel die Verwendung des Buches – vor allem durch Studierende – auf keinen Fall zu empfehlen ist. Auch der zweite angekündigte Band der Studie lässt nichts Gutes erwarten.

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Michele Trizio, Il neoplatonismo di Eustrazio di Nicea (*Biblioteca filosofica di Quaestio* 23). Bari: Edizioni di Pagina 2016. 260 pp. ISBN 978-88-7470-536-8.

This is an important book for several reasons. To begin with, it is the first monograph on Eustratius of Nicaea (c. 1050–1120), a Byzantine philosopher well known for his commentaries on Aristotle, such as those on *Nicomachean Ethics* I and VI and *Posterior Analytics* II. Second, it is a book that focuses on a period of important intellectual and philosophical activity in Byzantium in the time of Anna Comnena, in which a number of Aristotelian commentaries were written, notably by Eustratius and Michael of Ephesus, and, indeed, commentaries on works of Aristotle not commented upon in Late Antiquity, such as his zoological works and the *Parva Naturalia*. Third, this book is important because it challenges the hitherto accepted thesis advanced by Robert Browning that Eustratius and Michael belonged to a circle of Aristotelian intellectuals created by Anna Comnena; it is instead claimed that neither is there evidence for such a circle nor for an organized Aristotelian movement to counteract the Neoplatonism of Psellos and Italos. Fourth, the book thematically examines the commentaries of Eustratius and systematically reconstructs his philosophical outlook on their basis.

The book is divided into two parts. The first part sets out to reconstruct the intellectual biography and activity of Eustratius; the second part focuses on his philosophical outlook, particularly on his philosophical activity as a commentator on Aristotle. In order to achieve that aim, the author looks closely at specific passages from Eustratius' commentaries on book II of *Posterior Analytics* and on his commentary on books I and VI of the *Nicomachean Ethics*. This part is divided into six sections, which correspond to six philosophical topics discussed in Eustratius' commentaries, namely causation, the delimitation of sciences, Aristotle's criticism of the Good in *Nicomachean Ethics* I 6, the intellect and its knowledge, the status of universals, and the nature of *eudaimonia* and of *vita contemplativa* in the *Nicomachean Ethics*.

In the first part (pp. 3–75), Trizio sets out to illuminate the political, cultural and intellectual environment in which Eustratius lived. The end of the 11th and the beginning of the 12th century in Constantinople was a significant time in Byzantine history; power had passed from the dynasty of the Doukai over to the Comnenian dynasty. This political change brought about numerous cultural changes, as the Comnenoi did much to support intellectual life and philosophy. Yet their exact contribution, and especially Anna Comnena's role in it, is a matter of debate. It seems probable that she initiated a philosophical activity focused on Aristotle, which is partly reflected in the commentaries of Michael of Ephesus and Eustratius of Nicaea. It is, however, doubtful that she organized an Aristotelian circle and it is even more doubtful that she intended to thereby counteract the Neoplatonist philosophy of Psellos and Italos. The funeral oration of Anna written by Georgios Tornikios, which was often taken to be an important piece of evidence for the initiation of an Aristotelian circle, does not, upon scrutiny, support this conclusion but rather contents itself with rhetorical commonplaces. Furthermore, Eustratius himself confesses to having written his commentary on *Posterior Analytics* II for colleagues and students (*In Post. An.* 123, 27–29), not because he was asked to do so by the royals. Third, and most important, Eustratius does not differ much from the philosophical profile of Psellos and Italos. His Aristotelian commentaries quite noticeably show that he was also heavily inspired by Proclus and other Neoplatonists, just as Psellos had been, and he indeed even defends Platonist philosophy from Aristotle. This is amply demonstrated in the second part, which forms the core of the book.

The second part (pp. 76–225) begins with a discussion of certain passages from Eustratius' commentary on *Nicomachean Ethics* VI and from his commentary on *Posterior Analytics* II, which center on causation. The selected texts show a clear dependency on Neoplatonic commentaries, such as those of Proclus and Philoponus. Eustratius' commentary on *NE* VI 2, 1139a3–8 and on book II of the *Posterior Analytics*

testify to his interest in Aristotle's theory of causation. The question, however, is from which point of view Eustratius approaches this theory. Eustratius maintains that Aristotle focuses only on four causes, two of which are considered more important (the efficient and the final), while omitting the paradigmatic and instrumental cause; in this sense his causal account is deficient in comparison with Plato's. Trizio is correct in tracing this idea back to Proclus and Philoponus. The first person, however, who appears to have advanced this view was Porphyry in his commentary on the *Physics* (*In Phys*. apud Simplicium *In Phys*. 10.25–11.17; fr. 120 Smith), a passage which Trizio fails to mention. He is, however, right that Eustratius' aim in his comment on this Aristotelian passage was not to explain, let alone to defend Aristotle, but rather to justify Plato.

Of interest is Eustratius' comment on *NE* VI 8, 1142a16–19, where Aristotle speaks of the nature of mathematical objects. Aristotle makes this passing remark while elaborating on the nature of *phronesis* as opposed to *episteme*, yet Eustratius dwells on this and dedicates about 5 pages in the Heylbut edition to that matter. Aristotle's point here as elsewhere (*Met.* XIII, 1076b17–1077b11) was that mathematical objects do not exist independently of sensible objects and that we come to know them through an act of mental abstraction (ἐξ ἀφαιρέσεως, *In NE* VI, 344, 32). Trizio establishes that Eustratius' position is very close to the relevant remarks made by Ammonius (*In Porph. Isag*. 11, 31–12, 6), Philoponus (*In de anima* 57, 27–58, 6) and Proclus (*In Eucl.* 20, 10–12; 28, 4–13). Trizio further shows how important and rich this discussion was among Neoplatonists, yet, as he points out, Eustratius appreciates only one aspect of it. In the same context of his commentary on *NE* VI 8, Eustratius also comments on the nature of the physical objects (*In NE* VI 348, 7–22), which, unlike mathematical objects, we do not know by means of abstraction, but neither do we know them as individual material objects; we rather come to know them through their immaterial form, which objects of the same kind have in common. It is once again thoroughly demonstrated that Eustratius draws from the Neoplatonic tradition in this regard (Proclus, Ps-Simplicius). As Trizio notes, it is interesting that Eustratius uses the term αὐθυπόστατα to designate the substantial forms, a term widely used by the Neoplatonists and which implies the self-subsistence of the forms, a view that Aristotle, of course, rejects. Eustratius' dependence on Proclus shows that Eustratius does not subscribe to essential aspects of Aristotle's philosophy but that his philosophical allegiance lies with Platonism. This becomes clearer in the next section of the book, Eustratius' commentary on the Aristotelian criticism of the Form of the Good (pp. 122–142).

Eustratius examines Aristotle's criticism of the Form of the Good in *NE* I 6 and he puts forth a most interesting commentary. He argues that Aristotle was mistaken in taking Plato's Form of the Good as a universal. As he explains, the platonic Forms that qualify as universals are general concepts hosted in the divine mind (*In NE* I 40, 22–41, 4), but the Form of the Good is not such an entity; it is rather a transcendent entity, a principle of all things, identifiable with the first principle. As Trizio shows, Eustratius concurs with Proclus once again. Eustratius explicitly rejects Aristotle's understanding of Plato's Forms, pointing out that these are not general concepts or linguistic entities, but rather transcendent entities hosted in the divine mind. Yet Eustratius does set out to harmonize Aristotle's theory of substance with Plato's, arguing that Aristotle's primary substances qualify as such only in a horizontal sense, that is, with regard to the sensible world; however, if we move to the intelligible world, the relation between primary and secondary substances is the reverse; as secondary substances qualify those that participate in the intelligible models, which the divine intellect contemplates in order to create the world. Eustratius comments on Aristotle in order to defend Plato.

The next two sections make for a good follow-up to the previous one; they focus on the intellect and its knowledge and on universals respectively (pp. 143–198). Commenting on the intellect mentioned briefly in *NE* VI 6, 1141a3–7, Eustratius distinguishes two kinds, the separate, divine, intellect and the individual human intellect. The former knows the intelligibles in an unmediated way, while the latter cannot do so because of its attachment to the body; yet because of its affinity with the divine intellect, it can also come to know the intelligibles. Trizio convincingly shows that in this regard Eustratius also largely depends on Proclus, who distinguishes between intellect κατ᾽οὐσίαν and intellect καθ᾽ ἕξιν. The latter human intellect knows in a discursive way (διάνοια), while the former knows in a non-discursive way. Trizio also draws the reader's attention to Eustratius' comments on *Posterior Analytics* II 19 (*In Post. An.* II 257, 33–259, 27) and emphasizes the soul's ability for innate knowledge, a view that Eustratius emphasizes as Platonic (ibid. 257, 27–32).

The next section on Eustratius' position on universals (pp. 188–198) revisits one of the most discussed in Eustratius' philosophy. Scholars appear to be divided among those who ascribe a nominalist position to Eustratius and those who take him to be a conceptualist. Trizio takes as his starting point the fact that Eustratius speaks of the innate *logoi* in the soul and considers this knowledge prior to that of sense perception. Trizio is right to point out that this is a position distinct from those of universals being prior to, in, or after sensible objects. Trizio draws our attention to passages where Eustratius speaks of universals as being independent of our thought (*In Post. An.* II 263, 27–32), which appears to contradict his view of the universals being innate *logoi*. One way of reconciling the two positions is to say that universals are forms independent of thought yet are dependent on thought when present in the human mind. If this is the case, though, then Eustratius is closer to a realist, Platonist, position, than to either a conceptualist or nominalist one.

The last section of the book is centered on Eustratius' commentary on Aristotle's notion of *eudaimonia* (pp. 199–224). Following Aristotle, Eustratius distinguishes between *eudaimonia* and *makariotes*, between a happy and a blessed life, and associates the former with μετριοπάθεια, or moderation of emotions, and the latter with ἀπάθεια or extirpation of emotions. Eustratius connects *eudaimonia* in the first form with virtue in a political community and the latter with contemplation, which is discussed in *NE* X 7–8, and he even refers to levels of virtue (*In NE* I 59, 20–29; 109, 19–110, 4). Trizio rightly points out that once again Eustratius clearly follows a Platonist tradition. Porphyry is surely one source in this regard

(*Sententiae* 32) as well as Proclus and Olympiodorus. Yet the association of *eudaimonia* with *metriopatheia* goes back to Hellenistic times; we first find it in Antiochus of Ascalon and it might well precede him.

What we see at the end and what is rightly stressed in the conclusions of the book (pp. 225–227) is that Eustratius is not the Aristotelian philosopher *simpliciter* he has often been portrayed to be; his exegesis is shaped substantially by Neoplatonic sources, particularly by Proclus, who, unlike many Neoplatonist commentators, was not sympathetic to Aristotle. It is especially interesting that Eustratius' comments on Aristotle are often critical, which is not what we usually find in the late antique commentaries. Eustratius then emerges as a Platonist or Neoplatonist rather than as an Aristotelian philosopher; more precisely, Eustratius often follows the tradition of Neoplatonism that is not sympathetic to Aristotle.

Trizio has written a book that unsettles the traditional view of Eustratius while commending him as a more complex and interesting philosopher than has hitherto been thought. Trizio's methodology deserves special praise; the historical thesis that is advanced in part one concerning Eustratius' Neoplatonist outlook is amply illustrated, then confirmed in part two by means of a close look at the vocabulary and philosophical doctrine of select passages from his commentaries on Aristotle. In order to carry out this task, Trizio displays all the necessary skills (historical, philological, philosophical) that are needed in order to do innovative scholarly work in Byzantine philosophy.

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JAHRBUCH DER ÖSTERREICHISCHEN BYZANTINISTIK, 69. Band/2019, 357–360
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DOI: 10.1553/joeb69S357

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Freie Texte:

Chronik von Monembasia

Andreas Rhoby



Made in Europe

ISBN 978-3-7001-8685-4

AU ISSN 0378-8660