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Titel der Dissertation

Theodore Prodromos: The Neglected Poems and Epigrams
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List of Abbreviations

Anboll	Analecta Bollandiana
AHG	G. SCHIRÒ [et al.], <i>Analecta hymnica graeca</i> , vols. I–XII. Rome 1966–1970
AP	<i>Anthologia graeca</i> , ed. by H. BECKBY, vols. I–IV. Munich 1965–1968
BDGN	L.F. MATEO-SECO – G. MASPERO, <i>The Brill Dictionary of Gregory of Nyssa</i> . Leiden – Boston 2010
BHG³	<i>Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca</i> , 3 ^e éd. par F. HALKIN, vols. I–III. Brussels 1957. 1984
BF	Byzantinische Forschungen
BMFD	Byzantine monastic foundation documents, ed. by J. THOMAS, A. CONSTANTINIDES HERO and G. CONSTABLE, vols. I–V. Washington, D.C. 2000
BMGS	Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies
BS	Byzantine Studies
BV	<i>Byzantina Vindobonensia</i>
Byz	Byzantion
BZ	Byzantinische Zeitschrift
CCSG	Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca
CFHB	Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae
CPG	Clavis Patrum Graecorum, ed. by M. GEERARD, vols. I–V (<i>Corpus Christianorum</i>). Turnhout 1974–1987; M. GEERARD – J. NORET (with the assistance of F. GLORIE – J. DESMET), <i>Clavis Patrum Graecorum Supplementum (Corpus Christianorum)</i> . Turnhout 1998; J. NORET, <i>Clavis Patrum Graecorum</i> , IIIA. Addenda volumini III. Turnhout 2003
DOP	Dumbarton Oaks Papers
DOSeals	J. NESBITT – N. OIKONOMIDES, <i>Catalogue of Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks and in the Fogg Museum of Art</i> , vols. I–III. E. MCGEER – J. NESBITT – N. OIKONOMIDES, vols. IV–V; J. NESBITT – C. MORRISSON vol. VI. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C. 1991–2009
EEBΣ	Ἑπετηρίς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν
EkklAI	Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἀλήθεια

ΕΕΦΣΠΘ	Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς τῆς Φιλοσοφικῆς Σχολῆς Θεσσαλονίκης
GRBS	Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies
ICB	I. VASSIS, <i>Initita Carminum Byzantinorum (Supplementa Byzantina. Texte und Untersuchungen 8)</i> . Berlin – New York 2005
IRAIK	Izvestiia Russkogo arkheologicheskogo institutav Konstantinopole
JÖB	Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik
JÖBG	Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft
LBG	E. TRAPP [et al.], <i>Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzitat besonders des 9.–12. Jahrhunderts</i> . Vienna, 2001. Fasz. V (λ – παλιάνθρωπος). Vienna 2005. Fasz. VI (παλιγγενεσία – προσπελαγίζω). Vienna 2007. Fasz. VII (προσπέλασις – ταριχευτικός). Vienna 2011
LCI	Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie
LSJ	H.G. LIDDELL – R. SCOTT – H.S. JONES – R. MCKENZIE, <i>A Greek-English lexicon</i> . Oxford ⁹ 1940. Revised Supplement, ed. by P.G.W. GLARE with the assistance of A.A. THOMPSON. Oxford 1996
MEG	Medioevo Greco.
NE	Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων
PG	J.P. MIGNE, <i>Patrologia Graeca cursus completes. Series graeca</i> , vols. I–CLXI. Paris 1857–1866
PGL	G.W.H. LAMPE, <i>A Patristic Greek Lexicon</i> . Oxford 1961 (= ⁶ 1968)
PLP	E. TRAPP [et al.], <i>Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit</i> . Vienna 1976–1996.
RbK	Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst
REB	Revue des Études Byzantines
RSBN	Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici
Script	Scriptorium
Symm	Βυζαντινά Σύμμεικτα
TIB	Tabula Imperii Byzantini. Vienna 1976–
TLG	Thesaurus Linguae Graecae
TM	Travaux et Mémoires
VV	Vizantijskij Vremennik

WBS	Wiener Byzantinistische Studien
WSt	Wiener Studien.
ZRVI	Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta.

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Carm. [Maiuri]

¹ Unless otherwise indicated, the references to classical and Patristic texts follow the conventions of *LSJ* and *PGL*.

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Part 1: Introduction

1 CHAPTER 1: THEODORE PRODROMOS AND HIS (POETIC) WORK

1.1 *Status Quaestionis*

“Theodoros Prodromos ist einer der bekanntesten und fruchtbarsten byzantinischen Autoren des 12. Jahrhunderts.”;² “... a Professor of Philosophy, a poet, orator and intellectual leader in twelfth-century Byzantium”;³ “... among the best known of Byzantine poets, and he is certainly one of the most popular with Byzantinists”;⁴ “... the poet laureate of his time [...]”;⁵ “... is one of the most prolific and well-known writers of the twelfth century”;⁶ “... the most versatile, inventive and prolific of the writers functioning in the first half of the twelfth century”;⁷ “Un auteur se trouve pendant une longue période au centre de cette production littéraire de la cour comnène et il peut même être regardé comme une personnification du courtisan type ...”.⁸

This list of flattering appraisals of Theodore Prodromos and his work could be expanded, but one thing is clear: Theodore Prodromos is widely regarded as the leading intellectual of the first half of the twelfth century, perhaps even the “superstar author” of the entire Komnenian period. Without him, much of the innovation, inventiveness, and ingeniousness of the Komnenian literary tradition would simply not be the same.

It goes without saying that his poetic work has pride of place within his versatile literary arsenal. He is without doubt one of the most prolific poets of the entire Byzantine era; no less than 17,000 authentic verses have come down to us. Numerous occasional poems and epigrams were addressed to or commissioned by various members of the Komnenian family, by aspiring aristocrats, by bureaucratic and ecclesiastical officials, and by learned men. Hence, his poetic oeuvre is a vibrant mirror of the socio-cultural and historical reality of his time. Its conspicuous

² HÖRANDNER, *Historische Gedichte* 7 (within the introductory note by Herbert Hunger).

³ KYRIAKIS, *Professors and disciples* 109–110.

⁴ KAZHDAN, *Theodore Prodromus* 87.

⁵ LAUXTERMANN, *Velocity* 13.

⁶ BAZZANI, *The Historical Poems of Theodore Prodromos* 211.

⁷ JEFFREYS, *Four Byzantine Novels* 3.

⁸ NILSSON, *Raconter Byzance: la littérature au XIIe siècle* 36.

literary and rhetorical opulence, however, as well as the culmination of poetic “self-assertiveness”⁹ – usually coupled with self-debasement –¹⁰ must by no means be overlooked.

Furthermore, various literary genres, such as a novel, a hagiographical account, letters, orations, monodies, satires, *schede*, numerous philosophical, theological and grammatical texts, and, on the other hand, literary themes, such as autobiography (or better self-referentiality), friendship, love/eros and fiction, were inventively coupled by Prodhomos for the shape of his vast output. Prodhomos is particularly fond of toying with forms and literary genres; he especially enjoys bestowing verse form on older genres. Perhaps the most telling example is his novel, which he composed in 4614 dodecasyllabic lines.¹¹ He also chose verse over prose for several of his letters.¹² In some of his works he even combines verse with prose. Apart from his numerous *schede*, which open with prose and conclude with verses, some of his satirical works also consist of prose and verse. Examples are the *Amarantos*, in which Prodhomos skilfully combines prose with elegiac couplets and anacreontics,¹³ and the *Bion Prasis* which is a blend of prose and hexameters.¹⁴ The mixture of diverse meters in the same poem is a further characteristic of his versatility and resourcefulness as an author. For example, the historical poem no. LVI, addressed to the *Orphanotrophos* Alexios Aristenos, which has been described as a metrical *tour de force*,¹⁵ combines 61 dodecasyllables, 50 hexameters, 24 pentameters, and 28 anacreontics.

Unfortunately, little is known about his life and his family; whatever survives is shrouded in ambiguity. Hörandner’s study still remains the most reliable source for the modern reader, and most of the ensuing studies are indebted to Hörandner’s seminal profile of Prodhomos.¹⁶ Only Alexander Kazhdan in his study, “Theodore Prodhomos: a reappraisal” attempted to challenge

⁹ Marc Lauxtermann argues that this is more accurate than the term “individualism”; cf. LAUXTERMANN, *Byzantine Poetry* 37.

¹⁰ Or as Ivan Drpić has put it “self-abasement was a form of self-assertiveness”; cf. DRPIĆ, *Kosmos of Verse* 34.

¹¹ His student Niketas Eugenianos followed the paradigm of his teacher by writing his novel, “Drosilla and Charikles” in verse form.

¹² See *carm. hist.* nos. XXXVIII, XLVI, LVI, LIX, LXII, LXVIII, LXIX, LXXI, and LXXII.

¹³ MIGLIORINI, *Amaranto* 183–247. The epithalamia which are sung in the marriage of *Amarantos*’ teacher.

¹⁴ MIGLIORINI, *Teodoro Prodhomo*, 127ff. Mainly the quotations cited by such ancient poets as Homer and Aristophanes; cf. MARCINIAK, *Bion Prasis* 219–238, esp. 227–228.

¹⁵ LAUXTERMANN, *Velocity* 13.

¹⁶ HÖRANDNER, *Historische Gedichte* 21–35; see thereafter, BAZZANI, *The Historical Poems of Theodore Prodhomos* 211–214. D’AMBROSI, *Gregorio Nazianzeno* 20–29; MIGLIORINI, XI–XVI; and more recently JEFFREYS, *Four Byzantine Novels* 3–6.

many of Hörandner's views.¹⁷ Sadly enough, though, most of his arguments are far-fetched, quite tenuous, and one-dimensional;¹⁸ above all, his confusion concerning the "three Prodrómoi".¹⁹

The tormenting question of the "three Prodrómoi" (Theodore Prodrómos, Manganeios Prodrómos, and Ptochoprodrómos) has preoccupied scholars for a very long time. Though it is clear – already from the beginning of the twentieth century – that Theodore Prodrómos and Manganeios Prodrómos are two different authors,²⁰ much more ambivalent is the situation of Theodore Prodrómos and Ptochoprodrómos. The complexity of this question is reflected in the vigorous debate held among various well-known scholars since the 1980's.²¹ More recently, it has even been suggested that Ptochoprodrómos might be the same person as Manganeios Prodrómos.²²

In an article to be published in a forthcoming issue of *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*, Panagiotis Agapitos credits Theodore Prodrómos with the authorship of the Ptochoprodrómika and maintains that these four vernacular poems are the final stage of a literary experiment among middle-level teachers to raise schedography to an art.²³ Although I am not entirely convinced by his argument, I share his certainty about the authorship of Ptochoprodrómika. The reluctance of some modern scholars, like Hans Eideneier,²⁴ to accept the Prodrómic authorship of the Ptochoprodrómika has denied Prodrómos' oeuvre its rhetoric grandeur and his unsurpassed virtuosity is alternating from one linguistic register to another. Moreover, in order to explain this technique, one should of necessity consider linguistic variety in conjunction with metrical variety (i.e. the use of different meters for the same poem) and the shift in terms of genre and style which, as Antonio Garzya has pointed out, is "sehr byzantinisch, ist vielmehr sehr ,tztetianisch' und sehr ,prodromisch".²⁵ In other words, Prodrómos' practice of using different linguistic registers, meters, genres, and styles should be considered as

¹⁷ KAZHDAN, Theodore Prodrómos 87–114.

¹⁸ See also MIGLIORINI, Teodoro Prodrómo IV ff.

¹⁹ See HÖRANDNER, Review 468 and more recently JEFFREYS, Four Byzantine Novels 3, note 1.

²⁰ PAPADIMITRIOU, Πρόδρομος 102–163; HÖRANDNER, Gedichtsammlung 91–99; KAZHDAN, Theodore Prodrómos 87–114; and JEFFREYS, Rhetorical texts 87–100.

²¹ For a recent summary of the literature on this topic see RHOBY, Eirene Sebastokratorissa 330.

²² RHOBY, Eirene Sebastokratorissa 330ff and KULHÁNKOVÁ, Figuren und Wortspiele 29–39.

²³ See AGAPITOS, Grammar, genre and politics in Komnenian Constantinople (forthcoming).

²⁴ See EIDENEIER, Tou Ptochoprodróμου 56–76 and more recently EIDENEIER, Πτωχοπρόδρομος 93–99 and 138–142.

²⁵ GARZYA, Literarische und rhetorische Polemiken der Komnenenzeit 14.

experimental in order to achieve that ostentitious rhetorical variation which was highly deemed by the Byzantines.²⁶

Needless to say, a monograph dealing with the entire Prodromic output remains a *desideratum*.²⁷ Although the secondary bibliography on Theodore Prodromos and his work is vast, no one has attempted so far to piece together the entire puzzle: Prodromos “the poet”, “novelist”, “grammarian”, “philosopher”, “theologian”, “hagiographer”, “satirist”, “orator”, “epistolographer”. At the same time, it should be noted that much editorial work remains to be completed. Prodromos’ *exegesis* on the Kanons of Kosmas and John of Damascus still awaits a new edition and study, insofar as Pitra and Stevenson’s edition includes only a small portion of fragments.²⁸ His grammatical treatise commissioned by Irene the Sevastokratorissa is still available in a completely outdated and unreliable edition by Carolus G. Goettling, published approximately two hundred years ago.²⁹ Similarly, it must be regretted that Prodromos’ paraphrase on *Posterior Analytics* 2 has entirely been marginalised by modern scholars.³⁰ On the other hand, his prose letters and orations were recently edited, annotated, and translated by Michiel D.J. Op De Coul,³¹ while most of his satirical works have been examined by Tommaso Migliorini.³² It is hoped that both dissertations will soon see the light as published editions. Finally, a number of satirical, rhetorical, theological, and philosophical works are only to be found in old and scarcely accessible editions,³³ while most of his *schede* remain unedited and thus insufficiently studied.³⁴

²⁶ See PAPAIOANNOU, Michael Psellos 100 ff.

²⁷ This is a monumental and complex project that I hope to undertake at some point in the future under the tentative title “Theodore Prodromos: Grammar, Rhetoric, and Philosophy in twelfth-century Byzantium”.

²⁸ STEVENSON, Theodori Prodromi; for a brief presentation see SKREKAS, John of Damascus XXV–XXVIII.

²⁹ For some preliminary annotations on this Prodromic work see ZAGKLAS, A Grammar Treatise 77–86.

³⁰ There seems to be an edition in CACOUROS, Le commentaire de Théodore Prodrome aux Analytiques postérieurs; unfortunately, this thesis was not available to me. On this work see also IDEM, Recherches sur le commentaire inédit de Théodore Prodrome 313–338; IDEM, La tradition du commentaire de Théodore Prodrome 329–354; and IDEM, Nouvelles recherches sur le Commentaire du Second livre des Analytiques Postérieurs.

³¹ OP DE COUL, Théodore Prodrome; cf. IDEM, Deux inédits 177–192; IDEM, The Letters of Theodore Prodromus 231–239; and GRÜNBART, Zwei Briefe 199–214.

³² MIGLIORINI, Teodoro Prodromo; cf. IDEM, Amarantos.

³³ Hörandner nos. 113, 135, 136, 145, 150, and 151.

³⁴ For Prodromos’ *schede* see VASSIS, Theodoros Prodromos; cf. also IDEM, Τῶν νέων φιλολόγων παλαιίσματα nos. 117, 118, 121, 166, 172, 173, 198, and 199; POLEMIS, Προβλήματα 277–302; in his thesis on twelfth-century Byzantine education, Ilias Nesseris edited a hitherto unknown *schedos* of Prodromos from codex Neapol. Branc. IV A 5; see NESSERIS, Η Παιδεία στην Κωνσταντινούπολη κατά τον 12ο αιώνα 407; for the *schede* *tu Myos* see PAPADIMITRIOU, Τὰ σχέδη τοῦ μύος 210–222; cf. also PAPATHOMOPOULOS, Τὰ σχέδη τοῦ μύος 377–399.

As far as his poetic work is concerned, Ciro Giannelli published the tetrastichs on the great martyrs Theodore, George, and Demetrios,³⁵ as well as the calendar in the form of tetrastichs,³⁶ while Herbert Hunger produced an edition of the *Katomyomachia* in 1968.³⁷ Undoubtedly, a milestone in the study of Prodromos' poetic work is the seminal edition by Wolfram Hörandner published in 1974. It includes eighty poems (6,912 verses) grouped under the generic title "Historical Poems".³⁸ Five years after the edition of the "historical poems" Augusta Acconcia Longo published the *editio princeps* of Prodromos' iambic calendar,³⁹ while in 1997 Grigorios Papagiannis edited his iambic and hexametric tetrastichs on the Old and New Testaments.⁴⁰ More recently, Mario D'Ambrosi produced a modern edition of Prodromos' tetrastichs on the life of Gregory of Nazianzus.⁴¹ In addition, D'Ambrosi is currently working on the tetrastichs on the life of John Chrysostom. A new edition of Prodromos' tetrastichs on the life of Basil the Great is presently being prepared by Acconcia Longo. As for Prodromos' vernacular poems, the so-called Maiuri poem (or the "fifth" Ptochoprodromic poem) was published as early as 1913,⁴² while a modern edition together with a German translation of the four Prochoprodromika, by Hans Eideneier, appeared in 1991.⁴³ In 2012 the text of the four Ptochoprodromika was reprinted with some minor textual corrections and a new comprehensive introduction.⁴⁴

In the light of this brief outline, it is clear that considerable progress has been made in the editing of Prodromos' poetry and, accordingly, a growing scholarly interest has burgeoned over the last five decades. But it may come as a surprise that a considerable portion of his poetry (ca. 1000 vv.) remains scattered in outdated and completely unreliable editions (see section 4.1). Hence, the purpose of this thesis is to present these works in a new critical edition, together with

³⁵ GIANNELLI, *Tetrastici Prodomo* 299–336; a new edition is required for this work owing to the fact that Giannelli's edition includes only the tetrastichs which were unpublished until that time. The remaining tetrastichs are yet to be found in Miller's edition together with poems of Manuel Philes; cf. MILLER, Philes I 438 and II 294–306.

³⁶ GIANNELLI, *Calendario metrico* 158–169.

³⁷ HUNGER, *Der byzantinische Katz-Mäuse-Krieg*.

³⁸ HÖRANDNER, *Historische Gedichte*; cf. the subsequent critical studies KAMBYLIS, *Prodromea* and more recently PAPAGIANNIS, *Philoprodromica*. Moreover, TZIATZI-PAPAGIANNI re-edited poem no. LXXVIII; see TZIATZI-PAPAGIANNI, *Theodoros Prodomos* 363–382. In subsequent articles Hörandner published and studied some other short Prodromic poems; see HÖRANDNER, *Visuelle Poesie* 30–37 and IDEM, *Zu einigen religiösen Epigrammen* 433–435.

³⁹ ACCONCIA LONGO, *Calendario Giambico*.

⁴⁰ PAPAGIANNIS, *Tetrasticha*; cf. MAGNELLI, *Reminiscenze* 181–198.

⁴¹ D'AMBROSI, *Gregorio Nazianzeno*; cf. D'AMBROSI, *Un monastico giambico di Teodoro Prodomo*.

⁴² MAIURI, *Una nuova poesia di Teodoro Prodomo* 397–407.

⁴³ EIDENEIER, *Ptochoprodromos*.

⁴⁴ EIDENEIER, *Πτωχοπρόδρομος*.

an English translation and a detailed commentary where issues of sources, language, meter, textual criticism, intertextuality, and motives are given due attention. Whereas certain links can be drawn between these poems, no uniform thematic nexus can be established among all of them. For this reason I have chosen the conventional title, “Neglected Poems and Epigrams”.⁴⁵ Moreover, it should be emphasized that this thesis comprises only the poems given in Hörandner’s list of the genuine works of Prodnomos.⁴⁶

It is well beyond the scope of this study to discuss in full the diverse issues and aspects of the extremely vast Prodnomic corpus. Notwithstanding, each of the poems/epigrams is conventionally accompanied by a shorter or longer analysis within which I discuss literary characteristics, as well as the work’s position not only within the Prodnomic output, but also in Byzantine poetry at large. Indeed, the first chapter not only frames the study of the neglected poems, but is also intended as a contribution to Prodnomic studies in the hope of a better understanding of his work. In the first section, by drawing from texts penned by intellectuals of his own milieu, I examine various aspects of the dual career of Prodnomos in the Komnenian social system: professional poet and teacher. Emphasis is given to the often-ignored latter profession. In the subsequent section, the potential multifunctionality of the poems/epigrams as well as of other Prodnomic works (including their reuse in different settings and contexts) is briefly explored.

⁴⁵ At earlier stages of my dissertation, it was suggested to me to group them under the title “minor poems”, but I think this would have been an unfair and misleading title for many reasons. For the distinction between poems and epigrams see Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry* 33–34.

⁴⁶ I intend to expand my edition by including some poems and epigrams which Hörandner believes to be dubious or spurious. In addition, it recently came to my attention that there are two unedited poems preserved in the famous codex no. 98 of the Zavorda Monastery which preserves the *Dictionary of Photios*. The first epigram is entitled, *στίχοι τοῦ [Θεοδώρου] Προδρόμου εἰς τὸ λουτρόν* (inc. ὡς ἐν ἐμαυτῷ τὴν κρίσιν προδεικνύω), while the second, *Ἔτερον* (inc. γυμνὴν στάσιν, ἄνθρωπε, καὶ θεῖαν κρίσιν); see POLITES, *Κατάλογος* 65; the first poem is also to be found in *Meteor. Metam.* 91, fol. 17^r: *Στίχοι εἰς τὸ λουτρόν ἔχον ἄνωθεν τῆς ἐνθήκης ἐζωγραφημένον τὸν χριστὸν καὶ τοὺς ἀγγέλους* (22 vv.); cf. BEES, *Τὰ χειρόγραφα τῶν Μεταώρων* 122; for the second epigram see also ICB. I am currently working on the edition of these two poems.

1.2 Theodore Prodromos: Panegyrist and Teacher

Studies by many preeminent literary scholars and cultural historians frequently describe Theodore Prodromos as the “poet laureate” *par excellence* of the Komnenian court and skilful professional writer at the service of the most powerful of Constantinopolitan aristocrats. To be sure, the epithet owes much to Prodromos himself, since, in many of his poems, he constantly highlights his role as court poet and imperial herald.⁴⁷ A prime example is his poem, “Verses of Farewell to Byzantium” (no. 79), where the poet, dejected, bids farewell to Constantinople in order to follow his friend and teacher Stephanos Skylitzes who had been appointed Metropolitan of Trebizond.⁴⁸ Theodore uses the image of his ruined shoes and clothes in order to emphasize the long distances that he has covered; always of course, as a poet at the service of Palace.⁴⁹

Although Prodromos was exceptionally keen in projecting and promoting himself as court poet, this was by no means simply a role invented by him. Numerous poems were composed for special events and occasions of the Komnenian court. The majority usually celebrate the expeditions and victories of John II Komnenos against the Turks and other barbarian enemies of the empire,⁵⁰ imperial weddings and births,⁵¹ and the crowning of a co-emperor.⁵² Others were written at the occasion of the death of members of the family.⁵³ Additionally, there are numerous *deme* hymns which were a Komnenian (and a Prodromic) invention,⁵⁴ dedicatory epigrams for various objects,⁵⁵ and prayers⁵⁶ commissioned by the imperial family. Prodromos enjoyed enormous and longstanding success. We may infer this from the fact that his surviving poems were produced at different stages during his long and most successful career at court covering a time-span of approximately three decades.

⁴⁷ See BAZZANI, *The Historical Poems of Theodore Prodromos* 214–218; cf. also CULLHED, *The Blind Bard* 50–58.

⁴⁸ For detailed annotations on this poem see now HÖRANDNER, *Prodromos and the City* 49–62.

⁴⁹ Cf. *carm.hist.* LXXIX, 18–20: Χαῖρε, μέλαθρα μεγάλα πολυκτεάνων βασιλῆων, | οἷς ἔπι πόλλ’ ἐμόγησα καὶ ἄρβυλα πλεῖστα δάμαξα | πολλῆς ἡματίῃσι καὶ ἐννυχίοισι κελεύθοις.

⁵⁰ Cf. *carm.hist.* nos III, IV, VI, VIII, XI, XV, XVI, XVIII, XIX, XXX; for the image of the adversaries of the empire in these poems see HÖRANDNER, *Das Bild des Anderen* 162–168.

⁵¹ Cf. *carm.hist.* nos. XIII, XIV, XX, XLIII, XLIV; cf. HÖRANDNER, *Historische Gedichte* 88–89.

⁵² Cf. *carm.hist.* no. I.

⁵³ Cf. *carm.hist.* II, VII, XXIII, XXV, XXVI, XXVIII, XXIX, XXXI–XXXIII, XXXIX, XLV, XLIX, L, LIX; they are mainly monodies, epitaphs, and verses of consolation.

⁵⁴ Cf. *carm.hist.* IV, V, IX, X, XI, XII, XIII, XIV; cf. HÖRANDNER, *Historische Gedichte* 79–85 and IDEM, *Court Poetry* 75–85.

⁵⁵ Cf. *carm.hist.* XXI, XXXV–XXXVII, XLI, LII, LII.

⁵⁶ Cf. *carm.hist.* XXVII, XXXIV, XL, XLVII, LI, LV.

It would not be an exaggeration to assert that Prodromos was perhaps the preminent literary celebrity of his time. His poems and epigrams were inscribed on objects of art and performed by donors/commissioners, both in private and public places. Although Lopadion seems to be the most distant place from Constantinople where Prodromos had ever been to,⁵⁷ his fame as a poet together with some of his poems reached the periphery of the empire even in his lifetime. Two examples suffice to illustrate this: firstly, in one of his letters sent to Prodromos sometime after 1145, Michael Italikos, Metropolitan of Philippopolis says:⁵⁸

Ὁ γοῦν παρὼν οὐτοσὶ παπᾶς Μιχαὴλ πλέον ἀέρος ἀναπνεῖ τοὺς λόγους τοὺς σοῦς, πάντα πεζὸν λόγον, πᾶν ἱαμβεῖον ἐπὶ στόματος ἔχων. Καὶ ἐπειδὴν ποτε τῶν πραγμάτων ἀνέκυψα, προσέταττόν τι κρουμάτιον ἀπὸ τῆς σῆς κιθάρας ἐπᾶσαί μοι, καὶ ἦδεν εὐθὺς καὶ ἐπέρρει κατατείνων τὸ μέλος ἀκάθεκτον καὶ ἐλάλει ἔμμετρά τε καὶ ἄμετρα καὶ ἀμέτρως ἀμφοτέρω. Προσετίθει γάρ τι καὶ ἄφ' ἑαυτοῦ ταῖς σαῖς χάρισι·

This present papas Michael breathes your discourses more than air, reciting every prose or iambic discourse of yours. And at the moment that I emerged from my difficulties, I ordered him to sing to me some musical phrase [κρουμάτιον] [64.5] from your *kithara* and he immediately sung and kept on pouring his uncontainable song, speaking without meter both metrical and unmetrical discourses. For he added also a bit of his own to your charms;

The second example comes from poem no. 164, a dedicatory epigram for a depiction of the Theotokos, written on behalf of George of Antioch, *emir of emirs* and *archon ton archonton* during the reign of Roger II of Sicily.⁵⁹ The exact circumstances are unknown but this does not annul the fact that Prodromos' reputation crossed Constantinopolitan boundaries.

Learned men, contemporary with Prodromos, also present him as a virtuoso rhetorician and imperial messenger of the Komnenian court. For example, Manganeios Prodromos, who unofficially (or officially) succeeded Theodore in the Komnenian court, praises Theodore Prodromos in one of his poems for his matchless rhetorical skills:⁶⁰

Ναί, στόμα, στάζον Ὑμηττὸν ἐκ γλυκερῶν χειλέων,
εἰπὲ καὶ λόγον ζωτικὸν καὶ ζήσω καὶ σκιρτήσω,
εἰπὲ καὶ ζῶσάν σου φωνὴν ζῶην μοι χορηγοῦσαν.
ἰδοὺ τελέως ἤργησα, καὶ γὰρ ἐγγωνιάζω
25 καὶ κληῖρον ἔχω πατρικὸν τοῦτο τὸ νόσημά μου.
τρέμω καὶ τὴν ἐκμέτρησιν τοῦ κήρου τῆς ζωῆς μου·
πτοεῖ με γὰρ ὁ **Πρόδρομος**, ὁ **προδραμὼν ἐκεῖνος**,
ὁ **ρήτωρ** ὁ **περίφημος**, ὁ **προτεθρυλ[λ]ημένος**,

⁵⁷ See *carm.hist.* XVIII 75.

⁵⁸ See *Mich.Italic.*, Op. 1.64.1–6; transl. in PAPAIOANNOU, Language Games 223–224; for this passage see also HÖRANDNER, Zur kommunikativen Funktion byzantinischer Gedichte, 104–118.

⁵⁹ For the authorship of this epigram see poem no. 9 of the present edition.

⁶⁰ Cf. *De Manganis* X, 21–32; transl. in ALEXIOU, Ploys of Performance 105.

30 ἡ χελιδὼν ἡ μουσουργός, ἡ λαλιστάτη γλῶττα,
μὴ τόπον ἐτοιμάζῃ μοι καὶ λίθον καὶ γωνίαν.
μονονουχὶ γὰρ προφωνεῖ καὶ προμαρτύρεται μοι
καὶ ῥητορεύει καὶ θανῶν παρὰ νεκρῶν κευθμῶνι

Yes, O mouth, drip Hymettos' honey from sweet lips, | speak the word of life and I will live and skip, | speak in your living voice, bestowing life on me. | See, I've grown quite idle, keeping to my corner, | [25] and my father's portion is this my sore affliction, | while I tremble at the countdown of my lot in life. | **That Prodromos, the one who ran before, he frightens me, | the renowned rhetor, whose fame was bruited as of yore,** | the music-making swallow, the most loquacious tongue, | [30] lest he is keeping me a place, a stone and corner. | It's as if he's calling me ahead, bearing prior witness, | rehearsing speeches, albeit dead, in the nooks of the departed.

This passage, which has engendered fierce discussions in the circles of modern scholarship,⁶¹ is particularly interesting in so far as the anonymous poet acknowledges somewhat explicitly Prodromos' superiority as court poet. Yet, our image of Prodromos' predicament within the Komnenian social system would be inadequate and distorted if we adhered persistently to Prodromos and Manganeios' words. A *schedos* by the rather obscure figure of the monk Ioannikios, a member of Prodromos' coterie of friends, describe our poet as the most brilliant grammarian:⁶²

ὃχ' ἄριστον γραμματικῶν εἴ πολεῖ ἐπὶ γῆς· (=ὃ χάρις τῶν γραμματικῶν ἡ πολλὴ ἐπὶ γῆς Hörandner) ὥσει κανὼν' (=ὡς ἱκανὼν) ὄντα τῆς τέχνης αὐτῆς καὶ τῶν περὶ ταύτην διδάσκαλον. τίς οὐ κύδεν (=οὐκ οἶδεν) ἐμβοᾶ<v> νέφ παντὶ καὶ γηραιῷ ῥητόρων τοῦτον τὸν πρόκριτον; τίς οὐκ αἰνεῖ (αἶνει cod.) τὸν (=τῶν) φιλοσόφων;

O grace of grammarians over the entire earth as able of this *technē* and teacher of this *technē*. Who, among all young and old, didn't know to praise this chief rhetor? Who, among the philosophers, does not praise him?

In the same *schedos* Ioannikios makes special reference to Prodromos' skills in the composition of iambs and hexameters:⁶³

ὅταν ἱαμβίζῃ (=ἱαμβίζει) ἡ δαυιλὴς τῶν τούτου λόγων βλῦσις καὶ ἡρωϊζῇ τις ἐμποιεῖ καινὸν θαυμασμόν.⁶⁴

When he writes in iamb, the abundant flow in his discourses and heroic verses creates a new marvelling in some.

⁶¹ For a recent summary of this debate see KULHÁNKOVÁ, Figuren und Wortspiele 34–35.

⁶² For a partial edition of this *schedos* see VASSIS, Theodoros Prodromos 7, note 27.

⁶³ *Ibid.* 7, note 27.

⁶⁴ The *schedos* continues as follows: ὁμοίως δ' αἶκε (=δὲ καὶ) λογογραφῇ (=λογογραφεῖ) καὶ ἔτ' εἰ (=ἐτι)·σχεδοπλακεῖ. This passage suggests that there was a distinction between verse and prose in Byzantium.

The significance of this passage is enhanced even more when we consider that Ioannikios is now believed to be the author of poem 14 in the edition of the Psellian poetic corpus by Westerink.⁶⁵ This poem, addressed to a fictional friend, contains instructions on how to write correct iambs.

Furthermore, Niketas Eugenianos, who describes Prodromos as his closest friend⁶⁶ and teacher, produced and delivered, on the occasion of his death, four monodies: one in prose and three in meter (of which two are in hexameters and one in dodecasyllables).⁶⁷ In a more precise and balanced way, Eugenianos highlights here the dual career of Prodromos. In the twelve-syllabic epitaph, we come across Prodromos' two images: on the one hand, he is the panegyrist for the Komnenian family and the author of innumerable epigrams for icons and tombs, and on the other, a teacher comparable to Plato, Aristotle, and Chrysippos:

- 135 ἐδυτύχησαν οἱ βασιλῆες πόνοι
οἱ σὺν Θεῷ μέλλοντες εἰς φῶς ἡκέναι,
τὸν Πρόδρομον φέροντες οὐκ ἐπαινέτην·
ὑπερνεφὴ γὰρ ἄθλα καὶ στρατηγίας
καὶ βαρβάρους πίπτοντας ἠναγκασμένους
140 τίς ὥς σὺ μουσόπνευστον ἐκφράσαι στόμα;
κἂν μουσικὴν τοιάνδε τις κροῦσαι θέλῃ,
δύσρυθμον ἔσται τὸ κροτούμενον μέλος
χορδῆς ῥαγείσης τῆς ἐναργῶς ὑπάτης.
πολλοὺς τὰ μέτρα τῶν Ὀμήρου δακτύλων
145 ἀργυροδίνα<ι>ς ἐν ποταμοῖς εἰσάγει,⁶⁸
ἀλλ' εἷς⁶⁹ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐστὶν ὁ χρυσορρόας,
κἂν τις ποταμὸς εὐπορῇ καὶ ψηγμάτων,
πακτωλικὴν ψάμμαθον αὐτὸς προκρίνω·
ἄλλος Μυσῶν, ἄλλος δὲ τῶν Φρυγῶν ὄρος.
150 καὶ κόσμον ἐκλέλοιπας σεπτῶν εἰκόνων·
κοσμούμεναι γὰρ ἐκ λίθων καὶ μαργάρων
ὥς κόσμον εἶχον ἐντελῇ σου τοὺς στίχους
καὶ κόσμος ἦν ἄντικρυς ἡ στιχουργία
τοῦ κοσμοποιοῦ μαργάρου τῶν εἰκόνων.
155 Ποῖον τὶ δυσθέατον ὑπὲρ τοὺς τάφους,
ὧν ἐν πόνοις τίθησι καὶ κλήσις⁷⁰ μόνη;
Ἥγαλλόμην δὲ τοῖς τάφοις ὥς νυμφίους

⁶⁵ The attribution to the monk Ioannikios has been suggested by Wolfram Hörandner; HÖRANDNER, The didactic poem 62. It should be noted that Ioannikios seems to connect Prodromos' virtuosity in the composition of poetry to a teaching context (see the next section).

⁶⁶ *Nic.Eugen., Mon. in Theod. Prodr.* 458.19: τὸν κορυφαῖόν μοι τῶν φίλων.

⁶⁷ A rather provisional discussion of Eugenianos' monodies for Prodromos is given by KYRIAKIS, Professors and Disciples 108–119. It is very interesting that Eugenianos produced the single prose and three verse monodies in diverse meters. In doing so, he is probably following the example of his teacher for rhetorical variety.

⁶⁸ The edition has an upper dot.

⁶⁹ The edition reads οἷς. I owe this reading to Theodora Antonopoulou.

⁷⁰ The edition reads κλήσις.

χιτῶνα χρυσόστικτον ἡμφιεσμένοις
 τὴν χρυσεπῇ σου καὶ σοφῇ στιχουργίαν.⁷¹
 [...]
 νῦν καὶ πόλιν Βύζαντος εὐθυνουμένην
 ἄλλοις τε χρηστοῖς ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ τοῖς λόγοις
 ὁ κόσμος ἐκτέλειπε τῶν μαθημάτων,
 καὶ ταῖς Ἀθήναις ἔσχεν ἰσομοιρίαν·
 255 κάκεισε γὰρ παρήλθεν Ἀκαδημία,
 Περίπατα (sic) δὲ μέχρι καὶ σκιάς μόνης
 καὶ τοῦ Χρυσίππου τῆς Στοᾶς τὸ ποικίλον.
 Μουσεῖον οὖν ἔμψυχον εἶχεν ἡ πόλις,
 τὸν Πρόδρομον, σὲ τὴν τεραστίαν φύσιν.⁷²

[135] Imperial undertakings have become unfortunate, | [especially] those which with the help of God will come to light, | since they will not have Prodromos as eulogist. | The struggles and campaigns which were highly exalted | and the Barbarians who were forced to fall, | [140] which mouth inspired by the Muses will recount all these like you? | even if someone wants to play such music, | the musical phrase will be without rhythm, | the highest string would clearly break. | The meters of Homeric dactyls | [145] introduced many in silver-eddyding rivers; | but a golden flowing river among them, | even if a river bounds in gold-dust, | I prefer the sand of Paktolos | other the borders of the Mysians, other the borders of the Phrygians | [150] You have left behind the adornment of the holy icons. | For, being adorned with stones and pearls, | they also had your verses as a precious adornment | truly the poetry of the pearl that adorned the icons [i.e. Prodromos] was a <form of> adornment. | [155] What is more disagreeable to gaze upon than the tombs, | the very mention of which causes pain? | Yet I took great pleasure in the tombs, | which, like bridegrooms, were clothed in the golden words of your learned poetry | as if in a garment embroidered with gold.

The city of Byzas is now guided | by other good discourses | the world of your teaching has been lost, | and it had the same fate as Athens; | [255] for there, too, the Academy fell into decline | and even the peripatic school was only a shadow | and the manifold Stoic school of Chrysippos | The city had as alive library of Alexandria | Prodromos, your great nature.

All the same, it is noteworthy that Niketas does not call his schoolmaster *grammatikos*, most likely because this was a rather lowly profession. In the same vein, Prodromos refers to and boasts of his dual profession as court poet and *grammatikos* only at a much later stage of his career. More specifically, in the poem to Manuel edited by Maiuri, Theodore devotes the greatest part to his profession as court poet by projecting himself as a loyal servant of Irene Doukaina,

⁷¹ Nic.Eugen., Epit. In Theod. Prodr. 225–226. 135–152 (with some alterations in punctuation); Based on this passage, Lauxtermann has drawn a border line between poems and epigrams; see LAUXTERMANN, Byzantine Poetry 34. From the v. 150 onwards I have adopted the English translation from DRPIĆ, Kosmos of Verse 149.

⁷² Nic.Eugen., Epit. In Theod. Prodr. 228.251–259. The same delineation “Prodromos the panegyrist” – “Prodromos the teacher” in Nic.Eugen., Mon. in Theod. Prodr. 452.1–12: ἄρτι πρῶτως ὀλβίαν γλῶτταν παυσαμένην ὁρῶ πολλὰς ἐτέρας οὕτω παυσαμένας ὑπερφωνήσασαν, γλῶτταν ἀσόφους σοφίζουσιν καὶ σοφοὺς κατατέρπουσαν, ἀμαθεῖς συνετίζουσιν καὶ λόγῳ πενομένους ὀλβίζουσιν καὶ γνωτοὺς ἀφθόνητά οἱ προσανέχοντας θέλγουσιν, οἰχομένους πενθοῦσαν, λυπουμένους παιδαγωγοῦσαν, ἀστηρίκτους ἐδράζουσιν, σκηπτούχων νίκας ὕμνοῦσαν, εὐθυμοῦσι συγχαίρουσαν, ὀδυρομένοις συγκλαίουσαν καὶ πᾶσι πάντα γινομένην.

John II Komnenos, and now Manuel, while he concurrently vaunts himself as the Father of the *grammatikoi* (= Πατέρα τῶν γραμματικῶν).⁷³

Although Prodromos' explicit reference to his double profession can be found only at a later point of his life, we may safely assume that the composition of panegyrics and funerary works for the court or the aristocrats and private tutorship were inseparable parts of his career all the way through, from the very beginning to the very end. For instance, Prodromos busied himself with writing schedographic texts throughout his career, which is borne out by the dates of two *schede*, the one a monody composed for the Sevastokrator Andronikos as early as 1131, the other a *schedos* on Saint Nicholas written some time between 1155 and 1159.⁷⁴ Furthermore, in his poems addressed to the monk Ioannikios,⁷⁵ Theodore apologizes for not having visited his friend due to his illness. Prodromos and Ioannikios should have formed a guild with regard to schedography already from the 1130s. The *schedos* referred to above is one of a group of such works in which the two teachers praise each other,⁷⁶ while Prodromos had even written a book epigram for a manuscript with *schede* of Ioannikios.⁷⁷ In another unpublished *schedos*, Prodromos makes mention of an ill teacher whom he replaced.⁷⁸ It is very likely that this *schedos* was written when Prodromos was still a young teacher in Constantinople.

Theodore's life might be roughly divided into three stages: (a) ca. 1100-1122, (b) 1122-1143, and (c) 1143-until his death.⁷⁹ Once again, his commissions for the palace and aristocratic households help us to distinguish between these three conventional stages. We know almost nothing about Prodromos before the year 1122 when the first work presumably on commission for Irene Doukaina secured him a position in her "literary circle".⁸⁰

ἀλλ' ἅπ' αὐτῆς τῆς βρεφικῆς καὶ πρώτης ἡλικίας,
μίαν αὐλὴν ἐγνώρισα καὶ ἓναν αὐθέντην ἔσχον,
τὴν ἱερὰν βασιλίσσαν τοῦ κράτους σου τὴν μάμμην

⁷³ *Carm.* [Maiuri] 400, vv. 47.

⁷⁴ VASSIS, Theodoros Prodromos 12–13.

⁷⁵ Cf. *carm.hist.* LXII; for literature on Ioannikios see PAPAIOANNOU, Michael Psellos 257–258; cf. also NESSERIS, Η Παιδεία στην Κωνσταντινούπολη κατά τον 12ο αιώνα 139–157.

⁷⁶ Most of these *schede* remain unpublished; see note no. 34. I have begun working on these very interesting texts.

⁷⁷ *Carm.hist.* LXIII.

⁷⁸ VASSIS, Των νέων Φιλολόγων Παλαίσματα 62 (no. 199).

⁷⁹ There is debate concerning the date of Prodromos' death: some scholars place his death between 1156-1158; cf. HÖRANDNER, Historische Gedichte, 32 and JEFFREYS, Four Byzantine Novels 6. However, Kazhdan argued that Prodromos lived until the 1170s; cf. KAZHDAN, Theodore Prodromus 92–93; I am inclined to believe that the former date is more likely, especially if we think that Prodromos suffered smallpox already from the beginning of the 1140s.

⁸⁰ *Carm.* [Maiuri] 399, vv. 21–23.

But from infantile and early age, | I come to know one court and master, | the holy queen, grandmother of your mighty.

Unfortunately, we cannot determine the exact circumstances under which Theodore – despite his young age – managed to obtain such a prestigious commission. Perhaps Michael Italikos, one of Prodromos’ teachers,⁸¹ who was probably already a member of Irene’s close literary entourage,⁸² had promoted his own student. An equally likely scenario is that Irene had seen the young Prodromos in a *schedos* contest or a poetic contest.⁸³ There is mention of the imperial family being present in some *schede*. For example, in one of the unpublished *schede* from the codex Vat. Pal. gr. 92 the emperor himself is named as the judge.⁸⁴

In the “Maiuri Poem”, addressed to Manuel, Prodromos specifically asserts that he switched patron only upon the death of Irene Doukaina.⁸⁵ However, the only poem written for Irene is dated to 1122.⁸⁶ With respect to the epigram for Irene’s tomb, it is very possible that Irene commissioned Prodromos to write the epigram while she was still alive,⁸⁷ but this cannot be proved with any certainty. On the other hand, Elizabeth Jeffreys has recently maintained that the first commissions for John were produced after the recapture of Kastamon (ca. 1134).⁸⁸ If Jeffreys is right, there would have been a time gap of approximately eleven years, during which Prodromos would have produced no commissions for Irene. This inference raises a number of questions: Is the year 1133 a secure date to place the death of Irene Doukaina?⁸⁹ Should we not perhaps take Prodromos’ words in the “Maiuri Poem” at face value and assume that some poems

⁸¹ From their correspondence it is clear that Italikos was Prodromos’ teacher; see, for example, *Mich.Italic.*, Op. 1. 64–65.25ff: Πρώην μὲν γάρ, ὅτε σε ὁ Φοῖνιξ τὸν Ἀχιλλεῖα ἔτρεφον καὶ μύθων ῥητῆρα ἐτίθουν, αὐτὸς τῶν λόγων ἡγούμεν· νῦν δὲ γεγηρακότος τοῦ σοῦ Φοίνικος, Ἀχιλλεῦ, ἄρχε λόγων αὐτός (= In the past, when I, Phoenix, was raising you, Achilles, and was rendering you a “speaker of Words” [Iliad 9.443], I myself was leading the discourses; but now, as your Phoenix has grown old, you, Achilles, should take the lead in discoursing. Transl. in PAPAIOANNOU, Language Games 224); that passage is also treated in HÖRANDNER, Historische Gedichte 25.

⁸² *Mich.Italic.*, Op. 15.146–147: Λόγον αὐτοματίσαι σοι ἐξ αὐτοσχεδίου γλώττης ἐν τῷδε τῷ λογιωτάτῳ θεάτρῳ προστέταχας, ὃ πασῶν βασιλίδων λογιωτέρα μοι δέσποινα καὶ πλέον ἢ πάντες τοὺς λόγους τιμήσασα.

⁸³ BERNARD, Beats of the Pen 201ff. See AGAPITOS, Grammar, genre and politics in Komnenian Constantinople (forthcoming).

⁸⁴ See VASSIS, Τῶν νέων Φιλολόγων Παλαίσματα 54 (no. 114).

⁸⁵ Cf. *Carm.* [Maiuri] 399, vv. 21–27.

⁸⁶ HÖRANDNER, Historische Gedichte 188.

⁸⁷ A characteristic example is epigram no. 31 of Kallikles which reads οἱ παρόντες στίχοι ὑγιαίνοντος τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ χάριτι τοῦ κραταιοῦ καὶ ἀγίου ἡμῶν αὐθέντου καὶ βασιλέως Ἰωάννου πορφυρογεννήτου τοῦ Κομνηνοῦ ἐγένοντο κατὰ ἐντολὴν ἐκείνου ὡς ἐπὶ τῷ τάφῳ αὐτοῦ (S; * * * τ * * M) γραφησόμενοι.

⁸⁸ JEFFREYS, Four Byzantine Novels 5.

⁸⁹ For bibliography on this date see JEFFREYS, Four Byzantine Novels 5, note 17.

for John were produced before 1133? The latter is very likely because the first historical poem which celebrates the crowning of Alexios Komnenos, son of John, as co-emperor is datable to 1122. In addition, some of the *Deme* hymns could have been written before the year 1133. Nevertheless, the number of commissions in the first decade of his career as court poet is not at all large. This could be explained if we were to suggest that Prodromos during these years was occupied with composing of some of his long literary works. For example, although the writing of his novel has now been placed in the early 1130's,⁹⁰ I see no reason for an even earlier dating.⁹¹

In any event, Prodromos' career as professional court poet flourished in the 1130s, with at least twenty-one commissions at the behest of John II Komnenos. A "caesura" might be placed around the year 1138 when Prodromos addressed his first petitions to various Komnenian magnates.⁹² Circumstances became even more precarious in the last stage of his career. After 1143 and the death of John Komnenos, the number of imperial commissions markedly decreased. There may be two reasons for this: Prodromos' alleged fall from imperial grace,⁹³ and his gradually deteriorating health. Such scenarios, combined with the rise of Manganeios Prodromos, may well have played, to a certain degree, a part in the diminishing number of imperial commissions.

In the light of the accounts by Prodromos himself, as well as by Manganeios, Ioannikios, and Eugenianos, it is clear that Prodromos could have not been a civil or ecclesiastical official, as, for example, was the imperial physician Nicholas Kallikles who at the same time penned more than thirty poems/epigrams for various members of the Byzantine court, but a private teacher, a *grammatikos*, whose rhetorical virtuosity was highly appreciated by imperial members of the Komnenian family and of the aristocracy. As is well known, in sharp contrast with the period between ca. 600 and 1000 when most poets were part of the upper class in Byzantine society,⁹⁴ many poets from the eleventh century onwards, and especially in the twelfth century, stemmed

⁹⁰ See JEFFREYS, *Four Byzantine Novels* 7–10.

⁹¹ See also my annotations on p. 345 and the note no. 868.

⁹² For the time being I accept Jeffreys' dating; see JEFFREYS, *Four Byzantine Novels* 6.

⁹³ STANKOVIĆ, *Generation Gap* 209–226.

⁹⁴ LAUXTERMANN, *Byzantine Poetry* 39.

from the lower middle class, or, as Paul Magdalino has put it, the “second-class aristocracy” of Byzantine society.⁹⁵

Prodromos succeeded in establishing a particularly wide network of patrons and donors with many commissions,⁹⁶ and managed to become the principal court poet of the Komnenian family. Even so, this was not a fixed position with a continuous flow of income. Indeed, occasionally there seemed to be no fee at all.⁹⁷ As a consequence, his low social standing as a private teacher as well as the fact that – in spite of his profound education – he never climbed the social ladder of the Komnenian bureaucracy, coupled with his unceasing complaints about his desperate situation, have puzzled modern scholars and have led them to postulate a “crisis of literati”⁹⁸ and shortage of administrative/ecclesiastical posts.

While I fully concur with this perspective, the vicissitudes of Prodromos’ career still remains a mystery. How was it that the father of the “rhetoric of poverty” or “begging poetry” (I find the former term more accurate and attractive) and clearly one of the most erudite literati of the first half of the twelfth century, could not succeed in ascending the social pyramid? No one has managed to tackle this issue and provide a definitive answer to the question of Prodromos’ inability to obtain a highly-esteemed position that would match his renown as a skilful rhetor. According to Elizabeth Jeffreys, this could be the result of a “historical accident” and his bad health.⁹⁹ Whereas I find this hypothesis very reasonable and attractive, I am not entirely convinced. By the year 1143, Prodromos was over 40 years of age and could have reasonably been granted a promotion.¹⁰⁰ On the other hand, Nikephoros Basilakes, who was roughly 15 years younger than Prodromos, served as imperial notary and then as didaskalos of the Apostle at Hagia Sophia in Constantinople as early as 1140.¹⁰¹

A very tentative explanation could be the following: Prodromos, in his little known work titled ‘On those who blaspheme against Providence on account of poverty’, includes some very

⁹⁵ MAGDALINO, Manuel I Komnenos 320–22 and 339–352.

⁹⁶ For Prodromos’ network see GRÜNBART, Tis love that has warm’d us 311.

⁹⁷ It concerns the poems *ὡς ἀπὸ προσώπου* (*carm.hist.VII*, XXI–XXIII, XXV, XXVII, XL, and L); on this matter see BERNARD, Beats of the pen 245–246 and SPINGOU, Snapshots (forthcoming).

⁹⁸ I have borrowed the phrase from BAZZANI, The Historical Poems of Theodoros Prodromos 225.

⁹⁹ JEFFREYS, Four Byzantine Novels 4.

¹⁰⁰ On Prodromos’ date of birth see HÖRANDNER, Historische Gedichte 22–23.

¹⁰¹ PIGNANI, Niceforo Basilace 235–252; cf. *ODB* s.v.

interesting self-referential evidence. Here, we are told, among other things, that he stuttered.¹⁰² It could, of course, be argued that this self-reference is a literary invention; perhaps, Theodore is seeking to liken himself to John Italos, especially if we take into consideration that this reference occurs after a description of his talent in philosophy. After all, this would not be the first time; in his work *Xenedemos*, Prodromos refers to a certain Theokles whose image seems to be a fusion of Michael Psellos and John Italos.¹⁰³ But were we to take his claim literally, as in the case of his writings on his illness, this speech impediment might explain his failure to advance to a prestigious teaching post and/or an administrative/ecclesiastical office.

On the other hand, Prodromos in many of his poems includes explicit requests for remuneration, yet it is never clear what kind of compensation he expects: is it a financial gift or the grant of an administrative/ecclesiastical post? In other words, he does not hesitate to plead vociferously for a gift, but he never specifies what kind of gift he expects in return. One may consider that, in most of the poems, he is asking for financial support using veiled language, such as words like τροφή and πόσις.¹⁰⁴ It is notable that in contrast with the eleventh-century literati, Michael Psellos and John Mauropous, who in the most surprisingly overt manner ask the Emperors Michael IV and Constantine IX Monomachos, respectively, to give them a bureaucratic post,¹⁰⁵ Prodromos does not make any request for such a reward. What are we to make of this? Did he not desire such an appointment or want the social advancement it promised? Of course he did; but, in my view, Prodromos is much more subtle when it comes to making such requests. For example, in his well-known verse letter to Anna Komnene, dated 1140, Prodromos concludes with a request for her to grant him a gift worthy of his speech.¹⁰⁶ Once again, it is reasonable to wonder what kind of gift Prodromos expected in compensation for his verse letter.

¹⁰² PG 133.1297–1298: Ἐν μοι τοῦτο καὶ οὐκ ἀποκρύψομαι πρόσκομμα· σκάζει μοι μεταξύ τῶν λόγων ἡ γλῶσσα· ἐνιαχοῦ καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔστιν ὅτε ἀναδιπλοῖ συλλαβὴν· ὥς μὲν τινες οὐκ ἀπιθάνως φασί, μὴ ὑπουργεῖν δυναμένη πολυγόνῳ οὕτως νοῖ, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν νοημάτων ἀγωνιῶσα, ποῖον ἄρα καὶ προαρπάσεται, καὶ δῆλον ἐξ ὧν ταῖς βίβλοις ἀπαθέστερον ὁμιλεῖ· ὥς δ' ἐγὼ περὶ ἑαυτοῦ ἀποφαίνομαι, φυσικὸν λαχοῦσα τοῦτο πλημμέλημα οὐχ ὑστερίζειν μὲν οὖν ταῖς διαλέξεσιν οὐδενός, μὴ ὅτι γε καὶ μένος πνέει πυρὸς τῶν ἀντιθετούντων πρηστήριον· εἰ δέ τι καὶ ὑστερίζει, τὴν χεῖρα τέως ἔχει τὸ ἐλλείπον ἀναπληροῦσαν διὰ τοῦ μέλανος; cf. also MARCINIAK, Bion Prasis 237, note 57.

¹⁰³ See EBBESEN, Greek and Latin Medieval Logic 81–82; cf. also the annotations in PAPAIOANNOU, Michael Psellos 241, note 20.

¹⁰⁴ See *Carm.* [Maiuri] 399, v. 33.

¹⁰⁵ LAUXTERMANN, Byzantine Poetry 35.

¹⁰⁶ *Carm.hist.* XVIII, v. 117.

The answer may be found in vv. 50–60 of the poem where Prodromos summarizes thoroughly his education. More specifically, he divides the process of his education into three stages: grammar-rhetoric-philosophy.

- 50 καὶ δὴ γραμματικῆς μὲν ἀπείριτον οἶδμα θαλάσσης
 εὐπλοος ἐξεπέρησα, φορὸν δέ με πνεῦμα κατέπνει,
 ῥήτροσύνης μετέπειτα τὸν εὐριπον ἐξεπλόηθην,
 εὐριπον ἀτρεκέως, τῇ γὰρ καὶ τῇ μεταπίπτει
 ἀστατέων καὶ ἄνδιχ' ἀείστροφον οἶμον ἐλαύνει·
 55 ὠκεανὸς δέ μ' ἔδεκτο μετήλυδα φιλοσοφίας,
 μείζων ὠκεανοῖο μέρος μέγα τοῦ περὶ γαίην·
 κεῖνος μὲν γὰρ ἄπασαν ἐπέλλαβε τὴν χθόνα μούνην,
 αὐτὰρ ὁ καὶ γαίην καὶ οὐρανόν, ἄλλα τε πάντα
 ἐντὸς ἔχει διέπων περιδέξια, θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι·
 60 τοῦτον ἐγὼ περίειμι καὶ ὃν μὲν ἐπήλυθα κόλπον

and grammar, a boundless swelling of sea, | [50] making a fair voyage I passed through, while a fair breeze blew upon me, | thereupon, I set course for the straits of rhetoric, | truly a narrow sea, for rhetoric is variable | an ever-changing path drives me unceasingly and far away | the ocean of philosophy received me as foreign settler, | [55] the great part of the ocean, larger in comparison with the land; | for that one got hold not only of the land, | but both land and heaven, and everything else | which it occupies inside and ambidextrously conducts, a wonder to be hold; [60] that one I surpassed and traverse such a gulf.

This passage has been construed by scholars as a mere reference to his education,¹⁰⁷ but the verses bear many more implications. To begin with, it would not be entirely hypothetical to claim that Prodromos is here trying in a very subtle manner to couple grammar, rhetoric, and philosophy.¹⁰⁸ More relevant for our purposes is that these verses should be seen in conjunction with Anna Komnene's words in the *Alexiad*:¹⁰⁹

τοῦ δὲ σχεδὸν ἡ τέχνη εὐρημα τῶν νεωτέρων ἐστὶ καὶ τῆς ἐφ' ἡμῶν γενεᾶς. [...] ἀλλὰ νῦν οὐδ' ἐν δευτέρῳ λόγῳ τὰ περὶ τούτων τῶν μετεώρων καὶ ποιητῶν καὶ αὐτῶν συγγραφέων καὶ τῆς ἀπὸ τούτων ἐμπειρίας· πεττεία δὲ τὸ σπούδασμα καὶ ἄλλα τὰ ἔργα ἀθέμιτα. ταῦτα δὲ λέγω ἀχθομένη διὰ τὴν παντελεῖ τῆς ἐγκυκλίου παιδείας ἀμέλειαν. τοῦτο γάρ μου τὴν ψυχὴν ἀναφλέγει, ὅτι πολὺ περὶ ταῦτα ἐνδιατέτριφα, κἄν, ἐπειδὴν ἀπήλλαγμα τῆς παιδαριώδους τούτων σχολῆς καὶ εἰς ῥητορικὴν παρήγγειλα καὶ φιλοσοφίας ἡψάμην καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἐπιστημῶν πρὸς ποιητὰς τε καὶ συγγραφεῖς ἦξα καὶ τῆς γλώττης τοὺς ὄχθους ἐκεῖθεν ἐξωμαλίσάμην, εἴτα ῥητορικῆς ἐπαρηγόσης ἐμοὶ κατέγων τῆς {τοῦ} πολυπλόκου τῆς σχεδογραφίας πλοκῆς.

The technique of schedography is a discovery of the younger people and of our generation. [...] But now not even a second place is allotted to more exalted studies, studies of our poets and prose writers and of the knowledge that comes from them. This passion for parsing and other improper subjects is like a game of draughts. I say this because I am distressed by the complete neglect of *enkyklios* education. This enrages my mind because I have spent much time on these same parsings, and when I escaped from these puerile

¹⁰⁷ See HÖRANDNER, *Historische Gedichte* 24.

¹⁰⁸ Remarkably, this reconciliation is somehow comparable to Psellos' venture when he mixed philosophy and rhetoric; on this issue see now the most insightful analysis in PAPAIOANNOU, Michael Psellos.

¹⁰⁹ Transl. in ROBINS, *The Byzantine Grammarians* 129 with modifications.

studies and took up rhetoric and applied myself to philosophy, as part of these studies I turned eagerly to the writers of poetry and prose, and from them I smoothed away myself the roughness of my speech; and then with the help of rhetoric I recognized the worthlessness of complexities of this already excessively complicated writing of schedography.

As has been noted numerous times, Anna's view on schedography, or at least on that type which resembles a boardgame,¹¹⁰ is entirely negative. Prodromos, on the other hand, appears to have been among the leading proponents of schedography in twelfth century and its transformation into a separate literary genre or boardgame.¹¹¹ It is hardly likely that this epistolary poem was sent after the production of the last book of the *Alexiad*. However, it is very possible that the poet was aware of Anna's stance towards schedography and in particular the type of schedography which he, above all others, was known to have excelled at. Assuming that these verses were composed, at least in part, as a response to Anna's repudiation of this rhetorical exercise, it is not a coincidence that he makes no mention whatsoever to schedography; indeed, he consciously establishes an overt hierarchy among grammar (by which his audience would have also understood schedography), rhetoric, and philosophy.

Prodromos' verses should also be seen as an effort to advertise his versatile teaching skills, represent himself as a universal teacher, and to become something more than a *grammatikos*. This is not the only point in his work where Prodromos establishes a hierarchical order among grammar, rhetoric, and philosophy. There is, for example, an oration addressed to Patriarch John IX Agapetos¹¹² as well as his work: "On Those who Blaspheme against Providence on Account of Poverty":¹¹³

Ἐγωγε, ὦ παρόντες (ἀλλ' ἀπείη Ἀδράστεια), γένους μὲν οὐ παντάπασι γέγονα χαμαιζήλου· ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἂν καὶ ζηλωτοῦ τοῖς πολλοῖς. Τὰ δέ μοι κατὰ τὸ σῶμα, κἂν εἰ μὴ τῆς ἄγαν ἀρίστης τετυχήκασι κράσεως, τέως γε μὴν οὐθὲν εἰλήχεσαν κολοβόν. Διδασκάλων προσεφοίτησα τοῖς ἀρίστοις· γραμματικὴν προὔτελέσθην· ῥητορείαν ἐξεμνήθην, οὐχ ἦν οἱ ψυχροὶ Σιμόκατοι καὶ οἱ κατ' αὐτοὺς, εἶπέν οἰκειότερον, ἀποπέρδουσιν, ἀλλ' ἦν Ἀριστεῖδαι καὶ Πλάτωνες ἀναπνέουσι. Τῆς Ἀριστοτέλους φιλοσοφίας, τῆς Πλάτωνος ὑψηλογίας,¹¹⁴ τῆς ἐν γραμμαῖς καὶ ἀριθμοῖς θεωρίας, ἔχω μὲν λέγειν ὥς οὐδὲν ἀφῆκα κατόπιν·

I, O present fellows (let Adrasteia keep clear!), do not stem from an entirely humble family; on the contrary, it would be envied by many. As far as my body goes, even though I do not happen to have an excellent physical constitution, at least I was not lame in any way until then. I was associated with the most

¹¹⁰ This is the view of Agapitos which I largely share; see AGAPITOS, Grammar, genre and politics in Komnenian Constantinople (forthcoming).

¹¹¹ See also the ensuing section.

¹¹² cf. MANAPHIS, Λόγος εἰς τὸν πατριάρχην Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Ἰωάννην Θ' τὸν Ἀγαπητὸν 233–234, lines 166–192.

¹¹³ Cf. PG 133 1297A-B.

¹¹⁴ The edition reads ὑπολογίας.

excellent teachers; I was first initiated in grammar; I was instructed in rhetoric, not that of ineffectual people like Simocates and their similar [people], to say it more naturally, they fart, but the rhetoric of people like Aristides and Plato. I can claim not to have lagged behind in Aristotle's philosophy, Plato's lofty ideas, or in geometry.

The former penned for the Patriarch in the early 1130s has been interpreted as a request on the part of Prodromos to obtain a teaching position.¹¹⁵ The latter one, as I will argue later, is probably a text meant to be used within a teaching setting.¹¹⁶ Hence, it should be viewed as an attempt to amplify his classroom authority. What is more, the entire Prodromic output stipulates that Prodromos zealously strove to climb up the teaching ladder. Though the *schede* and grammar treatise were intended to be used by students at the primary level, many of his works, a mixture of rhetoric and philosophy, could be used for more advanced students. His commentary on Aristotle's *Posterior Analytics*, whose genesis is probably linked to the philosophical circles led by Anna Komnene,¹¹⁷ points to the same direction.

Returning again to his poem "Verses of Farewell to Byzantium" written around 1140 (as was the verse-letter to Anna), Prodromos discloses his intention to follow his friend and teacher, Stephanos Skylitzes, who was appointed to the bishopric of Trebizond. However, before acquiring this high-esteemed ecclesiastical post, Stephanos Skylitzes was a professor at the Orphanotropheion of Saint Paul.¹¹⁸ Thus, I would be inclined to believe that Prodromos' disappointment and his intention to leave Constantinople had also to do with the fact that he did not succeed his close friend and teacher Stephanos Skylitzes at the Orphanotropheion. As noted above, the profession of *grammatikos* was neither very profitable nor prestigious in social terms. Indeed, quite the contrary. According to John Tzetzes, there were countless *grammatikoi* in Constantinople at the time;¹¹⁹ consequently, competition between them was fierce for it was not easy to make a decent living. It is, therefore, understandable that many literati were obliged to find a second profession. By way of indication, it is notable that Ioannikios the monk was not only a *grammatikos* but also a very industrious scribe.¹²⁰ Prodromos' career as court poet was for him a means to secure a teaching post. In this sense, he was pursuing the path which Michael

¹¹⁵ MANAPHIS, Λόγος εἰς τὸν πατριάρχην Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Ἰωάννην Θ' τὸν Ἀγαπητὸν 224; recently, it has been argued that the Patriarch was involved into the decision-making processes of teaching staff at the Orphanotropheion; cf. MILLER, Two Teaching Texts from the Twelfth-Century Orphanotropheion 18–19.

¹¹⁶ See the commentary of poem no. 13.

¹¹⁷ JEFFREYS, Four Byzantine Novels 5.

¹¹⁸ BROWNING, The Patriarchal School 25.

¹¹⁹ See more recently BAZZANI, The Historical Poems of Theodoros Prodromos 226.

¹²⁰ See note no. 74.

Psellos had marked out approximately one hundred years earlier. However, instead of procuring an illustrious teaching post at the Orphanotropheion, it is likely that he merely managed to take refuge at the hospice, which was attached to it.¹²¹ Around the year 1143, or slightly earlier, he must also have taken the monastic habit. Even though Hörandner has suggested that Prodromos became a monk only on his deathbed,¹²² it has gone unnoticed that the monk Ioannikios, in a praising *schedos*, calls him Nicholas, which was actually his monastic name.¹²³ This explains the numerous works dedicated to St. Nicholas as well as his status at the Orphanotropheion of St. Paul.¹²⁴

To recapitulate, on the base of the details above, it is clearly possible to distinguish between the two different aspects of Prodromos' status in the Komnenian social system: firstly, he was a professional poet who wrote panegyrics, prayers and epigrams. Secondly, he practised as a private teacher. Parenthetically, it must be underlined that Prodromos was one of the few twelfth-century literati who was shifting in the different levels of literary patronage of the Komnenian period. More precisely, he not only produced occasional court poetry in the strict sense, but also long literary works, such as the novel and the numerous satirical works. On the other hand, intellectuals such as Konstantinos Manasses and John Tzetzes did not write occasional poems for the court neither did court poets such as Nicholas Kallikles and Manganeios Prodromos compose extended literary works. In all probability, Prodromos' literary versatility was due to his dual social position as court poet and teacher. Both professions were dimensions of his intellectual identity. Regrettably, modern scholars have marginalised his function as teacher and instead concentrate on his accomplishments as court poet and free-lance writer. In this connection, a telling example are Robert Browning's words that "Prodromos, like several of his contemporaries, was a professional writer, and not an official or clergyman or teacher who happened to write."¹²⁵ I do not fully agree with this view. Rather, I believe that Prodromos was fully aware and fond of his profession as teacher, being well aware that this was his only path for social advancement within the highly competitive bureaucratic system of

¹²¹ HÖRANDNER, *Historische Gedichte* 28.

¹²² *Ibid.* 32.

¹²³ [...] ἀλλ' οὐαί σοι Νικόλαε, τῷ τέλει τοῦ τόμου καὶ τὸν ὑμέτερον λόγον συμπερικλείοντι. This line is not included in VASSIS, *Theodoros Prodromos* 7, note 27. The *schedos* is preserved on fol. 217^{r-v} of the manuscript Vat. Pal. gr. 92.

¹²⁴ For further annotations on this issue see my commentary on the poems no. 1^{a-f}.

¹²⁵ BROWNING, *The Byzantine Empire* 152.

Komnenian Constantinople. Moreover, this profession effected the *genesis* of many of his works. Accordingly, in approaching and exploring his works in terms of original function, audience, and authorship one must bear in mind always to vacillate between Prodromos the laureate court poet, Prodromos the professional writer and rhetorician, and Prodromos the inventive teacher.

1.3 Communicating Vessels: Court – *Theatra* – Classroom (some provisional remarks)

The survey in the previous section highlighted the two settings within which Prodhromos produced his writings, that is to say, on commission for the most prominent members of the imperial house, aristocrats, and various other civil and ecclesiastical officials and on the needs of his students. In this section, I wish to examine whether the court and/or the so-called ‘rhetorical *theatra*’,¹²⁶ on the one hand, and the classroom, on the other, were three completely separate environments.

It is well known that most poems and epigrams by Prodhromos have come down to us only as “literary poems”; consequently, their original function has, in many cases, forever been lost. Whereas the existence of some available hints (such as *lemmata*, content, inscribed recipients, vocabulary etc.) occasionally helps us to hypothetically construct their initial function, this does not necessarily guarantee that we have a full picture of the original, multi-layered context. The quest for the original context becomes even more difficult when one considers that many twelfth-century authors, and particularly Theodore Prodhromos, did not adhere to specific conventions, rules, and forms. On the contrary, he playfully crossed alleged boundaries by experimenting not only with form and with literary genres, but also with the Komnenian audience/readership.

Undoubtedly, one of the most ground-breaking experimentations was the conversion of the *schedos*, from a mere exercise, exclusively designed for teaching purposes, into a literary genre,¹²⁷ or, as Garzya has put it, a “Brettspiel”.¹²⁸ Prodhromos himself uses the word *παίγνια* to describe the *schede*.¹²⁹ In an insightful analysis of the Prodhromic *schede*, Ioannis Vassis illustrates a wide number of examples where Prodhromos employed schedography for the praise of Constantinopolitan imperial and aristocratic patrons. Moreover, he supplies the *editio princeps* for two of them. The first *schedos*, an encomium on St. Nicholas, concludes with a verse prayer addressed to the saint and a request to *epi tou Kanikleiou*. Almost certainly this was Theodore

¹²⁶ For literature see the commentary of poem no. 12.

¹²⁷ VASSIS, Theodoros Prodhromos 13.

¹²⁸ GARZYA, Polemiken 8; cf. also MULLETT, Aristocracy and Patronage 182: “and the new schedography, not so much a way of teaching grammar, more a tortuous game”.

¹²⁹ Cf. *hist.carm.* LXXIX 45; for a different interpretation of this word see HÖRANDNER, Prodhromos and the City 61.

Styppeiotes, a student of Prodromos who acquired some distinguished high-ranking administrative posts before falling into imperial disgrace some time after 1158/1159:¹³⁰

Νικόλαε, φρούρει με συνήθως πάλιν·
οἶδας, πνέω σε, μαρτύρων οὐ προσδέη·
κανικλείου, ῥύου με συνήθως πάλιν·
οἶδας, φιλῶ σε, μαρτύρων οὐ προσδέη·
αὐτοκράτορ κράτιστε, βλαστὲ πορφύρας
(σὲ γὰρ ἐπισφράγισμα ποιῶ τοῦ λόγου),
νίκα τὸν ἐχθρόν, ὅστις ἀντάροϊτό σοι,
μέμνησο τῆς σῆς προδρομικῆς ἐστίας
καὶ Νικολάου συμμαχοῦντος εὐτύχει.

O Nicholas, protect me again as you do always; | You know that you are my life, no proof is necessary. | Imperial secretary, save me again as you do always; | You know that I love you, no proof is necessary. | O most powerful emperor, purple-born | (I make you seal of my speech), | triumph over all the enemies who have raised up against you, | remember the house of your Prodromos | and have a good fate with Nicholas as comrade-in-arms.

Prodromos beseeches St. Nicholas to protect the emperor in his struggle against the enemies of the empire, while Styppeiotes is asked to rescue Prodromos, once again from his dire poverty. As Vassis has already noted, poem no. LXXII, a verse letter addressed to *epi tou Kanikleiou* (once more Theodore Styppeiotes) asking from him to help the poet resembles the structure of the *schedos*.¹³¹ While it is obvious that the *schedos*, like the verse letter, was sent to Styppeiotes, it is impossible to determine whether or not they were sent together. At the same time, it is clear that the *schedos* has acquired a function comparable to panegyric discourse.

Similarly, the second *schedos*, which Vassis includes in his study in order to highlight the literary evolution of schedography, is in fact a monody for the Sevastokrator Andronikos, son of Alexios I Komnenos.¹³² As Vassis has already mentioned, Prodromos produced a prose monody as well as a hexametric poem of consolation (for his mother Irene Doukaina) for the same occasion.¹³³ A further example which demonstrates that schedography evolved into a separate literary genre is the historical poem no. LVI, in which Prodromos praises the Orphanotrophos Alexios Aristenos in four different meters. At the very beginning of the poem we are informed

¹³⁰ On this issue see KRESTEN, Theodoros Styppeiotes 49–103 and ΚΟΥΦΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, Δύο ανέκδοτα ποιήματα τοῦ Θεοδώρου Στυππειώτη 352ff; for the text of the *schedos* see VASSIS, Theodoros Prodromos 16.

¹³¹ VASSIS, Theodoros Prodromos 12.

¹³² *Ibid.* 18–19.

¹³³ *Ibid.* 13.

that the Orphanotrophos had previously been celebrated in a prose discourse and a *schedos*.¹³⁴ In all of the aforementioned examples, we encounter Prodromos' effort to achieve rhetorical variety by producing works in diverse forms for the same occasion.¹³⁵ Moving beyond the examples which Vassis used for his study, there is a *schedos* containing many “everyday words” which has been used as evidence to identify Prodromos with Ptochoprodromos.¹³⁶ This *schedos* has been entirely overlooked by modern scholars. Its importance for our purposes is that this verse epilogue of the *schedos* explicitly indicates that it was sent to a βασιλῆς, in all likelihood Irene the Sevastokratorissa.¹³⁷

Given that schedography transcended the classroom and occasionally assumed the role of panegyric discourse, it is very tempting to wonder whether certain poems, seemingly written for an occasion related to the court, may in turn entered the classroom and acquired a didactic role. Fortunately, we can extract an unambiguous answer to this question if we turn to a verse letter addressed to Theodore Styppeiotēs:¹³⁸

ἔτι τυγγάνων ἐν παισίν, ἔτι τὰ σχέδη γράφων
καὶ γραμματικευόμενος καὶ ποιηταῖς προσέχων
ἐξήρησό μου τῶν σχεδῶν, ἐξήρησο τῶν στίχων,
ἐκείνων δὲ καὶ μάλιστα τῶν ὑπὲρ βασιλέως·

still among children, still writing *schede* | and attending grammar school and preoccupied with poets | you
were hanging on my *schede*, hanging on the verses, | particularly those praising the Emperor.

Two things may be noted here: firstly, in order to celebrate the victories of the emperor, Prodromos made use not only of poems but also schedography;¹³⁹ secondly, and perhaps more importantly, both his *schede* and poems that praise the emperor were used in the court and in the classroom.

This is the only instance in the Prodromic oeuvre, at least to my knowledge, where it is mentioned explicitly that his imperial panegyrics were used as a teaching tool for his students. Floris Bernard, in his excellent study of eleventh-century poetry, includes some examples of

¹³⁴ Cf. *carm hist.* LVI, 4: ὑμνησάμην σε πρῶτα πεζῷ τῷ λόγῳ and 9: ἐμελψάμην σε δεύτερον σχεδουργία.

¹³⁵ This is another fascinating feature of the Prodromic work which I intend to investigate in a future study.

¹³⁶ See POLEMIS, Προβλήματα 288–289; for the text see 297–302.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.* 289.

¹³⁸ *Carm.hist.* LXXI, 7–10.

¹³⁹ Cf. VASSIS, Theodoros Prodromos 13–14.

poems which are seemingly “historical”, but in fact are school exercises.¹⁴⁰ I will not postulate a similar speculation for some of Prodromos’ “historical poems”; but it would be hardly surprising if a number of his poems were “recycled” and subsequently introduced into the classroom. As indicated in the previous section, Prodromos earned part of his living as a private grammarian. As is well known, one of the main subjects that a grammarian would teach is poetry, particularly ancient Greek poetry (mainly Homer).¹⁴¹

But what might have prompted Prodromos to include some of his occasional poems in his teaching? Perhaps the lack of books about which Prodromos constantly complained.¹⁴² As shown below in the commentary to poem no. 13, such complaints can be found in many of his works, such as the encomium for the Patriarch John IX Agapetos, the poem ‘Verses of lamentation against Providence’, as well as in the satirical works ‘The Plato-lover, or The Tanner’ and ‘Sale of the political and poetical lives’. But could these be the real reasons for using his own writings? Though likely, I would be more inclined to see these complaints, up to a certain extent, as part of his agenda of *φιλοπρωχία*. Besides, one of Prodromos’ associates, the monk Ioannikios, was one of the most illustrious scribes of the first half of the twelfth century who copied manuscripts of philosophical, medical and poetic contents.¹⁴³ One can reasonably assume that Prodromos would have access to these texts.

Theodore Prodromos’ fame as teacher and in effect the (high) number of his students is closely connected with his fame as one of the most celebrated rhetoricians and court poets of his time. As such, it would come as a surprise if he did not use some of his well-known poems as exemplary models in the training of his students who one imagines were either to become grammarians or staff members of the Komnenian bureaucracy and produce verses for their patrons/masters. A fine example is Leo *tou Megistou*, who, in order to enter the service of *Megas Hetairiarches* Georgios Palaiologos as grammarian, was expected to demonstrate his skills by improvising on the spot a poem about a stone relief depicting the Muse Kalliope.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁰ BERNARD, *Beats of the Pen* 176 ff.

¹⁴¹ For literature see BERNARD, *Beats of the Pen* 167–169.

¹⁴² For the relevant passages see “notes on text” of poem no. 13.

¹⁴³ PAPAIOANNOU, Michael Psellos 257.

¹⁴⁴ LAMPSIDIS, *Die Entblößung der Muse Kalliope* 107–110.

Not to be forgotten is the fact that the composition of poetry was also one of the grammarian's tasks. It deserves noting that Prodrornos in his epigram cycle on virtues and vices describes personified "grammar" as follows:

Τῶν ἱστοριῶν συναγωγὸς τυγχάνω,
καὶ λέξιν ὀρθῶ, καὶ μέτροις ἐφιστάνω.

I am she who brings discourses together, | and forms the words correctly, and puts them into verses.

Moreover, the monk Ioannikios, who is deemed to be the author of Psellian poem no. 14 – a short verse treatise on how to write correct iambs – was also a grammarian. Hence, some of his poems may be exemplary poetic pieces for Prodrornos' students.

Prodrornos' use of the "historical poems" for teaching is in tandem with his "modernism" concerning the teaching method he applied to the classroom. This label (i.e. "modernism") has been bestowed on Prodrornos by Panagiotis Agapitos in a forthcoming article because of his positive stance towards schedography in sharp contrast with other intellectuals of his time, such as Anna Komnene, Eustathios of Thessalonike and John Tzetzes.¹⁴⁵ While I largely concur with Agapitos' view, I believe that this label can also be somewhat misleading, mainly for two reasons. Firstly, Prodrornos was not standing alone; many well-known literati make extensive use of schedographia,¹⁴⁶ such as Prodrornos' teacher, Stephanos Skylitzes who, as we learn from Prodrornos' monody for him, was extensively preoccupied with the composition of *schede*.¹⁴⁷ What is more, ms *Laurent. Conv. Soppr.* 2, fol. 204^v, transmits a yet unpublished *schedos* which has acquired the form of letter in which the author speaks about his dire situation. The *lemma* of this particular *schedos* reads τοῦ κυροῦ Στεφάνου τοῦ Τραπεζοῦντος,¹⁴⁸ which leaves no doubt that it was written by Prodrornos' teacher and friend, Stephanos Skylitzes, who became Metropolitan of Trebizond. Secondly, the fact that Prodrornos does not reject "tradition" should be underlined. For example, his commentary on Aristotles' *Posterior Analytics* clearly demonstrates that he remained faithful to the exegetical tradition. I would, therefore, describe

¹⁴⁵ See AGAPITOS, Grammar, genre and politics in Komnenian Constantinople (forthcoming).

¹⁴⁶ See VASSIS, Τῶν νέων Φιλολόγων Παλαίσματα 68.

¹⁴⁷ We are told that the burden of schedography ceased to trouble Stephanos Skylitzes when he was appointed teacher at the Orphanotropheion of St. Paul; cf. *Prodr., Orat.* 38.267.82–84: καὶ ὁμοῦ μὲν τῶν περὶ σχεδογραφίαν ἀπελύθη καμάτων, ὁμοῦ δὲ ψήφῳ βασιλικῇ τὸν διδασκαλικὸν διέπειν ἔλαχε θρόνου τῆς τοῦ μεγίστου Παύλου διατριβῆς.

¹⁴⁸ POLEMIS, Προβλήματα 281.

him as an easily adaptable intellectual and teacher operating with matchless virtuosity both within and beyond the boundaries of the established literary tradition. Nonetheless, there is one exception: unlike many contemporary writers who produced didactic poetry in political verse,¹⁴⁹ no such work seems to have been written by Prodromos.¹⁵⁰ Prodromos seems to prefer dodecasyllables and, in contrast with many Byzantine poets, the hexameter.

It is beyond any doubt that the production of twelfth-century literature is indissolubly bound up with patronage.¹⁵¹ It is equally beyond any doubt that Prodromos is one the main instigators of this trend. As a result, the greatest portion of his work was produced within that prevailing system of patronage and clientelism he himself had promoted. Generally speaking, two kinds of patronage emerge in Prodromos' work. Firstly, he wrote works on commission for imperial individuals, aristocrats and literary magnates. Secondly, in many of his works addressed to literary patrons Prodromos sought their help in order to carry on his literary activity. Essentially, these are the two pillars upon which the "construction" of literary patronage was based. In some cases Prodromos even combined these two kinds of patronage.

Nonetheless, some of his works slightly deviate from this trend, as for example, the two poems about his illness (nos. LXXVII and LXXVIII), which appear to reflect a personal moment. In a forthcoming paper, I argue that these two poems are actually personal prayers based on the structure of Gregory of Nazianzus' *Carm.* II, 1, 55.¹⁵² Prodromos is also the donor of the six epigrams addressed to St. Paul, Gregory of Nazianzus, Basil the Great, John Chrysostom, Gregory of Nyssa, and St. Nicholas (see no. 1). As I shall demonstrate below, these are closely connected to depictions which were to be found within the Church of the Orphanotropheion of St. Paul. In addition to these six epigrams, there is epigram no. 9 commemorating the renovation of an icon which had been perhaps purchased Prodromos himself.¹⁵³ For these epigrams he does not expect a material gift for his service, but rather longs for spiritual salvation. Although it is

¹⁴⁹ Two telling examples are the allegories of John Tzetzes for Irene of Sulzbach and Konstantinos Manasses' Synopsis for Irene the Sevastokratorissa; for the didactic purpose of these two works see RHOBY, Tzetzes als Auftragsdichter 167–183 and RHOBY, Konstantinos Manasses (forthcoming) respectively.

¹⁵⁰ The Astrological poem for the Sevastokratorissa Irene, written in political verse and with a strong didactic purpose, previously ascribed to Prodromos, has now been proved to be a work of Konstantinos Manasses; cf. RHOBY, Sevastokratorissa Eirene 321–329.

¹⁵¹ MULLETT, Aristocracy and Patronage 173–201; MAGDALINO, Manuel I Komnenos 335–356; and NILSSON, Words, Water, and Power (forthcoming).

¹⁵² ZAGKLAS, Theodore Prodromos: Reading, eulogizing, and imitating the poetic work of Gregory of Nazianzus (in progress).

¹⁵³ The same will be argued for poem no. 11.

possible that at some point they entered a literary *theatron* or the classroom, it cannot be denied that their original purpose was not directly related to mundane patronage. For this reason, I believe it is very important to distinguish between patronage for literary magnates and the writing of works of personal piety, or, to put it even more clearly, between “mundane and religious transactions”.

On the other hand, how should we interpret the fact that some of Prodrornos’ major works, such as his tetrastichs on the Old and New Testaments, his tetrastichs on the three Hierarchs, the tetrastichs on the great martyrs Theodore, Georgios, and Demetrios, the two verse calendars and so forth, are without an inscribed donor, commissioner, or patron? Could this be a gap in the manuscript tradition? Given the wide manuscript transmission of Prodrornos’ works, this is, I suggest, hardly likely. Prodrornos, an ingenious professional author, was very much aware of the fact that he should have a stockpile of literary works for his future patrons/clients who could either be students, donors, fellow learned men, or others. Prodrornos could then go back to his huge reservoir of works and retrieve whichever would fit the occasion.

In all likelihood, many of the poems/epigrams of the present edition were part of this literary repository which could subsequently be channelled to different settings: the court, the *theatron*, the classroom, or, as mentioned above, even for his own personal use. Indeed some of them could have served a double function. The cycle of epigrams on “Virtues and Vices” is a case in point. Whereas in the commentary I argue for their potential use as inscriptions next to depictions of Virtues and Vices, it cannot either be excluded that they were used for his own students. The strong moralizing tone of most of them points in this direction.¹⁵⁴ Additionally, they could have also been used as riddles for the students, especially if Prodrornos had presented them in the class separately from their *lemma*.

In the same vein, epigram no. 3, a three line poem/epigram associated with the Hospitality of Abraham, which make use of the technique of the “verse-filling asyndeton”, might have been used to inscribe an object with a small surface area but also as a mnemonic text in order for the students to memorize all the features which the *Philoxenia* involves.¹⁵⁵ Similarly, nos. 5 and 17, which concern, respectively, ten epigrams on St. Barbara and five epigrams on a ring, claim a potential dual function. Since they are “shuffling around the same words and

¹⁵⁴ See HÖRANDNER, A Didactic Tool (forthcoming).

¹⁵⁵ For further comments see my discussion of this poem. The same can be said for no. 17.

conceits”,¹⁵⁶ it can be argued that they were penned for a donor in order for him/her to choose the most fitting for the occasion.¹⁵⁷ But in the absence of an inscribed donor, a second scenario that rightly emerges is that they were used in the classroom as a kind of rhetorical exercise or as model poems in order for Prodrornos to demonstrate to his students how stylistic and rhetorical variation for the same subject-matter could be achieved. It is indeed very likely that Prodrornos, as with *Leo tou Megistou*, improvised some of them, perhaps in front of a work of art.¹⁵⁸ In the work “On those who blaspheme against Providence on Account of Poverty”, Prodrornos explicitly affirms this:¹⁵⁹

Πολλῶν δέ μοι λόγων, καὶ οὐχ ὅπως ἀριθμηθῆναι ῥαδίον, ὠδινομένων, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅς μοι προσχεδιάσται,
ἀλλ’ ἐξ ἐτοίμης πνέω τῆς γλώττης.

Many of my discourses – and it is not easy to enumerate them – brought forth are not drafted beforehand by me, but I exhale them with a scintillating tongue.

In either case, it cannot be ruled out that both of these two entirely different potential functions occurred at different stages of his career.

A few more words should be devoted to Prodrornos’ poem on St. Barbara in order to bolster the argument that some of these epigrams were perhaps used as teaching exercises. A verse *schedos* by a certain Christodoulos Hagioeuplitis dedicated to St. Barbara has come down to us together with other *schede*.¹⁶⁰ The verse *schedos* which consists of 29 verses deserves to be cited in its entirety:

ὁρῶν σε, καλλίμαρτυ σεμνὴ Βαρβάρα,
ὁρῶν σε, καλλίνικε σεπτὴ παρθένε,
ὥς ἐξ ἀκάνθης ἀνατείλασαν ῥόδον
ἄρτι προκύψον τῆς κάλυκος ἡδύπνου,
5 εὐωδίας σοβοῦσαν ἀθέου πλάνης,
ἀγάμενος τέθηπα, πῶς ἔφυς ῥόδον
ἐκ τῆς ἀκάνθης τοῦ πατρὸς Διοσκόρου.
Φυεῖσα δ’ ὥς εὖοσμον ἀπαλὸν ῥόδον
ἄκανθα γίνῃ τῷ πατρὶ τραχυτάτῃ,
10 κεντοῦσα καὶ κνίζουσα τούτου τὰς φρένας
καὶ κατατιτρώσκουσα καρδίαν μέσην.
ἦ καὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἔνυξας αὐτοῦ τὰς φρένας;

¹⁵⁶ I have borrowed this phrase from MAGUIRE, Image 8–9.

¹⁵⁷ See MAGUIRE, Image 8–9; LAUXTERMANN, Byzantine Poetry 42–43; BERNARD, Beats of the Pen 66; DRPIĆ, Kosmos of Verse 36–37; and more recently SPINGOU, Marcianus 133–134.

¹⁵⁸ Many poems by Manuel Philes seem to be the result of improvisations; see DRPIĆ, Kosmos of Verse 39 ff.

¹⁵⁹ Text in PG 133, 1297B.

¹⁶⁰ GALLAVOTTI, Schedografia 30–32.

- ἢ καὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἤμυξας αὐτοῦ καιρίως,
 οὐχὶ τὸ κῆρ ἔτρωσας αὐτοῦ τὰς φρένας;
 15 ἡνίκα τοῦτον ἥσυχνας κατακράτος
 καὶ Μαρκιανοῦ κατέβαλες τὸ θράσος,
 οὐκ οὖν θεοῖς πεισθεῖσα δοῦναι θυσίαν
 κωφοῖς ξοάνοις καὶ ματαίοις καὶ πλάνοις;
 20 κἄν φεῦ ὁ δύσνους, ὁ τρισάθλιος πλέον,
 τὴν σὴν κεφαλὴν ἐκθερίζει τῷ ξίφει
καὶ παρθενικῶν αἱμάτων σου τοῖς λύθροις
 καταμολύνῃ τὰς μαιφόνους χέρας.
ἀλλὰ φθάνει τάχιον ἢ θεία δίκη,
 καὶ τμητικὸν δρέπανον ἐκτείνασά μοι
 25 **ἄωρον ἐξέκοψεν αὐτὸν ὡς στάχυν,**
 καὶ τὴν ἄκανθαν τὸν Διόσκορον φλέγει,
 τοῦτον κεραυνόβλητον ἐργασαμένη.
 Θάλλεις δὲ σύ, Βαρβάρα, πάλιν ὡς ῥόδον
 ῥοδωνιαῖς ἀνθοῦσα ταῖς οὐρανίαις.

This non-antistoichic metrical *schedos* resembles the Prodromic poem on St. Barbara (the lexical similarities are rendered in bold).¹⁶¹ We can safely assume that Hagioeuplitis had penned this verse *schedos* as an exemplary poem for his own students, but unless it had been transmitted in a collection of schedographic material, no one would have assumed that.¹⁶² To be sure, it does not depart at all from other religious Byzantine epigrams. Typically, it opens with the formula Ὅρῶν σε¹⁶³ and continues with a highly vivid description of Barbara’s martyrdom for which he may have been inspired by a relevant depiction. Certainly, poetry and schedography are very closely linked,¹⁶⁴ as both were treated at the very beginning of the *enkyklios paideia*. As a result, they seem to be two overlapping circles, at the same time one may rightly wonder whether many surviving allegedly literary epigrams could in fact be verse *schede*.

Whether or not this is the case, I think it is imperative to distinguish – whenever possible – between texts designed to be used primarily in a teaching setting and those meant to be inscribed. It is clear that for some of the present poems my assumptions for their textual genesis are closer to a teaching environment. This is probably the case for the two *ethopoiiae* (nos. 20 and 21) and poems nos. 13 and 14, but this does not mean that they did not switch setting at a

¹⁶¹ See also the “notes on text” of the poems on St. Barbara.

¹⁶² *Ibid.* 31.

¹⁶³ Cf. *ICB*.

¹⁶⁴ The field of Byzantine schedography is still a *terra incognita*, since most of the *schede* are unpublished and therefore largely understudied. Schedography introduced at some point in the eleventh century gained more and more ground as an innovative teaching method; For literature on Byzantine schedography see VASSIS, *Τῶν νέων φιλόλογων παλαισμοὶ* 1; EFTHYMADES, *L’enseignement secondaire à Constantinople* 266–275; and MARKOPOULOS, *De la structure* 93–95.

later time in order to be presented, for instance, in front of a literary gathering. For other poems (e.g. nos. 1^{I-VI}, 4, 8, 9, and 11) I postulate an inscriptional or performative function, but again this does not either mean that they were not used at a later moment as models by Prodromos for his students.

Apart from the examples discussed above, many other poems/epigrams produced by Prodromos could have served a dual function, as *Gebrauchstexte*¹⁶⁵ and teaching exercises. A very good example are the tetrastichs on the Old and New Testaments. We know so little about this Prodromic work which is in every way unique. Though Grigoris Papagiannis has produced a very sound edition, he did not bother to examine the context of their production and potential functions.¹⁶⁶ Was it produced in a single operation or was it the result of a long process? The latter is more likely if we consider that Manuel Philes produced the translation of the Psalms over a long time-span.¹⁶⁷ As to the function of these 586 tetrastichs, they obviously had the potential to be inscribed on various works of art.¹⁶⁸ The double redaction, in twelve-syllable and hexameter, is perhaps an effort on the part of Prodromos to suit the various tastes of the donors.¹⁶⁹ A comparable example is the double redaction of epigram no. XXVI for the grave of John II Komnenos.¹⁷⁰ At the same time, however, it would come as a surprise, at least to me, if Prodromos did not use these tetrastichs, of which he was so proud,¹⁷¹ in his teaching. They are excellent model pieces, covering the greatest part of Old and New Testaments. Some can be considered as “mnemonic poems”,¹⁷² while the double redaction makes them suitable for the classroom, since they could have been used for teaching students two different meters: twelve-syllable and hexameter.

The same occurs for the double redaction of the tetrastichs on the three holy Hierarchs. In a recent article Mario D’Ambrosi has maintained that they were meant to accompany depictions of the three holy Hierarchs, either in the Pantokrator Monastery or the Church of Holy

¹⁶⁵ Although I have espoused the term, it seems to be somewhat inaccurate and misleading since many other Byzantine texts are in fact *Gebrauchstexte* and have a purely utilitarian function; for the term see GARZYA, *Testi letterari d’uso strumentale* 263–287; cf. LAUXTERMANN, *Byzantine Poetry* 30.

¹⁶⁶ Cf. LAUXTERMANN, Book review of Gr. PAPAGIANNIS 367.

¹⁶⁷ See STICKLER, *Psalmenmetaphrase* 125 ff.

¹⁶⁸ LAUXTERMANN, Book review of Gr. PAPAGIANNIS 368 ff and IDEM, *Byzantine Poetry* 78 ff.

¹⁶⁹ Or tentatively the degree of their literacy.

¹⁷⁰ On these two epigrams see VASSIS, *Das Pantokratorkloster von Konstantinopel in der byzantinischen Dichtung* 234–236.

¹⁷¹ Cf. *carm.hist.* LIX, 168–182.

¹⁷² 7a, 9a, 206a.

Apostles.¹⁷³ However tempting this hypothesis might be, D'Ambrosi unfortunately does not provide any substantive evidence in support of it. Even though Niketas Eugenianos, in one of his monodies for Prodnomos, specifically affirms that many of his poetic works eulogized the imperial family or were inscribed on icons and tombs,¹⁷⁴ there are simply too many poems by Prodnomos and thus I do not think that all of them were meant to serve one and only one of the aforementioned functions that Eugenianos pinned down.

In view of all the aforementioned arguments, another question springs to mind concerning other Prodnomic writings, such as his Grammar, his novel, and his numerous satirical writings modelled on Lucian's works: Were they commissioned by literary magnates? Were they presented in a literary *theatron*, or were they used in a school setting? Let us begin with his Grammar, a work commissioned by Irene the Sevastokratorissa.¹⁷⁵ Fortunately, the manuscript which was dedicated to Irene has survived. Panaghiou Taphou 52, is a splendid manuscript written when Prodnomos was still alive.¹⁷⁶ As I have argued elsewhere,¹⁷⁷ this work was probably written for Irene, who was probably of Norman origin, in order to learn some atticizing Greek and be able to appreciate all of the highly rhetorical texts she would sponsor.¹⁷⁸ Hence, the case of Grammar is particularly interesting because the nature of its dedication is twofold: not only is it a dedication of the text, but also of a decorated copy of the text. Now it is only natural to wonder what was the fate of this work once the copiously illuminated manuscript was presented to her. Did Prodnomos place his personal copy in his library without using it again for any other purpose or for another context? I strongly doubt this; Prodnomos could have easily seconded it into his classroom by simply leaving out the various acclamations, such as φιλολογωτάτη μοι βασιλίδων, φιλολογωτάτη καὶ βασιλικωτάτη ψυχὴ, ἀρίστη μοι βασιλίδων, μεγαλεπηβολωτάτη μοι βασιλίδων, σεβασμία μοι κεφαλὴ. This practice is not without parallels. A comparable example is Michael Psellos' poem *De inscriptionibus Psalmorum*, a work primarily written for the emperor which was used at a later stage of his career in his teaching.¹⁷⁹ Such a conclusion can

¹⁷³ D'AMBROSI, The Icon of the Three Holy Hierarchs 143–151.

¹⁷⁴ See the previous section.

¹⁷⁵ For Irene the Sevastokratorissa see now JEFFREYS, The Sebastokratorissa Irene as Patron 177–194; cf. also RHOBY, Verschiedene Bemerkungen zur Sebastokratorissa Eirene 305–336.

¹⁷⁶ VOKOTOPOULOS, Byzantine illuminated manuscripts of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem 186–188.

¹⁷⁷ ZAGKLAS, A Grammar treatise 84–85.

¹⁷⁸ I would, therefore, date it before the literary works produced by other literati, such as those by Constantine Manasses, John Tzetzes, and Manganeios Prodnomos.

¹⁷⁹ See BERNARD, The Beats of the Pen 194ff and HÖRANDNER, The Byzantine didactic poem 58–59.

be derived from a later witness to the text in which the vocatives were replaced by other words and all references to the emperor were eliminated. Perhaps a future thorough examination of the manuscript transmission of the text will reveal a similar development for Prodhomos' Grammar.

Unlike the Grammar, which was written on commission, the exact circumstances of the textual genesis of Prodhomos' novel, *Rhodanthe* and *Dosicles*, are much more obscure as no trails of overt patronage are visible. It has been suggested that it was linked to the *theatron* of Irene Doukaina.¹⁸⁰ What is more, on account of the manuscript Heidelbergensis Palatinus graecus 43, which transmits the novel along with a dedicatory poem for the Caesar Nikephoros Bryennios, we know that a copy of the novel had been presented to this well-known literary patron.¹⁸¹ Nikephoros Bryennios was not only the inscribed reader, but also the actual reader together with other literary magnates and literati in the *theatron*, probably of Irene Doukaina. Does this mean it had been used only twice? No, of course not; other members of the Komnenian family, aristocrats, and intellectuals would have read Prodhomos' novel during the gradual dissemination of the work.

What is particularly interesting is that the genesis of this work is, to a certain extent, linked to the classroom. Elizabeth Jeffreys, based on *R&D* 8.52 which reads 'never whet my blade on my teachers', has recently noted, "There are some hints of classroom humour, suggesting that some of the set-pieces may have begun life as 'fair copies' of school exercises".¹⁸² What is more, the composition of *Rodanthe* and *Dosicles* is based to a great extent on the use of *ethopoiiae*.¹⁸³ Accordingly, poem no. 20 of the present edition, which is an *ethopoiia* with a strong resemblance to a passage-*ethopoiia* of Prodhomos' novel, seems to amplify Jeffreys' hypothesis that some parts of the novel were actually composed as school exercises. But what about after the completion of the work? Was *Rodanthe* and *Dosicles* among these texts which Prodhomos used in his class? The monk Ioannikios in a partly published *schedos* praises Prodhomos, among the many things, for his novel:¹⁸⁴

¹⁸⁰ JEFFREYS, Four Byzantine Novels 9–10.

¹⁸¹ For the dedicatory Poem see AGAPITOS, Poets and Painters 173–185; cf. also JEFFREYS, Four Byzantine Novels 7–10 (with previous literature). For other works commissioned by Bryennios see *ibid.* 7, note 32; it has gone rather unnoticed that Prodhomos' work "To the caesar on the color green" (H 145) is probably dedicated to Bryennios.

¹⁸² JEFFREYS, Four Byzantine Novels 15.

¹⁸³ ROLOS, Amphoteroglossia 61 ff.

¹⁸⁴ See VASSIS, Theodoros Prodhomos 7, note 27.

τίς ἐπὶ τῷ παρ' αὐτοῦ συγγραφέντι βιβλίῳ οὐ δὴ Δοσικλέος (= οὐ δίδωσι κλέος)

Aside from the popularity that the work seems to have enjoyed among contemporary literati, two further details can be adduced from this passage. First, being a *schedos*, it was used in the classroom. Secondly, the students, who were expected to solve the riddle/puzzle, were familiar with Prodrimos' work. Does this mean that they had read parts or all of the novel in the classroom? We simply do not know. Perhaps we should first ask ourselves how ancient novels were used in the twelfth century. Although substantial work has been done in the field of intertextual relationships between Komnenian and ancient novels, questions of how the latter were used in twelfth-century Byzantium remain partly unanswered. Suffice it to mention, for instance, that it has gone unnoticed that Prodrimos wrote an epigram for Heliodoros' novel. This potentially could have been used as book epigram for a copy of the *Aithiopica*.¹⁸⁵ Furthermore, in the periphery of the empire, and more specifically in the Norman Kingdom of Sicily, an allegorical interpretation of Heliodoros' *Aithiopica* was penned by Philagathos of Cerami.¹⁸⁶ In Constantinople, on the other hand, it is highly likely that ancient novels were also read and used extensively in class, most likely in the form of excerpts. Indicatively, we may note that some of the *schede* which have come down to us are actually paraphrases of excerpts of Achilles Tatius' novel.¹⁸⁷ Returning to Rhodanthe and Dosicles, it should be emphasized that, in writing such a work, Prodrimos was principally seeking glory and social advance. Hence, his students, who were pursuing an analogous career, would presumably also be trained to compose similar rhetorical works. We know that his student, Niketas Eugenianos, followed the paradigm of his teacher in his novel, *D&C*. Thus, it is highly likely that Prodrimos presented his novel to his student as a modern example of novel writing.

Even more complicated and ambivalent are the numerous instances of Lucianic modelled works, since the absence of an inscribed recipient, as in the case of the novel and the grammar, leaves greater space for speculation. There is a tendency on the part of contemporary scholars to place them within a school context.¹⁸⁸ I fully share this view; indeed, in support it must be noted

¹⁸⁵ See COLONNA, Un epigramma di Teodoro 61–63. This is not mentioned in the seminal study of Agapitos on Heliodoros' reception in Byzantium; cf. AGAPITOS, Heliodorus 125–156.

¹⁸⁶ See more recently DULUŞ, Philagathos of Cerami 54–62. On the other hand, ACCONCIA LONGO has attributed the work to a fifth-century Neoplatonic philosopher Philip the Philosopher; see ACCONCIA LONGO, La «Questione» Filippo il Filosofo 11–39.

¹⁸⁷ VASSIS, τῶν νέων φιλολόγων παλαίσματα 49 (no. 57), 58 (no. 158).

¹⁸⁸ See MARCINIAK, Bion Prasis 225 ff.

that twelfth-century *schede* for students are often paraphrases of Lucian's works.¹⁸⁹ It is equally possible that these Lucianic works were also circulated in rhetorical *theatra* and were part of twelfth-century literary culture. In addition, the *theatron* should be considered as a place of rhetorical *epideixis* where the writer could exhibit and promote his literary works, even if they were produced for didactic purposes. Intellectuals who took part in these *theatra* could scrutinize the work and affect its circulation. In my view, it must be underlined that a didactic purpose does not annul the highly aesthetic value of these texts, nor did it exclude readership outside the class. In other words, highly literary and rhetorical Byzantine works, didactic or not, could have been used both in and beyond classroom.

Apparently, most Prodromic texts served more than one purpose and were designed to accommodate more than one context. Good comparable examples are Eustathios' commentary on the epics and Tzetzes' *Homeric Allegories*, for which, Eric Cullhed has recently pointed out:¹⁹⁰

However, labeling the *Parekbolai* as a schoolbook would be as misleading as pinning down one single age at which the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were relevant for Byzantine intellectuals. Inscribed readers and actual readers are not to be equated here: Empress Eirene and Konstantinos Kotertzes are the inscribed readers of Tzetzes' *Homeric Allegories*, but they were certainly not the only ones who listened to his performances. When the texts were disseminated in manuscript form the dedication became a marker of their exoteric nature, but they were still used by advanced scholars and writers, even by Eustathios himself.

Similarly, Theodore Prodromos, on account of his three-fold position as court poet, professional intellectual, and teacher, as well as his matchless versatility, functions like a "channel" for the following three "communicating vessels": a) court, b) *theatra*, and c) classroom. Whatever the primary purpose of his work, the text could thereafter be channelled to other "vessels" because Prodromos, as sender, moved in all of these seemingly unconnected settings. To return to the neglected poems, it should be once more emphasized that the absence of an inscribed recipient makes, by definition, their circulation and multi-function even easier. However, the existence of an inscribed recipient or a donor does not prevent the subsequent circulation of the Prodromic works in different environments.

All in all, we may once again be reminded of the case of the priest, Michael, who recited some Prodromic verses in Philippoupolis. Although we may never learn the exact context, it is

¹⁸⁹ VASSIS, των νέων φιλολόγων παλαίσματα 56 (no. 133).

¹⁹⁰ CULLHED, Eustathios of Thessalonike 19.

quite likely to have been different from the purpose which Prodromos had in mind when he produced the verses. Thus, readers should bear this in mind when they read the commentaries of the “Neglected poems and epigrams”, as I have attempted to highlight one moment in the multi-level contexts because the texts in the Komnenian period went back and forth: from court to *theatra* or classroom; from *theatra* to court or classroom; from classroom to court or *theatra*. Even the so-called “historical poems” of Prodromos offer a snapshot of their context, perhaps the primary, which nevertheless could rapidly change in the oral or written circulation of his works. Finally, yet importantly, the “neglected poems” afford a valuable glimpse not only into Prodromos’ literary repository and its flexibility to adjust to different settings, but also into Prodromos’ personal life (for example, poems nos. 12 and 13). Although Prodromos frequently expresses rather “authentic feelings in a proper form”,¹⁹¹ we should also take care not to accept every verse literally because he was undoubtedly a virtuoso when it comes to construction of an ethopoetic persona.¹⁹²

¹⁹¹ I have borrowed this phrase from HÖRANDNER, Prodromos and the City 51.

¹⁹² See my annotations in the commentary of the poem no. 12.

2 CHAPTER 2: METRE AND PROSODY

The corpus of the “Neglected poems” consists of 989 verses, of which 738 are written in dodecasyllable, 140 in hexameter, 92 in pentameter, and merely 19 in fifteen-syllable verse. In the first part of this chapter (2.1) I shall discuss the outer metric of the dodecasyllabic poems (caesurae and verse accentuation), while the second (2.2) is devoted to the outer metric of Prodromos’ entire corpus of dactylic hexameters (verse patterns in the dactylic hexameters, caesurae, and accentuation before the caesura and the end of the verse). In the third part (2.3) the inner metric (i.e. the prosody) of both the dactylic and the iambic poems under consideration will be examined.

2.1 Dodecasyllables

Prodromos produced a vast corpus of dodecasyllabic verses (approximately 11,000).¹⁹³ Over the last decades new editions of his dodecasyllabic poems have typically been coupled with comprehensive studies of this meter.¹⁹⁴ The results of the examination of the present corpus are by and large consistent with those of previous editions.

2.1.1 Caesurae

In the 738 twelve-syllabic verses, the internal break (Maas’ so-called “Binnenschluss”) after the fifth syllable (=B5) represents the 63,68% (470 vv.), of which 55,31% (260 vv.) end with an oxytonon, 39,31% (181 vv.) with a paroxytonon, and 6,19% (29 vv.) with a proparoxytonon. As to the pause after the seventh syllable (=B7), it represents the 34,55% (255 vv.), of which 69,41% (177 vv.) end with a proparoxytonon, 29,01% (74 vv.) with a paroxytonon, and just 1,56% (four vv.) with an oxytonon: no. 14, vv. 8, 38, 287, and 288. However, for 1,76%

¹⁹³ On the Byzantine dodecasyllable see the fundamental study of MAAS, *Der byzantinische Zwölfsilber* 278–323; cf. also the recent excellent study of RHOBY, *Vom jambischen Trimeter zum byzantinischen Zwölfsilber* 117–142.

¹⁹⁴ See HÖRANDNER, *Historische Gedichte* 125–128; HUNGER, *Der byzantinische Katz-Mäuse-Krieg* 30–39; ACCONCIA LONGO, *Teodoro Prodromo* 71–73; PAPAGIANNIS, *Tetrasticha*, I, 183–187; D’AMBROSI, *Gregorio Nazianzeno* 56–60. The only exception is his novel and the tetrastichs on the lives of Basil the Great and John Chrysostom.

(=13 vv.) it is not clear whether they have a B5 or B7 since a two-syllable paroxytonon or properispomenon stands between the two caesurae:¹⁹⁵

No. 3, v. 1: Ἀβραάμ, Σάρρα, || μόνος, || Ἰσμαήλ, Ἄγαρ,

No. 5^{IV}, v. 6: ἄρ' ἀετός σε, || μάρτυς, || οὐ κόραξ κύει.

No. 8, v. 10: αἰτουμένους μὲν || ὧδε || κάμοι καὶ τέκνοις

No. 9, v. 2: ὁ πανδαμάτωρ || οὗτος || ἠδέσθη χρόνος

No. 9, v. 12: ἀνθ' ὧν με δοῦλον || ὄντα || τῆς ἀμαρτίας

No. 13, v. 121: καὶ τῆς Προνοίας || χρῆμα || τῆς σοφωτάτης.

No. 13, v. 131: Ἀλλ' ἐν κενοῖς μοι || ταῦτα || πρὸς τὸ χρυσίον.

No. 14, v. 72: κυχρᾶν ἐκείνῳ || τοῦτον || εἰς νυκτῶν σέλας.

No. 14, v. 137: Οὐδέν τι πάντως || ἄλλο || Φιλίας δίχα.

No. 14, v. 190: ἄσμενος ὕβρις, || ἄλμα, || κραυγή, θροῦς ὅσος.

2.1.2 Verse End and Accentuation

While 732 verses have a paroxytonic end, six verses are deviating from the Byzantine norm.¹⁹⁶

More precisely, in three cases the verse ends with a proparoxytonon:

No. 3, v. 3: Τριάς κύριος – τὸ ξένον – ξενίζεται

No. 14, v. 296: ἔργῳ δ' ἀπαρνήσαιο. Ξ. Καὶ μὴν ὤμοσα

No. 17^{III}, v. 2: ἐρῶμεν, οὐ φιλοῦμεν, οὐ μὲν γινώμεθα.

One verse with an oxytonon:

No. 14, 248 Ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁ Βίος ταῦτα, τὴν δ' Ἐχθραν λαβῶν

One verse with a properispomenon:

No. 11, v.3 ρεῖθρον γὰρ ἐκχεῖ καρδίας καθηδόνον

And one verse with a perispomenon:

No. 14, v. 293: Ναὶ καὶ θανατᾶν. Φ. Καὶ φθονοῦσι μὴ φθονεῖν

¹⁹⁵ On this issue see also HÖRANDNER, *Historische Gedichte* 126, note 278, and PAPAGIANNIS, *Tetrasticha*, I, 183–184.

¹⁹⁶ See also PAPAGIANNIS, *Tetrasticha*, I, 183.

2.2 The Hexameters of the entire Prodromic Corpus

It should be stressed that after the time of John Geometres and throughout the 11th century, the dactylic metre cannot claim but a modest place in Byzantine poetry, as most of the poets were fond either of the Byzantine twelve-syllable or the fifteen-syllable. To give some eleventh-century examples: the *Various Verses* of Christopher Mitylenaios count 2596 verses, of which only 197 are written in dactylic hexameter and 23 in dactylic pentameter, while the surviving works of John Mauropous and Michael Psellos do not include, to my knowledge, any poem in dactylic metre.

If it were not for Prodromos, the production of the dactylic metre in the first half of the twelfth century would not have enjoyed a much better fate. Two examples suffice to illustrate this: Prodromos' contemporary poet, Nicholas Kallikles, circumscribed himself into the use of dodecasyllables, as his surviving 821 verses are solely written in this metre. The same applies to the anonymous poet and successor of Prodromos at the Komnenian court, the so-called Manganeios Prodromos, since his corpus of 18,000 verses (not entirely edited) includes only twelve-syllable and fifteen-syllable verses. Thus, Prodromos should be credited for bringing about the revival of the hexameter.¹⁹⁷ He is, in fact, by far the most prolific poet of dactylic metre functioning in the middle Byzantine period, as his surviving corpus consists of approximately 2855 hexameters and 117 pentameters.

What lay behind Prodromos' production of so many poems in an "old-fashioned" metre? This is, arguably, a tormenting question for every scholar dealing with the poetry of the Komnenian period.¹⁹⁸ As far as we know, the twelfth century did not bear witness to any compilation of an anthology of ancient hexametric poetry, such as that by Cephalas or Planudes. How then should we explain the production of encomia, verse letters, petitions, poems of consolation and didactic poems in a metre that from the ninth century onwards, as Marc Lauxtermann has put it, "lacks substance: it is prosodic prose without any rhythmical

¹⁹⁷ But there are some exceptions. For example, John Tzetzes' *Carmina Iliaca* (ed. LEONE); Prodromos' student Niketas Eugenianos also penned a portion of hexametric verses: three passages in *D&C* (3.263-288, 297-320 and 6.205-235/ ed. CONCA), two of his monodies for Theodore Prodromos (ed. GALLAVOTTI). There is also a hexametric epitaph for Prodromos by Peter the monk (ed. PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS), and some other anonymous poems, e.g. the poem treating the refortification of Dorylaion (ed. SPINGOU) and a hexametric epithalamios (ed. GALLAVOTTI). Nonetheless, all these examples were written much later. By contrast, Prodromos' poem no. I celebrating the crowning of Alexios as co-emperor with his father John II Komnenos was written as early as 1122; see HÖRANDNER, *Historische Gedichte* 182.

¹⁹⁸ For some brief annotations on the place of hexameters in twelfth-century poetry see JEFFREYS, *Why produce Verse in twelfth-century Constantinople* 223-224.

rules, it is merely semi-poetry with Homeric gibberish.”¹⁹⁹ This is not the place to go into detail, but I believe that all of these poems were at least at the beginning “literary experiments” on the part of Prodrornos, all the while “Homeric” remains the key word for understanding the unambiguous reception which these “poetic experiments” enjoyed at the time. It goes without saying that twelfth-century society is a “Homer-venerating society”.²⁰⁰ The same was true for some members of the Komnenian family for which Prodrornos composed poems: Anna Komnene, for whom Prodrornos wrote the hexametric poem no. XXXVIII, is the author of the *Alexiad*; the Homeric influence signified already in its title is confirmed by the main text, as it is a sumptuous repository of Homeric quotations and allusions. Anna’s brother, Isaac Komnenos, who is the addressee of hexametric poem no. XLII, among other Prodrornic works, is the author not only of some now lost hexametric poems,²⁰¹ but also the first author of a yet unpublished Byzantine commentary on the *Iliad*.²⁰² In other words, what I am suggesting here is that the strong come-back of the hexameter in the twelfth century was closely associated with the culmination of the Homeric epics in the contemporary literary culture.

Be that as it may, it is, I believe, a *communis opinio* among scholars of Byzantine poetry that much work remains to be done on the Byzantine hexameter.²⁰³ As to the Prodrornic hexameters, despite the fact that a number of scholars have examined his hexametric verses,²⁰⁴ no one has ever conducted a systematic study of his entire corpus of hexameters. What follows then are some quantitative results about the most frequent prosodic patterns, the caesurae and their accentuation as employed by Prodrornos.

¹⁹⁹ LAUXTERMANN, *Spring of Rhythm* 71.

²⁰⁰ The phrase is borrowed from NEVILLE, *Alexiad* 194. For the blossoming of Homeric studies in the twelfth century see BASILIKOPOULOU-IOANNIDOU, ‘Η Αναγέννησις τῶν γραμμάτων κατὰ τὸν IB’ αἰῶνα; BROWNING, *Homer in Byzantium* 159–33; PONTANI, *Sguardi su Ulisse* 159–178; PONTANI, *The first Byzantine Commentary on the Iliad* 562; BAZZANI, *The Historical Poems of Theodore Prodrornos* 222 ff; CULLHED, *Eustathios of Thessalonike*.

²⁰¹ PETIT, *Typikon du monastère de la Kosmosotira* 69, 5–8: ἐπεὶ δὲ βιβλους τινὰς μονῇ καταλέλοιπα..., πρὸς ταύταις δὲ ἑτέραν βιβλὸν κατέλιπον, ἣν πόνῳ μακρῷ στιχιδίοις ἡρωϊκοῖς τε καὶ ἱαμβικοῖς καὶ πολιτικοῖς καὶ ἐπιστολαῖς διαφόροις τε καὶ ἐκφράσεσι συντέταχα. = I have bequeathed some books to the monastery (how many there are is indicated by [the list of] their titles in the inventory of the monastery). I bequeathed another book in addition to these, one that I composed with great effort. It [contains] heroic, iambic and political verse, as well as various letters and ekphraseis (transl. by Ševčenko).

²⁰² See PONTANI, *The First Byzantine Commentary on the Iliad* 551–596.

²⁰³ A very limited number of studies is devoted to this field of research; for literature on this issue see VAN OPSTALL, *Jean Géomètre* 67; see also her excellent study of the dactylic verses of Geometres, *ibid.*, *Jean Géomètre* 67–88 (cf. also EADEM, *Poésie, Rhétorique et Mémoire littéraire chez Jean Géomètre* 229–244). Her list should be supplemented by some more recent studies; see DE GROOTE, *The metre in the poems of Christopher Mitylenaios* 571–594; and SPINGOU, *Dorylaion* 157–160.

²⁰⁴ GIANNELLI, *Epigrammi* 360–367; HÖRANDNER, *Historische Gedichte* 124–125; PAPAGIANNIS, *Tetrasticha*, I, 164–183; LAUXTERMANN, *Book review of Gr. PAPAGIANNIS* 367–368; D’AMBROSI, *Gregorio Nazianzeno* 60–79.

2.2.1 Verse patterns in the dactylic hexameters

As mentioned above, the poetic work of Prodromos constitutes a grand total of 2855 dactylic hexameters: that includes sixteen historical poems (1224 vv.),²⁰⁵ fifteen “neglected” poems (140 vv.),²⁰⁶ the hexametric tetrastichs on the Old and New Testaments (1172 vv.), the hexametric tetrastichs on the lives of Gregory of Nazianzus, Basil of Caesarea, and John Chrysostom (227 vv.),²⁰⁷ the hexametric tetrastichs on the Great martyrs Theodore, George, and Demetrios (68 vv.), and the hexametric preface to his novel (24 vv.).

In these 2855 hexameters Prodromos makes use of the following prosodic schemes:²⁰⁸

dddd(s) (1433 cases= 50,21%)	dddss(s) (6 cases=0,21%)
sdddd(s) (336 cases=11,77%)	sddds(s) (5 cases=0,17%)
ddsdd(s) (316 cases=11,07%)	ddsds(s) (5 cases=0,17%)
dsddd(s) (263 cases=9,21%)	dsdds(s) (4 cases=0,14%)
dddsd(s) (226 cases=7,91%)	sssdd(s) (4 cases=0,14%)
sdsdd(s) (48 cases=1,68%)	dsssd(s) (3 cases=0,1%)
dsdsd(s) (43 cases=1,5%)	ssdsd(s) (2 cases=0,07%)
sddsd(s) (42 cases=1,47%)	dsdss(s) (2 cases=0,07%)
dssdd(s) (37 cases=1,29%)	sdsds(s) (2 cases=0,07%)
ddssd(s) (29 cases=1,01%)	sdssd(s) (1 case=0,03%)
dddss(s) (26 cases=0,91%)	ssdds(s) (1 case=0,03%)
ssddd(s) (20 cases=0,70%)	ssdss(s) (1 case=0,03%)
	ssssd(s) (1 case=0,03%)

The occurrence of no less than twenty-five combinations, a much higher number than the late antique poets (e.g. Nonnus 9, Paul the Silentiary 6, George Pisida 7), corroborates Giannelli's claim that the Prodromic hexameters are closer to those of Homer than Nonnus.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁵ Nos. II, III, VI, VIII, XXVIa, XXVII, XXXVIII, XLII, LVIb, LXI, LXII, LXVIII, LXIX, LXXVII, LXXVIII, and LXXIX.

²⁰⁶ Nos. 120a–f, 125, 132a–b, 142, 160, 161, and 162a–c.

²⁰⁷ For the tetrastichs on the last two church fathers, I consulted the outdated and unreliable Basel edition.

²⁰⁸ (d) stands for dactylus and (s) for spondee.

²⁰⁹ GIANNELLI, Epigrammi 367.

Furthermore, Prodrornos favours long verses; one half of his surviving verses are solely constructed by dactyls without using any spondees. This is the highest number when compared with any other poet.

HEXAMETERS	Theodore	Homer	Gregory	Nonnos	JG ²¹⁰
(1) Spondees per verse					
0 s	50%	19%	32%	38%	36%
1 s	40%	42%	49%	48%	42%
2 s	8%	30%	17%	13%	18%
3 s	<1 %	8%	2%	—	<4%
4 s	0.03% (1 case)	<1%	?	—	—

More notably, when we compare the twelve most common prosodic patterns of Prodrornos with other poets, we soon notice that his favoured pattern, as is the case with most poets of hexameters from Homer until the late Byzantine period, is the holodactylic one (approximately 50%). Strangely, it has gone practically unnoticed by scholars that, in contrast with other poets who favour the pattern dsddd(s) (Homer and Nonnus) and ddsdd(s) (John Geometres), Prodrornos' second favourite pattern appears to be sdddd(s) (ca. 12%). Interestingly enough, Gregory of Nazianzus was particular fond of this pattern too.²¹¹

	Theodore	Greg. Naz.	Homer	Nonnos	JG ²¹²
dddddd(s)	50%	32%	19%	38%	36%
sdddd(s)	12%	19%	13%	9%	8%
ddsdd(s)	11%	6%	4%	2%	13%
dsddd(s)	9 %	15%	15%	23%	12%
dddss(s)	8%	9%	8%	14%	8%
sdsdd(s)	<3%	3%	3%	<1%	3%
dsdsd(s)	<2%	4%	6%	9%	2%

²¹⁰ For the figures for Nonnus (Dionysiaca), Gregory of Nazianzus and Homer see AGOSTI – GONNELLI, *Materiali* 373. For John Geometres see VAN OPSTALL, *Jean Géomètre* 83.

²¹¹ On this issue see also ZAGKLAS, Theodore Prodrornos: Reading, eulogizing, and imitating the poetic work of Gregory of Nazianzus (in progress). Another Byzantine poet who favours this pattern is Christopher Mitylenaios; see DE GROOTE, *The metre in the poems of Christopher Mitylenaios* 573.

²¹² For the figures for Nonnus (Dionysiaca), Gregory of Nazianzus and Homer see AGOSTI – GONNELLI, *Materiali* 373. For Homer see also VAN RAALTE, *Rhythm and Metre* 56 and LUDWICH, *Aristarchs homerische Textkritik, Zweiter Teil*, § 37, *Spondees und Daktylen*, 301–326. For John Geometres see VAN OPSTALL, *Jean Géomètre* 84.

sddsd(s)	<2%	4%	6%	4%	2%
dssdd(s)	<2%	<2%	3%	<1%	2%
ddssd(s)	1%	<1%	1%	—	3%
dddd(s)	<1%	<1%	<1%	—	1%
ssddd(s)	<1%	<4%	8%	—	3%

2.2.2 Caesurae

As far as the caesura in the dactylic hexameters is concerned, the male *penthmimeres* (3a) represents 31,99% of all cases, the female *penthmimeres* (3b) 62,75%, and the so-called *media caesura* 3,29%.²¹³ On the other hand, the (4a) *heptmimeres* represents 1,57%, while the caesura after the second foot (2c) and the *bucolic caesura* (4c) less than 2% of the whole corpus.²¹⁴ In some verses two caesurae co-exist,²¹⁵ while it must be highlighted that a considerable portion of them (62,98%) display a *bucolic* diaeresis after a 3a (33,41%) or a 3b (66,58%) caesura.²¹⁶

The predominance of the feminine caesura over the masculine is indisputable. In this respect, Prodromos seems to be closer to Homer and the late antique poets (e.g. Gregory of Nazianzus and Nonnus) than to other Byzantine poets, such as John Geometres or Christopher Mitylenaios who prefer the masculine over the feminine caesurae.

Caesuras	Theodore	Nonnos	Greg. Naz.	Hom.	JG	Chr. Mityl. ²¹⁷
2c+4c	<2%	—	—	—	4%	1,67
3a	31,99%	19%	21%	42%	45%	47,78%
3b	62,75%	81%	79%	57%	28%	37,78%
3c	3,29%	—	—	—	20%	8,89%
4a	1,57%	—	—	1%	3%	3,88

²¹³ On this particular caesura see SCHEIDWEILER, Studien zu Johannes Geometres 292–294; cf. also VAN OPSTALL, Jean Géomètre 81. For further literature see DE GROOTE, The metre in the poems of Christopher Mitylenaios 575, note 10.

²¹⁴ For examples of this type of caesura in the tetrastichs see PAPAGIANNIS, Tetrasticha, I, 180.

²¹⁵ See GIANNELLI, Epigrammi 360 ff; PAPAGIANNIS, Tetrasticha, I, 180 and D'AMBROSI, Gregorio Nazianzeno 72.

²¹⁶ This is another characteristic that Prodromos and Gregory of Nazianzus share; cf. SIMELIDIS, Gregory of Nazianzus 56: “A masculine or feminine caesura will be coupled with a bucolic diaeresis in 72,3% and 63,75% of cases respectively”.

²¹⁷ DE GROOTE, The metre in the poems of Christopher Mitylenaios 574–576.

2.2.3 Caesurae and Accentuation

As far as the position of the stress before the caesurae is concerned, it is overtly normalized in Prodromos' hexameters: whereas in the feminine caesurae the stress falls onto the penultimate (78,97%), in the masculine caesura onto the antepenultimate (87,49%).

	Oxytone	Perispomene	Paroxytone	Properispomene	Proparoxytone
3a	10,07%	3,94%	78,97%	1,09%	5,91%
3b	2,51%	1 case ²¹⁸	4,69%	5,24%	87,49%
3c	20,12%	3,19%	29,78%	3,19%	43,61%

This confirms what Lauxtermann has already pointed out in his seminal review for Papagiannis' edition of the tetrastichs on the Old and New Testaments.²¹⁹

No one seems to have noticed that Prodromos regulates the position of the stress accents before the masculine and feminine caesuras of the hexameter. The rule is actually quite simple: Prodromos usually places a paroxytone word before the masculine caesura and proparoxytone word before the feminine caesura. In other words, before the caesura, whether masculine or feminine, the stress accent normally falls on the second biceps [...] What are we to think of this astonishing similarity? Was Prodromos familiar with late antique poetry? Did he consciously attempt to revive the metrical rules of Nonnos and Pisides? Perhaps, but it could equally be pure coincidence.

Although it cannot be proven with absolute certainty, it is very tempting to think that Prodromos follows consciously the metrical rules of late antique poets. For example, we now know that he was well-acquainted with the poetic work of Nonnos.²²⁰ However this may be, it is interesting to note that Prodromos does not stand alone, for the same metrical rules are applied to a poem celebrating the refortification of Dorylaion in 1175 by its anonymous author.²²¹

Finally, with regard to the accentuation at the end of the hexameters, 65,97% have a stress on the penultimate, 21,19% on the last syllable, and 12,43% on the antepenultimate.²²² This stands in sharp contrast to Hörandner's claim that no tendency is discernible about the regulation of the accent at the end of the hexameters.²²³

²¹⁸ See *carm. tetrast.* 284b1: Παύλος ἔφα, στόμα Χριστοῦ ἔφα· πρόσιτ', ἔθνεα πάντα· a *hepthimimeres* caesura is also possible; cf. PAPAGIANNIS, *Tetrasticha*, I, 180.

²¹⁹ LAUXTERMANN, Book review of Gr. PAPAGIANNIS 367–368.

²²⁰ SPANOUDAKIS, Nonnus and Theodorus Prodromus 241–250; see also the direct loans from Nonnos' poetic work in the present edition.

²²¹ See SPINGOU, *Dorylaion* 160.

²²² LAUXTERMANN, *Spring of Rhythm* 70.

²²³ HÖRANDNER, *Historische Gedichte* 125.

2.3 Prosody

Despite the fact that Prodromos is one of the most prolific and versatile of Byzantine poets, he does not refrain from prosodic lapses. As a consequence, Isidor Hilberg, towards the end of the nineteenth century, bestowed on him the label “epigonic poet”.²²⁴ In the corpus under consideration, Prodromos adheres by and large to classical rules when it comes to the short vowels –ε and –ο and long –η and –ω. It is surprising that the few deviations to be found are linked not only to proper names: Στέντορ (1^{II}, 12), Σαβελλιάο (1^{II}, v. 14), Μακεδονίου (1^{II}, 14), Σοδόμων (5^{II}, v. 2),²²⁵ Χριστόν (13, v. 113), Ἐτεοκλῆ (14, v. 222), but also to normal words, e.g. the *omicron* in the words πλέον (no. 1^{II}, 10) and νόον (1^{VI}, 20) as well as the *epsilon* in the word δαιτυμόνες, are scanned as long (all of them stand before the caesura of a pentameter verse where a long syllable is necessary). At all events, such vociferous metrical violations are also to be found in the rest of his work,²²⁶ e.g. in the historical poem no. II, v. 62, the *eta* in the word σιδηροῦν is measured short.

Though diphthongs are normally scanned as long, four exceptions are to be noted: the proper name Ἡρακλείτου (13, v. 141) and surprisingly three times in the poem no. 11 Δραμοῦμαι (v. 5), τούτου (v. 7), and στερήσει (v. 16). On the other hand, the so-called *dichrona* are scanned freely by Prodromos.²²⁷ In what follows, certain aspects of prosody (epic and attic correption, duplication of consonants, ξ atticum, and hiatus) are briefly examined.

a. Epic correption

This particular phenomenon occurs no less than 40 times in the corpus. The most frequent cases of epic correption concerns the diphthong -αι (1^I, 3, 6; 1^{II}, 1; 1^{III}, 1, 20; 1^{IV}, 1, 11; 1^V, 3; 1^{VI}, 1, 3, 13, 23; 6, 7, 9; 10^I, 1, 4; 10^I, 1, 2; 12, 6, 7, 14, 19, 24; 19, 3, 4, 7; 20, 9 (*bis*), 12; 14 out of these 28 cases are related to the word καί). Five correptions are to be found after a feminine caesura (1^I, 3; 1^{VI}, 13; 6, 8; 12, 14, 19), two after a masculine caesura (1^{IV}, 11; 19, 7), and nine after a *bucolic diaeresis* (1^{II}, 1; 1^{III}, 1; 1^{IV}, 1; 1^{VI}, 1; 10^I, 1, 4; 132^{II}, 1; 12, 24; 19, 4).

²²⁴ See HILBERG, Theodoros 282–314. Hilberg has distinguished between (a) “Klassiker” (b) “Epigonen” and (c) “Stümper”. Maas has, however, raised fundamental objections against such a classification; see MAAS, *Der byzantinische Zwölfsilber* 279, note 1.

²²⁵ Cf. also PAPAGIANNIS, *Tetrasticha*, I, 177.

²²⁶ See *ibid.* 182–183.

²²⁷ For parallel examples see HÖRANDNER, *Historische Gedichte* 124 and PAPAGIANNIS, *Tetrasticha*, I, 164–165.

b. Attic correction²²⁸

Combination (nos. of cases)	Long	Short	Anceps
βλ (32)	22	3	7
βρ (32)	20	4	8
γμ (9)	9	0	0
γν (39)	24	4	10
γρ (23)	13	5	5
δμ (1)	1	0	0
δν (1)	1	0	0
δρ (43)	33	1	9
θλ (14)	11	3	0
θν (2)	0	1	1
θρ (42)	26	2	15
κλ (37)	20	8	9
κμ (1)	1	0	0
κν (14)	7	3	4
κρ (74)	50	13	11
πλ (54)	35	5	14
πν (19)	11	4	4
πρ (115)	69	14	32
τλ (8)	2	4	2
τμ (3)	1	1	1
τρ (130)	102	14	12
φλ (16)	10	1	5
φν (2)	2	0	0
φρ (39)	32	4	3
χλ (10)	9	1	0
χμ (1)	0	0	1
χν (13)	10	2	1
χρ (46)	25	1	20

On the basis of the above pinax it becomes clear that the quantity of vowels before a plosive consonant ($\pi \beta \varphi, \tau \delta \theta, \kappa \gamma \chi$) coupled by a liquid ($\lambda \rho$) or nasal ($\mu \nu$) may vary according to the needs of the poet.

c. Duplication of consonants

The use of duplicated consonants after a short vowel or *dichronon* is a common practice in Prodromos' poetic work.²²⁹

Short vowel (ϵ, o) or Dichrona (α, ι, υ) + double consonant ($\mu\mu, \sigma\sigma$)

²²⁸ The same table is used in the recent edition of Mitylenaios poems; see DE GROOTE, Christophori Mitylenaii LXX.

²²⁹ See also PAPAGIANNIS, Tetrasticha, I, 168–175.

No. 1^{III}, 14: δείξας ἐοῖο λόγου ἀρραγέεσσι (– – –) λίνοις.

No. 12, 13: ὕμμεσιν (– –) ἐμμογέων· τό δ' ἐτώσιος ἔπλετ' οἰζύς

No. 12, 24: Εἰ δ' ἄρα μὴ θυμέλῃσι παρέμμεναι (– –) ἔσχες ἐέλδωρ,

No. 19, 1: Υἱέος ἡμετέρου με φιτύσσατο (– – –) δῖα θυγάτηρ²³⁰

No. 20, 1: Ξεῖνε, τί νῦν με δέδορκας, ἐδὼν περὶ ὄμμα πετάσσας (– –)

On the other hand, a duplication of the consonants –σ in the word ἀπάντε(σ)σι (cf. also p. 185) and –ν in the word ἀναδαίν(ν)μαι, which occurs three times in the poem no. 20 (cf. also the *app. crit.*), is not necessary.

d. ξ atticum

In eight cases the ξ atticum, though transmitted by all the manuscripts, is not necessary for the metre.

No. 1^{III}, 2: ἦθεσιν εὐπαγέα καὶ σταθερὸν ξυνέσει

No. 13, 122: Ἐντεῦθεν ἦ ξύμφυλος ἀνθρώπων φύσις

No. 14, 74: πλοκῇ ξυνεστῶς φύσεων ἐναντίων

No. 14, 83: ἄμφω ξυνάπτει, καὶ πρὸς εἰρήνην φέρει

No. 14, 113: ἐμοὶ ξυνῆλθον εἰς ἐνὸς τοίχου κτίσιν

No. 14, 163: Τῆς δουλίδος γὰρ Μωρίας ξυνεργία

No. 14, 197: ὁμως φιλῶ μου τὸν ξυνευνέτην πάλιν

No. 17^{II}, 1 Ἐκ καρδιῶν τὰ δένδρα καὶ ξυνεπλάκη

e. Hiatus

The corpus of the dodecasyllabic poems does not count any hiatus. On the other hand, in order to avoid hiatus in the dactylic poems, Prodromos makes use of words with elision;²³¹ nonetheless, the 232 dactylic verses of the corpus (23,45% of the total) count no less than 73 cases of hiatus.²³² In the 92 dactylic pentameters (9,3% of the total), 22 examples of hiatus are found, of which 12 are separated by the caesura (nos. 1^I, 20; 1^{II}, 22; 1^{III}, 6, 14; 1^{IV}, 18; 1^{VI}, 2; 19, 4, 8; 20, 2). In the 140 dactylic hexameters (14,15% of the total) 51 examples

²³⁰ See also my annotations on p. 399.

²³¹ Approximately 80 cases of elision are to be found in the dactylic poems.

²³² We encounter a similar picture in his tetrastichs on the Old and New Testaments; see PAPAGIANNIS, *Tetrasticha*, I, 181–182 and 187.

occur, of which 10 (nos. 1^I, 9; 1^{II}, 15; 1^{IV}, 9; 12, 1, 9, 15, 20, 28; 20, 9; 21^{II}, 3) are separated by a masculine or feminine caesura (3a or 3b) and 15 cases by a *bucolic diaeresis* (nos. 1^{II}, 1; 1^{III}, 1; 1^{IV}, 1, 11, 19; 1^V, 9; 1^{VI}, 1; 10^I, 1; 10^I, 4; 12, 9; 12, 14; 19, 3; 20, 1, 5; 21^{II}, 5). As for the hiatus after the word *καί*, it occurs 8 times (nos. 1^{IV}, 11; 1^{VI}, 11, 13; 6, 7, 9; 12, 19; 20, 7, 12).

3 CHAPTER 3: THE MANUSCRIPT TRANSMISSION OF THE “NEGLECTED POEMS”

3.1 Description of the Manuscripts

It is well known that the first systematic study of the enormous manuscript tradition of the entire Prodic output was carried out by Hörandner.²³³ However, since his interest concentrated on the “historical poems”, the exact folios containing poems from this particular group are not always indicated in his otherwise detailed and invaluable list, nor has the list been updated with the most recent literature.

One or more poems from the ‘Neglected Poems’ is/are transmitted in eighty-three manuscripts dating from the thirteenth to the nineteenth centuries, of which twenty-five are not included in Hörandner’s book (they are here indicated with *). What is more, in some cases Hörandner’s list should be amended, as some of our poems are not preserved in all the manuscripts that he reported. For instance, no. 19 is not transmitted in Londinensis Harl. 5624²³⁴ nor are nos. 14 and 18 preserved in Esc. Y-III-9 and Vatic. gr. 1126, respectively.²³⁵

What follows is a succinct codicological description of the relevant manuscripts, based mainly on inspections *in situ* and on secondary literature.²³⁶ The descriptions of the manuscripts dating after the sixteenth century are usually briefer, whilst the exact title of a poem is indicated only when the manuscript in question is not used for the construction of the critical text. Whenever a folio number is not accompanied by (r) or (v), it refers to both its sides.

AUSTRIA

Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek

1. (Vz) *Vindobonensis Hist. gr. 106*

²³³ HÖRANDNER, *Historische Gedichte* 135–148.

²³⁴ *Ibid.* 55.

²³⁵ *Ibid.* 53.

²³⁶ The presentation of the manuscripts is based on the exemplary edition of Leo’s homilies by Theodora Antonopoulou; see ANTONOPOULOU, *Leonis VI Sapientis Imperatoris Byzantini Homiliae*. The same applies to the two tables on pp. 145–146.

14th cent.; paper; 210×145/150 mm.; IV + 187 folios (I–IV, 186 and 187 flyleaves); 22–25 lines per page; according to the subscription on fol. 140^r, Vz was written by Γεώργιος ὁ θύτης.

Contents: e.g. Konstantinos Manasses, Michael Louloudes, Ioannes Pediasimos, Ioannes Tzetzes, Iakovos of Bulgaria, Ioannes Damaskenos, and some unedited verses.

Prodromos: no. 7 (fol. 142).

Literature: HUNGER, *Codices historici, Codices philosophici et philologici* 112–113.

Consulted *in situ*

2. (Vu) *Vindobonensis Philologicus gr. 110*

16th cent. (middle, before 1562); paper; 260×185 mm; II + 553 (+2α, 65α 249α–γ, 518α) folios (I, II, 249α–γ, 546, 547 flyleaves); 23 lines per page; a two-volume manuscript [(a) 1^r–249^v and (b) 250^r–553^v] written by Mathousalas Macheir (cf. the subscriptions on fol. 11^v, 243^v, 246^r, 368^v); according to a note on fol. II^r and 518α^v, Augier de Busbeck (1522–1592), diplomat of Ferdinand of Austria, acquired the manuscript in Constantinople.

Contents: mainly philosophical works, e.g., Georgios Pachymeres, Simplicios of Cilicia, Themistios, Alexander of Aphrodisias, Michael Psellos, Maximos Homologetes, Gregorios of Nyssa, Nemesios of Emesa, Georgios Gemistos Plethon, Nikephoros Blemmydes, the astrological poem of Konstantinos Manasses (attributed wrongly to Prodromos), Theodoretos of Kyrrhos *etc.*

Prodromos: no. 18 (fol. 532^v–533^r).

Literature: HUNGER, *Codices historici, Codices philosophici et philologici* 218–222 (with literature); VOGEL – GARDTHAUSEN, *Die griechischen Schreiber* 270; HÖRANDNER, *Historische Gedichte* 147; CONSTANTINIDES – BROWNING, *Dated Greek Manuscripts from Cyprus* 308–311, esp. note no. 6; MACCOULL, *Mathousala Macheir* 114–116; STEFEC, *Zu einigen zypriotischen Handschriften* 62 ff.

Consulted *in situ*

3. (Vi) *Vindobonensis Philologicus gr. 149*

14th cent.; paper; 230/235×140/150 mm.; VII + 358 folios with 21–30 lines per page; according to fol. V^r and 354^v, Augier de Busbeck (1522–1592), diplomat of Ferdinand of Austria, acquired the manuscript in Constantinople.

Contents: e.g. Georgios Pisides, Michael Psellos, Symeon the new Theologian, Konstantinos Manasses, Christophoros Mitylenaios, Libanios, Gregorios of Nazianzos, anonymous works, Symeon (the son of Seth), Ioannes of Damaskos, Ps-Dionysios Areopagites, Basileios of Kaisareia, Ioannes (metropolitan of Kiev), Diadochos, Neilos, Sozomenos of Bethelia, Splenios, Nikephoros I (patriarch of Constantinople), excerpts from various authors (John Chrysostom, Theodoretos of Kyrrhos, Makarios of Alexandria, Isidoros of Pelousion, Anastasios Sinaites, Barsanouphios, John Climacus, and Dorotheos), Michael Glykas, Nikephoros Blemmydes, Perdikas of Ephesos, Gregorios of Cyprus, and Andronikos Komnenos (Doukas) Palaiologos.

Prodromos: nos. 2 (fol. 173^v), 3 (fol. 173^v), 9 (fol. 173^v).

Literature: HUNGER, *Codices historici, Codices philosophici et philologici* 250–255 (with literature); GONNELLI, *Giorgio di Pisidia* 35; DE GROOTE, *Christophori Mitylenaii L.*

Consulted *in situ*

4. (Vt) *Vindobonensis Theologicus gr. 249*

16th cent. (middle); paper; 208/212×145/150 mm.; XII + 101 (+54α–γ, 54α–η) folios (I–X, 87–90 flyleaves); 26 lines per page.

Contents: Vt contains various theological works, e.g., Athanasios of Alexandria, anonymous epigrams (unedited), Theophylaktos Simokattes, anonymous paraphrase of the psalms, Gregorios of Nazianzos, Metrophanes of Smyrna, Basileios of Kaisareia; moreover, on fol. 79^v–80^r a list of titles of some poems of Prodromos and Kallikles as well as of *Synopsis Sacrae Scripturae* of Nikephoros Kallistou Xanthopoulos is noted (perhaps a preliminary table of contents for a planned edition).

Prodromos: no. 15 ‘τοῦ σοφωτάτου Ψελλοῦ ἱαμβοὶ εἰς ἀρετὰς καὶ κακίας’ (fol. 51^v–52^v).

Literature: HUNGER, *Codices Theologici*, 3.2, 170–173 (with literature).

Consulted *in situ*

5. (Z) *Vindobonensis Suppl. gr. 125*

13th cent. (second half); paper (oriental); 210/215×150 mm; II + 14 folios (I + 14 flyleaves); partly 2 cols; 33–35 lines per page. The manuscript is in a badly damaged state due to an improper restoration.

Contents: anonymous verses (inc. Φαρισαῖζων, ἱεροῦ μακρὰν γίνου),²³⁷ Gregorios of Nazianzos, Michael Hagiotheodorites, anonymous works, Niketas Seides, Maximos Monachos, Anthologia Palatina.

Prodromos: nos. 16 (fol. 4^v), 18 (fol. 4).

Literature: HUNGER, Codices Supplementum Graecum 212–214 (with literature); HÖRANDNER, Historische Gedichte 164–165.

Consulted *in situ*

BULGARIA

Sofia, The scientific archives of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences

6. (Y) *BAS gr. 12**

15th cent. (1st quarter); paper; 290/210×200/60 mm.; 168 folios; written by an unidentified scribe (the same scribe added the poem on Basileios of Kaisareia in the 14th-century manuscript Ax).

Contents: a rich collection of Homilies by Basileios of Kaisareia, anonymous verses on Gregorios of Nyssa, Gregorios of Nyssa, Ps.-Justinus Martyr (Theodoretos of Kyrrhos?).

Prodromos: no. 1^{III} (fol. 4^v/only the poem on Basileios of Kaisareia).

Literature: GETOV, Catalogue 28–32 (with literature).

Consulted on microfilm

FRANCE

Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale

7. (Ly) *Lugdunensis 122 (52)**

16th–17th cent.; paper; 134×92 mm.; 215 folios.

Contents: e.g. Θεοτοκία ἀπολυτικά ψαλλόμενα ἐν ὧλῳ ἐνιαυτῷ, Isaak Monachos, Dionysios Stoudites, Basileios of Kaisareia, Maximos Homologetes, Epiphanius of Salamis, Dionysios of Alexandreia, Theodoretos of Kyrrhos, Nemesios of Emesa, etc.

²³⁷ Cf. ICB 834.

Prodromos: no. 15 – ‘τοῦ σοφωτάτου Μιχαὴλ τοῦ Ψελλοῦ, ἱαμβοὶ εἰς τὰς ἀρετὰς καὶ κακίας’ (fol. 15^r–17^r).

Literature: OMONT, Inventaire sommaire, III, 371.

Consulted on microfilm

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France

8. (Py) *Parisinus gr. 554*

13th cent.; parchment; 242 folios; fol. 1–3 were written by a later hand (in the 15th cent.); once in possession of the cardinal Niccolò Ridolfi.

Contents: a praise poem on Gregorios of Nazianzos by Ioannes Eugenikos, a rich collection of works by Gregorios of Nazianzos.

Prodromos: no. 1^{II} (fol. 1^v–2^r/only the poem on Gregory of Nazianzos).

Literature: OMONT, Inventaire sommaire, I, 85–86.

Consulted on microfilm

9. (R) *Parisinus gr. 854*

13th cent.; paper (oriental); 260×170 mm. (260×150 Markesinis); II + 422 folios with 30 lines (225^r–232^v where the Prodromic poems are to be found); a collection of four initially separate codices: (a) 1–120, (b) 121–244, (c) 245–327, and (d) 328–422, of which the second one contains works of Prodromos; at least two scribes (a) 1–34, 48–350, 361–366, 377–378, 382–405, 420–422 (b) 35–47, 360, 367–376, 379–381, 406–419^r or one scribe with two different handwritings (cf. Markesinis). According to a monogram on fol. A^r (ABPAMH) the manuscript belonged once to the private library of the Abramius family from the island of Corfu. Thereupon (after 1533), it was sold off together with other books to various book collectors.

Contents: e.g. Nilus of Sinai, Ioannes of Damaskos, Gregorios Thaumaturgos, Germanos I (patriarch of Constantinople), Germanos II (patriarch of Constantinople), Athanasios of Alexandria, Palaephatus, Epiphanius of Constantinople, Anastasios Sinaites, an anonymous work, Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos, Klemens of Alexandria, Maximus the Confessor, Sophronios of Jerusalem, Georgios Chirobaskos, Georgios Pisides, Gregorios of Nyssa, Geoponica, Libanios, Chorikios of Gaza, various anonymous works, Geometres’ poem on St. Panteleemon *etc.*

Prodromos: nos. 2 (fol. 229^r), 3 (fol. 229^v–230^r), 15 (fol. 228^v–229^r), 18 (fol. 230^r).

Literature: OMONT, Inventaire sommaire, I, 159–160; STERNBACH, Spicilegium Prodromeum 1–12; HÖRANDNER, Historische Gedichte 143 and 156–157; GONNELLI, Giorgio di Pisidia 25 (with literature); MARKESINIS, Parisinus gr. 854 109–117 (with literature); MARKESINIS, Janos Lascaris 302–306; JACKSON, Janus Lascaris 137–139.

Consulted on microfilm

10. (Pi) *Parisinus gr. 997*

a. 1231; parchment; 160×108 mm.; 321 folios; a palimpsest codex written by the monk Γερμανός Λιγνός in Nicaea.

Contents: Niketas of Heraclea (commentary on the homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus).

Prodromos: nos. 16 (fol. 320^r–321^v), 10 (fol. 320^r).

Literature: OMONT, Inventaire sommaire, I, 199; RGK II no. 68; VOGEL – GARDTHAUSEN, Die griechischen Schreiber 68; PRATO, La produzione libraria in area Greco-Orientale 38.

Consulted on microfilm

11. (Pc) *Parisinus gr. 1277*

13th cent.; paper (oriental) without watermarks (ff. 9–16, 308f., Parchment); VI + 309 + III' folios; 1–8 225×145 mm. (240×160 mm. Gonnelli), the fol. from parchment 240×150 mm., 17ff. 245×150 mm. (240×160 Gonnelli); written by ten different copyists (cf. Papagiannis), Pc was once belonged to a certain Eustathios [cf. fol. 307^v: τοῦτο τὸ βιβλίον ἐστὶν Εὐσταθίου τοῦ σαλῶν(οῦ)?];

Contents: the manuscript has a keen theological interest, e.g. works of Basileios of Kaisareia, Gregorios of Nyssa, Michael Psellos, Gregorios of Nazianzos, Georgios Pisides, Nikolaos (metropolitan of Kerkyra), Sententiae of Aisopos, Nikolaos Mouzalon, Symeon Logothetes, Maximus Homologetes etc.

Prodromos: no. 7 (fol. 200^v).

Literature: OMONT, Inventaire sommaire, I, 284–285; HÖRANDNER, Historische Gedichte 143; PAPAGIANNIS, Tetrasticha, I, 38–39 (with literature); GONNELLI, Giorgio di Pisidia 26 (with literature); JANSSENS, Maximi Confessoris LXXIII and LXXVI–LXXX (with comprehensive literature).

Consulted on microfilm

12. (Pz) *Parisinus gr. 1630*

14th cent.; paper (oriental) 159×112 mm.; XIX + 278 (+ 217^a, 221^a, 261^a, -171–180) folios (31, 47^r, 48^r, 49^v, 76^r, 170^v, 216^v, 249^r, 260^v, 268^v are blank); written by Chariton from the Hodegon Monastery between 1319 and 1346; once in possession of Ἀντώνιος Ἐπαρχος (on fol. ** Κτῆμα Ἀντωνίου τοῦ Ἐπαρχου, ὃ δέδωκε τῷ κραταιῷ βασιλεῖ Κελτῶν ἐμπεριέχεται δέ, ὅσα ἐν τῷ ἐξῆς πίνακι γράφεται).

Contents: Nikephoros Kallistou Xanthopoulos, Galenos, Theophilos Protospatharios, Theophanes Chrysobalantes, Michael Psellos, Manuel Philes, Apollinarios, Ioannes Geometres, Epiphanius of Salamis, Anastasios Sinaites, Gregorios Thaumaturgos, Andreas of Crete, Gregorios of Nyssa, Herodianos, Christophoros Mitylenaios, Basileios Megalomites, Leon Bardales, Georgios Pisides, Proklos, Alexandros of Aphrodisias, St. Maximos, Hippokrates, Ioannes of Antiocheia, Loukianos, Moiris, γνῶμαι and various anonymous treatises.²³⁸

Prodromos: nos. 17 (fol. 170–180), 19 (fol. 138^r), 20 (fol. 138^r).

Literature: OMONT, Inventaire sommaire, II, 109–112; RGK I no. 23= II no. 32 = III no. 36; LAUXTERMANN, Byzantine Poetry 290–293; DE GROOTE, Christophori Mitylenaii XLII; PÉREZ MARTÍN, Paris, BNF Gr. 1630 361–381 (with detailed literature).

Consulted on microfilm

13. (P) *Parisinus gr. 2831*

13th cent.; paper (oriental) without any watermarks; 140×225 mm; I + 164 + II' folios; P was written by several copyists (according to Papagiannis, seven different copyists or five, of whom two are using different handwriting).

Contents: Lexical fragments, Theokritos, Georgios Pisides.

Prodromos: nos. 1ⁱ (fol. 151^v/only the poem on St. Paul), 7 (fol. 122^r), 12 (fol. 122), 17 (fol. 122^r), 18 (146).

Literature: H. OMONT, Inventaire sommaire, III, 46–47; HÖRANDNER, Historische Gedichte 157–159, PAPAGIANNIS, Tetrasticha, I, 39–41; D'AMBROSI, Gregorio Nazianzeno 108.

²³⁸ Apart from some minor modifications, the present list is a duplication of that of DE GROOTE, Christophori Mitylenaii XLII.

Consulted on microfilm

14. (Pt) *Parisinus gr. 2870*

16th cent. (second half); paper; 224×152 mm.; I + 48 folios; copied by Ἀγγελος Βεργίκιος.

Contents: Georgios Pisides.

Prodromos: nos. 13 ‘Στίχοι τινὲς σχετλιαστικοὶ εἰς τὴν πρόνοιαν τοῦ σοφοῦ Θεοδώρου τοῦ Προδρόμου’ (fol. 39^r–42^r), 14 ‘Τοῦ αὐτοῦ, ἐπὶ ἀποδήμῳ φιλῖα, στίχοι, κατὰ διάλογον’ (fol. 42^v–48^r).

Literature: Omont, Inventaire sommaire, III, 52; RGK I no. 3 = II no. 3; VOGEL – GARDTHAUSEN, Die griechischen Schreiber 2–6; GONNELLI, Giorgio di Pisidia 28.

Consulted on microfilm

15. (Pf) *Parisinus gr. 3019*

15th cent.; paper; 248 folios.

Contents: Libanios, several epigrams, Philostratos.

Prodromos: no. 18 (fol. 206/only the first epigram).

Literature: OMONT, Inventaire sommaire, III, 93.

Consulted on microfilm

16. (Pa) *Parisinus gr. 3058*

16th cent. (terminus ante quem 1519); paper; 374 folios; Pa was written by Arsenios of Monembasia and sent to the pope Leo X under the title Ἰωνιά.

Contents: Michael Apostoles (Συναγωγή παροιμιῶν) supplemented by Arsenios of Monembasia, Michael Psellos, and Ioannes Tzetzes.

Prodromos: nos. 15 (fol. 36^r–37^v), 16 (fol. 35^r–35^v)

Literature: OMONT, Inventaire sommaire, III, 101; RGK I no. 27 = II no. 38 = III no. 46; VOGEL – GARDTHAUSEN, Die griechischen Schreiber 42–44; AGIOTIS, Tzetzes on Psellos revisited 3.

Consulted on microfilm

17. (Su) *Parisinus Suppl. gr. 501*

15th cent.; paper; 19 folios; the handwriting is very similar to that of Μιχαήλ Κριτόβουλος (cf. *RGK* II no. 384).

Contents: Konstantinos Manasses (the astrological poem).

Prodromos: no. 18 (fol. 18^v/only the first three epigrams)

Literature: OMONT, *Inventaire sommaire*, III, 270; HÖRANDNER, *Historische Gedichte* 159.

Consulted on microfilm

GERMANY

Heidelberg, Ruprecht-Karls-Universität

18. (H) *Heidelbergensis Palatinus gr. 43*

13th cent. (15th cent. Stevenson, 12th cent. Agapitos); paper (oriental); VI + 93 + VI' folios (fol. 38^r is blank); one scribe using two handwritings: style A: fol. 1^r–34^r, 34^v–38^v, 83^r–93^r and style B: fol. 34^r–83^r (cf. Agapitos).

Contents: Proklos, Ps.-Phocylides, Musaeus Grammatikos.

Prodromos: nos. 16 (fol. 90), 18 (fol. 90^v), 19 (fol. 90^v).

Literature: STEVENSON, *Codices manuscripti palatini graeci* 23; HÖRANDNER, *Historische Gedichte* 151; AGAPITOS, *Poets and Painters* 173–174; <http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/cpgraec43>.

Consulted on microfilm

19. (He) *Heidelbergensis Palatinus gr. 356*

13th cent. (15th cent. Stevenson); paper (oriental); IV + 196 + III' folios (fol. 196^v is blank); mutilated at the beginning; although nothing is known about its place of production, the codex was once in possession of Aristoboulos Apostoles (on fol. III^v: τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον κτῆμά ἐστιν Ἀρσενίου τοῦ Μονεμβασίας), whilst then Γεώργιος Κόμης ὁ Κορίνθιος came in possession of the manuscript (on fol. III^v: one reads τὸ νῦν δὲ Γεωργίου Κόμητος τοῦ Κορινθίου).

Contents: e.g. Libanios, Michael Psellos, Severos, Phalaris, Gregorios of Nazianzos, Basileios of Kaisareia, Apollonios of Tyana, Synesios of Cyrene, Theophylaktos Simokattes, Ioannes Chrysostomos, Isocrates, Agapetos Diakonos, Ioannes Tzetzes, Konstantinos Stilbes,

Eustathios Kanikles, Sententiae, Georgios Choiroboskos, Konstantinos Manasses, some riddles (unedited), Epiphanius *etc.*

Prodromos: nos. 2 (fol. 167^r), 3 (fol. 167^r), 17 (fol. 168^r), 18 (fol. 167^v).²³⁹

Literature: STEVENSON, Codices manuscripti palatini graeci 203–207; HÖRANDNER, Historische Gedichte 140; DIETHART – HÖRANDNER, Constantinus Stilbes XX; <http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/cpgraec356>.

Consulted on microfilm

Göttingen, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek

20. *Philol. gr. 4*

18th cent.; paper; 200×140 mm.; 189 pages.

Contents: poems from Anthologia Graeca along with the notes of Claudius Salmasius.

Prodromos: nos. 18 (p. 171ff); 19 (p. 171).

Literature: MEYER, Die Handschriften in Göttingen 3–4.

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek

21. (Mo) *Monacensis gr. 306**

16th cent. (second half); paper; IV + 63 (+2α, 18α, 18β, 21α, 38α, 49α) folios (I^r, II, IV^v, 2α, 3, 18^v, 18α, 18β, 21α, 38β, 49α, 63 are blank); written by Andreas Darmarios.

Contents: Proklos, Andronikos of Rhodos, Hippolytus of Rome, Dexippos, Michael Psellos, an anonymous post-Byzantine dodecasyllabic epigram (εἰς τὸν μέλλοντα βίον), and various other treatises.

Prodromos: no. 16 (fol. 61).

Literature: HARDT, Catalogus, III, 241–244; RGK I no. 13 = II no. 21;

[http://daten.digital-e-](http://daten.digital-e-sammlungen.de/~db/0005/bsb00050014/images/index.html?id=00050014&fip=eayayztsewqe)

[sammlungen.de/~db/0005/bsb00050014/images/index.html?id=00050014&fip=eayayztsewqe](http://daten.digital-e-sammlungen.de/~db/0005/bsb00050014/images/index.html?id=00050014&fip=eayayztsewqe)
[ayaxeayaeayayztsqrseayaxdsydsdas&no=6&seite=147](http://daten.digital-e-sammlungen.de/~db/0005/bsb00050014/images/index.html?id=00050014&fip=eayayztsewqe).

Consulted on microfilm

GREAT BRITAIN (UNITED KINGDOM)

²³⁹ Hörandner did not notice that on fol. 167^v–168^r of He the historical poem no. VII is also included.

London, British Library

22. (La) *Londiniensis Add. 10014*

15th – 16th cent.; paper; 190×140 mm.; 294 folios; written by at least nine different copyists: (a) 3–47; (b) 48–67; (c) 68–113; (d) 114–142^v; (e) 143–148^v; (f) 149–152; (g) 153–264; (h) 265–279, 287–294(?); (i) 280–286; the codex changed many hands before entering the British library in January 1836.

Contents: e.g. Makarios of Alexandria, Ephraem the Syrian, a vita of Adam et Eva, Damascenus the Studite, Eusebios of Kaisareia, Acts of the Quinisext Council, Ioannes Chrysostomos, Philip Monotropos, Basileios of Kaisareia, Gregorios of Nazianzos, Michael Psellos, a treatise on the twelve months, Jokes of Hierokles, Manuel Philes, Georgios Pisides, Michael Glykas, and various other treatises *etc.*

Prodromos: no. 2 – ‘εἰς τὸν Ἀβραὰμ ξενίζοντα τὴν ἁγίαν Τριάδα’ (fol. 224^v).

Literature: List of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum, 1836–1840. London, 1843, 1836, 3; HÖRANDNER, Historische Gedichte 142 and 154; http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_10014 (with literature); KUBINA, Manuel Philes and the Asan Family 179.

Consulted on microfilm

23. (Lh) *Londiniensis Harl. 5624*

14th (2nd half) – 15th cent.; paper; 211/150×137/90 mm.; 423 folios; two main scribes: the first was responsible for fol. 15–196 and the second for fol. 290–392; fol. 206^v–209 was written by Michael Kalophrenas.

Contents: Letters, theological, and astrological works, e.g. Theophylact Simokattes, Hexameters on the Acts of the Apostles (unedited?), Fragment on the Apostle Peter, Ps.-Phocylides, Michael Synkellos, Ἐπιτομὴ νέα γραμματικὴ (a grammar book), Φιλοσοφίας ὅροι περὶ οὐσίας καὶ συμβεβηκότος, Ὅροι φιλοσοφίας κατὰ στοιχεῖον, Formulary for ecclesiastical letters, Lord’s Prayer, Τύπος καὶ ὑπογραμὸς βεβαίωσης τῆς πίστεως, Michael Kalophrenas, Sacred and profane sententiae, Τεχνολογία περὶ ἀντιστοιχίων, Περὶ μέτρων, Philosophical diagrams, Agapetus diaconus, Horoscope of 12 Loci, Ioannes of Damaskos, Michael Psellos, Theodore Lascaris, Riddles, Manouel Mazari, Verses on Arachne (*inc.* Τίς τοὺς ἀράχνας λεπτοδακτύλους πλάσας.), Ps.-Dionysios the Areopagite, Basileios of

Kaisareia, Περὶ μουσικῆς, Περὶ ἀστρονομίας, Notes about the Procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and not from the Son, Περὶ γραμματικῆς, Σύνοψις τῶν πέντε φωνῶν, Death-bed advice to a son, Symeon Metaphrastes, Περὶ τῆς γενέσεως τοῦ δυσσεβοῦς Μωάμεθ, Ὅρκος τῶν Μουσουλμάνων πρὸς Χριστιανούς, Table of lunar zodiacal motion.

Prodromos: no. 13 (fol. 12^r–13^v/the first 22 verses are re-written by the same hand on fol. 14^r).

Literature: NARES, *Harleian Manuscripts* 282; *RGK* II no. 382; VOGEL – GARDTHAUSEN, *Die griechischen Schreiber* 312–313; HÖRANDNER, *Historische Gedichte* 142;

http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Harley_MS_5624 (with literature).

Consulted on microfilm

Oxford, Bodleian Library

24. (Ba) *Bodleianus Barocci 197*

a. 1343 or early in 1344; paper; 315×205 mm.; folios 673, 32 lines to a page; written by the hieromonk Galaktion Madarakis.

Contents: “seventy-nine theological, patristic, hagiographic and homiletic texts” [cf. Kiapidou].

Prodromos: no. 4 (fol. 209^v–210^v).

Literature: COXE, *Bodleian Library* 341–351; *RGK* I no. 44; *PLP* 7 no. 16102; VOGEL – GARDTHAUSEN, *Die griechischen Schreiber* 63; TURYN, *Dated Greek Manuscripts* 108–112; KOTZABASSI, *Gregor von Zypern* 152–155; GIANNOULI, *Theodoros II Dukas Laskaris* 270–271; ANTONOPOULOU, *Αγία Βαρβάρα* 70; KİAPİDOU, *Theophylact of Ohrid* 31 (with literature).

Consulted on microfilm

25. (B) *Bodleianus Roe 18 (olim ecclesiae S. Trinitatis apud insulam Chalcen)*

a. 1349 (on fol. 476^v: ἐτελειώθη ἡ βίβλος αὕτη διὰ χειρὸς ἐμοῦ κω(νσταντίνου) τοῦ σοφοῦ κ(α)τὰ μῆνα σεπτ(έμβ)ριον τῆς β´ ἰν(δικτιῶνος) τοῦ ,ζωνζ´ ἔτους); paper; 300×205 mm; 475 folios; written by Konstantinos Sophos.

Contents: a miscellaneous codex, e.g., Manuel Philes, a number of legal treatises, Photios, Theodoros Stoudites, Theodoros Balsamon, Petros Chartophylax, Basileios of Kaisareia, Nikephoros I (patriarch of Constantinople), Sisinnios II (patriarch of Constantinople), Elias of Crete, Niketas of Herakleia, Nikephoros Chartophylax, Ioannes of Karpathos, Basileios of Kaisareia, Konstantinos Manasses, Gregorios of Nazianzos, Georgios Pisides, Ioannes Tzetzes, *etc.*

Prodromos: nos. 2 (fol. 449^r), 7 (fol. 446^r), 17 (fol. 450^v).

Literature: COXE, Bodleian Library 471–479; *RGK* I no. 232 = III no.374; *PLP* 26431; HÖRANDNER, *Historische Gedichte* 139 and 150–151; GONNELLI, Giorgio di Pisidia 23 (with literature); KUBINA, Manuel Philes and the Asan Family 178–179.

Consulted on microfilm

GREECE

Athens, Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Βουλῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων

26. *Atheniensis Greek Parliament* 57

17th – 18th cent.; paper; 220×150 mm.; 363 folios (1^r–3^v, 72^v, 76, 96^v, 111^v, 112, 181^r, 224^v, 231^v, 269^v, 324, 353^v, 354, 362^v, 363^r are blank); written by various hands.

Contents: for instance works of Loukianos, Basileios of Seleukia, Theodoros Doukas Laskaris and various post-Byzantine works (e.g. Theodosios Zygomalas, Konstantinos Ioannou Zacharopoulou, Athanasios Parios).

Prodromos: no. 14 ‘Κυροῦ Θεοδώρου τοῦ Πτωχοπροδρόμου ἐπὶ ἀποδήμου τῇ φιλίας’ (fol. 182^r–187^v).²⁴⁰

Literature: LAMBROS, *Κατάλογος* 119–121.

Consulted on microfilm

Ἐθνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Ἑλλάδος

27. *Atheniensis EBE* 1183*

18th cent.; paper; 170×220 mm.; 190 folios.

²⁴⁰ On fol. 188^r–195^r there is a prose exegesis of Prodromos’ poem.

Contents: poems from the Greek Anthology, Konstantinos Manasses (excerpts from Χρονική Σύνοψις); various riddles etc.

Prodromos: nos. 14: ‘κυροῦ Θεοδώρου τοῦ Προδρόμου ἐπὶ ἀποδήμῳ τῇ φιλίᾳ’ (fol. 46^r–54^r), 15: ‘τοῦ σοφωτάτου Ψελλοῦ ἱαμβοὶ εἰς ἀρετὰς καὶ κακίας’ (fol. 39^r–41^v).

Literature: SAKKELION, Κατάλογος 218; LAMPSIDIS, “Gnomologia” 118–145.

Consulted on microfilm

28. *Atheniensis EBE 1264**

17th cent.; paper; 150×110 mm.; 177 folios.

Contents: Chrysoloras (Αἱ τοῦ Χρυσολωρᾶ μονόστιχοι Γνῶμαι κατὰ στοιχεῖον ἐκ διαφόρων ποιητῶν), various theological and hagiographical texts, Gregorios of Nazianzos, anonymous verse encomium on Gregorios of Nazianzos, Leon VI.

Prodromos: no. 15 ‘τοῦ σοφωτάτου Ψελλοῦ ἱαμβοὶ εἰς τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν κακίαν’ (fol. 174^r–176^r).

Literature: SAKKELION, Κατάλογος 229–230.

Consulted on microfilm

29. (An) *Atheniensis EBE 3104**

16th cent. (middle); 175×120 mm. (174×110 POLITIS); 342 folios (Politis counted 331 fol.); written by Mathousalas Macheir; according to fol. 340^v the book belonged once to a certain Gerasimos (τὸ παρῶν (sic) ὑπάρχει Γερασίου Ἱερομονάχου).

Contents: a theological miscellany containing mainly works of Basileios of Kaisareia (homilies on Hexaemeron and *Adversus Eunomium*).

Prodromos: no. 15 ‘Τοῦ σοφωτάτου Ψελλοῦ ἱαμβοὶ εἰς ἀρετὰς καὶ κακίας’ (fol. 10^r–12^v).

Literature: POLITIS, Δύο χειρόγραφα ἀπὸ τὴν Καστοριά 30, note 2; VOGEL – GARDTHAUSEN, Die griechischen Schreiber 270; HÖRANDNER, Historische Gedichte 147; CONSTANTINIDES – BROWNING, Dated Greek Manuscripts from Cyprus 308–311, esp. note no. 6; MACCOULL, Mathousala Macheir 114–116; STEFEC, Zu einigen zypriotischen Handschriften 62 ff.

Consulted on microfilm

30. (Mt) *Metochii S. Sepulchri 797*

15th – 16th cent.; 140×95 mm. (138×94 mm. PAPADOPOULOS – KERAMEUS); 120 folios; written by Ἰσαὰκ μοναχοῦ (cf. fol. 77^r).

Contents: an anonymous poem on the holy Apostles, Ioannes of Damaskos, Ioannes Chrysostomos, Theodoros Abu Qurra, Ps.-Makarios, Esaias of Gaza, Ephraem the Syrian, Ps.-Areopagites, Martyrios of Antiocheia, Loukas Chrysoberges, Symeon of Thessalonike, Anastasios Sinaites, Nilus of Ancyra, Georgios Scholarios, Niketas of Herakleia, Gregorios of Nazianzos, Niketas David Paphlagon, Aristoteles, Theodoros Stoudites, Dionysios the monk, Leo VI, Manuel Moschopoulos, Agapetos Diakonos, Symeon the New Theologian.

Prodromos: no. 18 (fol. 80^v–81^r).

Literature: PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ βιβλιοθήκη, V, 286–291; HÖRANDNER, Historische Gedichte 140.

Consulted on microfilm

Ἱστορικὴ καὶ Ἐθνολογικὴ Ἑταιρεία

31. *Athen. Hist. – Ethn. Het. 66*

18th cent.; paper; 220×150 mm.; 213 folios (8, 17, 42, 65, and 82 are blank); written by three copyists.

Contents: various Kanons, Ioannes Chrysostomos, and some treatises on meters.

Prodromos: no. 14 ‘Κυροῦ Θεοδώρου ἐπὶ ἀποδήμῳ τῇ φιλίᾳ’ (fol. 67^r–81^v).

Literature: LAMBROS, Κατάλογος τῶν κωδίκων τῆς Ἱστορικῆς καὶ Ἐθνολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας 83–84.

Consulted on microfilm

Lesbos, Ἱερὰ Μονὴ Λειμῶνος

32. *Lesbiacus monasterii Leimonos 219*

17th cent.; paper; 153×105 mm.; 120 folios; written by Hieromonachos Akakios.

Contents: Gregorios of Nazianzos, Theodoros Stoudites, Maximos Planoudes, Ioannes Komnenos Sozopolites, Sophronios of Jerusalem, and other anonymous verse works.

Prodromos: no. 15 ‘Τοῦ σοφωτάτου Ψελλοῦ ἱαμβοὶ εἰς ἀρετὰς καὶ κακίας καὶ τὰς μὲν ἀρετὰς ποιεῖ τὰς δὲ κακίας φεῦγε’ (fol. 42^r–45^v).

Literature: PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, Κατάλογος 110.

Consulted on microfilm

Elassona, Μονὴ τῆς Ὀλυμπιωτίσσης

33. *Elassona Olympiotisses 80*

18th cent.; paper; 215×150 mm.; 227 folios with 28 lines per page.

Contents: Ioannes Tzetzes and various post-Byzantine works.

Prodromos: no. 15 ‘Τοῦ σοφωτάτου Ψελλοῦ ἱαμβοὶ εἰς ἀρετὰς καὶ κακίας’ (fol. 223^v–224^r).

Literature: SKOUVARAS, Ὀλυμπιώτισσα 297–298.

Consulted on microfilm

34. *Elassona Olympiotisses 83**

18th cent.; paper; 220×176 mm.; I fol. + 81 pp + 48 pp. + I fol. + 20 pp. + VII fol. with varying lines per page.

Contents: solely works of Prodromos.

Prodromos: nos. 13 ‘Τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν θεῖαν πρόνοιαν’ (pp. 13–?), 14 ‘Τοῦ αὐτοῦ Θεοδώρου ἐπὶ ἀποδήμῳ τῇ φιλίᾳ’ (pp. 1–13).

Literature: SKOUVARAS, Ὀλυμπιώτισσα 299.

Consulted on microfilm

Mount Athos

35. (Ay) *Athous, Dionysiou 594*

17 cent.; paper; 200×140 mm.; pp. 278 (p. 138 is blank); written by a single scribe; on p. 238 there is a picture, whilst later notes are to be found on p. 278.

Contents: a *mathematarion* including Γνῶμαι μονόστιχοι κατὰ στοιχεῖον ἐκ διαφόρων ποιητῶν (pp. 1–77) – Sententiae of Aisopos (pp. 78–137) – Gregorios of Nazianzos “περὶ τῶν τοῦ βίου ὁδῶν” (pp. 139–170) – Τοῦ αὐτοῦ τετράστιχα (pp. 171–200) – Agapetos Diakonos, “Ἐκθεσις κεφαλαίων παραινετικῶν” (pp. 239–277).

Prodromos: no. 14 ‘Κυροῦ Θεοδώρου Προδρόμου ἐπὶ ἀποδήμῳ τῇ φιλίᾳ’ (pp. 201–237).

Literature: DIONYSATIS, Συμπληρωματικὸς κατάλογος 235–236.

36. (Ac) Athous, Docheiariou 108 (2782)*

15th cent.; paper; 205×145 mm.; folios 262 (-1–11, 16–20, 29, 154^r + 248^a/ the fol. 21 has been misplaced after the fol. 34, while fol. 62^v is blank); mutilated at the beginning and end; it was copied by four different hands: (a) ff. 12–134, 137–186, 203–228, 262; (b) ff. 187–199, 229–254; (c) ff. 200–202, 255–261; and (d) ff. 135–136^v.

Contents: e.g. Anastasios Sinaites, Ephraem the Syrian, Sophronios of Jerusalem, Andreas of Crete, Ioannes Chrysostomos, Georgios of Nikomedeia, Gregorios Palamas, Basileios of Kaisareia, Ioannes of Damaskos, Isaak Syrus, works of Gennadios Scholarios, Athanasios of Alexandria, Libanios, Gregorios of Cyprus, Theodoros Stoudites, Abbas Kassianos *etc.*

Prodromos: no. 18 (fol. 258^v/only the first two epigrams).

Literature: LAMBROS, Greek Manuscripts of Mount Athos, I, 247–248.

Consulted on microfilm

37. Athous, Hagiou Paulou 9

a. 1783; paper; 225×170 mm.; pages α–δ + 350 (+15α, 93α, 147α -25, 99, 148); the pp. β–δ, 233–240, 328 and 340–346 are blank; written by three scribes: (a) pp. 1–232 (one column), (b) pp. 241–327, 347–350 (Ιωάννης ο Κρη(τη)ς (sic)– two columns), and (c) pp. 329–339 (two columns).

Contents: e.g. Petros Damaskenos, Michael Psellos, Manuel Philes, Nikolaos Kallikles, Nikephoros Kallistou Xanthopoulos.

Prodromos: nos. 13 ‘τοῦ αὐτοῦ σχετλιαστικοὶ εἰς τὴν Πρόνοιαν’ (fol. 276^r–278^v), 16 ‘τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς εἰκονισμένον τῷ βίῳ (sic)’ (fol. 279^r), 18 ‘ἀνεπίγραφα’ (fol. 279–280).

Literature: LAMBROS, Catalogue, I, 20–21, POLITIS – POLITI, Βιβλιογράφοι 17ου–18ου αἰῶνα 482; HÖRANDNER, Historische Gedichte 163; D’AMBROSI, Gregorio Nazianzeno 104–105; STEFEC, Nikephoros Xanthopoulos 147.

Consulted on microfilm

38. Athous, Iberon 509 (olim 4629)*

17th cent. (towards the end); paper; 220×170 mm.; 562 (+ 8α, 9α, 23α, 79α, 80α, 97α, 108α, 111α, 132α, 171α, 200α, 203α, 302α, 313α, 322α, 366α, 379α, 441α, 477α, 478α, 478β, 499α, 501α, 507α, 543α) folios (8α, 12^v, 23α, 34^v, 35^v, 43^v, 50^v, 54^v, 79α, 97α, 105^v, 108α,

111 α , 121, 132 α , 147 ^{v} , 162 ^{v} , 171 α , 187 ^{r} , 188 ^{v} , 192 ^{v} , 200 α , 203 α , 206 ^{v} , 213 ^{v} , 238 ^{v} , 262 ^{v} , 283 ^{v} , 302 α , 313 α , 322 α , 351 ^{v} , 353 ^{v} , 360 ^{v} , 366 α , 379 α , 403 ^{v} , 404 ^{v} , 408 ^{v} –409, 441 α , 460 ^{v} , 477 α , 478 β , 489 ^{v} , 499 α , 501 α , 507 α , 511 ^{v} , 543 α and 560 ^{v} –561 are blank); various scribes worked together for the execution of the manuscript.

Contents: mainly texts of theological interest, e.g. homilies for the period of the Great Lent, homilies on the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, homilies on the feasts of Lord and Virgin Mary, an exegesis of Liturgy, a text by Fragkiskos Skoufos of the year 1670, and a praising oration for the Patriarch Athanasios III penned by Antonios Lesbios.

Prodromos: no. 15 – ‘Τοῦ σοφωτάτου Ψελοῦ (sic) ἱαμβοὶ εἰς ἀρετὰς καὶ κακίας’ (fol. 544 ^{r} –545 ^{r}).

Literature: Lambros, Catalogue, II, 160.

Consulted on microfilm

39. (Ae) *Athous, Iberon 765**

16th cent.; paper; 116 folios.

Contents: e.g. Ioannes Chrysostomos, Theodoretos of Kyrrhos, Theodoros Stoudites, Ioannes Damaskenos, Gregorios of Nazianzos, Ioannes Geometres, Michael Psellos, Basileios of Kaisareia, various theological works *etc.*

Prodromos: no. 15 (fol. 102 ^{r} –104 ^{r}).

Literature: LAMBROS, Catalogue, II, 223.

Inaccessible to me

40. *Athous, Karakallou Chart. 79**

17th cent.; paper; 205×140 mm.; pp. 616 (pp. 84, 85, 105–111, 236–241, 330–337, 381, 483, 509 and 617 are blank); The manuscript was written by at least three different hands: (a). pp. 2–104, 242–329, 510–557; (b) pp. 112–241, 338–508; and (c) pp. 558–616.

Contents: Theodoros Stoudites, Ioannes Zonaras, and various post-Byzantine texts (a life of St. Onouphrios penned by Agapios Landos and an oration by Theodoros Palladas on the ten holy martyrs).

Prodromos: no. 15 ‘Τοῦ σοφωτάτου Ψελοῦ· (sic) ἱαμβοὶ στίχοι εἰς ἀρετὰς καὶ κακίας’ (fol. 80 ^{r} –83 ^{v}).

Literature: LAMBROS, Catalogue, I, 139.

Consulted on microfilm

41. Athous, Laura A 62 (1552)*

18th cent.; paper; 220×160 mm.; II + 298 + I'folios (64^v, 138^v, 152^v–154^v, 188, 235^v–236^r, and 242^v are blank).

Contents: a *mathematarion* with works of Basileios of Kaisareia, Ploutarchos, and Michael Psellos.

Prodromos: nos. 1¹ 'τοῦ αὐτοῦ προσφωνητήριον εἰς τὸν μέγαν ἀπόστολον Παῦλον' (fol. 231–237), 14 – 'Κυριοῦ (sic) Θεοδώρου τοῦ Προδρόμου ἐπὶ ἀποδήμῳ τῇ φιλίᾳ' (fol. 139^r–152^r).

Literature: EUSTRATIADES, Catalogue 274–275; SKARVELI-NIKOLOPOULOU, Τὰ μαθηματάρια τῶν ἐλληνικῶν σχολείων τῆς Τουρκοκρατίας 569.

Consulted on microfilm

42. Athous, Laura Ω 34 (1844)

18th cent.; paper; 210×160 mm.; 229 (+ ff. 12α, 36α, 160α, 161α, 174α, 194; -ff. 133, 144) folios (12^v–12^{av}, 36^{av}, 41^v, 92, 98^v, 106^v, 118, and 162^v are blank); many scribes; one of them notes at the bottom of fol. 98^r: τέλος τῶν κανόνων διὰ χειρὸς ἐμοῦ Πέτρου Σαμπέλη).

Contents: a *mathematarion* containing, e.g., works of Agapetos, Thalassios, Gregorios of Nazianzos, Niketas David Paphlagon, Michael Psellos, Basileios of Kaisareia, as well as various Kanons.

Prodromos: nos. 1 (fol. 192^r–193^v), 14 'Θεοδώρου τοῦ Προδρόμου τῇ φιλίᾳ' (fol. 198^r–204^v).

Literature: EUSTRATIADES, Catalogue 331–332.

Consulted on microfilm

43. Athous, Panteleemonis 683*

18th cent. (last quarter); paper; 240×170 mm.; 821 pages (the pp. 32–40, 201, 202, 440, 503, 504, 528, 696, 724, 775 and 776 are blank); after a work of Gerasimos Vlachos there is a note which reads as follows: χεῖρ Σεβαστοῦ Πατμίου 1785 Ἰουνίου 18 (p. 563?); many scribes work together; one of them notes on p. 155: τέλος σχολίων τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Γρηγορίου τοῦ Θεολόγου 1785 Ἰουναρίου 30 εὐχεσθαι ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ Ἀντωνίου παπᾶ Λιγίζου υἱὸς Κολατζήζογλος; on p. 563 we read χεῖρ Σεβαστοῦ Πατμίου 1785 Ἰουνίου 18, the same hand adds notes on pp. 695 (τῷ συντελεστῇ τῶν καλῶν Θεῷ δόξα / ἀχπε Ἰουλίου

ιη' / τέλος τῆς ἐξηγήσεως Γρηγορίου τοῦ Θεολόγου), 774 (χρηστῶν ἀπάντων Χριστὸς ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος / 1785 Ἰουνίου 10), and 821 (τέλος τῆς ἐξηγήσεως τοῦ πρεσβευτικοῦ λόγου·/ τῷ συντελεστῇ τῶν καλῶν Θεῷ δόξα).

Contents: e.g. scholia on the orations and poems of Gregorios of Nazianzos (among others that of Niketas of Herakleia on the gnomic tetrastichs of Gregorios of Nazianzos), scholia on Hesiodos (Ἔργα καὶ ἡμέραι) and Homer (Ὀδύσσεια), Libanios, Gregorios of Nazianzos *etc.* Τοῦ σοφωτάτου Ψελλοῦ ἱαμβοὶ εἰς ἀρετὰς καὶ κακίας.

Prodromos: no. 15 – ‘Τοῦ σοφωτάτου Ψελλοῦ ἱαμβοὶ εἰς ἀρετὰς καὶ κακίας’ (fol. 564^v).

Literature: LAMBROS, Greek Manuscripts of Mount Athos, II, 413–414.

Consulted on microfilm

44. (Ax) *Athous Vatopedinus 56**

a. 1330 (421^v); paper; 268/271×205/212 mm.; 424 (+ 136a, 163a, 202a) folios (1–3 flyleaves); 2 cols with 27 lines per page; albeit Ax was written by Kallistos of Vatopedi, the poem of Prodromos was added by a fifteenth-century hand to be identified with Y.

Contents: a collection of works of Basileios of Kaisareia (letters and homilies); there are also two works of Kyrillos of Jerusalem.

Prodromos: no. 1^{III} (fol. 3^v/only the epigram on Basileios of Kaisareia).

Literature: LAMBERZ, Katalog 243–248 (with literature); *PLP* no. 10466.

Consulted on microfilm

45. *Athous Vatopedinus 95**

a. 1611 (fol. 109–140) and first half of 17th cent. (fol. 1–107. 141–217); paper; 143/145×100/102 mm; 217 folios; the manuscript was written by four different copyists: (a) 1–107; (b) fol. 109–155^r. 156–179^r; (c) fol. 180–211, and (d) 212–217.

Contents: e.g. Anastasios Sinaites, Paul (bishop of Monemvasia), Theophilos of Alexandreia, various Vitae, Marcus Eremita, Theophanes Eleabulkos, Zosimas Monachos, Leov VI, Nilos of Ancyra, Menandros *etc.*

Prodromos: no. 15 – ‘Τοῦ σοφωτάτου Ψελλοῦ, ἱαμβοὶ εἰς ἀρετὰς καὶ κακίας’ (fol. 183, 208, 205–206).

Literature: LAMBERZ, Katalog 393–400 (with literature).

Consulted on microfilm

Patmos, Μονὴ τοῦ Ἀγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Θεολόγου

46. *Patmiensis* 407

19th cent.; paper; 469 pages (according to Sakkelion).

Contents: Nikephoros Kallistou Xanthopoulos and works of various post-Byzantine authors.

Prodromos: no. 15 ‘Τοῦ σοφωτάτου Μιχαὴλ τοῦ Ψελλοῦ στίχοι ἱαμβικοὶ εἰς ἀρετὰς καὶ τὰς κακίας’ (pp. 853–857).

Literature: SAKKELION, Πατμιακὴ Βιβλιοθήκη 181–182.

Consulted on microfilm

HUNGARY

Budapest, private collection of M. Philips Tialos

47. *Budapestensis* Tialos 3

18th cent.; paper; pages not counted; the current location of the manuscript is unknown.

Prodromos: no. 16 (fol. 190^v–191^r).

Literature: LAMBROS, Ἡ βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς κοινότητος Βουδαπέστης 78–79.

Inaccessible to me

ISRAEL

Jerusalem, Πατριαρχικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη

48. *Hierosolymitanus Sabaiticus* gr. 462*

18th cent.; paper; 422 folios.

Contents: a *mathematarion* containing, e.g., Ploutarchos, Demosthenes, Synesios, Basileios of Kaisareia, Gregorios of Nazianzos, Euripides, Aristophanes *etc.*

Prodromos: no. 15 – ‘Τοῦ σοφωτάτου Ψελλοῦ ἱamboi εἰς ἀρετὰς καὶ κακίας’ (fol. 32^r–37^r).

Literature: PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, Ἱεροσολυμιτική Βιβλιοθήκη, II, 557–558.

Consulted on microfilm

49. *Hierosolymitanus Nikod. 14*

18th cent.; paper; 93 folios.

Contents: Ioannes Zonaras, Maximus Homologetes.

Prodromos: no. 14 (fol. 1–9).

Literature: PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, Ἱεροσολυμιτική Βιβλιοθήκη, III, 192.

Consulted on microfilm

ITALY

Florence, Biblioteca Medica Laurenziana

50. (Lc) *Laurentianus Conv. Soppres. 48*

14th cent.;²⁴¹ parchment; 258×171 mm.; V + 299 + V' folios; whereas it once belonged to the book collector Antonio Corbinelli, it passed to the library of the *Badia Fiorentina* Monastery after his death; note also that at some point it was in the hands of Giorgio Antonio Vespucci (cf. Pontani).

Contents: Iliad (accompanied by *scholia*), some anonymous poems (cf. Pontani), Ioannes Tzetzes *etc.*

Prodromos: no. 15 (fol. 292^r–292^v).

Literature: BANDINI, Catalogus, III, 13*; PONTANI, Dodecasillabi anonimi 63–82.

Consulted on microfilm

51. (Fc) *Laurentianus Conv. Soppres. 121 (C. 558)*

14th cent.; parchment; 276×188 mm.; 357 folios (357^r is blank); Fc was copied by a certain Leon (cf. fol. 3^r Ἰησοῦ, βοήθ<ει> τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Λέοντι).

Contents: e.g. various orations of Gregorios of Nazianzos accompanied by a commentary of Niketas of Serres and Basileios Minimos, Basileios of Kaisareia, Gregorios of

²⁴¹ More recently, it has been argued that it was executed in Constantinople around Planoudes' time (cf. Pontani).

Nyssa, anonymous poems on the Crucifixion and the Theotokos (the latter is unedited), and a riddle.

Prodromos: no. 5 (fol. 357^v).

Literature: BANDINI, *Catalogus*, III, 20*; HALKIN, *Inventaire hagiographique* 5–50, esp. 36.

Consulted on microfilm

52. (C) *Laurentianus Plut. V 10*

It was completed on August 30th of 1282 (on fol 180^v: Μην(ι) ἀγούστῳ εἰς τ(ᾶς) λ τῷ ςψλ τ(ῆς) ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ἱ (14th cent. Bandini, 1st half of the 14th cent. Arnesano); paper/parchment (fol. 150–177); 185×135 mm.; II + 247 + I' folios (ff. I–II are blank); of South Italian provenance (either from Otranto or more likely from the region of Maglie), C was written by various copyists (five according to Arnesano).²⁴²

Contents: Ioannes Tzetzes, Ioannes Geometres, Georgios Pisides, Rogerios (Ruggero) of Otranto, Nikolaos (Nicola) of Otranto, Anna Komnene, Georgios (chartophylax of Gallipoli), Ioannes Grassos (Giovanni Grasso), Niketas the Philosopher, Germanos (patriarch of Constantinople), Christophoros Mitylenaios, Nikolaos (metropolitan of Kerkyra), Gabrias the Grammarian, Gregorios of Nazianzos, Leon the Philosopher, Methodios (patriarch of Constantinople), and Andreas of Crete.²⁴³

Prodromos: no. 5 (fol. 196^f/ only the last poem).

Literature: BANDINI, *Catalogus*, I, 23–30; HÖRANDNER, *Historische Gedichte* 140 and 151; GONNELLI, *Giorgio di Pisidia* 19 (with literature); ARNESANO, *Scritture e libri in Terra d'Otranto nei secoli XIII e XIV* 87 (with literature); De GROOTE, *Christophori Mitylenaii XXXI–XXXII*.

Consulted on microfilm

53. (L) *Laurentianus Acq. e Doni 341*

Beginning of the 16th cent.; paper; 155×110 mm.; fol. 271 + αω (ff. 239^v–240^r are blank); written by a single heretofore unidentified scribe, notwithstanding on fol. 237^f there exists a note by a second scribe referring to the fall of Constantinople (,στῆξά' μαίω καθ' ὧρ(α) γ'); L changed many hands, among the many, a certain Ἰωάννης (fol. 1^f: κ(αὶ) τόδε

²⁴² On the basis of a document to be found on fol. 179^v De Groote has argued that one of the copyists can be a certain Leon.

²⁴³ I reproduce the list of De GROOTE, *Christophori Mitylenaii XXXI–XXXII*.

πρὸς) τοῖς ἄλλοις, Ἰωάννου, υἱοῦ συμεών), Μανουήλ Ζαριφόγλου (fol. a^r Ἦδε ἡ πικτις ὑπάρχει Μανουήλου τ[οῦ] | υἱὸς <---> Ζαριφόγλου καὶ <--->), and E. Miller (in year 1885); it entered the Laurenziana in 1927

Contents: Niketas Eugenianos, Philostratos, Gregorios Grammatikos, Konstantinos of Syros, Nonnos, Niketas of Serres, Niketas David Paphlagon, Apollonios of Tyana, Libanios, Phalaris, Nikephoros Kallistou Xanthopoulos, Loukas Chrysoberges, Gregorios of Nazianzos, Eumathios Makrembolites, Theophylaktos Simokates, various anonymous epigrams *etc.*

Prodromos: nos. 5 (fol. 120^v–121^v), 6 (fol. 121^v), 8 (fol. 123^v–124^r), 16 (fol. 110), 18 (fol. 108^v–109^r), 20 (fol. 100^v–101^r), 21 (fol. 100^v).

Literature: GALLAVOTTI, Novi Laurentiani Codicis Analecta 220–223; GIANNELLI, Teodoro Prodromo 351; HÖRANDNER, Historische Gedichte 141 and 152–153; CONCA, Nicetas Eugenianus 10–11; MARCOVICH, Theodori Prodrom V; TZIATZI-PAPAGIANNI, Theodoros Prodromos 364 (with literature); STEFEC, Nikephoros Xanthopoulos 148–149 (with literature).

Consulted on microfilm

54. (Ls) *Laurentianus San Marco 318*

13th – 14th cent. (14th cent. Bandini); oriental paper without watermarks; 190/155×130/100 mm.; 79 folios; of South Italian provenance (in the Otranto region) was once owned by Niccolò Niccoli; Ls along with Niccoli's rest manuscript collection entered the Laurenziana upon his death (22 January 1437).

Contents: Georgios Cabasillas, Barsanouphios, Antonios III Stoudites, Maximos Confessor, Michael Synkellos, Ps.-Kyrillos, various anonymous homiletic, lexicographical, and grammatical works.

Prodromos: no. 15 (fol. 1^r).

Literature: BANDINI, Catalogus III 35*; MIGLIORINI, Giorgio Cabasila 4–14.

Consulted on microfilm

Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana

55. (As) *Ambrosianus H 22 sup. (426)**

16th cent. (15th cent. Martini/Bassi); paper; 213×153 mm. (212×148 mm. Martini/Bassi); I + 370 folios (21, 33^v, 58, 59, 226, 278, 289–291, 320–322, 343, 365–370^r

are blank); once in possession of a certain Νικόλαος and the humanist Gian Vincenzo Pinelli, it entered the Ambrosiana in 1609.

Contents: e.g. Manuel Philes, New Testament apocrypha, Rufus of Ephesus, Maximos Homologetes, Poems from the Palatine Anthology, Hesiodos (ἔργα καὶ ἡμέραι) followed by a lexicon, Libanios, Konstantinos Laskaris, Eusebios of Kaisareia, Klemes of Alexandria, Holobolos, Theokritos, Pythagoras, Ps.-Phokylides, Hesiodos (Ἀσπίς), Ioannes Tzetzes, Markos Mousouros, Apollonios Rhodios, Homer, Manouel Moschopoulos, Ploutarchos, Demetrios of Phaleron, Maximos Planoudes, Tryphon, Gennadios Scholarios, Nikephoros Kallistou Xanthopoulos, Michael Psellos, Nikephoros Blemmydes, some hagiographical texts, *etc.*

Prodromos: no. 15 (fol. 93^v–94^r) – 'τοῦ σοφωτάτου Ψελλοῦ ἱάμβοι, εἰς ἀρετὰς καὶ κακίας'.

Literature: MARTINI – BASSI, *Catalogus*, 505–515; PASINI, *Ambrosiana* 115–116.

Consulted on microfilm

Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana

56. (I) *Marcianus gr. 436 (coll. 314; olim Bessarionis 296)*

13th cent.; paper; 260/200×180/120; 161 folios (fol. 75, 84^v, 106^v are blank); written by a single South Italian scribe; the first three folios of the manuscript are highly damaged.

Contents: various anonymous poems, a couple of anonymous letters, Ps.-Pythagoras, Konstantinos Stilbes, Ioannes Euchaites, Loukianos, Kallistratos, Synesios, Themistios, Leon VI.

Prodromos: nos. 13 (fol. 2^v–3^v); 16 (fol. 2^v).

Literature: MIONI, *Bibliothecae divi Marci venetiarum*, II, 205–207 (with literature); HÖRANDNER, *Historische Gedichte* 154–155; DIETHART – HÖRANDNER, *Constantinus Stilbes* XVIII.

Consulted on microfilm

57. (m) *Marcianus gr. 512 (coll. 678; olim Bessarionis 308)*

13th cent.; paper; 210×140 mm. II + 269 folios with varying number of lines (22–29).

Contents: e.g. Maximos of Tyre, Alexander Numenios, Gregorios Korinthios, a grammatical work, Aelios Herodianos, Georgios Choïroboskos, Zenobios, Romanos

Philoponos, Philos Herennios, Michael Psellos, Diogenes Laertios, Theon of Smyrna, Proklos, Kleomedes, Basileios Megalomytes, various anonymous riddles (unedited), a poem on Saint Panteleemon attributed wrongly to Ioannes Geometres *etc.*

Prodromos: nos. 2 – ‘Εἰς τὸν Ἀβραὰμ ξενίζοντα τὴν ἁγίαν Τριάδα’ (fol. 260^r); 4 – ‘Ἐπὶ ἀναγνώσει’ (fol. 260^r); 18 – ‘Ἐπὶ κήπῳ’ (fol. 260^v).

Literature: MIONI, Bibliothecae divi Marci venetiarum II 369–374 (with literature); HÖRANDNER, Historische Gedichte 155.

Consulted on microfilm

Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale

58. (N) *Neapolitanus II D 4 (olim monasterii Ioannis ad Carbonariam)*

13th cent. (second half/14th cent. Gelzer and Orsini); paper (oriental); 235×165 mm; 242 (+239^a, -150–159, 212) folios; a collection of three initially separate manuscripts, within which twelve different hands can be distinguished; fol. 77^v–112^r and accordingly *Prodromos*’ poems were written by Eugenianos Ioannas (on fol. 102^r: εὐγενειανοῦ πόνημα Ἰωάννας).

Contents: e.g. Lykophron of Chalkis, Ioannes Tzetzes, Hesiodos, Dionysios Periegetes, Palaephatos, Germanos II (patriarch of Constantinople), Ps.-Phocylides, Mousaios, Christophoros Mitylenaios, Nikephoros (patriarch of Constantinople), Oppianos, some treatises on grammar and prosody *etc.*

Prodromos: nos. 2 (fol. 97^v), 3 (fol. 97^v), 9 (fol. 198^r), 11 (fol. 97^v–98^r), 12 (fol. 98^v), 14 (fol. 98^v–99^r), 16 (fol. 91^v), 18 (fol. 91), 19 (fol. 91^v).

Literature: FORMENTIN, Catalogus, II, 5–10 (with literature); HÖRANDNER, Historische Gedichte 143 and 156; GELZER, Bemerkungen zu Sprache und Text des Epikers Musaios 132; ORSINI, Musée XXXIV; DE GROOTE, Christophori Mitylenaii XXXIX; MIGLIORINI – TESSARI, Il carme penitenziale di Germano II 157.

Consulted on microfilm

59. (Nd) *Neapolitanus II D 22 (olim Farnesianae Bibliothecae)*

14th cent. (first half); paper; 160×115 mm.; III + 315 (+185^a, 231^a, 309^a) folios; mutilated at the beginning.

Contents: Gnomologion, Ioannes Tzetzes, Agapetos Diakonos, Sententiae of Aisopos, and an anonymous riddle.

Prodromos: no. 18 (fol. 315^r/only the first and fourth epigrams).

Literature: FORMENTIN, *Catalogus*, II, 25–27 (with literature); HÖRANDNER, *Historische Gedichte* 143.

Consulted on microfilm

60. (Ne) *Neapolitanus III AA 6 (olim III A 6)**

14th cent., paper; 174×121 mm; V + 214 + IV' folios; the texts were written by at least ten copyists, of whom one is a certain Nikandros Rhakendytes (cf. fol. 58^v).

Contents: e.g. *Sententiae*, letters, riddles, Ioannes Kinnamos (*ethopoiia*), Gregorios of Nazianzos, Basileios of Kaisareia, Ἡθοποιία Σεβήρου σοφιστοῦ, Thomas Gorianites, Germanos II (patriarch of Constantinople), anonymous verses, Nikephoros Basilakes, Isaak Tzetzes, Photios, Maximos Homologetes.

Prodromos: no. 5 (fol. 106^v–107^r).

Literature: CYRILLUS, *Codices Graeci mss*, II, 199–202; COLONNA, II ms. *Neapolitanus gr. III AA 6* 325–364; PAPAGIANNIS, *Tetrasticha*, I, 55–56; OP DE COUL, *Théodore Prodromos*, I, 48 (with literature).

Consulted on microfilm

Rovereto, Biblioteca Civica

61. (Ro) *Roveretinus 28**

13th – 14th cent.; parchment; 160×115 mm.; 150 folios; written by Meletios Hieromonachos (on fol. 68^v ἐτελειώθη τὸ παρὸν τουτὶ βιβλιδάριον παρ' ἐμοῦ | Μελετίου ἱερομονάχου· καὶ οἱ μετερχόμενοι αὐτὸ εὐχέσθαι μοι).

Contents: e.g. mainly lexicographical material, some anonymous iambic poems, Michael Psellos *etc.*

Prodromos: no. 16 (fol. 119^v).

Literature: MAZZUCCHI, *Uno sconosciuto codice Greco di lessicografia* 411–423.

Inaccessible to me

NETHERLANDS

Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek

62. Leidensis B.P.G. (Bibliothecae Publicae Graeci) 88

18th cent. (first half); paper; 210×260 mm.; written by Johannes Daniel van Lennep.

Contents: poems from Anthologia Graeca along with the notes of Claudius Salmasius.

Prodromos: nos. 17 – ‘Εἰς τὸν δακτύλιον ἔχοντα σφραγίδα ἐρῶντας δύο καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν στέρνων αὐτῶν δύο δένδρα ἐκπεφυκότες εἰς ἓνα συγκορυφούμενα κόρυμβον’ (fol.157^r); 18 – ‘Epig. in hortum’ (fol. 156^r–157^r); 19 – ‘Αἶνιγμα εἰς τὴν νεφέλην’ (fol. 156^r).

Literature: DE MEYIER, Codices bibliothecae publicae graeci, VIII, 179–181 (with literature).

Consulted on microfilm

63. (Lq) Leidensis Vossianus gr. Q 26

a. 1568; Paper; 225/150×157/85 mm.; 47 folios with 24 lines; written by Ἀγγελος Βεργίκιος.

Contents: Georgios Pisides.

Prodromos: no. 13 – ‘Στίχοι σχετλιαστικοὶ εἰς τὴν πρόνοιαν’ (fol. 41^r–44^v).

Literature: DE MEYIER, Codices Vossiani Graeci et Miscellanei, VI, 130; RGK I no. 3 = II no. 3; VOGEL – GARDTHAUSEN, Die griechischen Schreiber 2–6; GONNELLI, Giorgio di Pisidia 20.

Consulted on microfilm

64. (Vo) Vossianus gr. Q. 42*

15th cent. (second half); paper; 212/165×145/110 mm.; 23 lines; written by Δημήτριος Ἀγγελος; perhaps fol. 1–3 were written by a different scribe from the rest manuscript.

Contents: works of Aristoteles (De animalium generatione II.V and De animalium partibus II.IV).

Prodromos: no. 15 (fol. 2^v–3^r).

Literature: DE MEYIER, Codices Vossiani Graeci et Miscellanei, VI, 150–151.

Consulted on microfilm

ROMANIA

Bucharest, Biblioteca Academiei Române

65. (Bu) *Bucurestensis Academiei Române gr. 601 (214)*

15th – 16th cent.; paper; 300×200 mm.; 415 folios (fol. 1–2 blank); once in possession of Ioannes Likinios (fol. 3^r: Οἰκονόμου Μονεμβασίας Ἰωάννου ἱερέως τοῦ Λικινίου).

Contents: e.g. Didache, anonymous verses, Gennadios Scholarios, and numerous anonymous treatises on various subjects.

Prodromos: nos. 16 (fol. 352–353), 18 (fol. 352–353).

Literature: LITZICA, Catalogul 285–289.

66. *Bucurestensis Academiei Române gr. 646**

18th cent. [1774]; paper; 240×170 mm.; 1282 pages.

Contents: Basileios of Kaisareia, Gregorios of Nazianzos, Ploutarchos, Antonios Byzantios, Loukianos, Isokrates, Konstantinos Dapontes *etc.*

Prodromos: no. 15 ‘Τοῦ σοφωτάτου Ψελλοῦ εἰς ἀρετὰς καὶ κακίας μεταφρασθέντα παρὰ Κωνσταντίνου Δαπόντε’ (pp. 1071–1078).

Literature: LITZICA, Catalogul 358–361; SKARVELI-NIKOLOPOULOU, Τὰ μαθηματάρια τῶν ἐλληνικῶν σχολείων τῆς Τουρκοκρατίας 781–782.

RUSSIA

St. Petersburg, Rossijskaja Akademija Nauk, Biblioteka (BAN)

67. *Petropolitanus AN RAIK 181 (B 28)*

18th cent. (second half); paper; 211/173×161/82 mm.; 174 folios.

Contents: Nikolaos Kallikles, Nikephoros Kallistou Xanthopoulos, Theophilos Korydalleus.

Prodromos: nos. 1¹ (fol. 4^v–7, except for the poem on Gregorios of Nyssa), 13 (fol. 78–82), 16 (fol. 89^r–89^v), 18 (fol. 90–91).

Literature: LEBEDEVA, Opisanie rukopisnogo otdela biblioteki Akademii Nauk SSSR 156–158; D’AMBROSI, Gregorio Nazianzeno 103.

SPAIN

El Escorial, Biblioteca Real

68. (Es) *Escorialensis y-III-9* (gr. 332)

14th cent. (fol. 1–7, 136–151, and 214–218 date to the 15th cent.); paper; 213×142 mm.; 20–22 lines; written by six different copyists.

Contents: Nikephoros Kallistou Xanthopoulos, Ioannes Euchaïtes, Gregorios of Nazianzos, Synesios of Kyrene, Basileios of Kaisareia, Libanios, Matthaios Kantakouzenos, Ioannes Zonaras.

Prodromos: nos. 2 (fol. 197^v), 7 (197^v), 13 (fol. 198^r–199^r).

Literature: DE ANDRÉS, Escorial, II, 227–229; PAPAGIANNIS, Tetrasticha, I, 51–52 (with literature).

Consulted on microfilm

SWITZERLAND

Bern, Burgerbibliothek

69. (Be) *Bern 48 B*

14th – 15th cent.; paper; 192×140 mm.; 145 folios; written by a certain Alexios (on fol. 141^r Εἴληφε τέλος σὺν Θεῷ παντεργάτῃ βιβλος Μανασσῆ παρ' ἐμοῦ Ἀλεξίου. Οἱ δ' ἀναγιγνώσκοντες ταύτην ἐκ πόθου δέησιν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ ποιεῖτε ὅπως εὖρω ἴλεον αὐτὸν ἐν κρίσει); the codex belonged once to Aristoboulos Apostoles (fol. 1^r Τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον κτῆμα ἐστὶν τοῦ Ἀρσενίου τοῦ Μονεμβασίας), and later to his nephew Georgios of Korinthos (fol. 1^r Τὸ νῦν δ' εἶναι Γεωργίου κόμητος τοῦ Κορινθίου τοῦ ἀνεψίου αὐτοῦ).

Contents: Konstantinos Manasses (Σύνοψις Χρονική).

Prodromos: nos. 16 (fol. 141^v–44^v); 18 (fol. 142^v–143^v).

Literature: OMONT, Catalogue 385–452, esp. 420–421; RGK I no. 232 = III no. 374; LAMPSIDIS, Constantini Manassis LXXX–LXXXI (with literature); AUGUSTIN, La Bibliothèque de la Bourgeoisie de Berne 133.

Consulted on microfilm

TURKEY

Istanbul (Constantinople), Πατριαρχική Βιβλιοθήκη

70. *Constantinopolitanus monasterii Panagiae Camariotissae in Chalce insula 165**

a. 1 January 1642 – 26 July 1644; paper; 150×100 mm.; 77 folios (1–15 flyleaves); written by hieromonachos Galaktion (on fol. 45^v Τέλος τῆς θεΐας λειτουργί(ας) τῶν προηγιασμέν(ων)· καὶ ἐτελειώθησαν ἐκ χειρὸς ἀμαρτωλοῦ κ(αὶ) ἀναξίου δούλου τοῦ φιλαν(θρώπου) θ(εο)ῦ ἡμῶν, καὶ κ(υρίο)υ Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ. | Γαλακτίωνος ἱερομονάχου τοῦ ἀγιορήτου. | Ἐπὶ ἔτους αχμβ (ἰνδικτιῶνος) τ(ης)· ἐν μηνὶ Ἰανουαρίῳ α΄ : | τῷ δὲ θ(ε)ῷ ἡμῶν δόξα ἀμήν).

Contents: liturgical texts, Exapostilarion on the Theotokos, an anonymous poem on the monastic habit, Gregorios of Nazianzos, a treatise on prosody, etc.

Prodromos: no. 15 (fol. 61^r–63^r/under the name of Michael Psellos).

Literature: RIZOU-KOUROPOU – GEHIN, Panaghia de Chalki, I, 401–403 (with literature).

Γραφεῖα τῆς ἐκκλησίας Παναγίας (τῶν Εἰσοδίων)

71. *Constantinopolitanus Γραφεῖα τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Παναγίας τῶν Εἰσοδίων 27**

18th cent. (first half); paper; 206×154 mm.; 157 folios (ff. 70–72, 98–100, 121–124 are blank).

Contents: a *mathematarion* containing works of Synesios, Basileios of Kaisareia, Loukianos, Ploutarchos, Themistios, and Gregorios of Nazianzos.

Prodromos: no. 14 – ‘Τοῦ κυρίου Θεοδώρου Προδρόμου ἐπὶ ἀποδήμῳ τῇ φιλίᾳ’ μεθ’ ἐρμηνείας καὶ σχολίων’ (fol. 141–152).

Literature: PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, Δύο κατάλογοι 72.

72. *Constantinopolitanus Γραφεῖα τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Παναγίας τῶν Εἰσοδίων 32**

18th cent. (second half); paper; 202×152 mm.; 376 pages; written by Konstantinos Dapontes.

Contents: Manuel Philes, Ioannes Zonaras, Meletios Galesiotes, Michael Psellos, Joseph Bryennios, Konstantinos Manasses, Stephanos of Byzantium, Leon VI, various works of Konstantinos Dapontes and other post-Byzantine texts.

Prodromos: nos. 15 – ‘Τοῦ σοφωτάτου Ψελλοῦ ἱαμβοὶ εἰς ἀρετὰς καὶ κακίας’ (pp. 101–104); 16 ‘Εἰς τὸν βίον εἰκονισμένον’ (p. 24)

Literature: PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, Δύο κατάλογοι 74–79.

VATICAN CITY

Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

73. (Vr) *Vaticanus gr. 207 (olim 1100)*

13th cent. (1267–1269 Nikitas); paper; 290×223 mm. (290×221 MERCATI – CAVALIERI); VII + 373 folios (fol. II^v, III, VI, 164^v, 263^v are blank); on fol. V^r there is an index written by Allatius; the fol. 1–3 where the Prodromic poems are to be found were, in all likelihood, added later (different quality of paper).

Contents: e.g. Sopatros the rhetor (διαίρεσις ζητημάτων), Germanos II (patriarch of Constantinople), Ps.-Dionysios Areopagites, A poem of a certain Arsenios (Verses on the Holy Sunday), two poems of Bartholomaios Malomytes (unedited),²⁴⁴ Nikolaos of Kerkyra (poem), Gregorios of Korinthos (poem), Michael Italikos, some anonymous poems, and various prose works of astrological and philosophical nature.

Prodromos: nos. 16 (fol.1^v), 18 (fol. 1^v).²⁴⁵

Literature: MERCATI – CAVALIERI, Codices 249–254; NIKITAS, Eine byzantinische Übersetzung 9–14; KALTSOGIANNI, A Byzantine metrical ekphrasis of Spring 63 (with literature); MIGLIORINI – TESSARI, Il carne penitenziale di Germano II 157–158.

Consulted *in situ*

74. (V) *Vaticanus gr. 305 (olim 218)*

For a detailed study of the main manuscript see the section 3.4.

Prodromos: nos. 1^{I-VI} (fol.126^v–127^v), 2 (fol. 117^v), 7 (fol. 117^{r-v}), 10 (fol. 30^r), 12 (fol. 117^v–118^r), 13 (fol. 97^v–99^r), 16 (fol. 109^r–109^v), 17 (fol.117^v), 18 (fol. 121^v), 19 (fol. 104^r), 20 (fol. 103^v–104^r), 21 (fol. 103^v).

Consulted *in situ*

²⁴⁴ See E. KALTSOGIANNI – N. ZAGKLAS, Bartholomaios Malomytes (in preparation).

²⁴⁵ The left column of the folio under consideration is heavily damaged.

75. (W) *Vaticanus gr. 306 (olim 989)*

13th – 14th cent.; paper (oriental); 276×182 mm.; II + 237 (+170a) folios with approximately 28 lines; two initially separate manuscripts bound together [(a) fol 1–128 with 16 quires²⁴⁶ and (b) 129–237 with 14 quires, of which the last is a *trinion*]; in my opinion, both parts were written by the same scribe; the folio under consideration is written in two columns with 31 lines.

Contents: Menandros of Laodikeia, Christophoros Mitylenaios, a collection of Sententiae, Nikephoros Basilakes, Proklos, Niketas Magistros, Prokopios, Elias (commentary on Aristoteles' Categories).

Prodromos: nos. 2 (fol. 54^v), 3 (fol. 54^v), 7 (fol. 55^v), 11 (fol. 54^v).

Literature: MERCATI – CAVALIERI, Codices 450–454; HÖRANDNER, Historische Gedichte 146 and 161–162; OP DE COUL, Théodore Prodrome, I, 51–52 (with literature); De GROOTE, Christophori Mitylenaii XLV.

Consulted *in situ*

76. (X) *Vaticanus gr. 307 (olim 668)*

13th cent.; paper (fol. III + 228 from parchment); 175×120 mm.; VII + 228 (+35a) folios (fol. I, II^v, 35, 227^v are blank); consists of 31 quires: 1×4 (VII), 1×6 (6), 1×8 (14), 7 (8-1: 21), 3×8 (45), 6 (8-2: 51), 3×8 (75), 7 (8-1: 81), 5×8 (121), 1×6 (127), 12×8 (223), 1×4 (228); the manuscript was written by a single hand (unidentified); Allatius supplemented the manuscript with a pinax (fol. II^f), on fol. 5^v a fifteenth-century hand wrote *Phisica Aristotelis in Greco*, whilst various notes are to be found on fol. 228.

Contents: Aristoteles (*physicorum*) with Themistios' paraphrase, Michael Psellos, excerpts from medical treatises, a poem of Konstantinos Akropolites as well as some other anonymous poems.

Prodromos: nos. 15 (fol. I), 17 (fol. II^f), 18 (fol. II^f).

Literature: MERCATI – CAVALIERI, Catalogus 454–456; HÖRANDNER, Historische Gedichte 146 and 162.

Consulted *in situ*

77. (Σ) *Vaticanus gr. 1126 (olim 887*)*

²⁴⁶ Not 17 quires as noted in DE GROOTE, Christophori Mitylenaii has XLV.

14th cent.; parchment (the flyleaves from paper); 112×90 mm. (105–110×83 mm. Gonnelli); folios II + 296 + I (fol. 7^v, 8^r, 219^r–220^v, 224^v, 293^r–295^r are blank); Σ is a pocket size manuscript of 36 quires (36×8),²⁴⁷ whilst many scribes worked together for its execution; once in possession of Nicola Bartholomeo de Columnis (cf. fol. II^r).

Contents: e.g. a treatise on meter, Georgios Pisides, Prosouch, Manuel Melissenos, Manuel Philes, Evangelistarion.

Prodromos: nos. 2 – ‘εἰς τὸν Ἀβρὰμ ξενίζοντα τὴν ἁγίαν Τριάδα’ (fol. 151^v), 127 – ‘εἰς τοὺς ἱβ’ ἑορτὰς’ (fol. 273^r), 17 – ‘Εἰς δακτύλιον ἔχοντα σφραγίδα ἐρῶντας δύο, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν στέρνων αὐτῶν δύο δένδρα ἐκπεφυέντα καὶ εἰς ἓνα συγκορυφούμενον κόρυμβον’ (fol. 148).

Literature: GIANNELLI, Teodoro Prodromo 351; HÖRANDNER, Historische Gedichte 146 and 163; PAPAGIANNIS, Tetrasticha, I, 61 (with literature); GONNELLI, Giorgio di Pisidia 33 (with literature); STICKLER, Psalmenmetaphrase 237; MIGLIORINI, Teodoro Prodromo L; HÖRANDNER, Weitere Beobachtungen zu byzantinischen Figurengedichten und Tetragrammen 294 (with literature); KUBINA, Manuel Philes and the Asan Family 180.

Consulted *in situ*

78. (Vg) *Vaticanus gr. 1702*

13th – 16th cent.; paper; II + 207 + I folios (fol. I^v, II^r, 15^v–21^v, 27^v–28^v, 36^v–38^v, and 41^v–44^v are blank); according to GIANNELLI – CANART, Vg is made up of six separate manuscripts. In my view, though, the codex consists rather of three manuscripts: 1) 1–38 (243×172 mm., XVI), 2) 39–44 (250×170 mm., XIV), and 3) fol. 45–207 (263×177 mm., XIII). The last part of the manuscript was written by two scribes (scribe A fol. 45–92r, scribe B fol. 92r–207). The handwriting of the latter scribe bears an overt resemblance to that of Theophylaktos Saponopoulos (cf. *RGK* IIIb no. 233).

Contents: e.g. Hermes Trismegistus, Ps.-Galenos, Nikolaos Kabasilas, Alexandros of Aphrodisias, various progymnasmata, Sententiae of Aisopos, Anastasios Sinaites, Athanasios of Alexandria, Gregorios of Nazianzus, Ps.-Dionysios Areopagites, Nikolaos Kallikles, Michael Psellos, Aratos, Cleomedes *etc.*

Prodromos: no. 5 (fol. 89^v–90^r).

Literature: GIANNELLI – CANART, Codices 45–51; GIANNELLI, Teodoro Prodromo 350–351.

²⁴⁷ The beginning of a quire is usually indicated with a Greek number on the upper right side of the folio.

Consulted *in situ*

79. *Vaticanus gr. 2363*

17th cent.; paper; 260×186 mm.; I + 93 folios.

Contents: it includes solely works of Prodromos.

Prodromos: no. 10 (fol. 5^v) – ‘τοῦ κυρίου Θεοδώρου τοῦ φιλοσόφου καὶ Προδρόμου στίχοι ἡρωικοὶ εἰς τὴν σταύρωσιν’.

Literature: HÖRANDNER, *Historische Gedichte* 146; OP DE COUL, Théodore Prodrome, I, 53–54 (with literature).

Consulted *in situ*

80. (Ha) *Vaticanus Palatinus gr. 367*

a. 1317–20 (13th cent. Stevenson); paper (oriental); 255×185 mm.; IV + 195 folios (fol. 39^v, 98^v, 100^v are blank); fol. 1^r–179^v were written in Cyprus by Konstantinos Anagnostes (fol. 169^v ὁ παμμικ(ή)ρ(ι)ος των κ(α)τ(ὰ) Κύπρον ταβουλ(α)ρ(ίων) Κων(σταν)τῖν(ος) εὐτελ(ής), ἀναγνώστης, ὁ καὶ τοῦ ὕφους γραφ(εὺς) καὶ αὐτὸ(ς) μ(α)ρ(τυρ)ῶν καὶ γράψ(ας) ὑπ(έγ)ραψα); in addition to Anagnostes, there exist a scribe B (fol. 181^r–195^v) and a scribe C (fol. 180). However, in the fol. 148–158^r and 162–163^r Anagnostes changes his writing style (or they might be written by a different scribe).

Contents: e.g. Sophronios of Jerusalem, *Sententiae* of Aisopos, detailed account of the liturgy, ‘text for stage performance of the Passion Cycle of Jesus Christ’, Germanos I (patriarch of Constantinople), Ioannes of Damaskos, Andreas of Crete, Anastasios Sinaites, Excerpt from the *Physiologos*. Epiphanius of Constantinople, Euthymios Zigabenos, Makarios Kaloreitis, On the dates of easter and other festivals, Spaneas, a treatise on geometry, Symeon Metaphrastes, Konstantinos Anagnostes, Ioannes Geometres, anonymous poems, Michael Grammatikos, Palladas, Gregory II of Cyprus, Nilos of Ankyra, Germanos I (patriarch of Constantinople), Theophilus Antecessor *etc.*

Prodromos: nos. 2 (fol. 146^v); 7 (fol. 146^v).

Literature: STEVENSON, *Palatini Graeci* 229–235; TURYN, *Codices graeci Vaticani saeculis XIII et XIV* 117–124; CONSTANTINIDES – BROWNING, *Dated Greek Manuscripts from Cyprus* 153–159 (with literature).

Consulted *in situ*

81. (Vc) *Vaticanus Chisianus* gr. R.IV.11*

13th (2nd half) – 14th (1st half) cent. [13th cent. De Cavalieri]; parchment; 160×115 mm.; II + 112 + II folios (the flyleaves from paper); of 14 quires: 6×8 (48), 8-1 (55), 4×8 (87), 1×10 (97), 8-1 (104), 1×8 (112); a palimpsest written in the Otranto region (in all likelihood, in the same scriptorium and by the same hand as Ls). The lower text is an evangelium written in the ninth or tenth century.

Contents: Ioannes of Damaskos, Michael Psellos, Andreas of Kaisareia, Ioannes Botaneiates, Klemens of Alexandria, Physiologos, Gnomologion.

Prodromos: no. 15 (fol. 79^v).

Literature: DE CAVALIERI, Codices 12–15; ARNESANO, Scritture e libri in Terra d'Otranto nei secoli XIII e XIV 76 (with literature); CANART, Les palimpsestes 81; VOICU, Note sui palinsesti conservati.

Consulted *in situ*

82. (O) *Vaticanus Ottobonianus* gr. 324

15th cent. (14th – 15th cent. Gonnelli); paper; 195×132 mm. (191×125 mm. FERON – BATTAGLINI); 323 fol.²⁴⁸ (292^v is blank); there is no indication as to where or by whom the manuscript was copied (a single scribe).

Contents: Georgios Pisides, Theophylaktos of Achrida, Konstantinos Manasses, Gregorios of Nazianzos, Christophoros Mitylenaios, *παραινέσεις ἠθικαὶ σύντομοι* (194^v unedited), and Ioannes Tzetzes.

Prodromos: no. 9 (fol. 14^r).

Literature: FERON – BATTAGLINI, Codices Ottoboniani 170–171; HÖRANDNER, Historische Gedichte 163–164; LAMPSIDIS, Constantini Manassi CXXV–CXXVII; GONNELLI, Giorgio di Pisidia 33; DE GROOTE, Christophori Mitylenaii XLVIII.

Consulted *in situ*

83. (Vb) *Vaticanus Urbinas* gr. 134

15th cent. (first half); paper; 230/221×142/143 mm. (211×149 mm. Stornajolo); IV + 258 + I fol. (26^v, 42, 78, 123, 133, 145^v, 159–163, 165^v, 214–216, 222, 248^v–249 are blank); Vb is the work of at least five scribes: the first being responsible for fol. 1–26, 223–236^v, 237^v–247, and 250–258^v; the second for fol. 27–41, the third fol. 237^r, the fourth fol.

²⁴⁸ 333 according to the catalogue.

220–221, the fifth for fol. 132 (identified as Ἰωάννης Ἀργυρόπουλος), and the sixth fol. 43–131 and 134–219. The poem was written by the sixth copyist who has been identified as Kreionerites Frangopoulos (cf. fol. 96^r: Κρειονερίτου τοῦ Φραγγοπούλου τὰ γράμματα ταῦτα); it is very much likely that Vb was written in the Petra Monastery in Constantinople (cf. Palau).

Contents: Nikephoros Gregoras, Theophylaktos Simokattes, Phalaris, Aristotle, Plato, Dion (letters), Niketas Eugenianos, Michael Psellos, Konstantinos Manasses, Mazaris, Ioasaph Hieromonachos

Prodromos: no. 18 (fol. 122^v/only the first three epigrams).

Literature: STORNAJOLO, Codices 248–255; *RGK* III no. 356; VOGEL – GARDTHAUSEN, Die griechischen Schreiber 237; MARCOVICH, Rhodantes et Dosiclis V; PALAU, Il monastero di Prodomo Petra 367–397.

Consulted *in situ*

3.2 Deconstructing Vaticanus Graecus 305: A Thirteenth-Century (Prodromic) Book in Context

Vaticanus graecus 305 is deemed to be the most important manuscript for the Prodromic oeuvre, as it contains the greatest portion of works among all surviving Byzantine manuscripts of Prodromos. Giovanni Mercati and Pio Franchi De' Cavalieri have supplied a very comprehensive description of the manuscript²⁴⁹ which has been further supplemented by Hörandner,²⁵⁰ Papagiannis,²⁵¹ and more recently Op De Coul²⁵² and D'Ambrosi.²⁵³ However, for all their painstaking efforts to examine various aspects of this manuscript, we are still missing some pivotal pieces for the formation of a more complete picture as to its way and context of production, its purpose and use throughout the Palaeologan era.

3.2.1 Codicological Units

The manuscript has lost its original binding. According to the *Inventar*, it was re-bound for the first time in 1484 ('ligatus de novo'), but due to the Papal coat of arms of Pius IX on the leather spine, it can safely be deduced that it was bound for a second time sometime between 1846 and 1878. By contrast, the original arrangement of the quires has been preserved. This can be inferred from the Byzantine quire signatures, but more importantly, the pinax – written by the main scribe –, which is in full consistency with the sequence of the works in the main part of the manuscript.

The front flyleaves (fol. I–V) were in all likelihood added later, after its first re-binding in 1484,²⁵⁴ while the rest of the book block consists of VI–IX + 209 folios of oriental paper (29 quires in total). It has remained unnoticed that the ms was not produced in a single horizontal operation: four separate codicological units produced at different times are discernible on the basis of various criteria.²⁵⁵

1st Codicological Unit: ff. VI– IX

²⁴⁹ MERCATI – CAVALIERI, Codices 443–450.

²⁵⁰ HÖRANDNER, Historische Gedichte 159–161.

²⁵¹ PAPAGIANNIS, Tetrasticha, I, 56–58.

²⁵² OP DE COUL, Théodore Prodrome, I, 49–50.

²⁵³ D'AMBROSI, Gregorio Nazianzeno 107–110.

²⁵⁴ For a detailed description of the content of the flyleaves see MERCATI – CAVALIERI, Codices 450.

²⁵⁵ Eva Nyström has established a number of useful criteria for the distinction between the different codicological units; see NYSTRÖM, Containing Multitudes 59–62; cf. also GUMBERT, Codicological Units 17–42. For a paradigm applying this method to manuscripts see CULLHED, Autograph 445–461.

- 1st part ff. VI–VII (Meligalas)
- 2nd part ff. VIII–IX (pinax of V)

2nd Codicological Unit: ff. 1–138 (Prodromos)

3rd Codicological Unit: ff. 139–170 (Nicander)

4th Codicological Unit: ff. 171–209 (Porphyrios, Heraklitos, Libanios etc.)

The first codicological unit (ff. VI–IX) consists of a binion.²⁵⁶ However, this unit must be divided into two parts, or, to put it even better, must be labelled as an “enriched” unit.²⁵⁷ The reason is that the ff. VI–VII were not written at the same time or by the same scribe as ff. VIII–IX. More precisely, the first part (ff. V–VII), which was initially used to protect the first codicological unit (see below), was written much later, at some point in the middle of the fourteenth century by Manuel Meligalas.²⁵⁸ As to its content, it includes five of his letters, some anonymous poems, Libanios etc.²⁵⁹ The second part (fol. VIII–IX), on the other hand, was written by the main scribe and contains the pinax of V. This particular unit was, accordingly, “enriched” by a later scribe (i.e. Meligalas) who came into possession of the book.

Furthermore, it should be emphasized that the pinax stipulates that the ensuing unit, which contains the Prodromic works, was written at a different time from the remaining two codicological units. The title: *πίναξ ἀκριβῆς τῆς παρούσης πυξίδος*²⁶⁰ τοῦ σοφοῦ Προδρόμου (f. VIII^r) explicitly suggests that this pinax in its original form was not meant to describe the contents of the entire codex but only that of the second codicological unit (i.e. the unit where the works of Prodromos are to be found).²⁶¹ In other words, this particular unit was initially a codex on its own. The dynamic of this argument can be further bolstered: after having listed all the Prodromic works, as well as a work of Stilbes, which were added due to the availability of blank space, the scribe writes on fol. IX^v ἕτερον βιβλίον τὰ Θηριακὰ τοῦ Νικάνδρου (a cross is to be found directly before the title). Additionally, the titles of the listed Prodromic works are normally written in black ink, while their numbers are in red. Conversely, the entry of Theriaka is executed in red ink clearly indicating that it was a later insertion by the same hand (the same occurs for Menander). It is really difficult to ascertain

²⁵⁶ MERCATI – CAVALIERI, Codices 450. In his article on Meligalas Gastgeber, not being able to consult the manuscript *in situ*, has expressed some doubts about this; see GASTGEBER, Meligalas 66.

²⁵⁷ I have borrowed the term from GUMBERT, Codicological Units 30–33.

²⁵⁸ GASTGEBER, Meligalas 62–63.

²⁵⁹ For a detailed description see *ibid.* 62–63.

²⁶⁰ For the use of the terms *πυξίς* and *βιβλίον* in Byzantine times see ATSALOS, Terminologie du livre-manuscrit.

²⁶¹ That has also been noticed by Mercati and Cavalieri, yet not clearly expressed; see MERCATI – CAVALIERI, Codices 443.

whether the part accommodating the Prodromic poems was produced before the other two parts or vice versa, but at a guess, I would say that the former is more likely.

The second codicological unit of V, formed by 16 quaternions, a ternion, and a binion (fol. 1–138= 5×8: 40, 1×6: 46, 11×8: 134, 1×4: 138), is the longest of V. The red decoration on fol. 1^r signifies the beginning of a new unit, within which 73 prose and verse works of Prodromos are included. Towards the end of the manuscript, however, some space was left for the scribe to copy a work of Constantine Stilbes, while a later scribe (probably in the fourteenth century) added a poem on the Commander Michael.²⁶²

Fol. 139–170, made up of four quaternions, constitute the third unit of the codex. At the head of the first folio of the unit there is a decoration, as in the case of the first folio of the previous unit. Moreover, a new text is initiated on fol. 139^r, namely, the *Theriaka* of Nicander along with scholia. On the last folio was some blank space which was covered by a colophon of the scribe (see the section 3.4.2). The last codicological unit (fol. 171–209) made up of 4 quaternions, a ternion, and binion (2×8: 184, 1×6: 190, 2×8: 206, 1×3: 209) contains works of Porphyrios, Heraklitos, Libanios, Ps.-Herodotos, Menander, Theodore Balsamon, and Nikephoros Saponopoulos. The scribe, as in the case of the two previous units, adds a decoration on the first folio of the unit. The last binion was added since there was not enough space left for the text of Ps.-Herodotos.²⁶³ It can even be argued that the scribe copied the rest of the texts of this unit (from the bottom of 207^v) slightly after he had finished copying the text of Ps.-Herodotos and probably at different times. The decoration which normally signifies the start of a new unit is to be found next to the title of Menander's paraenesis, while the ink and the writing style vary somewhat in the last two folios.

3.2.2 Scribe, date, and place of production

V was written by a sole thirteenth-century scribe. The only exception are the flyleaves (I–V), the fol. VI–VII, which were written by Manuel Meligalas, a note describing some events of 1282 at the bottom of the fol. VIII^r, a poem in the margin of fol. 94^v (in all probability by the same scribe who added the note on fol. VIII^r), a poem on Commander Michael on fol. 138^v, and several post-Byzantine notes scattered throughout the manuscript.²⁶⁴ The name of the main scribe is known to us thanks to the colophon on fol. 170^v which reads as follows:

²⁶² Inc. Πρώτου φάους ὃν δεύτερον θεῖον σέλας; for its editions cf. *ICB*.

²⁶³ Actually, the scribe did the same in the second unit since the last quire of that unit is a binion. In doing so, he managed to finish the copying of the Prodromic works.

²⁶⁴ MERCATI – CAVALIERI, *Codices* 450.

Ἐτελειώθη τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον τῶν θηριακῶν τοῦ Νικάνδρου κατὰ τὴν κγ' ἀπριλλ. τῆς ιβ' (ι)νδικτ. γραφὲν διὰ χειρὸς Θεοφυλάκτου τοῦ Σαπωνοπούλου.

However, this subscription raises more questions than it answers. To begin with, little is known about the scribe Theophylaktos Saponopoulos (*PLP* 24845). According to *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten*, he has not been identified as the scribe of any other Byzantine manuscript.²⁶⁵ However, Christian Gastgeber has recently discovered that fol. VII^r of codex Vindob. suppl. gr. 39 also was written by Theophylaktos Saponopoulos.²⁶⁶ In recent decades some scholars have sought to identify him with the Theodosios Saponopoulos (*PLP* 24844) who was protonotarios in Constantinople until roughly 1283.²⁶⁷ Some time between 1283 and 1289 he became a monk on Mount Auxentios and thereafter in the Lavra Monastery on Mount Athos. He was, moreover, an adversary of Gregorios II Kyprios and, accordingly, against Church union.

Although an intriguing identification, as it would shed ample light on the background of the scribe and possessor of V, there is a major discrepancy with regard to the names. The scribe is called Theophylaktos, while the protonotarios and later monk is named Theodosios. This problem is easily eliminated if we assume that Theophylaktos was his name after he took the monastic habit. However, a further problem arises with this assumption: the date of the manuscript has been dated much earlier, either in 1253/54 or 1268/69.²⁶⁸ This is by no means an insurmountable problem, for there seems to be a hitherto overlooked flaw in the chronology. Its dating to 1253/54 or 1268/69 has been suggested due to a note on fol. VIII^r reporting the events of 1282.²⁶⁹ Yet, this particular note, as Schreiner has already noted, was added by a fourteenth-century scribe;²⁷⁰ the year 1282 cannot, therefore, be used as a safe *terminus ante quem* for the completion of the codex.

More recently, Mario D'Ambrosi – with the help of Giuseppe De Gregorio – claimed on palaeographical grounds that the manuscript was produced in the third quarter of the thirteenth century.²⁷¹ I would be inclined to believe that it was written slightly later, namely in the last quarter of the thirteenth century. As noted earlier, codex Vind. suppl. gr. 39, owned by Theophylaktos, was produced roughly at the beginning of the fourteenth century.²⁷² Thus,

²⁶⁵ *RGK* III no. 233.

²⁶⁶ GASTGEBER, Meligalas 61.

²⁶⁷ HÖRANDNER, *Historische Gedichte* 161, and CONSTANTINIDES, *Higher Education* 67.

²⁶⁸ See HÖRANDNER, *Historische Gedichte* 161.

²⁶⁹ *Ibid.* 161.

²⁷⁰ SCHREINER, *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, I, 600.

²⁷¹ D'AMBROSI, Gregorio Nazianzeno 107–109, esp. note 360.

²⁷² HUNGER, *Katalog*, 4, 70; cf. also GASTGEBER, Meligalas 51–84.

it seems that Theophylaktos was an active scribe towards the end of the thirteenth century.²⁷³ What is more, the hand-writing style of Theophylaktos is similar to that of scribes who worked around this time.²⁷⁴ As to its place of production, I presume that it was Constantinople; the writing style (manifestly elements of the calligraphic *Fettaugenstil*)²⁷⁵ points towards such a provenance, not to mention that it would be rather surprising if a provincial scribe had copied poems closely associated with the Komnenian court. Given that this supposition is correct, and coupled once again with the fact that Vind. suppl. gr. 39 is dated to the beginning of the fourteenth century, it becomes clear that the identification of Theophylaktos with Theodosios should probably be discarded, since the latter left Auxentios Mount (located in the Asiatic suburbs of Constantinople) for Mount Athos in the early 1290's.

3.2.3 Purpose of V, arrangement of the Prodromic works and subsequent possessors/readers

There is one more essential question that needs to be addressed: what was the purpose of this book? In his article on Manuel Meligalas, Gastgeber has argued that V along with Vindob. suppl. gr. 39 were part of Theophylaktos' personal library;²⁷⁶ I fully agree with his view. On this basis it can be explained why many quires were formed from folios whose outer edges were severely cropped (not due to a later restoration).²⁷⁷ Hence, V cannot be considered as a deluxe manuscript commissioned by, for example, a member of the Palaeologan aristocracy.

Apart from its outer appearance, the contents of V also stipulate that Saponopoulos wrote it for his own use. His great interest in the poetic and prose works of the most celebrated Komnenian author must be seen in the light of the early Palaeologan interest in Komnenian works (especially those of individuals). A telling example is Marcianus gr. 524, for which Spingou has recently argued with very sound evidence that it was written towards the end of the thirteenth century by an unidentified main scribe for his own needs.²⁷⁸

²⁷³ At the same time, it proves that the year 1254 as the date of the manuscript's production is highly unlikely.

²⁷⁴ Cf. for example TURYN, Dated Greek manuscripts, II, plate no. 28.

²⁷⁵ Especially the *Fettaugen*-gross *beta* and *omega*; for the *Fettaugen* style see HUNGER, Die sogenannte Fettaugen-Mode 105–113. It is rather surprising that in the *RGK* no special mention is made to the *Fettaugen* elements of the scribe. For some brief annotations on the style of Saponopoulos see also D'AMBROSI, Gregorio Nazianzeno 108, note 360.

²⁷⁶ GASTGEBER, Meligalas 66.

²⁷⁷ The most severely cropped quires are the following: nos. 3, 4, 5, 7, 11, 17.

²⁷⁸ SPINGOU, Marcianus 50.

Saponopoulos' case is highly intriguing, as his realm of interest surpasses the chronological boundaries of the twelfth century and extends to classical poetry, demonstrated emphatically by the fact that he copied the *Theriaka*, a 958-line hexametric poem of the 2nd century B.C., together with a yet unpublished commentary produced by Saponopoulos himself. Saponopoulos' interest in poetry and his literary background is further illustrated on fol. 171^r where Porphyrios' work on the Homeric question is to be found. In the margin of this particular folio, next to the rubricated title, Theophylaktos added an epigram of the ninth-century poet Leo the Philosopher on Porphyrios from the Greek Anthology (IX 214):²⁷⁹

Τῇ τῶν λόγου σου κογχύλῃ, Πορφύριε, ἡ Βάπτεις τὰ χεῖλη, καὶ στολίζεις τὰς φρένας.

Porphyry, with the purple of your discourse you dye the lips and clothe the mind in splendour.

Saponopoulos' acquaintance with the Greek Anthology indicates his genuine fondness for poetry as well as his profound erudition.²⁸⁰ It should not come as a surprise however; it fits into the literary context of the late thirteenth century when the quasi-contemporary *Planudean Anthology* – based to a vast extent on the *Greek Anthology* –²⁸¹ was compiled.²⁸²

But there is a further solid clue suggesting that V was created for the scribe's own needs. Theophylaktos Saponopoulos copied four dodecasyllabic poems written by a certain Nikephoros Saponopoulos (*PLP* 24848).²⁸³ It has already been presumed that this individual can be but a member of Theophylaktos' family entourage.²⁸⁴ If that assumption is right (personally, I see no good reason to question it), it then becomes obvious that Theophylaktos was determined to preserve the poetic work of his kinsman. Moreover, in one of these four poems we are told that Nikephoros Saponopoulos is the brother of a Saponopoulos who served as *Προκαθήμενος τοῦ κοιτῶνος* in Nicaea between 1254–1260.²⁸⁵ Thus, the family of Saponopouloi appears to have been very active in Nicaea before the recapture of

²⁷⁹ Transl. in PATON, *The Greek Anthology*, III, 111 slightly modified.

²⁸⁰ The profound education of Theophylaktos is also illustrated by the fact that Vindob. gr. Suppl. 39 which belonged also to his library contains works of Plato.

²⁸¹ LAUXTERMANN, Janus Lascaris and the Greek Anthology 43, esp. note 8. This particular epigram is also included in the *Planudean Anthology*; see LAUXTERMANN, *The Anthology of Cephalas* 204.

²⁸² This has been dated between 1299 and 1301; see MIONI, *Bibliothecae Divi Marci Venetiarum*, II, 276–483.

²⁸³ For the text of the poems see *Notices et extraits* 8/2 (1810) 249ff; the first three poems have a religious subject-matter (they are dedicated to the Holy martyrs Gourias, Samonas, and Habidos of Edessa; Gregory of Nyssa; and John Chrysostom, respectively), while the last one is autobiographical; a new edition and study of these four poems is necessary.

²⁸⁴ HÖRANDNER, *Historische Gedichte* 161.

²⁸⁵ Γνήσιος αὐθόμαιμος ἀνδρὸς κοσμίῳ ἡ Βασιλικὴν ἀξίαν ἀνεξωσμένον, ἡ[...] κοιτῶν προκαθήμενον; cf. *Notices et extraits* 8/2 252.

Constantinople (1261). This could also be the birthplace of Theophylaktos Saponopoulos who, at some later time, moved to Constantinople.²⁸⁶

In either case, all of the above-mentioned evidence sufficiently indicates that Theophylaktos Saponopoulos was not only the scribe but also the compiler of V. Since my main interest is the part associated with the Prodromic work, I will briefly discuss this particular codicological unit which constitutes approximately two-thirds of the entire manuscript (137 out of 209 folios). As shown above, Theophylaktos complemented this initially separate manuscript with an accurate pinax which contains the number and the title of each Prodromic work he copied.

At first glance, the arranging of the Prodromic works seems to be entirely random since no discernible criteria are associated with genre and theme. Two exceptions nevertheless must be noted: tetrastichs on the Old and New Testaments as well as those on the lives of Gregory of Nazianzus, Basil of Caesarea and John Chrysostom were placed at the very beginning of the codex (fol. 1–27), while the greatest portion of Prodromic poetry is to be found on fol. 88^v–129^f. On the other hand, the prose works of Prodromos are to be found on fol. 27^v–88^v and 129^f–137^v. But again there are two divergences from this norm: the hexametric poem on the crucifixion (no. 10) and the historical poem no. LVI that are found on fol. 30^r and fol. 39^f–40^v, respectively. Whereas no plausible explanation for placing the first poem among the Prodromic letters springs to my mind, the second poem addressed to Alexios Aristenos was potentially used as a letter, let alone that it is placed after five letters of Prodromos. If, in fact, the scribe followed a pattern as to the arrangement of the Prodromic works, it could be argued that this was the reason behind the placing of this poem in this particular folio. It remains but a far-fetched hypothesis for a number of reasons; above all, the fact that other poems by Prodromos, which were sent as letters, are to be found in that part of the manuscript which contains poetic works.

Another important question is whether Theophylaktos copied the Prodromic works from one single manuscript or from a number of different manuscripts. We simply do not know. In any case, no blank space is left between the works, which strengthens the argument that Saponopoulos produced this codicological unit of the manuscript in a single horizontal

²⁸⁶ Interestingly enough, even Manuel Philes appears to be close with the family, as he composed an epitaph for a certain Saponopoulos, *Domestikos τῶν θεμάτων*, (*PLP* 24842), and his children; see GEDEON, Philes 248–249.

operation.²⁸⁷ To give one example: as mentioned previously, the tetrastichs are to be found on ff. 1-27^v. On the same folio (27^v) and within the same quire Theophylaktos continued by copying letters of Prodromos.

As far as the subsequent owners are concerned, V seems to have passed through many hands before entering the Vatican Library during the fifteenth century. As noted above, Gastgeber has discussed in detail the case of Manuel Meligalas who probably came into possession of the manuscript by the middle of the fourteenth century.²⁸⁸ Meligalas' keen interest in poetry is highlighted in the first codicological block of the first unit for which he is responsible as he copied not only his letters and some other prose works, but also a number of poems.²⁸⁹ Yet, it is not clear how the manuscript came into his hands. It is hardly likely that it passed directly from Saponopoulos' hands to those of Meligalas, since the latter was active slightly later, that is, in the middle of the fourteenth century.²⁹⁰ A third possessor of the manuscript is a certain Michael Barakis (fol. VIII^r Τοῦτο τῷ βιβλί(ον) ἐστὶ Μιχαήλ τοῦ Βαράκιου). Since we know absolutely nothing about this person, it is difficult to say precisely when he acquired the book. He could be the intermediate possessor between Saponopoulos and Meligalas, but this is an hypothesis without substantial evidence. Nor can we know if he was the scribe who added the note at the bottom of the same folio. However, this particular scribe added the poem at the bottom of fol. 138^v, on the Commander Michael, and in all likelihood also a 17-line poem in the margin of fol. 94^v. The latter poem, an epitaph on monks' avarice, has been neglected ever since its *editio princeps*: (fol. 93^v).²⁹¹ On the basis of its numerous prosodic errors, it can safely be conjectured that it was authored by someone other than Prodromos, perhaps even by the scribe himself or one of the subsequent possessors. Interestingly enough, it is to be found on fol. 93^v, next to the Prodromic poem no. LVIII, an epitaph which invites the passer-by to abstain from violating the tomb of a certain monk named Athanasios. More significantly, while the last verse of the Prodromic poem reads ἀφείξ ἄφουρτον τὴν κόνιν τοῦ κειμένου, the anonymous epigram opens Ἐκλικμήσω σου

²⁸⁷ Theoretically, it could still have been done sequentially at different times, i.e., over a longer time-span. He may have decided simply to go on filling the folios as they came to save space. This was suggested to me by Eva Nyström.

²⁸⁸ GASTGEBER, Meligalas 51–84; cf. also MONDRAIN, Les écritures dans les manuscrits byzantins du XIV^e siècle 174–176.

²⁸⁹ GASTGEBER, Meligalas 62. Gastgeber does not identify the 36-line poem on VII^r addressed to a patriarch (inc. Ὡ ποιμενάρχα τοῦ θεοκλήτου λάχους, cf. ICB).

²⁹⁰ GASTGEBER, Meligalas 66.

²⁹¹ *Notices et extraits* 8/2 (1810) 177 (repr. in: PG 133 1072).

καὶ τὴν κόνιν, εἰ δέοι.²⁹² A strong connection exists, accordingly, between the two poems. At all events, the scribe seems to be well-acquainted with the Prodromic work in general; for example, he employs the rare word χρυσολάτρης which is attested in the Prodromic work no. 13.²⁹³

To sum up, V is a late thirteenth-century manuscript produced in all likelihood at Constantinople by Theophylaktos Saponopoulos for his own library. The identification of Theophylaktos with Theodosios is rather unlikely. The part of the manuscript which contains the Prodromic works was initially an individual codex; hence, a homogeneous book which at some point became part of a heterogeneous/composite book.²⁹⁴ Both Theophylaktos and the ensuing possessors of the manuscript were particularly fond of Prodromos' work and poetry. In the following two sections two tables outline the transmission of the "neglected poems" from the 13th up to 19th centuries, while in section 3.5 some further aspects of their transmission are briefly discussed.

²⁹² Cf. *carm.hist.* LVIII 17.

²⁹³ V. 9: εἰ ποῦ τι χρυσοῦ, τὸ χρυσολάτρης γένος. On this issue see also p. 313.

²⁹⁴ For the terminology see NYSTRÖM, *Containing Multitudes* 44–48.

3.3 Occurrence of the poems/poetic groups throughout the centuries

Poems/Cycles of Poems	13		14		15		16		17		18	19
1 ^{I-VI}	3				3						3	
2	4	1	5			1						
3	3	1	1									
4	1		1									
5	2		3				1					
6	1						1					
7	3	1	5									
8							1					
9	1		1		1							
10	2								1			
11	1	1										
12	2											
13	2			2			2				3	
14	2						1		1	1	7	
15	2	2	2		1		4	1	6		6	1
16	6	1		1	1	1	3				4	
17	4		2	1							1	
18	9		2	1	3	3	2				4	
19	3		1								2	
20	1		1				1					
21	1						1					

3.4 Chronological survey of the witnesses

cent.	no(s) of manuscripts
XIII	15 (nos. 5, 9, 10, 11, 13, 18, 19, 52, 56, 57, 58, 73, 74, 76, 78)
XIII-XIV	4 (nos. 54, 61, 75, 81)
XIV	13 (nos. 1, 3, 12, 24, 25, 44, 50, 51, 59, 60, 68, 77, 80)
XIV-XV	2 (nos. 23, 69)
XV	8 (nos. 6, 8, 15, 17, 36, 64, 82, 83)
XV-XVI	3 (nos. 22, 30, 65)
XVI	10 (nos. 2, 4, 14, 16, 21, 29, 39, 53, 55, 63)
XVI-XVII	1 (no. 7)
XVII	8 (nos. 28, 32, 35, 38, 40, 45, 70, 79)
XVII-XVIII	1 (no. 26)
XVIII	16 (nos. 20, 27, 31, 33, 34, 37, 41, 42, 43, 47, 48, 49, 62, 66, 67, 71, 72)
XIX	1 (no. 46)

3.5 Reading and Copying the “Neglected Poems”: Some Remarks on their Transmission

A *synkrisis* of the reception of the ‘Neglected Poems’ with that of the so-called ‘Historical Poems’ demonstrates the immense popularity of the former group over the latter, as one or more poems belonging to the first group are preserved in eighty-three manuscripts, as opposed to the roughly thirty-five manuscripts containing at least one poem of the second group.²⁹⁵ The significance of this arbitrary and generic comparison become even more apparent as soon as we notice that the present group consists of just 973 verses, while the historical poems of 6912 verses constitute more than one third of the surviving Prodromic verses.

As previously mentioned, Prodromos dedicated a grammatical treatise to Irene the Sevastokratorissa. This work is preserved in the twelfth-century illuminated deluxe manuscript Panaghiou Taphou 52 produced during the first half of the twelfth century when Prodromos was still alive. Regrettably, we do not have similar contemporary witnesses of his poetic works. The only exception might be a *sylloge* of his *tetrastichs* preserved in Laura B 43, datable by some scholars to the twelfth century.²⁹⁶ Nevertheless, two poems from the group under consideration (together with H nos. 126, 157, and 208) were copied as early as 1231 by a certain monk named Γερμανός Λιγνός in the region of Nicaea (that is, no. 10).²⁹⁷ The copying of Prodromic poetry before the recapture of Constantinople in 1261, inaugurating the revival of Komnenian rhetoric and correspondingly the emergence of Prodromos’ poems in innumerable manuscripts, is in fact significant, as it suggests, that the poems of Prodromos were read and copied even before the cultural blossom of the early Palaeologan period.

From the second half of the thirteenth-century onwards, when the resurgence of the Komnenian rhetoric is realized as a result of the early Palaeologan renaissance, numerous manuscripts including Komnenian rhetorical works both in prose and verse were produced.²⁹⁸ In the context of this cultural flourishing we should, therefore, place the copying of approximately twenty-seven manuscripts (dated to the second half of the 13th and the 14th

²⁹⁵ See HÖRANDNER, *Historische Gedichte* 149–165.

²⁹⁶ However, this manuscript has also been dated to the thirteenth century; on this issue see LAUXTERMANN, *Book review of Gr. PAPAGIANNIS* 369.

²⁹⁷ Given the fact that the dating of the manuscripts from the Lavra Monastery offered in the catalogue of Eustratiades is not always accurate, it is very likely that Pi is the earliest testimony of a Prodromic poem.

²⁹⁸ See E. KALTSOGIANNI, *The “Legacy” of Aphthonios, Hermogenes and Pseudo-Menander: Aspects of Byzantine Rhetoric under the Palaiologoi* (forthcoming) with a special focus on the prose works; see also SPINGOU, *Marcianus* 63–71.

centuries) with one or more poems under consideration. The most important manuscript is undoubtedly V, which, as I hope to have shown in the previous chapter, was a personal book lacking any spectacular or beautiful decoration. But the “neglected” poems were also copied in deluxe manuscripts. For example, two poems were included in the pocket size manuscript Σ of parchment with beautiful decorations.²⁹⁹

Furthermore, four manuscripts of the inventory (i.e. nos. 52, 54, 56, and 81, two of them being palimpsests) appear to have been written in southern Italy, indicating that Prodromos’ works were well-received in cultural circles there. What is more, C together with the fourteenth-century manuscript Vatic. gr. 1276 are deemed the most important testimonies for the production of south Italian Greek poetry.³⁰⁰ Whereas no poem from the group in question is preserved in the latter one, it is well-known that it contains a number of Prodromic tetrastichs on the Old and New Testaments suggesting that the Prodromic poems were read along with the works of south Italian poets.³⁰¹ The wide reception of the Prodromic work within the Greek scholarly circles of southern Italy is not circumscribed in his poetic work if we take into consideration that the richest *sylloge* of twelfth-century *schede*, Vatic. Pal. gr. 92 (13th cent.), which transmits eight Prodromic *schede*, was probably executed in a south Italian scriptorium.³⁰² Another manuscript produced not in Constantinople but in the periphery – of Cypriot provenance – is the Vaticanus Pal. gr. 367.

Equally high is the number of manuscripts copied in the late Palaeologan period and slightly after the Fall of Constantinople, as roughly ten manuscripts are datable to the fifteenth century. No. 82 is of great interest as it includes a great portion of metrical works (esp. of the twelfth century). At the bottom of f. 174^v, right after some Prodromic works, one comes across the following unedited poem:³⁰³

Φιλεῖτε, παῖδες, τοῦ γράφειν καθ’ ἡμέραν
καὶ μυσταγωγῶ τοὺς λόγους ποθεῖτέ μοι,
γράφοντες αὐτοὺς ἔνδοθεν τῆς καρδίας,
τὴν δ’ ἀργίαν μισεῖτε καὶ ῥαθυμίαν
5 καὶ τὴν κακίστην πάμπαν ἀπροσεξίαν
ὠθεῖτε μακρὰν ἐξ ὑμῶν ὡς φευκτέαν·
οὕτω φρονοῦντες καὶ φιλοῦντες τοὺς πόνους
καὶ μυσταγωγῶν τοὺς λόγους πεπεισμένοι,

²⁹⁹ HÖRANDNER, Weitere Beobachtungen zu byzantinischen Figurengedichten und Tetragrammen 291–304.

³⁰⁰ For the manuscript see ACCONCIA LONGO – JACOB, Anthologie 149–228, and DE GROOTE, Christophori Mitylenaii XLV–XLVI.

³⁰¹ See PAPAGIANNIS, Tetrasticha, I, 60–61.

³⁰² ARNESANO, La minuscula “barocca” 78. On the other hand, Polemis has argued that the manuscript was produced in Epirus; see POLEMIS, Vaticanus Palatinus graecus 92 558–565.

³⁰³ The poem is also transmitted in the seventeenth-century manuscript Iberon 751 (olim 4871); cf. LAMBROS, Greek Manuscripts of Mount Athos, II, 219.

βραχεῖ χρόνῳ λάβητε δόξαν καὶ κλέος.

4 cf. Ioannikios, *carm.* v. 9 (ed. VASSIS): καὶ μὴ προτίμα τὴν ῥαθυμίαν πόνων 7 cf. Ioannikios, *carm.* v. 8 (ed. VASSIS): πρὸ τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν ἀγάπησον τοὺς λόγους 9 cf. Ioannikios, *carm.* v. 1 (ed. VASSIS): δόξαν πόνοι τίκτουσι καὶ μόχθοι κλέος

The poem is actually a paraphrase of Ioannikios’ poem/verse *schedos* preserved in Vat. Pal. gr. 92.³⁰⁴ On this basis, it can be argued that Ioannikios’ poem has also been transmitted orally.³⁰⁵ In both poems (of Ioannikios and of the unidentified scribe), the teachers advise their students to be eager for learning and eschew idleness. More important for our purposes is that the scribe of the manuscript is, in all likelihood, a teacher who is using the poems as teaching material.

The poems continued to be copied even during the post-Byzantine era, since thirty-eight manuscripts are datable from the sixteenth century onwards. Some of them were written by Western scholars (e.g. nos. 62, 63, 79), while others in various Greek and Greek-speaking communities throughout the Ottoman period, especially in the region of Mount Athos, the Patriarchal Academy in Istanbul and the Greek Academies in Romania. Some of the eighteenth-century manuscripts are *mathemataria* which functioned as didactic tools for the Greek pupils throughout the Ottoman period (e.g. nos. 31, 35, 41, 42, 48, 71).³⁰⁶ The poems used in this manner are the following: a group of six poems on the church fathers and other saints (no. 1), an epigram cycle on virtues and vices (no. 15), and a poem on the exiled *Philia* (no. 14). It is, moreover, noteworthy that some manuscripts transmit the last poem along with a prose *exegesis* (e.g. no. 26).

Without a doubt, the most well-read works in the course of the centuries are the couplets on the virtues and vices (no. 15) as they survive in twenty-five mss from the thirteenth up to the nineteenth century. Certainly, their immense gnomic character played an instrumental role in their wide circulation. Poem no. 8, on the other hand, seems to be the least read poem, since a sole witness preserves this poem, the sixteenth-century manuscript L.

³⁰⁴ VASSIS, *Τῶν νέων Φιλολόγων Παλαίσματα* 45.

³⁰⁵ On this issue see also HÖRANDNER, *Didactic tool* (forthcoming).

³⁰⁶ On the *mathemataria* see SKARVELI-NIKOLOPOULOU, *Τὰ μαθηματάρια τῶν ἐλληνικῶν σχολείων τῆς Τουρκοκρατίας*.

Alphabetical List of the Manuscripts dating up to the sixteenth century according to the sigla

(Ac)	Athous Docheiariu 108
(An)	Atheniensis 3104
(As)	Ambrosianus 426
(Ax)	Athous Vatopedinus 56
(B)	Bodleianus Roe 18
(Ba)	Bodleianus Barocci 197
(Be)	Bern 48 B
(Bu)	Bucurestensis Academiei Române 601
(C)	Laurentianus Plut. V 10
(Es)	Escorialensis Y-III-9
(Fc)	Laurentianus Conv. Soppres. 121
(H)	Heidelbergensis Palatinus gr. 43
(Ha)	Vaticanus Palatinus gr. 367
(He)	Heidelbergensis Palatinus gr. 356
(I)	Marcianus gr. 436
(L)	Laurentianus Acq. e Doni 341
(La)	Londiniensis Add. 10014
(Lc)	Laurentianus Conv. Soppres. 48
(Lq)	Leidensis Vossianus gr. Q 26
(Lh)	Londiniensis Harl. 5624
(Ls)	Laurentianus San Marco 318
(Ly)	Lugdunensis 122
(m)	Marcianus gr. 512
(Mo)	Monacensis gr. 306
(Mt)	Metochii S. Sepulchri 797
(N)	Neapolitanus II D 4
(Nd)	Neapolitanus II D 22
(Ne)	Neapolitanus III A 6
(O)	Vaticanus Ottobonianus gr. 324
(P)	Parisinus gr. 2831
(Pa)	Parisinus gr. 3058
(Pc)	Parisinus gr. 1277
(Pf)	Parisinus gr. 3019
(Pi)	Parisinus gr. 997
(Pt)	Parisinus gr. 2870
(Py)	Parisinus gr. 554
(Pz)	Parisinus gr. 1630
(R)	Parisinus gr. 854
(Su)	Parisinus Suppl. gr. 501
(Σ)	Vaticanus gr. 1126
(V)	Vaticanus gr. 305
(Vb)	Vaticanus Urbinas gr. 134
(Vc)	Vaticanus Chisianus gr. R.IV.11
(Vg)	Vaticanus gr. 1702
(Vi)	Vindobonensis Philol. gr. 149
(Vo)	Vossianus Gr. Q. 42
(Vr)	Vaticanus gr. 207
(Vt)	Vindobonensis Theol. gr. 249
(Vu)	Vindobonensis Philol. gr. 110
(Vz)	Vindobonensis Hist. gr. 106
(W)	Vaticanus gr. 306
(X)	Vaticanus gr. 307
(Y)	BAS gr. 12
(Z)	Vindobonensis suppl. gr. 125

3.6 The Relations between the Manuscripts

In order to reconstruct a critical text of the ‘Neglected Poems’, I consulted all the manuscripts dating up to the sixteenth century.³⁰⁷ The twenty-nine manuscripts written from the seventeenth century onwards do not offer any new or better readings; consequently, they do not contribute to the establishment of a more reliable text, let alone that most of them do not derive from an earlier manuscript but from an early printed edition.³⁰⁸

Furthermore, it is not possible to subdivide the fifty-four remaining manuscripts into families and construct a proper *stemma codicum*. The reasons are two-fold: first, not all poems are transmitted in the same manuscripts; and second, most of the poems consist of a very limited number of verses (with very few ‘Bindefehler’ and ‘Trennfehler’), which means that any attempt to establish the exact relationship between them would be unattainable.³⁰⁹ In support of this, we may note that Hörandner claimed the same within the *prolegomena* to his edition of the ‘historical poems’; it is worth quoting his exact words.³¹⁰

Eine Überlieferungsgeschichte der Gesamtheit der historischen Gedichte läßt sich nicht schreiben. Das liegt nicht am Einteilungsprinzip der vorliegenden Edition. Zwar hat dieses keine Entsprechung in den Handschriften, doch zerreit es auch nicht etwa bestehende ursprüngliche Sammlungen. Vielmehr ist festzustellen, daß die Werke des Prodromos in den Handschriften auf die verschiedenste Art und Weise miteinander und mit Werken anderer Autoren kombiniert werden. Es kommt nur ganz selten vor, daß zwei oder gar mehr voneinander unabhängige Textzeugen hinsichtlich des Bestandes an Prodromika völlig identisch sind (abgesehen natürlich von jenen Handschriften, die nur ein einziges Werk, z.B. den Kanoneskommentar, enthalten), so daß es unmöglich ist, die Struktur der Sammlungen über die erhaltenen Textzeugen hinaus sehr weit zurückzuverfolgen, ganz zu schweigen von einer Rekonstruktion der ursprünglichen, noch zu Lebzeiten des Autors veranstalteten Ausgaben. So viel ist jedenfalls gewiß, daß die Vielfalt, die uns heute in den Handschriften entgegentritt, bereits sehr früh, sicher in der ersten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts (bald nach 1250 setzen ja schon unsere Codices ein), bestand. Darüber hinaus kann es als sehr wahrscheinlich gelten, daß es bei der großen Inhomogenität des Œuvres eine komplette Gesamtausgabe der Werke des Prodromos nie gegeben hat.

Therefore, what follows here is a brief discussion of the relations of some of the manuscripts which postulate certain links, while the ultimate purpose is to rule out the *codices eliminandi* in order to avoid an overburdened *apparatus criticus*.

The manuscript V

V contains most of the poems under consideration (767 out of 973 verses of the present edition), while its superiority over the remaining independent manuscripts has been proven beyond any doubt in all the previous editions of Prodromic works (both in verse and

³⁰⁷ Papagiannis followed the same method in his edition of the tetrastichs; cf. PAPAGIANNIS, *Tetrasticha*, I, 76.

³⁰⁸ For example, codd. nos. 26, 27, 31, 34, 37, 41, and 42 derive from the Basel edition.

³⁰⁹ The case of Mitylenaios’ *Various Verses* recently edited by De Groote is similar.

³¹⁰ HÖRANDNER, *Historische Gedichte* 166.

prose).³¹¹ This is also corroborated by the following survey (the earlier witnesses or the manuscripts which transmit more than two poems have been taken into consideration):

1. The manuscripts V and P

nos. 1^I, 7, 12, 17, 18

Text/V (recte)

No. 1

1st poem, v. 15 ἔκγονε

v. 21 βιάσκειται

v. 23 θωόκω

No. 12

v. 4 δήνεα

v. 8 ἐρίζοι

v. 12 ἀνέτλην

v. 16 ἀπέργεο

v. 18 ἐναυομένη

v. 21 γελωτοπόνοισι

μίμοισι

v. 22 παικτοῖσι

No. 17

2a ἐκ

5a ἐν

no. 18

1st poem v. 11 χαρὰς

3rd poem v. 2 φάγεις

P (errors or variants)

ἔκγονα

βιάσκετεν

θωόκω

μήχεα

ἐρίαν

ἔτλην

ἀπείργεο

ἐναγόμενη

γελωτωπόνοισι

μίμοισιν

om.

om.

μὲν

χαρὰ

φάγεις

2. The manuscripts V and Es

nos. 7, 13

Text/V (recte)

No. 7

2nd poem, v. 6 λύσις

v. 9 τὸ σταυροῦ ξύλον

v. 2 ἀχανῆς

v. 3 Ἀμβακοῦμ

v. 6 ὦ

v. 14 ἐμμέσους

v. 19 αὔξει

v. 25 ὑπενθεις

v. 27 κάχληκα

v. 28 κοῦφος

v. 28 πλέων

v. 34 τὴν

v. 45 φθορὰν

v. 70 αἰσχιστον

v. 71

v. 79 ὅλας

v. 104 ἰδὼν μὲν σοφοῦς

v. 105 ὀρθὰ

v. 110 ἑνδεκα

Es (errors or variants)

φύσις

τὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ ξύλον

ἀφανῆς

Ἀββακοῦμ

ὦ

ἀμέσους

αὔξει

ἐπενθεις

κάχλυκα

om.

πλέον

om.

φθορὰς

ἔχθιστον

τε post καλῶν add.

ὅλους

ἰδὼν σοφοῦς μὲν

ὀρθοῦς

ἐνδία

³¹¹ E.g. HÖRANDNER, Historische Gedichte 166 ff; PAPAGIANNIS, Tetrasticha, I, 94; OP DE COUL, Théodore Prodromos, I, 56 ff; D'AMBROSI, Gregorio Nazianzeno 126.

v. 112 Ἄνυτος	Ἄννυτος
v. 115 Ἐπάγχομαι	ὑπεύχομαι
v. 116 θέλω θανεῖν	θέλων βλέπη
v. 121 καὶ	τὸ
v. 126 ὠνόμασε	ὠνόμασεν
v. 133 ἀπόλοιτο	ἀπόλοιο
τῶν βροτῶν	τῆς βροτῆς
v. 142 γέλως δὲ	δὲ γέλου
v. 143 τὸ	ὁ
v. 161 τε	om.
v. 164 ἔλεξας	ἔδοξας

3. The manuscripts V and R

nos. 2, 18

Text/V (recte)

No. 2
v. 5 ἀπορρήτους
7-8 ὡς ... θύεις

R (errors or variants)

θεοπνεύστους
om.

No. 18

2nd poem, v. 2 ἀγάλλομαι
3rd poem, v. 3 ἐκδιώξας
v. 5 λαμβάνου
4th poem, v. 6 ψόφῳ
5th poem, v. 3 ἔννοιαν
v. 5 αἵματοϊ

ἐκπλήττομαι
ἐκδιώξον
λάμβανε
ζόφῳ
εἶδησιν
αἵματεῖν

4. The manuscripts V and Pi

no. 9

Although Pi was written earlier than V, it possesses a number of faults and bad readings that do not appear in the latter:

Text/V (recte)

1st poem, v. 2 πικρὸν
2nd poem, v. 2 νέκυν
v. 3 ὑῖα
v. 3 ἐτέρωθε

Pi (errors or variants)

πίκρον
νέκυν om.
ὑέα
ἐτέροσε Pi

What is more, in contrast with V, Pi transmits poem no. 6. Therefore, it is certain that they belong to different branches.

5. The manuscripts V and Z

nos. 16, 18

Text/V (recte)

No. 16
παρίπταμαί
κνήμας

Z (errors or variants)

περίπταμαί
κνίμας

6. The manuscript V and the edition Gu.

nos. 1, 13, 14, 16, 18

As shown in the survey below, V always offers better readings in comparison with Gu.

Text/V (recte)

No. 1
1st poem, v. 15 πολίης
v. 18 δεινὲ

Gu. (errors or variants)

πόλιος
δαινὰ

v. 21 ἀλλά με ὁξὺς ἔσθωθι βιάσκεται ἰὸς ἐρώτων
 v. 22 εὐσεβέος
 v. 23 προπροήμενος
 2nd poem, v. 3 ῥητροσύνης
 κύδος (metri gratia)
 ἡδὲ
 v. 8 νόοις
 v. 9 ἐπιμίγνυται
 v. 13 ἀδινάων
 v. 16 τάμεν
 v. ἀπέτμαγε
 v. 21 Τριάδι
 3rd Poem, v. 10 θ' ἄμα
 v. 12 ἐγειραμένου
 v. 23 εὐπορον
 ἰθύντος
 4th poem, v. 1 λιγαίνομαι
 v. 4 ἐμμελέα
 v. 6 σειρὴν ἡμετέρη σύν τε δέουσ' ἀνέρας
 v. 7 καί τε
 ὀπαζομένη
 v. 8 ἄγγελε
 v. 10 θεηγορίας
 v. 14 ἐσθλῆς
 δικοσύνης
 v. 15 χήρης
 v. 18 ἄρχου
 v. 20 πτολίων
 v. 22 ἐς
 v. 24 κε
 ἔστ' ἀέθλια
 5th poem, v. 2 ποιμένι
 Νυσσαέων
 v. 5 κοσμογενείης
 v. 14 γενέτης
 v. 24 σταλάει
 6th poem, v. 2 οἶκτος
 v. 3 ἦ
 v. 8 θηλυτέρων
 v. 11 τέμνοντα
 Βελίαν
 v. 14 ὅς τ'
 v. 15 τ'
 v. 17 ὅς τ'
 ναύτην
 v. 18 λυγρῆσι
 v. 21 οἰκτοσύνης πάτερ ἐσθλῆς
 τεῶ
 ὀπάζων

No. 13

v. 2 κριμάτων
 v. 28 ἀνάρρουν
 v. 29 φεύξεταί
 v. 36 λευκότητος
 v. 43 Ἐπικούρειον
 v. 49 εἴποιμεν
 v. 51 γοῦν
 v. 55 κυλίνδρους

Ἀλλὰ σύ, ὦ θεός, ἐν τούτοις δὴ Παύλου ἀρωγὴ
 εὐσεβίας
 τε προήμενος
 ῥηθροσύνης
 κύδος
 ἡῦ
 νόσοις
 ἐπὶ μίγνυται
 ἀδαινάων
 τάμε
 ἀπέτεμνε
 Τριάδα
 δ' ἄμα
 ἀειράμενον
 εὐπορων
 ἰθύντορ
 λιγαίνομεν
 εὐμελέα
 σειρὰ δὲ θ' ἡμετέρη συντεδέους ἀνέρας
 καί συ
 ὀπαζόμενος
 ἄγγελος
 θεηγορίας
 ἐσθλὰ
 δικαιοσύνης
 χήρους
 ἀρχὸν
 πολίων
 εὔ
 καὶ
 ἐστὶν ἄεθλα
 ποιμένα
 Νυσσεέων
 κοσμογονείης
 γενέτην
 σταλάεις
 οἶκτον
 ἦ
 θυγατέρων
 τέμνων τε
 Βελίου
 ὥς τ' Gu.
 δ' Gu.
 ὥστ'
 ταύτην
 λυγρὸν ἦσι
 οἰκτοσύνη πάτερ ἐσθλὴ
 Θεὸς
 ὀπάζη

χρημάτων
 ἀνὰ ῥοῦν
 φθέγγεταί
 γλαυκότητος
 Ἐπικούρειον
 εἴποι μὴ
 γοῦν
 κυλίνδους

v. 69 προσήκων
 v. 75 μαθήσεως ... θύραν
 v. 76 ὁδοῦσι ... πλέον
 v. 81 γαύρων
 v. 98 κακοῖς
 v. 102 λωποδυτεῖ
 v. 104 ἰδὼν μὲν σοφοῦς
 v. 107 Μέλητος
 v. 108 Μέλητος
 v. 118 Τὸ δ'
 v. 122 ξύμφυλος
 v. 125 ἀσυμφύλους
 v. 133 ἀπόλοιτο
 v. 145 ὄντων γὰρ τούτων
 v. 159 χλοάζοντες

προσήκον
 om.
 om.
 γαυρῶν
 καινοῖς
 λωποδυτοῖ
 ἰδὼν σοφοῦς μὲν
 Μέλιτος
 Μέλιτος
 τόδ'
 ξύμφιλος
 ἀσυμφίλους
 ἀπόλοιτο
 ὄντως γὰρ ὄντως
 χνοάζοντες

No. 14

v. 5 χιτώνιον
 v. 21 ἄντικρυς
 vv. 25-26 ὕβρεις ... γνάθωιν
 v. 30 μὴ
 v. 38 ἀσωμάτοις
 Δευτέρως
 v. 40 οἶον
 Θρόνοις
 v. 41 ἀϋλοῖς
 v. 42 γὰρ
 v. 47 κάκ τῶν
 v. 56 καίει φύσει
 v. 60 εἰ χρή
 v. 61 εἰ μὴ
 v. 75 διίστηται
 v. 79 κοινὸν
 v. 82 ἢ μεσιτεύουσα
 ὑγρότης
 v. 94 τὲ
 v. 96 συνεμπλεκουσῶν
 v. 112 γὰρ
 v. 124 –
 v. 125 πᾶσαι πόλεις
 v. 129 Τίς γὰρ
 v. 130 τὸ
 vv. 133-134 ὥς ... <θηρίῳ>
 v. 137 τι
 v. 138 κρατεῖται
 v. 150 μίγνυται
 v. 165 ἡμᾶς δὲ τύπτων ἐξάγει. Νόμοι, νόμοι
 v. 168 ἄγνοῶ νῆ τὴν θέμιν
 v. 182 τῶν
 v. 183 πάσχω δὲ πρὸς φαῦλον τε ἀμβλυωπίαν
 v. 187 ὄμμα
 v. 190 κραυγή
 v. 194 ἀλλ' ὁ τρισανόητος ἄθλιος Βίος
 v. 213 κοινόνημα
 v. 231 σπάθην
 v. 241 μίτραν
 ἐν ποδοῖν
 v. 256 αὐτοῖς τοῖς τέκνοις
 v. 268 ἀπαθῶς πρὸς

Χιτώνιον
 ἀντικρὺς
 om.
 μὰ
 ἀσωμάτων
 Δευτέροις
 οἶον
 θρόνις
 ἀϋλαις
 μὲν
 κακτῶν
 φύσει καίει
 ἀρχῇ
 εἰμὴ
 διίσταται
 καινὸν
 ὑμέσι τένουσα
 ὑγρότην
 τι
 τῶν συμπλεκουσῶν
 γοῦν
 διδοὺς γὰρ ἄρτον, ἰχθὺν ἀντιλαμβάνει add.
 πόλεις πᾶσαι
 Τί γὰρ
 καὶ
 om.
 τοὶ
 κρατεῖται
 μίγνυται
 ἡμᾶς τύπτων ἐξάγει. Ὡ νόμοι, νόμοι
 ἄγνων καὶ τὴν θέμιν
 τὸν
 πάσχω δὲ πρὸς φαῦλον τε ἀμβλυωπίαν
 αἶμα
 κραγή
 ἀλλ' ὁ τρισάνοικτος καὶ ἄθλιος βίος
 κοινόνημα
 σπάτην
 μίτραν
 ἐκ ποδοῖν
 αὐτῆς τοῖς τέκνοις
 ἀπαθῶν πρὸς

v. 272 πιτυρίου	ποτηρίου
v. 273 τῆς ἰδης	τοῦ ἡδους
v. 274 μῆ	μοῖ
v. 284 εἴ σοι	εἴσι
v. 289 λαλεῖν	λαχεῖν
No. 16	
v. 2 τρίχας	τρίβους
v. 7 παρίπταμαί	περίπταμαί
v. 12 τρίχας	τρίβους
No. 18	
3 rd poem 5 μύρτον	μίλτον

I have tracked down a limited number of cases where other witnesses offer better readings than V:

Text (recte)	V (errors or variants)
No. 1 P/Gu. 1 st poem, v. 11 χαλκομελής	χαλκειμελής V
No. 2 B v. 8 θύεις	φέρει
No. 13 Es/I v. 107 Μέλητος (except for Gu.) v. 108 Μέλητος (except for Gu.)	post v. 94 iterum v. 90 add. Μέλιτος Μέλιτος
No. 14 Gu. v. 70 δίσκον v. 124 καὶ παντὸς ἅπας ἐνδεὴς ὁ τεχνίτης v. 180 ἄλες v. 203 μῖσος	δύσκον om. ἄλυσ μύσος
No. 18 Be/H/L/He/Mt/N/P/R/Vb/Vr/X/Z/Gu. 3 rd poem, v. 2 τρυγήσεις	τρυγήσης

The Remaining Manuscripts

7. The manuscripts Ax and Y

no. 1^{III}

Besides transmitting only the poem on Basil the Great, these two manuscripts were written by the same unidentified fifteenth-century scribe and share a number of binding errors against V:

Text/V (recte)	Ax/Y (errors)
v. 3 εἶδει	εἶδει
v. 4 σιγόντα	σιγέοντα
v. 5 δαήμενον	δαήμενον
v. 16 φάναι	φαεῖναι
v. 24 εὐκοσμίη	εὐκοσμία

8. The manuscripts B and La**no. 2**

As Hörandner has already maintained, La is a direct copy of B.³¹² The validity of his argument is further corroborated by my investigation, since the two mss share a unique reading:

v. 8 Θύεις (B/R) against φέρει (V) and φύεις (cet. Codd.).

Moreover, La displays a minor individual error

Text	B	La
Οὔκ	Οὔκ	Οὔ

9. The manuscripts R and m**nos. 2,4, and 18**

Both Sternbach and Hörandner have already pointed out that m is a direct apograph of R.³¹³

This is also corroborated by the following survey:

Text (recte)	R/m (errors or variants)
No. 2	
v. 5 ἀπορρήτους	θεοπνεύστους
vv. 7-8 ὥς ... θύεις	om.

No. 18

2nd poem, v. 2 ἀγάλλομαι

ἐκπλήττομαι

3rd poem, v. 3 ἐκδιώξας

ἐκδιώξον

v. 5 λαμβάνου

λάμβανε

4th poem, v. 6 ψόφω

ζόφω

Moreover, it is interesting to note that in one instance m corrects R. More precisely, in poem no. 4, v. 15 the spelling mistake ἐκλάμπη is rightly emendated into ἐκλάπη.

10. The manuscripts B and Σ**nos. 2,7, and 17**

Whereas Hörandner maintained that Σ and B derive from the same exemplar,³¹⁴ Papagiannis has convincingly shown that Σ is rather a copy of B.³¹⁵ That is also corroborated by the following survey:

No. 2		
B/Σ	V	cet. codd.
v. 8 θύεις	φέρει	φύεις
No. 17		
tit. ἐκπεφυνέντα	ἐκπεφυκότα	ἐκπεφυκότα
tit. Συγκορυφούμενα	συγκορυφούμενον	συγκορυφούμενον

Therefore, it will not be included in *app. crit.* of the edition.

11. The manuscripts Vg and Ne**no. 5**

³¹² HÖRANDNER, Historische Gedichte 154.

³¹³ Cf. HÖRANDNER, Historische Gedichte 155.

³¹⁴ *Ibid.* 170.

³¹⁵ PAPAGIANNIS, Tetrasticha, I, 94–95.

The two mss share a striking variant that allow us to place them within a separate group from the rest of the manuscripts:

Text (recte)

2nd poem, v. 1 οὐρανόβρυτοι

7th poem, v. 1 Ἠδύκρεως

10th poem, v. 4 καὶ κόχλος ἐξήνεγκεν αὐθις πορφύραν

However, Vg possesses quite a few errors of its own:

Vg/Ne (errors or variants)

οὐρανόβλητοι (Vg)/οὐρανόβλυτοι (Ne)

ἠδύκρεως

τὴν πορφύραν δ' ὁ κόχλος ἐξήνησέ σοι

Text+Ne

2nd poem, v. 2 παιδοφθόρων

v. 3 κεραύνιοι

v. 5 ἐφ'

3rd poem, 2 ἀνελεῖς

6th poem, v. 4. ἐμπεσὸν

7th poem, v. 1 ἀλλὰ τέλματος τόκος

v. 2 καὶ Βαρβάρα γοῦν βορβόρου κἄν ἐξέφυ

v. 4 πᾶν

9th poem, v. 4 ἠκονήσας

Vg

παιδοφθόρων

κεραύνιος

ἀφ'

ἀνέλης

ἐκπεσὸν

ἀνὰ τέλματος τόπον

καὶ βορβόρου γοῦν Βαρβάρα κἄν ἐξέφυ

πᾶς

ἠκονήσω

The same goes for Ne:

Text+Vg

4th poem, v. 5 ἐξάγεις

6th poem, v. 5 βρύει

7th poem, v. 3 ὁμως

8th poem

Ne

ἐξάγης Ne

βρέχει

ὁπως Ne

om.

Thus, it seems that they derive from a common, now lost, exemplar.

12. The manuscript C**no. 5**

C belongs to a separate branch from the rest of the manuscripts, for two reasons: (a) it transmits just the last poem and (b) it displays a number of peculiar variants and errors:

Text (recte)

10th poem, v. 4 ἐξήνησέ

v. 5 προσελθὼν ἱστόρει καὶ Βαρβάραν

vv. 5-6

v. 6 μαργαρίτην

τοῦ καὶ φονευτοῦ καὶ φυτοσπόρου λέγω

C (errors or variants)

ἐθρέψατό

πρόσελθε Βαρβάραν καθιστόρει

ordo versuum diversus est

μάργαρον καὶ

om.

13. The manuscripts Pi and L**no. 6****Text Pi (recte)**

v. 1 Φύσι

v. 2 σειρῇ

v. 5 ἀνάρσιον

v. 6 φύτις

ἐὴν

L (errors or variants)

Φύσει

σειρὰν

ἀνόσιον

φύτης

τεῖν

It remains undetermined whether, on the basis of these variations, L is a direct copy of Pi or not.

14. The manuscripts N and O**no. 9**

The two mss share a common error as both of them omit v. 7. At the same time, they have some striking errors of their own.

Text (recte)

vv. 5–6 ἐντεῦθεν ... πρατηρίου

v. 8 ὀφθῆναι

v. 11 κρείττω

And

Text (recte)

v. 8 φθορᾶς ... μέρος

v. 11 ἤνεγκα

N (errors or variants)

om.

ὠφθῆναι

νέαν

O (errors or variants)

om.

ἤνεικα

καὶ πρὸς νέαν ἄγαγε καὶ κρείττω πλάσιν post v.

14 add.

Therefore, it remains unclear whether they stem from the same exemplar or not.

15. The manuscripts V, Es, I, and the edition Gu.**no. 13**

Es, I, and Gu. seem to stand closer to each other in comparison with V:

Text/V (recte)

v. 76 om.

v. 104 ἰδὼν μὲν σοφοῦς

v. 133 ἀπόλοιτο

Es/I/Gu. (errors)

ἰδὼν σοφοῦς μὲν Es I Gu.

ἀπόλοιτο Es I Gu.

Nonetheless, in one case Gu. stands closer to V than to Es and I:

Text/V/Gu. (recte)

v. 3 Ἀμβρακὸν

Es/I (errors)

Ἀβρακὸν

16. The edition Gu. and the manuscripts Pt and Lq**no. 13**

The closely related codices Pt and Lq written by the same scribe (i.e. Ἄγγελος Βεργίκιος), should be considered as direct apographs of Gu., for they share all its errors:

Text (recte)

v. 2 κριμάτων

v. 28 ἀνάρρουν

v. 29 φεύζεται

v. 36 λευκότητος

v. 43 Ἐπικούρειον

v. 49 εἵπομεν

v. 51 γοῦν

v. 55 κυλίνδρους

v. 69 προσῆκων

v. 75 μαθήσεως ... θύραν

v. 76 ὁδοῦσι ... πλέον

v. 81 γαύρων

v. 98 κακοῖς

v. 102 λωποδυτεῖ

v. 104 ἰδὼν μὲν σοφοῦς

Gu./Pt/Lq (errors or variants)

χρημάτων

ἀνά ροῦν

φθέγγεται

γλαυκότητος

Ἐπικούρειον

εἵποι μὴ

γοῦν

κυλίνδρους

προσῆκον

om.

om.

γαυρῶν

καινοῖς

λωποδυτοῖ

ἰδὼν σοφοῦς μὲν

v. 107 Μέλιτος	Μέλιτος
v. 108 Μέλιτος	Μέλιτος
v. 118 Τὸ δ'	τόδ'
v. 122 ξύμφυλος	ξύμφιλος
v. 125 ἀσυμφύλους	ἀσυμφίλους
v. 133 ἀπόλοιτο	ἀπόλοιο
v. 145 ὄντων γὰρ τούτων	ὄντως γὰρ ὄντως
v. 159 χλοάζοντες	χνοάζοντες

Moreover, Lq and Pt have some shared errors:

Text (recte)	Pt/Lq (errors)
v. 23 ἐπεισκευλητέον	ἐπεισκευλητέων
v. 83 δὲ	om.
v. 84 δὲ	μὲν

The same applies to the poem no. 14. preserved only in Pt (not in Lq).

Text (recte)	Gu./Pt (errors or variants)
v. 5 χιτώνιον	Χιτώνιον
v. 21 ἀντικρυς	ἀντικρὺς
vv. 25-26 ὕβρεις ... γνάθουν	om.
v. 30 μὴ	μὰ
v. 38 ἀσωμάτοις	ἀσωμάτως
Δευτέρως	Δευτέροις
v. 40 οἶον	οἶον
Θρόνοις	θρόνις
v. 41 αὐλοῖς	αὐλαις
v. 42 γὰρ	μὲν
v. 47 κάκ τῶν	κακτῶν
v. 56 καίει φύσει	φύσει καίει
v. 60 εἰ χρῆ	ἀρχῇ
v. 61 εἰ μὴ	εἰμή
v. 75 διίστηται	διίσταται
v. 79 κοινὸν	καινὸν
v. 82 ἡ μεσιτεύουσα	ὕμέσι τένουσα
ὕγρότης	ὕγρότην
v. 94 τέ	τι
v. 96 συνεμπλεκουσῶν	τῶν συμπλεκουσῶν
v. 112 γὰρ	γοῦν
v. 124 –	διδούς γὰρ ἄρτον, ἰχθὺν ἀντιλαμβάνει add.
v. 125 πᾶσαι πόλεις	πόλεις πᾶσαι
v. 129 Τίς γὰρ	Τί γὰρ
v. 130 τὸ	καὶ
vv. 133-134 ὡς ... <θηρίῳ>	om.
v. 137 τι	τοὶ
v. 138 κρατεῖται	καρατεῖται
v. 150 μίγνυται	μίγνυται
v. 165 ἡμᾶς δὲ τύπτων ἐξάγει. Νόμοι, νόμοι	ἡμᾶς τύπτων ἐξάγει. Ὡ νόμοι, νόμοι
v. 168 ἀγνοῶ νῆ τὴν θέμιν	ἀγνοῶν καὶ τὴν θέμιν
v. 182 τῶν	τὸν
v. 183 πάσχω δὲ πρὸς φαῦλον τε ἀμβλυωπίαν	πάσχω δὲ πρὸς φαῦλον τε ἀμβλυωπίαν
v. 187 ὄμμα	αἶμα
v. 190 κραυγὴ	κραγὴ
v. 194 ἀλλ' ὁ τρισανόητος ἄθλιος Βίος	ἀλλ' ὁ τρισάνοικτος καὶ ἄθλιος βίος
v. 213 κοινώνημα	κοινόνημα

v. 231 σπάθην	σπάτην
v. 241 μήτραν	μήτραν
ἐν ποδοῖν	ἐκ ποδοῖν
v. 256 αὐτοῖς τοῖς τέκνοις	αὐτῆς τοῖς τέκνοις
v. 268 ἀπαθῶς πρὸς	ἀπαθῶν πρὸς
v. 272 πιτυρίου	ποτηρίου
v. 273 τῆς ἰδης	τοῦ ἡδους
v. 274 μῆ	μοῖ
v. 284 εἴ σοι	εἴσι
v. 289 λαλεῖν	λαχεῖν

Consequently, Pt and Lq need not be included in the *app. crit.* of the present edition.

17. The manuscripts Pa, An, Vt, Ly, An, and As

no. 15

The manuscripts Vt, Ly, An, and As are direct copies of Pa: (a) in all of them the cycle of epigrams is attributed to Michael Psellos, (b) like Pa, they transmit four extra iambic couplets not to be found in earlier manuscripts,³¹⁶ and (c) they possess almost all its individual errors.

Text (recte)

3a χαλκοῦν ὄπλον
 3b χωρὶς
 4b κτησαμένους
 7b κριῶ
 9b ἐρκίων
 12b τελοῦσα
 13b ἀδυνατοῦν
 14a Ἀναρθρον ἀρθρῶ καὶ παραλελυμένον
 15b ὅσοι φρονοῦντες ἀφελῶς
 16b καταμόνας
 17b ῥέγγειν μέγα
 21a Ὅσων
 σκνιφὸς
 τρόπος
 21b μαρτυρίαν
 22b δὲ πιμπλῶ
 23a καὶ¹
 25a ἀντιθέτων
 25b ξυρόν

Pa/An/As/Ly/Vt (errors or variants)

χοῦς ἐν βίῳ
 ἄτερ
 κεκτημένους
 ψεύδει
 οἰκίσκων
 πέλουσα
 ἀδυνατῶν
 Τὰ νεῦρ' ἀνορθῶ, τὰ παραλελυμένα
 ὅσοι ῥάθυμοι ἀφελῶς
 κατὰ μόνας
 χάσμη μόνην
 ὅσον
 σκνιφὸς (except for Ly)
 βίος
 ἀμαρτίαν
 δ' ἐμπιπλῶ (apart from An and Vt)
 τὰ
 ἀντιπάλων
 ψυχρῶ

Moreover, each one of them displays some individual errors:

Text

2a φόνον
 3a Ὑπηρετεῖ
 11a Αἰσχροῶν

An

φθόνου
 ἐπηρετεῖ
 ἰσχροῶν

Text (recte)

2a δόλου
 11a κάρος
 23b ἐργάζομαι δε
 24a Ἴσον

As (errors)

δόλον
 κόρος
 ἐργάζομε δι
 ἴσον

Text (recte)

Ly (errors)

³¹⁶ See p. 377.

5a ἔμβρύοις
7b τεῖχος
12a χρωμένοις
14b ἐξεγείρω
20b θεοῦ

Text (recte)

12b τῶν
19b σκότος
22b πιμπλῶ
25b στομῶ δὲ γλῶσσαν, ὡς ξυρόν, τῇ διπλῇ

ἐμβρίοις
τύχος
χρομένοις
ἀνεγείρω
θεῶ

Vt (errors)

τοῦ
σκόπος
ἐμπλῶ
στομῶ γλῶσσαν δὲ ψυχρὴ τῇ διπλῇ Vi

As a result, they will not be used in the present edition.

18. The manuscripts Vc and Pa**no. 15**

The codices Vc and Pa share two errors. Whether this suffice to claim a link between them remains unclear.

Text (recte)

2b συλλαβὸν
4b κτησαμένους

Pa/Vc (errors)

συλλαβῶν
κεκτημένων Pa Vc

19. The manuscripts Z, Su, and Vu**no. 18**

Su and Vu are direct copies of Z, for they share two striking binding errors in comparison with the other manuscripts:

Text (recte)

1st poem, v. 8 θάλλεις ... χλόης

1st poem, v. 9 ῥέεις ... ὑδάτων

In addition, Su displays some errors of its own:

Z/Su/Vu (errors)

θάλλη, μαραίνει τοῦτο καὶ τῶν ὑδάτων Z Vu /
θάλεις, μαραίνει τοῦτο δὲ καὶ τῶν ὑδάτων Su
om.

Text (recte)

1st poem, v. 3 κρίνον
2nd poem, v. 2 ἀγάλλομαι
3rd poem, v. 2 τρυγήσεις
v. 3 λίχνον
vv. 7–8

Su (errors)

κρίνον
ἀγάλλομαι
τρυγήσης
λύχνον
om.

On the base of the above investigation, nine codd. (i.e. An, As, La, Lq, Ly, m, Pt, Σ, Vt) dating up to the sixteenth century will not be taken into consideration for the reconstruction of the text of the poems.

4 CHAPTER 4: PREVIOUS EDITIONS AND PROLEGOMENA

4.1 The ‘Neglected Poems’: Previous Editions

Before the present edition, the “neglected poems” were scattered here and there in numerous editions dating from the sixteenth century onwards. What is more, most of these editions are rather outdated and unreliable. They are usually based either on a single manuscript or in the best of the cases on a small number of manuscripts. At the same time, some of these editions (nos. 2, 4, 6, 7, 13, and 14) are mere reprints of earlier editions.

What follows is an alphabetical list of the editions (the ms(s) which was/were used for each edition is/are indicated in square brackets):

1. **Ar.** [= Ἀποφθέγματα φιλοσόφων καὶ στρατηγῶν, ῥητόρων τε καὶ ποιητῶν συλλεγέμενα παρὰ Ἀρσενίου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Μονεμβασίας. Praeclara dicta philosophorum, imperatorum, oratorumque et poetarum ab Arsenio archiepiscopo Monenbasiae collecta. Rome (ca. 1519): nos. 15 (f. 16^v), 16 (ff. 17^r–19^r) – from cod. Pa].
2. **Bo.** [= J. Fr. BOISSONADE, *Anecdota Graeca e codicibus regiis*, III. Paris 1829–1833 (reprinted Hildesheim 1962): no. 2 (p. 8) – from Th.].
3. **Bois.** [= J.–F. BOISSONADE, *Marini Vita Procli*. Leipzig 1814 (reprinted Amsterdam 1966): no. 18 (pp. 70–71) – from cod. Pf].
4. **Dü.** [= *Fragmenta Euripidis iterum edidit, perditorum tragicorum omnium nunc primum collegit Fr. Guil. Wagner ... accedunt indices locupletissimi. Christus patiens, Ezechieli et Christianorum poetarum reliquiae dramaticae. Ex codicibus emendavit et annotatione critica instruxit Fr. Dübner. Theodori Prodromi Amicitia exsulans*, ed. Fr. Dübner, In: *Euripidis perdit. Fabul. Fragmenta* ed. G. Wagner. Paris 1846: no. 14 (pp. 83–90) – from Ge. but with a number of emendations].
5. **Eu.** [= S. EUSTRATIADES, Ἀγορευτικῶν κωδίκων σημειώματα τῆς βιβλιοθήκης τοῦ Βατοπεδίου. *Γρηγόριος ὁ Παλαμᾶς* 3 (1919) 552–563, 557]: no. 1^{III} (just the poem on Basil the Great) – from cod. Ax].
6. **Fe.** [= N. FESTA, *Nota sui versiculi in vitia et virtutes*, in: *Miscellanea Ceriani. Raccolta di scritti originali*. Milan 1910: no. 15 (pp. 569–576) – from codd. Lc and Ls as well as the eds Ar. and Ge.].
7. **Fo.** [= S. FOLLET, *Deux épigrammes peu connues attribuées à Philostrate. Revue de Philologie* 38 (1964) 242–252: no. 18 – from Pf].
8. **Ge.** [= C. GESNER, *Heraclidis Pontici qui Aristotelis aetate vixit allegoriae in Homeri fabulas de diis, nunc primum è Graeco sermone in Latinum translatae*. Basel 1544: no. 15 (pp. 622–628) – from Gu. (?)].
9. **Gu.** [= Cyri Theodori Prodromi *epigrammata ut uetustissima, ita pijssima, quibus omnia utriusq(ue) testamenti capita felicissime comprehenduntur: cum alijs nonnullis, quae Index uersa pagella singillatim explicat*. Basel 1536:³¹⁷ nos. 1^{I–VI} (λ 4^v–7^v), 13 (v1^r–4^r), 14 (μ3^r–7^v), 16 (ξ 2^r), 18 (ξ 3) – the edition was based on a now lost manuscript from England brought to Guntius by

³¹⁷ Cf. Ἐν Βασιλείᾳ πόλει τῆς Γερμανίας. Griechischer Geist aus Basler Pressen (*Publikationen der Universitätsbibliothek Basel* 15). Basel 1992, 754–756, no. 458.

the German humanist Simon Grynaeus;³¹⁸ hence, Hieronymos Guntius' edition should be treated as *codicis instar*.

10. **Ky.** [= Ἱερογραφικὴ Ἀρμονία ἐκ διαφόρων ἐμμέτρων Ποιημάτων Θεοδώρου τοῦ Πτωχοπροδρόμου, Γεωργίου τοῦ Πισίδου καὶ Νικηφόρου τοῦ Ξανθοπούλου εἰς ἓν συντεθεῖσα καὶ διορθωθεῖσα, ἀξιοχρέως προσεφωνήθη τῷ παναγιωτάτῳ καὶ θειοτάτῳ Οἰκουμενικῷ Πατριάρχῃ κυρίῳ κυρίῳ Καλλινίκῳ παρὰ τοῦ ἐξ Ἀνδρουπόλεως Ἐλλογιμωτάτου μεγάλου Ἀρχidiaκόνου τῆς Ἀγίας τοῦ Χριστοῦ μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας κυρίου Κυρίλλου οὗ καὶ τοῖς ἀναλώμασι διὰ κοινήν τοῦ γένους ὠφέλειαν ἤδη τύποις ἐξεδόθη. Ἐν τῷ τοῦ Πατριαρχείου τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τυπογραφείῳ. Κυρίλλου... Ἱερογραφικὴ Ἀρμονία. Istanbul 1802: nos. 13 (pp. 108-110), 14 (pp. 103-107), 18 (the number of the page is not indicated in the edition, but it precedes the table of contents) – from Gu.].

11. **La.** [= Sp. LAMBROS, Σύμμικτα· Βυζαντιακὰ Ἐπιγράμματα. NE 8 (1911): no. 18 (pp. 100-101) – from cod. Vu].

12. **Me.** [= G. MERCATI and P. Franchi DE' CAVALIERI, Codices Vaticani Graeci, I. Codices 1-329. Rome 1923: no. 3 (p. 451) – from cod. W].

13. **Merc.** [= S.G. MERCATI, Collectanea Byzantina, II. Bari 1970: no. 5 (p. 355, only the last poem) – from cod. C].

14. **Mi.** [= J.P. MIGNE, Patrologia Graeca, 133. Paris 1864: nos. 1^{I-VI} (1224A-1230A – from Gu.), 2 (1223B-C – from Th.), 7 (1223A-B – from Mil.), 12 (1419C-1422A) – from Th.), 13 (1333A-1340A – from Gu.), 16 (1419A-1420A – from Gu.), 19 (1418B – from Th.), 20 (1416C-1517B – from Th.), 21 (1415C – from Th.)].

15. **Mig.** [= J.P. MIGNE, Patrologia Graeca, 120. Paris 1864, 1197 A-B]: poem no. 7 – from Mil.)].

16. **Mil.** [= E. MILLER, Manuelis Philae Carmina, I-II. Paris 1855-57 (reprinted Amsterdam 1967): nos. 4 (II, 355-356 – from codd. R and m), 7 (II, 389 – from cod. Σ), 17 (II, 269 – from cod. Σ)].

17. **Mo.** [= F. MORELLUS, Prosopopoeia virtutum et vitiorum. Paris 1611, 16]: nos. 2 (p. 16 – from cod. R), 15 (pp. 4-11 – from cod. R)].

18. **Mor.** [= Carmen gr. iambographi in divam Barbaram virginem et martyrem. F. Morellus ... trimetros è Bibliotheca regia eruit, recensuit & senariis latinis expressit. His accesserunt M. Ant. Mureti Hymni, et senatoris tolosani epigr.[amma] in eandem Divam, cum graeca eiusdem F. Morelli metaphrasi. Parisiis 1614. Descrizione fisica: 4-11: no. 5 – from cod. R].

19. **Pa.** [= S. PAPADIMITRIOU, Feodor Prodrom. Odessa 1905, 178-179: no. 11 – from cod. N].

20. **Pi.** [= N. PICCOLOS, Supplément à l'anthologie grecque, contenant des épigrammes et autres poésies légères inédites. Paris 1853, 220-224): no. 15 – from cod. Lc].

21. **Sa.** [= I. SAJDAK, Historia critica scholiastarum et commentatorum Gregorii Nazianzeni (*Meletemata Patristica* I). Krakow 1914, 258-259: no. 1^{II} (only the poem on Gregory of Nazianzus) – from cod. Py].

22. **Th.** [= F.J.G. LA PORTE Du THEIL, Notice d'un manuscrit de la bibliothèque du Vatican, coté CCCV, parmi les manuscrits Grecs. *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale et d'autres bibliothèques* VIII (1810) 2: nos. 2 (p. 193), 7 (p. 193), 10 (p. 531), 12 (p. 195), 16 (p. 191), 17 (p. 194), 19 (p. 185), 20 (p. 184), 21 (pp. 183-184) – from cod. V].

23. **We.** [= C. WELZ, *Analecta Byzantina. Carmina inedita Theodori Prodromi et Stephani Physopalamitae* (Diss. Straßburg). Leipzig 1910, 61-62: no. 18 – from codd. H and N].

³¹⁸ For more details on this issue see NÄSTUREL, *Prodromica* 761-770, esp. 766-770.

4.2 Principles of the Edition

The edition of the “neglected poems” is provided with two apparatuses:

- (I) An *apparatus codicum et editionum* in which the manuscript(s), as well as the edition(s), that have been taken into account for the poem in question, are listed.
- (II) An *apparatus criticus* which is normally negative, except for cases in which the risk of confusion must be prevented. Typical orthographical errors due to the phenomenon of *iotacism* (confusion between ε/αι, ο/ω, β/υ, σθ/στ, etc) are normally not indicated in the apparatus. The same applies to the movable ν, whilst any change of the breathing is noted only when the meaning of the word/verse alters.

The text of the present edition reproduces mainly that of V, the only exception being the poems not preserved in it. The order of the *sigla codicum* in both apparatuses is alphabetical. With regard to previous editions, while the present edition does not aim to overburden the apparatus criticus, it would be a flaw of the edition to leave out some interesting variants or even some emendations of previous editions which in some cases are hard to retrieve.³¹⁹ Conversely, if the reading of a previous edition was based on a manuscript that is used for the present edition, it is excluded from the apparatus criticus. Of course, all the peculiar readings of Gu. are meticulously noted, since, as mentioned above, it is the copy of a now lost independent manuscript. Finally, a previous editor is credited whenever he has corrected the text of Gu.

4.2.1 Punctuation

Over the last years some investigations into punctuation, as it appears in Byzantine manuscripts, have been carried out, while its application – after a certain degree of normalization – to modern editorial practice gains more and more momentum,³²⁰ notwithstanding some scholarly views which stand opposed to this.³²¹ Needless to say, our scholarly attention has been focused on prose texts, as a very limited number of examples are associated with texts written in verse.³²² Therefore, it was tempting for me to scrutinize the

³¹⁹ For a similar method see ANTONOPOULOU, Leonis VI Sapientis Imperatoris Byzantini Homiliae CCXX ff.

³²⁰ On this issue see the seminal contributions in GIANNOULI – SCHIFFER, *From Manuscripts to Books*.

³²¹ See PÉREZ MARTÍN, *Review and BYDÉN*, *Imprimatur* 155–166; cf. also CULLHED, *Parekbolai* 124–133.

³²² They are summarized in a recent paper given by A. Rhoby at the last Congress on Byzantine palaeography in Hamburg under the title “Beobachtungen zur Paläographie mittel- und spätbyzantinischer Inschriften” (forthcoming). It is also worth noting that even at the recent international workshop ‘Edition and Interpretation’ taking place in Cyprus (6–8 December 2013) the emphasis was once more put upon prose texts.

punctuation practice of a Palaeologan scribe (i.e. Theophylaktos Saponopoulos) who copied Komnenian poems for his own needs.

Having thoroughly examined the punctuation of V, on which the present edition is substantially based, I would like to make some provisional observations. To begin with, Saponopoulos places a (punctuation) mark at the end of almost every single verse, even when there is no need. It is, therefore, clear that these marks do not only indicate the pauses to be taken into consideration when the poem is read, but that they also have a visual function, as they help the reader to notice the end of each verse. This argument is strengthened even more if we compare the presentation of a poem to that of a prose text within V, since the latter texts do not have a mark at the end of every single line.

In V we come across the following marks: the semi-colon (;), *ὑποδιαστολή* (,), *ὑποστιγμή* (.), *μέση/ἄνω στιγμή* (it is not possible to distinguish between these two marks), double upper dot (¨), colon (:), cross (+), and colon followed by a dash (:-). In an attempt to normalize the function of the above-mentioned marks, I have ascribed to them the following tendencies (with certain overlappings and discrepancies):

The cross (+) is usually placed towards the end of a poem. It is the same for the colon followed by a dash (:-) as well as the colon (:). Nevertheless, both of them have some supplementary functions: the former is also placed next to the titles, while the latter can signify a rather short pause indicated in the edition with a comma or an upper dot. Moreover, in some cases, there is no need to indicate the colon with a punctuation mark in the edition (e.g. no. 1^{II}, vv. 1–2: Θεολογίης μέγα κάρτος ἀείσομαι, ἀγνὸν ἱρῆα | Γρηγόριον, Πώμης ποιμένα κουροτέρης.).

Turning to the *ὑποδιαστολή*, which is to be found either within a verse or at the very end, it normally marks a very short pause indicated in the edition with the insertion of a comma. But at the same time, like the colon, this is not always indicated in the edition. In some cases the *ὑποδιαστολή* is placed after the particles μέν and δέ in two successive verses (e.g. no. 13, vv. 47–48: καὶ τὴν μὲν(,) εἰσδέξαιτο πόντιος δράκων | τὸν δέ(,) σφαλέντα θήρ χαρὰ δαῖος φάγοι),³²³ in all likelihood, in this way the scribe seeks to lay emphasis on the distinction.

The only exception was the paper by E. Afentoulidou – J. Fuchsbaauer entitled “The *Dioptra* and its Versions as Challenge for the Editors”.

³²³ The same observation has been made by Polemis in his recent edition of the theological treatise of George of Pelagonia preserved in Ambrosianus gr. D 28 sup.; see POLEMIS, *Theologica* XIV, CLXII.

Of considerable interest is the double upper dot (¨), which I have never come across in other manuscripts; it cannot, therefore, be excluded on the grounds that it is an idiosyncratic feature, or even a fault of the scribe. At any rate, whenever it occurs in the manuscript I have replaced it with a comma in the edition. As for the μέση στιγμή and ἄνω στιγμή, which Saponopoulos does not always seem to distinguish, their equivalent in the text of the edition is a full-stop or a high dot. Simultaneously, these marks occur also within the verse for the syntactic separation of words, thereby acquiring the role of a modern comma. As has rightly been observed, the ὑποστιγμή (.) in prose texts is the equivalent of a modern comma.³²⁴ Although the same normally applies to the scribe of V, there exist some cases where the use of the ὑποστιγμή suggests the indication of a strong pause. For this reason, I have decided to place a full-stop in the edition.

The combination of dot and comma (;) in the Byzantine manuscripts does not stand only for a question mark, but also for an upper dot or a comma.³²⁵ So far as I can say, Saponopoulos seems to adhere faithfully to this rule. Additionally, the interrogation is indicated with an upper dot due to the existence of the interrogative pronouns. However, in at least one case, namely, in no. 16, v. 2 (Ἐτυχες, εὔρες, ἔλαβες, κατέσχες μου τὰς τρίχας;), Saponopoulos does not place a semicolon but an upper dot, in spite of the absence of an interrogative pronoun. Nevertheless, in the edition the indication of the interrogative sentences is always signified by the insertion of a semicolon. What is more, Hörandner, in a recent article, has demonstrated how in a dodecasyllabic poem on the Psalter preserved in codex Bodl. Auct. D.4.I, the unidentified scribe highlights the so-called *Binnenschlüsse* by placing a dot or leaving bigger spacing.³²⁶ Saponopoulos, however, does not seem to follow this practice.

Briefly put, it is beyond doubt that the systematic examination of punctuation in poetic works as found in Byzantine manuscripts is a *desideratum*. On the basis of these rather brief remarks, one may maintain that despite the fact that the punctuation marks appearing within the text of the poems in V do not differ substantially from that of Byzantine prose texts, certain deviations are obvious. As for the present edition, although V is not an autograph, I frequently follow the punctuation that appears in V, for two reasons: firstly, it offers us valuable snapshots of how Prodromic poetry was read and perceived by its

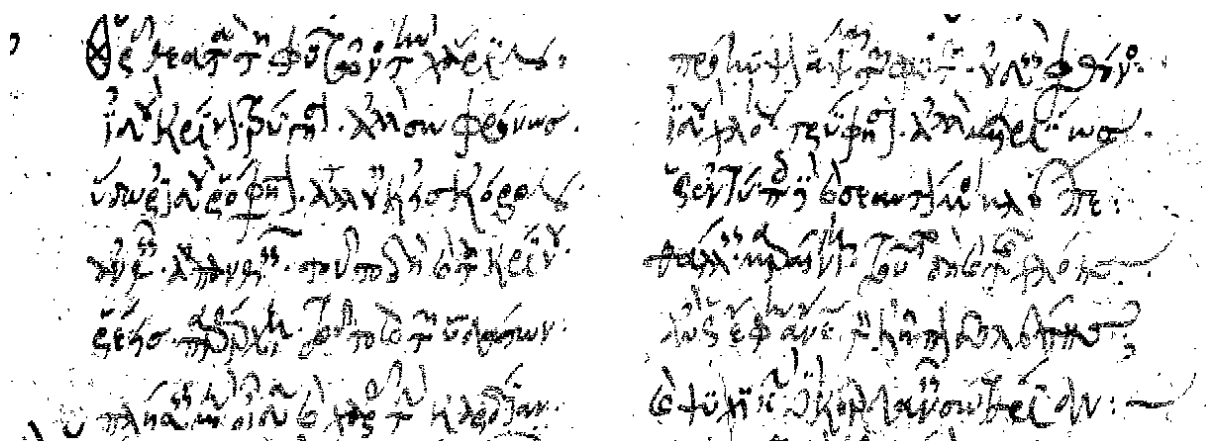
³²⁴ See, e.g., GIANNOULI, Leon Balianites, *Exegetische Didaskalien* 81.

³²⁵ See RANDOLPH, *The sign of Interrogation in Greek Minuscule Manuscripts* 309–319.

³²⁶ See HÖRANDNER, *Weitere Beobachtungen zu Byzantinischen Figurengedichten und Tetragrammen* 298 with a plate.

subsequent Byzantine readers. And secondly, it frequently provides a text more comprehensible to the modern reader. A telling example are the verses 3–5 and 7–9 from the first epigram of a cycle of epigrams under the title “On the garden”, especially when they are compared with the punctuation of previous editions:

Vaticanus gr. 305, fol. 121^v, On the Garden



New edition	Previous edition (Welz 1910)
Ὅρᾳς, θεατά, τοῦ φυτῶνος τὴν χάριν, πρόκυψον, ἄψαι τῶν φυτῶν, οὐδεὶς φθόνος. Ἴδου κρίνον, τρύγησον, ἀλλὰ σωφρόνως· ἰδοὺ χλόη, τρύφησον, ἀλλὰ μετρίως· 5 ὕδωρ ἰδοὺ ρόφησον, ἀλλ’ οὐκ εἰς κόρον· ὥς ἐν τύποις δὲ καὶ σεαυτὸν μοι βλέπε. Ἀνθεῖς, ἀπανθεῖς, τοῦτο δὴ καὶ τοῦ κρίνου· θάλλεις, μαραίνει, τοῦτο δὴ καὶ τῆς χλόης· ῥέεις, παρέρχη, τοῦτο καὶ τῶν ὑδάτων. 10 Ἄν, ὥς ἔφην, ἄνθρωπε, τὸν κῆπον βλέπεις, πλήσεις μὲν, οἶδα, καὶ χαρᾶς τὴν καρδίαν, καὶ ψυχικὴν δὲ κερδανεῖς σωτηρίαν.	Ὅρᾳς θεατά τοῦ φυτῶνος τὴν χάριν, πρόκυψον, ἄψαι τῶν φυτῶν· οὐδεὶς φθόνος. Ἴδου κρίνον τρύγησον, ἀλλὰ σωφρόνως. Ἴδου χλόη τρύφησον, ἀλλὰ μετρίως. 5 Ὑδωρ ἰδοὺ ρόφησον, ἀλλ’ οὐκ εἰς κόρον· ὥς ἐν τύποις δὲ καὶ σεαυτὸν μοι βλέπε. Ἀνθεῖς ἀπανθεῖς, τοῦτο δὴ καὶ τοῦ κρίνου, θάλλεις μαραίνει, τοῦτο δὴ καὶ τῆς χλόης, ῥέεις παρέρχη, τοῦτο καὶ τῶν ὑδάτων. 10 Ἄν, ὥς ἔφην, ἄνθρωπε, τὸν κῆπον βλέπεις, πλήσεις μὲν, οἶδα, καὶ χαρᾶς τὴν καρδίαν, καὶ ψυχικὴν δὲ κερδανεῖς σωτηρίαν.

At the same time, however, it was not always possible to adopt the punctuation of the manuscript. Thus, a modernizing approach was followed in cases which would cause confusion to the modern reader. For example, in v. 2 a comma is necessary for the separation of the two imperative forms “πρόκυψον” and “ἄψαι”.

To conclude, apart from the aforementioned replacements of the punctuation marks with their modern equivalent marks, I have also replaced the middle dot with a question mark in all interrogative sentences; I have placed a comma before the salutations, although in the manuscripts a punctuation mark (either a *άνω στιγμή* or a *ύποστιγμή*) can be found only after them. Moreover, I have introduced triple spacing after the *Binnenschluss* of each

dodecasyllabic verse in order to facilitate the modern reader. Lastly, it should be noted that in the edition parenthetical sentences are indicated with dashes, while no use of exclamation marks is to be found.

4.2.2 Spelling, Word Division and Accentuation

Following the usage of the best manuscripts, I have written *μη δὲ* and *γοῦν* instead of *μηδὲ* and *γ'οῦν*, respectively. In the same vein, in most of the manuscripts the negation *οὐχ'* is written with an apostrophe.³²⁷ On the other hand, irrespective of whether the manuscripts indicate the iota subscriptum or not, it has been restored in all cases according to the rules of traditional spelling and grammar; the same goes for the coronis.³²⁸ Furthermore, the names of the persons of the Holy Trinity (*Πατήρ/Νοῦς*, *Υἱός/Λόγος*, *Πνεῦμα*, as well as *Θεός*, *Τριάς*, *Κύριος*) as well as the personified notions (e.g., *Φιλία* and *Ξένος*) are consistently written with capital letters.³²⁹

Special reference should be made to the accentuation of the enclitics. Marc Lauxtermann, in his excellent essay, “The Spring of Rhythm”, induces future contemporary editors of Byzantine poetry, among many things, to take into special consideration the enclitics.³³⁰ More recently, in his edition of the *Various Verses* of Christophoros Mitylenaios, Marc De Groote includes an impeccable examination of this neglected issue.³³¹ Having applied his exemplary method to my edition, the appearance of the accentuation of the enclitics in the manuscripts can be summarized as follows:³³²

The Typical Enclitics

A. Personal pronouns

Μου/μοι/με

³²⁷ The form *οὐχ'* is the elided form of *οὐχί*. Note also that this appears to be the twelfth-century fashion. On this issue see the recent edition of the hagiographical work of Zonaras by Kaltsogianni; see KALTSOGIANNI, *Zωναράς* 498.

³²⁸ E.g. the scribe V writes *κάντεῦθεν* instead of *κάντεῦθεν*.

³²⁹ In accordance with Antonopoulou's principles in the edition of Leo's homilies; cf. ANTONOPOULOU, Leonis VI Sapientis Imperatoris Byzantini Homiliae CCXXVII.

³³⁰ LAUXTERMANN, *The Spring of Rhythm* 98.

³³¹ See DE GROOTE, Christophori Mitylenaii LXXIII–XCIV and DE GROOTE, *The accentuation in the Various Verses of Christophoros Mitylenaios* 133–145 along with comprehensive literature on this matter.

³³² The examination of the enclitics includes all the manuscripts dated up to the sixteenth century as well as the edition of Guntius. A manuscript is not noted when it transmits a different or irrelevant reading. Moreover, following the example of De Groote the references numbers of dodecasyllables are italicized if the citation signifies a B5, and underlined if it signifies a B7; a dotted underline indicates citations which constitute the end of the verse.

The genitive form of the personal pronoun following faithfully the classical rules is always enclitic:

No. 13: δημιουργέ μου VEsILh Gu. (v. 1); Χριστέ μου VEsILh Gu. (v. 52).

No. 14: τοιαῦτά μου V Gu. (v. 155); φιλῶ μου V Gu. (v. 197).

No. 15: Ὑπηρετεῖ μου RXLcLsPaVc (v. 3a); ζυγῶ μου RXLcLsPaVcVo (6a); μαρτυρεῖ μου RXLcLsPaVcVo (v. 18b).

No. 16: κατέσχες μου VBeHHeILMoNPavRZ Gu. (v. 2); γυμνόν μου VHeILMoNPavRZ Gu. (v. 5) : γυμνόν σου Be; πόδας μου VBeHHeILMoNPavRZ Gu. (v. 6); κνήμας μου VBeHHeILMoNPavRZ Gu. (v. 7); ἔσχες μου VBeHHeILMoNVrZ Gu. (v. 12); πόδας μου VBeHHeILMoNVrZ Gu. (v. 16); κνήμας μου VBeHHeILMoNVrZ Gu. (v. 17).

The same goes for the dative form:

No. 18: ἐκπόνει μοι L (v. 15).

No. 11: τοῦτο μοι WN (v. 7) : τοῦτό μοι Pa.; εὐλόγει μοι WN Pa. (v. 21).

No. 13: κενοῖς μοι VEsI Gu. (v. 131).

No. 14: ἀλλά μοι V Gu. (v. 31); γινώθι μοι V Gu. (v. 97);³³³ εἰπέ μοι V Gu. (v. 191); συμφεύγουσί μοι V Gu. (v. 261); σύνελθέ μοι V Gu. (v. 269); ἄν μοι V Gu. (v. 283).

No. 18: σεαυτόν μοι VAcBeHHeLMtNNdPPfRVbVrXZ Gu. (1st poem, v. 6).

Indeed, in the case of no. 8 there exists a strict adherence to the classical rules, although a proparoxytonic B5 is formed:

ὃ δ' ἐκπόνει μοι || τῆς δεήσεως λύσιν L

The accusative με behaves in the same way, as is shown by the following 24 cases:

No. 1¹: ἀλλά με VP (1st poem, v. 21).

No. 9: ὦν με ViNO (v. 12).

No. 10: πρό με VPi (1st poem, v. 6).

No. 11: συντήκουσά με WN Pa. (v. 9); βυθοῦ με Pa. (v. 11).

No. 13: πείθει με VEsI Gu. (v. 7).

No. 14: ἐξύβριζε με V Gu. (v. 17); ἐξέρριπτε με V Gu. (v. 18); μόνος με V Gu. (v. 46); γάρ με V Gu. (v. 172); τρέφωσί με V Gu. (v. 180).

No. 15: εἴλοντό με RXLcLsPaVcVo (15b); στέργουσί με RXLsPaVcVo (16a) : στέργουσί μοι Lc; σχών με RXLcLsPaVc (20a); στέργοντά με RXLcLsPaVcVo (24a).

No. 17: Γυμνόν με VBeHHeILMoNPavRZ Gu. (v. 5); Τί με VBeHHeILMoNPavRZ Gu. (v. 9); Τί με VBeHHeILMoNPavRZ Gu. (v. 10).

No. 19: ἡμετέρου με VHPz (v. 1); Γινώθι με VHPz (v. 8); ὅς με VHPz (v. 8).

No. 20: νῦν με VLPz (v. 1); καί με VLPz (v. 16); ἢ μ' VLPz (v. 17).

Σου/Σοι/Σε

Similarly, the enclitic form of the personal pronoun σύ is in accordance with the classical rules:

³³³ Reasons of emphasis might necessitate the throw of the accent onto the preceding paroxytonon; cf. DE GROOTE, The accentuation in the Various Verses of Christophoros Mitylenaios 144.

No. 9: ἡπείλησέ σου ViNO (v. 3).

No. 14: πατρός σου V Gu. (v. 30).

No. 16 δέξαι σου VBeHHeILMoNPavRZ Gu. (v. 1) δέξαι σου VBeHHeILMoNVrZ Gu. (v. 11).

No. 18: δένδρα σου VAcBeHHeLMtNPRVbVrXZ Gu. (2nd poem, v. 1).

The same goes for the dative form, as is shown by 15 cases:

No. 5, ἐστί σοι BaRLVg (1st poem, v. 5) : λαμπάς σοι Ne; ιστούργησέ σοι BaRCFcLNeVg (10th poem, v. 2); ἐσφαίρωσέ σοι BaRCFcLNeVg (v. 3); ἐξήνθησέ σοι BaRFcLVg (v. 4).

No. 11: καί σοι WN Pa. (v. 20).

No. 13: νήζεταιί σοι VEsILh Gu. (v. 28); φεύζεταιί σοι VEsILh Gu. (v. 29).

No. 14: ἐμπαροινήσαντά σοι V Gu. (v. 22); ἐγώ σοι V Gu. (v. 279); εἶ σοι V Gu. (v. 284); ἐξεστί σοι V Gu. (v. 286);

No. 16: τάχα σοι VBeHHeILMoNVrZ Gu. (v. 16); προσίπταμαί σοι VBeHHeILMoNVrZ Gu. (v. 17); τάχα σοι VBeHHeILMoNVrZ Gu. (v. 18).

As to the accusative form, we encounter the same picture:

No. 5: ἄξιοι σε BaRLNeVg (1st poem, v. 1); ἐνδύει σε BaRNeVg (v. 3); χρωννύς σε BaRLNeVg (v. 4); ἀετός σε BaRLNeVg (4th poem, v. 6); κτείναντά σε BaRFcLNeVg (6th poem, v. 3).

No. 8: μέν σε L (v. 2).

No. 9: ἐπριάμην σε ViNO (v. 10).

No. 12: μὴ δέ σε VP (v. 17).

No. 14: ἰδού σε V Gu. (v. 267); δράσω σε V Gu. (280)

No. 16: παρίπταμαί σε VBeHeILPa (v. 7) : περίπταμαί σε HMoNVrZ Gu..

No. 18: Ὅρων σε VAcBeHHeLMtNNdPPfRVbVrXZ Gu. (2nd poem, v. 1).

It should be noted that in no. 9 the preservation of the classical rules is preferred over the avoidance of a proparoxytonic B5:

ἐπριάμην σε || τὴν ἀπάντων δεσπότην

B. The indefinite pronoun τίς/τις

Regardless of whether the indefinite pronoun is related to the proceeding word or carries the meaning “someone/something”, it is mostly enclitic, as is shown by the following cases:

No. 4: δύνανται τι Rm (v. 23).

No. 8: δεηθῇ τις L (v. 14).

No. 13: πύθοιτό τι VEsILh Gu. (v. 4).

No. 14: λέγοι τις V Gu. (v. 110); Οὐδέν τι³³⁴ V (v. 137); βούλοιτό τις V Gu. (v. 172); εἶποι τις V Gu. (v. 199).

However, in some cases there are certain discrepancies between the manuscripts:

³³⁴ Οὐδέν τοι Gu.

No. 5: Μή τις BaRL : μὴ τις Vg (8th poem, v. 2).

No. 13: ἴδοι τι VI (v. 4) : ἴδοι τι Es : ἴδοι τί Gu.; Καί τις VEsILh Gu. (v. 64) : καὶ τίς Lh

No. 14: ταῦτά τις V (v. 206) : ταῦτα τίς Gu..

C. The adverb Ποτέ

The adverb ποτέ, encountered only once in the present edition, does not behave as enclitic, for it constitutes a reference to the following word:³³⁵

No. 1^{II}: τῆς νέον ἡμετέρης καὶ ποτὲ ἡμετέρης VPy Gu. (2nd poem, v. 6).

D. The conjunction τέ/τε

The conjunction τέ/τε is normally treated as encliticon in the manuscripts (without any irregularities):

No. 1: πτηνέ τε πεζέ τε VP Gu. (1st poem, v. 11); Πητήρ τε πρηκτήρ τε VP Gu. (v. 19); καί τε VPy Gu. (2nd poem, v. 18); καί τε VAXY Gu. (3rd poem, v. 20); σύν τε δέουσ' V (4th poem, v. 6); καί τε V (v. 7); κόσμου δέ τε V Gu. (v.13); ἔκ τε V Gu. (v. 16); ἦν τε V Gu. (v. 20); ἔς τε V Gu. (6th poem, v. 13); χεῖρά τε καί τε V Gu. (v. 20); ἔς τε V Gu. (v. 24); καί τε V Gu. (v. 24).

No. 6: τόκοις τε PiL (v. 3); ἔκ τε PiL (v. 7).

No. 12: ἄλλους δέ τε VPN (v. 3); θευλογίη τε VPN (v. 5); ἄπασά τε VPN (v. 5); μαψίδιόν τε VPN (v. 14); βίβλων τε VP (v. 19); λόγων τε VP (v. 19); καί τε VP (v. 21); καί τε VP (v. 21).

No. 14: καλόν τε V Gu. (v. 33); τόν τε V Gu. (v. 185); Λόχος τε V Gu. (v. 254).

No. 19: δέ τε VHPz (v. 4); καί τε VHPz (v. 7).

However, in two instances the manuscripts display disagreement as to the treatment of the word as encliticon or not. In my edition, I have preferred to treat them as enclitica, since there are no metrical implications.

No. 1^{II}: σοῦς τε V Gu. (v. 24) : σοῦς τὲ Py.

No. 13: ὀπτῶν τε Es Gu. (v. 161) : ὀπτῶν τὲ VI.

On the other hand, I have adopted the accentuated form in no. 14 (v. 94). This is the case because a proparoxytonic B5 can be avoided:

No. 14: ἀλλ' εἰς μέσον τὲ || τῶν ὀπωρῶν τὴν φθίσιν (μέσον τὶ Gu.)

E. Particles

³³⁵ For similar examples see DE GROOTE, Christophori Mitylenaii LXXX–LXXXI.

- (a) Γε
It is always enclitic:

No. 1^{IV}: σύ γε V Gu. (4th poem, v. 19)

No. 4: ὅλην γε Rm (v. 10).

No. 10: σύ γε VPi (1st poem, v. 1).

- (b) ῥά
Reversely, the particle ῥά always keeps its accent:³³⁶

No. 1: ὅς ῥά VP Gu. (1st poem, v. 5); τοῦ ῥά VAxY Gu. (3rd poem, v. 13).

No. 6: ἦ ῥά PiL (v. 3).

F. The Verb Εἰμί³³⁷

The first person singular of the verb εἰμί does not behave as encliticon:

No. 14: μὲν εἰμὶ V Gu. (v. 174).

No. 16: Γυμνὸς εἰμὶ VBeHHeILMoNVrZ Gu. (v. 14).

No. 19: φορευμένη εἰμὶ VHPz (v. 3).

With regard to no. 14, it is worth noting that the presence of an accent has also a metrical implication, as a proparoxytonic B5 is avoided:

Ἐγὼ μὲν εἰμὶ || χαροπός, χρηστὰ βλέπω

The oxytonic third person singular ἐστί(v) is always accentuated regardless whether it is preceded by a proparoxytonon or an oxytonon:

No. 5: αὐτὸς ἐστί BaRLVg (1st poem, v. 5).

No. 14: εὐρυθμός ἐστιν V (v. 154) : εὐρυθμός ἐστιν Gu.; ποτ' ἐστίν, V Gu. (v. 202).

Similarly, the paroxytonic ἔστι(v) always keeps its accent:

No. 14: Κόσμος ἔστι VN Gu. (v. 16);

No. 18: οὐκ ἔστι VBeHHeLMtNPRVrXZ Gu. (5th poem, v. 8).

No. 19: δυσαλθέος ἔστιν VHNpZ (v. 5).

It is worth mentioning that the manuscripts violate the rule of Herodian, according to which a paroxytonic ἔστι(v) can only be used in the beginning of a new sentence or after the negation οὐκ.

The New Enclitics

A. Δε

³³⁶ Cf. also PAPAGIANNIS, *Tetrasticha*, I, 212.

³³⁷ Cf. *ibid.* 212–213.

Regardless of the accentuation of the preceding word the particle δέ normally keeps its accent, as shown below:

No. 1: Τριάδι δέ VPy Gu. (2nd poem, v. 20); Τριάδι δέ VPy Gu. (2nd poem, v. 21); Κομάνοις δέ V Gu. (4th poem, v. 17); βροτῶν δε V Gu. (5th poem, v. 19).

No. 124: Λαμπὰς δέ BaRLVg (1st poem, v. 5) : λαμπρά γε Ne; νεόττιον δέ BaRLNeVg (4th poem, v. 5); τὴν δέ BaLNeVg (5th poem, v. 3); πῦρ δέ BaRLNeVg (v. 6); σὸν δέ BaRLNeVg (6th poem, v. 3); ἐν δέ BaRLNeVg (v. 6); βάρβαρος δέ BaRLNeVg (9th poem, v. 3).

No. 8: γυμνὸς δέ L (v. 3); κρίσει δέ L (v. 12).

No. 9: φθερεῖν δέ ViNo (v. 3).

No. 10: μὴ δέ VPi (1st poem, v. 3); σὺ δέ VPi (v. 5); χολὴν δέ VPi (v. 5).

No. 11: ἐκ δέ WN Pa. (v. 10).

No. 12: ἄπιστα δέ VPN (v. 23).

No. 13: βρύων δέ VEsI Gu. (v. 11); μετρῶν δέ VEsI Gu. (v. 11); ὥρας δέ VEsLh Gu. (v. 12); γεννῶν δέ VEsILh Gu. (v. 13) : γενῶν δέ Lh (sic); χίονος δέ VEsILh Gu. (v. 35); Σφαιροῖ δέ VEsILh Gu. (v. 37); Τρέφει δέ VEsI Gu. (v. 38) : στρέφει δέ Lh (sic); τὸν δέ VEsILh Gu. (v. 48); γενῶν δέ Gu. (v. 60) : γενοῖν δέ VEsILh (sic); μαθήσεως δέ VEsI (v. 75); μὴ δέ VEs (v. 75); λαλεῖν δέ VEsILh Gu. (v. 77); ὄλας δέ VEsILh Gu. (v. 79); κτίζει δέ VEsILh Gu. (v. 80); ἵππων δέ VILh Gu. (v. 81) : ἵππων δε Es; χρυσοῖς δέ VEsILh Gu. (v. 83); προέρχεται δέ VEsILh Gu. (v. 84); Ἄλλος δέ VEsILh Gu. (v. 87); καλλίων δέ VEsI Gu. (v. 88); ἀρετῆς δέ VEsI Gu. (v. 94); τωθάζεται δέ VEsI Gu. (v. 96); παράφρονας δέ VEsI Gu. (v. 106); ἄμφω δέ VEsI Gu. (v. 119); τὸν δέ VEsI Gu. (v. 127); γέλως δε VI Gu. (v. 142); οὔτος δέ VEsI Gu. (v. 144); Ἐμοὶ δέ VEsI Gu. (v. 147); ἀγχίστροφον δέ VEsI Gu. (v. 148); Οἶαν δέ VEsI Gu. (v. 153); γῆν δέ VEsI Gu. (v. 163).

No. 14: ὁ δέ VN Gu. (v. 8); ἡ δέ VN Gu. (v. 8); ὁ δέ VN Gu. (v. 10); ἡ δέ VN Gu. (v. 10); ἀγχιθυρεῖ δέ V (v. 81) : ἀγχιθυρεῖ δε Gu.; ἡ δέ V Gu. (v. 84); τέτταρας δέ V Gu. (v. 88); ὥρας δέ V Gu. (v. 97); ἔχει δέ V Gu. (v. 105); ἐνδύεται δέ V Gu. (v. 106); δυνάς δέ V Gu. (v. 114); ἀναδραμεῖν δέ V Gu. (v. 131); ἐπιδραμεῖν δέ Gu. (v. 132); ἡμᾶς δέ V Gu. (v. 165); πάσχω δέ V Gu. (v. 183); βάρβαρος δέ V Gu. (v. 189); Ἐγὼ δέ V Gu. (v. 196); πνέεις δέ V Gu. (v. 205); ὅπως δέ V Gu. (v. 218); Ἐγὼ δέ V Gu. (v. 225); κόλον δέ V Gu. (v. 235); θυγατέρες δέ V Gu. (v. 255); Ἐγὼ δέ V Gu. (v. 258); οἶκτος δέ V Gu. (v. 259); συνεννοῶ δέ V Gu. (v. 263); Λαλεῖν δέ V (v. 289) : λαχεῖν δέ Gu.; Τοὺς δέ V Gu. (v. 294).

No. 15: τιθῶ δέ RXLcLsPaVcVo (v. 4b); ὁρμῆς δέ RXLcLsPaVcVo (22b); ἐργάζομαι δέ RXLcLsPaVc (23b); στομῶ δέ RXLcLsPaVc (25b)

No. 16: μὴ δέ VBeHHeILMoNPaVrZ Gu. (v. 4); μὴ δέ VBeHHeILMoNVrZ Gu. (v. 13)

No. 17: αὐτοῖς δέ VBPPoPzX (1b).

No. 18: τύποις δέ VAcBeHHeLMtNNdPPfRVbVrXZ Gu. (1st poem, v. 6); ψυχικὴν δέ VAcBeHHeLMtNNdPPfRVbVrXZ Gu. (v. 12); φαντάζομαι δέ VAcBeHHeLMtNNdPRVbVrXZ Gu. (2nd poem, v. 3); ἰδεῖν δέ VAcBeHHeLMtNNdPRVbVrXZ Gu. (3rd poem, v. 7)

No. 19: τὸν δέ VHPz (v. 4); ὅς δέ VHPz (v. 4).

No. 20: Οἶδμα δέ μ' VLPz (v. 4); ὑγρόβιον δέ VLPz (v. 7); δεχνομένη δέ VLPz (v. 18).

No. 21: Πausanías δέ VL (1st poem, v. 3).

In three cases the manuscripts treat the word as enclitic:

κεραύνιοι καὶ νῦν δε || πρὸς λαμπάδες BaRNeVg : (no. 124, 2nd poem, v. 3; νῦν δέ L)
ἐν τοῖς ἀσωμάτοις δε || δευτέρως νόοις V (no. 153, v. 38; ἀσωμάτως δέ Gu)
Ξηρὸν τὸ πῦρ, ὑγρόν δε || χύσις ἀέρος V (no. 153, v. 76; ὑγρὸν δέ Gu.)

Interestingly, in the second example the word behaves as enclitic, although the preceding word is neither an oxytonon nor a perispomenon³³⁸ but a paroxytonon. The only plausible explanation for me is that in this way an oxytonic B7 – at least visually – is avoided. But this would come in contrast with Hilberg's and Maas' observations, according to which, a monosyllabic word does not count before the caesura.³³⁹ Moreover, in other cases, the word keeps its accent, having as a result – again visually – the formation of an oxytonic B7. Moreover, in three cases, the word keeps its accent, having as a result the formation of an oxytonic B7:

τῷ χαλινεργάτῃ δὲ || τὸν στρατηλάτην V Gu. (no. 153, v. 118)
 Ἐξεστίν. Ἐν λύπαις δὲ || λυπεῖσθαι νόθοις; V Gu. (no. 153, v. 287)
 Μάλιστα. Τὰς στρεβλὰς δὲ || φεύγειν διπλόας V (no. 153, v. 288)

Although I cannot give a definitive answer to this question, in the edition I remain faithful to the manuscript.

B. Δ'

The elided particle δ' is mainly treated as encliticon, as shown by the following 39 cases:

No. 1: σοῖς δ' VPY Gu. (2nd poem, v. 16); Τριάδα δ' VPY Gu. (v. 20); Τριάδος δ' VPY Gu. (v. 21); ἡμῖν δ' VPY Gu. (v. 23); Γαίην δ' VAXY Gu. (3rd poem, v. 17).

No. 4: κειμένου δ' Rm (v. 4); Ποῖ δ' Rm (v. 9).

No. 5: πῦρ δ' BaRLNeVg (9th poem, v. 5); τὸ δ' BaRLNeVg (10th poem, v. 3); πορφύραν δ' BaRLVgC (v. 4).

No. 6: ἄορ δ' (v. 8).

No. 10: μήτηρ δ' VPi (2nd poem, v. 2).

No. 12: παῖζε δ' VPN (v. 22); Εἰ δ' VPN (v. 24)

No. 13: μὴ δ' VEsI Gu. (v. 23); νῦν δ' VEsI Gu. (v. 63); μὴ δ' VEsI Gu. (v. 72); οἱ δ' VEsI Gu. (v. 110); ὁ δ' VEsI Gu. (v. 112); Τὸ δ' VEsI Gu. (v. 119).

No. 14: ἡ δ' VN Gu. (v. 9); αἱ δ' VNe Gu. (v. 11); Τί δ' V Gu. (v. 23); νῦν δ' V Gu. (v. 27); μέση δ' V Gu. (v. 85); μελῶν δ' V Gu. (v. 104); εἰς δ' V (v. 161); Τί δ' Gu. V (v. 170); πόδας δ' V Gu. (v. 179); νῦν δ' V Gu. (v. 180); τῆς δ' V Gu. (v. 186); ἡ δ' V Gu. (v. 251); Ὅρκω δ' V Gu. (v. 279); Δύναιο δ' V Gu. (v. 283); ἔργω δ' V Gu. (v. 296).

No. 17: στέρνα δ' VBPPoPz (4b).

No. 19: ἡέρι δ' VHPz (v. 2).

No. 20: ἀνὴρ δ' VL (v. 9); ἀνὴρ δ' Pz.

³³⁸ This has been noted in DE GROOTE, Christophori Mitylenaii LXXXIX.

³³⁹ MAAS, Zwölfsilber 310 ff.

Nevertheless, whenever it carries the meaning “the other” or “then again” throws its accent onto the preceding word:

No. 8: ὅ δ’ L (v. 15).

No. 12: τό δ’ VP (v. 13).

No. 14: τήν δ’ V Gu. (v. 248); σέ δ’ V Gu. (v. 266);

Moreover, being in complete agreement with the observation of De Groote³⁴⁰ the word is always enclitic after the pronoun σύ:

No. 4: σύ δ’ Rm (v. 25).

No. 5: σύ δ’ BaRLVg (8th poem, v. 7) : σύ δ’ Ne.

No. 11: σύ δ’ WN Pa. (v. 21).

No. 12: σύ δ’ VPN (v. 16).

No. 14: σύ δ’ V Gu. (v. 204);

No. 20: σύ δ’ VLPz (v. 11).

On the other hand, no firm explanation can be given as to why, in the cases cited below, the word functions as encliticon:

No. 1^V ἐρατόν δ’ V Gu. (5th poem, v. 23).

No. 4: εὐθύς δ’ R the scribe replaced the grave with an acute (v. 12) : εὐθύς δ’ m;

No. 5: σκοπός δ’ BaRLVg (8th poem, v. 3).

No. 10: ἀγνός δ’ VPi (2nd poem, v. 3).

No. 14: Ἐπάν δ’ V Gu. (v. 237);

In any case, I have adopted them to my edition.³⁴¹

With respect to the particles μέν and μήν, they never appear to be enclitica. Both Papagiannis and De Groote, having spotted a limited number of exceptions, maintained that they are most likely nothing but scribal errors.³⁴²

³⁴⁰ DE GROOTE, Christophori Mitylenaii XC–XCI.

³⁴¹ See PAPAGIANNIS, Tetrasticha, I, 215–217.

³⁴² Cf. *ibid.* 215 and DE GROOTE, Christophori Mitylenaii XCI.

TABULA NOTARUM IN APPARATU CRITICO ADHIBITARUM

CODICES

<i>Ac</i>	<i>Athous Docheiariu</i> 108 S. XV
<i>Ax</i>	<i>Athous Vatopedinus</i> 56 S. XV
<i>B</i>	<i>Bodleianus Roe</i> 18 S. XIV
<i>Ba</i>	<i>Bodleianus Barocci</i> 197 S. XIV
<i>Be</i>	<i>Bern</i> 48 B S. XIV-XV
<i>C</i>	<i>Laurentianus Plut.</i> V 10 S. XIII
<i>Es</i>	<i>Escorialensis Y-III-9</i> S. XIV
<i>Fc</i>	<i>Laurentianus Conv. Soppres.</i> 121 S. XIV
<i>H</i>	<i>Heidelbergensis Palatinus gr.</i> 43 S. XIII
<i>Ha</i>	<i>Vaticanus Palatinus gr.</i> 367 S. XIV
<i>He</i>	<i>Heidelbergensis Palatinus gr.</i> 356 S. XIII
<i>I</i>	<i>Marcianus gr.</i> 436 S. XIII
<i>L</i>	<i>Laurentianus Acq. e Doni</i> 341 S. XVI
<i>Lc</i>	<i>Laurentianus Conv. Soppres.</i> 48 S. XIV
<i>Lh</i>	<i>Londiensis Harl.</i> 5624 S. XIV-XV
<i>Ls</i>	<i>Laurentianus San Marco</i> 318 S. XIV
<i>Mo</i>	<i>Monacensis gr.</i> 306 S. XVI
<i>Mt</i>	<i>Metochii S. Sepulchri</i> 797 S. XV-XVI
<i>N</i>	<i>Neapolitanus II D 4</i> S. XIII
<i>Nd</i>	<i>Neapolitanus II D 22</i> S. XIV
<i>Ne</i>	<i>Neapolitanus III A 6</i> S. XIV
<i>O</i>	<i>Vaticanus Ottobonianus gr.</i> 324 S. XV
<i>P</i>	<i>Parisinus gr.</i> 2831 S. XIII
<i>Pa</i>	<i>Parisinus gr.</i> 3058 S. XVI
<i>Pc</i>	<i>Parisinus gr.</i> 1277 S. XIII
<i>Pf</i>	<i>Parisinus gr.</i> 3019 S. XV
<i>Pi</i>	<i>Parisinus gr.</i> 997 S. XIII
<i>Py</i>	<i>Parisinus gr.</i> 554 S. XV
<i>Pz</i>	<i>Parisinus gr.</i> 1630 S. XIV
<i>R</i>	<i>Parisinus gr.</i> 854 S. XIII
<i>V</i>	<i>Vaticanus gr.</i> 305 S. XIII
<i>Vb</i>	<i>Vaticanus Urbinatus gr.</i> 134 S. XV
<i>Vc</i>	<i>Vaticanus Chisianus gr. R.IV.11</i> S. XIII
<i>Vg</i>	<i>Vaticanus gr.</i> 1702 S. XIII
<i>Vh</i>	<i>Vindobonensis Hist. gr.</i> 94 S.
<i>Vi</i>	<i>Vindobonensis Philologicus gr.</i> 149 S.
<i>Vo</i>	<i>Vossianus Gr. Q.</i> 42 S. XV
<i>Vr</i>	<i>Vaticanus Gr.</i> 207 S. XIII
<i>Vz</i>	<i>Vindobonensis Hist. gr.</i> 106 S. XIV
<i>W</i>	<i>Vaticanus Gr.</i> 306 S. XIII-XIV
<i>X</i>	<i>Vaticanus Gr.</i> 307 S. XIII
<i>Y</i>	<i>BAS Gr.</i> 12 S. XV
<i>Z</i>	<i>Vindobonensis suppl. gr.</i> 125 S. XIII

EDITORES

Ar.	Arsenius	Bo.	Boissonade
Dü.	Dübner	Fe.	Festa
Ge.	Gesnero	Gu.	Guntius
Ky.	Kyrillos	La.	Lambros
Merc.	Mercati	Mi.	Migne
Mil.	Miller	Mo.	Morellus
Mor.	Morellus ²	Pa.	Papapdimitriou
Pi.	Piccolos	Sa.	Sajdak
Th.	Du Theil	We.	Welz

CETERA

<>	addenda
add.	addidit, addiderunt
app. cr.	apparatus criticus
cf.	confer
corr.	correxist
i.e.	id est
in marg.	in margine
om.	omisit, omiserunt
text.	textus
tit.	titulus
vers.	versus

Part 2: Text, Translation, and Commentary

No. 1 (H 120)

I

Προσφωνητήριοι εἰς τὸν μέγαν ἀπόστολον Παῦλον

- Παῦλον ἀειδόμεσθα Θεοῦ στόμα αἰὲν ἐόντος,
 ἐκλογίης σκεῦος, κήρυκα παγκόσμιον·
 χαῖρ' ἐμὸν ἦτορ, Παῦλε, καὶ εἰς θρασὺ τοῦτο μυθεῖμαι
 φίλτρῳ ὑπ' ἀμβροσίῳ θυμὸν ἀλίσκόμενος.
- 5 Χαῖρ' ὁπαδῶν Χριστοῦ μέγα κλέος, ὃς ῥὰ Θεοῦ
 βαστάσας οὖνομ' ἐθνῶν ἅντα καὶ ἡγεμόνων·
 ὃς πρὸ μὲν ἄρ κυκέεσκες ὑπέρθυμα πίστιν ἀγαυὸν
 γράμμαθ' ὑπὸ σκιερῷ ἥμενος ἀφραδέως.
- 10 Αὐτὰρ ἔπειτ' ἀνέπαυσας ἐοῖς ἀτρύτοις καμάτοισιν,
 οὓς ἐφ' ὑγρῆς κρατερῶς καὶ στερεῆς ἀνέτλης,
 πτηνὲ τε πεζὲ τε χαλκομελῆς, ἀκάματος, ἀτειρῆς,
 ὃς χθόνα πᾶσαν ἔβης καὶ φρίκα ποντογόνον,
 ἡέλιον κατ' ἄνακτα κυκλῶν τετρακίονα κόσμον,
 πουλυπαθέξ, πολύτλα, ναυαγέ, μαστιγία.
- 15 Νῦν πολιῆς Ῥώμης, νῦν Ταρσίδος ἔκγονε γαίης,
 ἡματίην κακίην ἐξαγοραζόμενος,
 πάντα πρόπασιν ἐών, ὄφρα πάντας κάρτα σαώσης
 δεινὲ μυθησέμεναι στάθμη ἐπιστολάων,
 ῥητήρ τε πρηκτήρ τε παναίολος οἶος ἀπ' ἄλλων.
- 20 Παῦλε, φίλη κεφαλὴ, οἶδα θρασυστομέων,
 ἀλλὰ με ὀξὺς ἔσωθι βιάσκεται ἰὸς ἐρώτων·
 μνώεο Θεοδώρου λάτριδος εὐσεβέος,
 ἡνίκα θεσπεσίῳ προπροήμενος ἀμφὶ θωόκῳ
 ἀνδρομέου βιότου μέτρα δικασπολέεις.

V 126^v P f. 151^v | Gu. 4^v–5^r Mi. 1224A–1225A

tit. προσφωνητήριοι εἰς τὸν μέγαν ἀπόστολον Παῦλον V : τοῦ αὐτοῦ (i.e. Θεοδώρου Προδρόμου) προσφωνητήριοι εἰς τὸν μέγαν ἀπόστολον Παῦλον P Gu. || 7 κυκέεσκες Mi. || 9 καμάτοις ἀτρύτοισιν P || 11 χαλκειμελῆς V || 15 πόλιος Gu. | ἔκγονα P || 18 δεινὰ Gu. | στάθμη] χρῆ δι' Gu. || 19 οἶος Gu. || 20 φίλῃ Gu. || 21 βιάσκετεν P | ἰὸς scripsi : ἰὸς V P Gu. || Ἀλλὰ σύ, ὦ θεός, ἐν τούτοις δὴ Παύλου ἀρωγὲ Gu. || 22 Θεοδώρου Mi. | εὐσεβίας Gu. || 23 τε προήμενος Gu. | θωόκῳ P

Verses of appeal to Paul the great Apostle

Let us praise Paul, mouth of the eternal God, chosen vessel, herald to the world. Hail, Paul, my heart! I utter this with boldness, for my heart has been succumbed to divine affection [for you]. [5] Hail, great glory for the servants of God; you exalted the name of God against pagans and leaders. Formerly you fought vehemently against the illustrious faith, for in your folly you placed the Scriptures in the shade. But thereafter you put an end through your unending toils, [10] which you strongly endured over sea and land! Winged and on foot and with limbs of bronze, unwearied, unyielding, you traverse every land and [surpass every] shivering fear [arising from] the sea. You encompass the world [upheld by] four pillars like Helios the king. [O] much-suffering, much-enduring, storm-tossed, much-beaten one! [15] At one moment you redeem the daily evil in the city of old Rome, at another you are the offspring of the land of Tarsus. You are all things to all people, so that you might truly save all. You are skilful in speaking with the quality of your letters. The most brilliant speaker of words and doer of deeds above all others. [20] O beloved Paul, I know that my mouth is filled with exceeding presumption, but sharp dart of desire compels me. Remember Theodore, [your] devout servant, when the time comes for you to judge human life seated upon [your] divine throne before all the others.

Notes on the text:

1. Θεοῦ στόμα αἰὲν ἔόντος is based on the Homeric formula θεοὶ αἰὲν ἔόντες (e.g. *Il.* 1.290, *Il.* 21.518). The delineation of Paul as mouth of God is very common in Theodore's poetic work, e.g. *tetrast.* 284b1: Παῦλος ἔφα, στόμα Χριστοῦ ἔφα,³⁴³ the poem 'Verses of lamentation on the Providence' (v. 5), and *carm.hist.* LVIIa 34: τί δ' οὐχ ὁ Παῦλος, τοῦ θεοῦ μου τὸ στόμα addressed to Alexios Aristenos, director of the Orphanotropheion of St. Paul.³⁴⁴ This motif seems to be particularly fashionable in twelfth-century literature: e.g. *Anacharsis* 1092: καὶ τὸν πάμμεγαν Παῦλον, τὸ στόμα τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸ πυρίπνοον or *Nic.Mesar., Descriptio ecclesiae SS. Apostolorum* 900.XII.6: Παῦλε, στόμα κυρίου [...].

2. ἐκλογίης σκεῦος: cf. *Acts* 9.15: ὅτι σκεῦος ἐκλογίης ἐστίν μοι [...].

³⁴³ For more parallels in the tetrastichs see PAPAGIANNIS, *Tetrasticha*, II, 298.

³⁴⁴ The motif is also used in a prose oration dedicated to Aristenos; see *Prodr., Orat.* 32.186.55. Note that it is also used twice in another oration dedicated to Isaac Komnenos; see *Prodr., Orat.* 34.209.22/211.70.

4. φίλτρῳ ... ἀλίσκόμενος: the epigram assumes a rather personal tone. The word φίλτρον is used extensively in Byzantine epigrams for the expression of the donor's affection towards various holy figures.³⁴⁵

6. ὅς ῥα ... ἡγεμόνων: cf. *Acts* 15.2: βαστάσαι τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐνώπιον ἐθνῶν τε καὶ βασιλέων υἱῶν τε Ἰσραήλ.

7. κυκέεσκες: a *hapax legomenon* (cf. *LBG* 'stören/bekämpfen'). The reading κυκεύεκες printed by *PG* is an error (cf. *LBG* 'ed. errore lectionis pro κυκέεσκες').

πίστιν ἀγαυόν: perhaps a faint reminiscence of *Il.* 17.557: ἔσσεται εἴ κ' Ἀχιλλῆος ἀγαυοῦ πιστὸν ἐταῖρον.

8. γράμμαθ' ... ἀφραδέως: a subtle allusion to Paul's life before his conversion to Christianity. In his letters, Paul describes himself as one of the most eager of persecutors of the church of God (cf. *Gal.* 1.13-15/*Phil.* 3.6).

9. ἀτρύτοις: although Theodore's work abounds with this word, e.g. *carm.hist.* XLV 53: καὶ φάρμακόν μου τῶν πόνων τῶν ἀτρύτων, *carm.hist.* XLV 171: καὶ τὰς ἀτρύτους ἀναπαύσης φροντίδας and *R&D.* III.410: καὶ φάρμακόν μοι τῶν πόνων τῶν ἀτρύτων, nowhere else within his work is it combined with the word κάματος.³⁴⁶

10. οὕς ... ἀνέτλης: cf. *A.R., Arg.* 4.1359: ἐπὶ χθονὸς ἡδ' ὅς ἐφ' ὕγρῃς ἔτλημεν.

11. πτηνέ τε πεζέ: Paul is described with the same set of epithets at *tetrast.* 278a4: ὃ πτηνὲ πεζέ, ποῦ σέ τις δραμὼν.³⁴⁷ Similar descriptions for Paul are to be found both before and after Prodromos; for example, Mauropus writes ἦκει κομίζων Παῦλος αἰθεροδρόμος (*Io.Euchait.metrop., Carm.* 13.5), while a poem of Philes reads as follows: Τὰς γὰρ φύσεις ἡμειψας, οὐρανοδόρμε, φανεῖς ἀγαθὸς τῷ θεῷ πεζοδρόμος (cf. *Philes, Carm.* I 200.37-38) – not to mention that the hardships which Paul suffered as a missionary of God seem to be a recurrent motif in contemporary literature, e.g. *Mich.Italic., Op.* 44.287-288.32-33 and *Anacharsis* 1275.

³⁴⁵ For a discussion of the vocabulary employed in Byzantine epigrams see RHOBY, Dedicatory epigrams, 318-319; DRPIĆ, Kosmos of Verse 244; and SPINGOU, Marcianus 219-221.

³⁴⁶ Note that these two words are combined at *Io. Kinnamos, History* 96.3-4 and *Euth.Tornik., Orat.* 57.2.17-18.

³⁴⁷ For a similar delineation of St. Peter see *tetrast.* 208b.

Paul's laudation continues with the use of the *hapax* χαλκομελής³⁴⁸ and ποντογόνος (cf. *LBG*: 'im Meer entstehend') along with the Homeric ἀτειρής.³⁴⁹ It is clear that Prodrornos was inspired by the Homeric 'χαλκὸς ἀτειρής' (*Il* 5.292 and 7.247) for the fabrication of this part of the verse. Theodore makes use of the same phraseology in the epigrams dedicated to St. Theodore, cf. *Epigram. Megalom.* 7.53: Ἐν μολίβου σφαίρησιν ἀτειρέα χάλκεον ἄνδρα.

12. ὃς ... ποντογόνον repeats the same idea as v. 10, indicating Theodore's emphasis of Paul's laborious missionary task.

13. Ἡέλιον κατ' ἄνακτα is to be found at the same metrical place at *carm.hist.* LVIIb 14. The sun is one of the most common motifs in Prodrornos' poetry for praising the emperor (see HÖRANDNER, *Historische Gedichte* 103 ff).

τετρακίονα κόσμον: this word combination occurs only at *Orph., H.* 39: καὶ Βροντὰς Κόσμου τε μέρη τετρακίονος αὐδῶ.

πολύτλα: it is tempting to think that the use of the most common epithet for Odysseus (first time at *Il*.8.97) suggests that Theodore compares Paul's torments to those of the Homeric hero.

Ναυαγέ: a mention of the shipwrecks that Paul suffered can be found both in his letters (cf. 2 *Cor.* 11,25) and in the Acts of the Apostles (*Acts* 28,1).

μαστιγία: the word is translated in *LSJ* as 'one that wants whipping, a rogue'. However, here it acquires a rather different meaning, namely 'one that suffers whipping'.

15. Νῦν ... γαίης: Rome and Tarsus are juxtaposed here, the former is the place where Paul spent the last two years before his decapitation, while Tarsus was his birthplace (*Acts* 21:39). Prodrornos' tetrastich no. 292a bearing, the title Εἰς τὰς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις πληγὰς Παύλου, ὅτε καὶ Ῥωμαῖον ἑαυτὸν ἐκάλει, is built on the same idea:

—Ταρσὸς πατρίς σοι, Παῦλε, τῆς Κιλικίας·
καὶ πῶς σὺ σαυτὸν παῖδα τῆς Ῥώμης λέγεις;
—Τὸν καιρὸν οὕτως ἐξεώνημαι, ξένε·
τῶν ἡμερῶν γὰρ οἶδα τὴν πονηρίαν.

—Tarsus of Cilicia is your land, O Paul. | How could you call yourself an offspring of Rome?
—O stranger, I redeem the time in this way, | for I am aware that the days [are] evil.

³⁴⁸ Prodrornos employs many words with χαλκο- as first compound, to name but a few: χαλκοβαφής, χαλκολόφης, χαλκοκνήμις, χαλκότειχος etc.

³⁴⁹ Prodrornos employs this word frequently to describe the emperor; cf., for example, *carm.hist.* VIII 69.

πολιῆς Ῥώμης: ‘old Rome’ in disjunction with the ‘new Rome’ (i.e. Constantinople); Prodromos fabricates various designations in order to address Rome, e.g. *carm.hist.* XVIII 58: τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης and *carm.hist.* XIX 154: τὴν μητέρα Ῥώμην etc.

16. ἡματὶν κακίην ἐξαγοραζόμενος: cf. *Eph.* 5,16: ἐξαγοραζόμενοι τὸν καιρὸν, ὅτι αἱ ἡμέραι πονηραὶ εἰσιν. As indicated above, Prodromos quotes the same passage at *tetrasticha* 292a3–4.

17. Πάντα ... σαώσης: cf. *1 Cor.* 9,22: τοῖς πᾶσιν γέγονα πάντα, ἵνα πάντως τινὰς σώσω. Cf. also *carm.hist.* XXX 344: καὶ πᾶσι πάντα καθεστὼς ὡς ὁ τοῦ Παύλου νόμος. The latter is a poem delivered at Christmas of the year 1149 on the occasion of Kerkyra’s seizure by Manuel Komnenos. As Hörandner has already noted, Prodromos uses this quotation as a means of enhancing the efficiency of the ‘Kaiseridee’, for he claimed that the emperor’s actions were, by all intentions, in the best interest of his subjects.

Πρόπασιν: the word is a strengthened form of the word πᾶσιν (cf. *LSJ*).

19. Ῥητὴρ τε πρηκτὴρ τε: cf. *Il.* 9.443: μύθων τε ῥητῆρ’ ἔμεναι πρηκτῆρά τε ἔργων.

οἶος ἀπ’ ἄλλων: although Gu. and Mi. print the word with rough breathing, I prefer the reading of the two scribes; Prodromos’ intention is to demonstrate that Paul is a matchless orator and doer. Nonetheless, it is not entirely clear what he means by saying ‘above all others’. Who are they? Perhaps the disciples who set out for missionary tasks like Paul.

20. φίλη κεφαλή: Paul is addressed by a very common formula which appears in other parts of his works, e.g. *tetrast.* 36b1: Δεῦρο, φίλη κεφαλή, πατὴρ ἀνχένι ἀμφιπεσοῦσα. This address form combined with phrases like ‘φίλτρῳ ὑπ’ ἀμβροσίῳ θυμὸν ἀλίσκόμενος’ (v. 4) and ‘ἀλλά με ὀξὺς ἔσωθι βιάσκειται ἰδὸς ἐρώτων’ (v. 21) endows the poem with a very personal touch pointing to its dedicatory function. At the same time though, this particular formula is one of the most common ways to address someone in the Byzantine letter writing practice.³⁵⁰ To my mind, by bringing in features from Byzantine letter-writing, Theodore endeavours to address Paul, whose epistolary work was viewed as a paradigm *par excellence* for all Byzantine letter-authors, in a verse letter. Besides, this is in accordance with explicit mention to his epistolary corpus in v. 17 (στάθμη ἐπιστολάων).

³⁵⁰ GRÜNBART, *Formen der Anrede* 280 ff.

21. ἀλλά ... ἐρώτων: as indicated in the *app. crit.*, the edition of Gu. prints a totally different verse, i.e. ‘Ἀλλὰ σύ, ὦ θεός, ἐν τούτοις δὴ Παύλου ἀρωγέ’. This reading, which makes little sense, was probably a later insertion by a scribe who did not appreciate the emotional tone of Prodromos’ verse. As noted above, such vocabulary illustrates the donor’s fervent feelings of affection for a saint. For example, an epigram of Philes dedicated to St. Anastasia reads as follows: ὁ τῆς ἐμῆς ἔρωσ σε καλεῖ καρδίας (v. 6).³⁵¹ Similar vocabulary is also to be found in hymnographical texts, e.g. *AHG*, May 13, can. 14, 1: Τρωθεῖσα τῷ ἔρωτι τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

22-24. μνώεο ... δικασπολέεις: Prodromos is not only the author of the poem, but also the donor (see further below).

προπροήμενος: this beautiful *hapax legomenon* (‘to sit before the others’) is not recorded in any lexicon. I prefer it as the *lectio difficilior*, while further evidence in favour of this reading is that Prodromos coined a similar word: ‘προπροκείμεναι’ (*tetrast.* 71b1).

δικασπολέεις: the fourth *hapax* of the epigram (cf. *LBG* ‘richten’); note that in Prodromos’ satirical work ‘Sale of political and poetical lives’ the noun ‘δικασπολεῖον’ is attested for the first time (cf. *LBG* ‘Gericht/Gerichtshof’).³⁵²

³⁵¹ For the epigram see BRAOUNOU-PIETSCH, *Beseelte Bilder* 94–95.

³⁵² MIGLIORINI, Teodoro *Prodromo* 133 (line 320) and 134 (line 357).

No. 1 (H 120)

II

Ὅμοιοι εἰς τὸν Θεολόγον Γρηγόριον

- Θευλογίης μέγα κάρτος ἀείσομαι, ἀγνὸν ἱρῆα
 Γρηγόριον, Ῥώμης ποιμένα κουροτέρης,
 ῥητροσύνης κύδος ἡδὲ πυρὸς μένος ἀττικοῖο,
 πνείοντα κρατερῆς εὗχος ἐπογραφίης,
 5 παντοδαπῆς σοφίης ἐπ' ἀπείρονα κύκλα κιόντα,
 τῆς νέον ἡμετέρης καὶ ποτὲ ἡμετέρης.
 Παρθενίης μέγα χαῖρ' ἐπιήρατε νυμφίε νύμφης,
 ἥ πρὸ μὲν ἐν Τριάδι καὶ τ' αὖλοισι νόοις,
 καὶ καθαρῇσι τρίτον ψυχᾷς ἐπιμίνυται ἀνδρῶν,
 10 σὸν δε γέγηθε πλέον ἀμφιέπουσα λέχος.
 Χριστιανῶν λάχεος χαῖρε πρόμε, πίστιος ἔρμα,
 ὑψηλῆς Τριάδος Στέντορ ὑπερμενέος,
 πῆμα Σαβελλιάο, πῆμα Μακεδονίου,
 15 πῆμα τμηξιθέου ὀλοόφρονος ἀνδρὸς Ἀρείου·
 ὃς θεότητα τάμεν, σοῖς δ' ἀπέτμαγε λόγοις.
 Χαῖρε λόγων μελέδημα, λαλοῦν ἀφίδρυμα σοφίης,
 ζῶν ἄγαλμ' ἐπέων καὶ τε λογογραφίης,
 σκιρτητά, πενθῆτορ, ἀπάντεσι παντὸς ἀνάσσω·
 20 Τριάδα μὲν πνείων, Τριάδα δ' ἐκλαλέων,
 Τριάδι δὲ ζώων, Τριάδος δ' ὑπὲρ ἧτορ ὀλέσκων,
 ἧς σὺ μὲν ἀμφὶ πόλῳ ἄρτι πάρεδρος ἔης·
 ἡμῖν δ', ὥστε μέλισσα, καλὸν μέλι κάλλιπες ὧδε,
 σοὺς τε λόγους ἐτέρους, καὶ τὸ «ἔμελλεν ἄρα».

V f. 126^v–127^r Py f. 1^v–2^r | Gu. λ 5^{r-v} Mi. 1225A-C Sa. 258–259

tit.: ὅμοιοι εἰς τὸν Θεολόγον Γρηγόριον V Gu. : ἔτεροι εἰς τὸν μέγαν Γρηγόριον τὸν Θεολόγον ἠρωελεγεῖοι Py || 1 Θεολογίης Py (sed Θευλογίης corr. Sa.) | ἱρῆα] ἱερῆα Py || 3 ῥητροσύνης Gu. | κύδος Gu. | ἡδὲ] ἡὺ Py Gu. || 4 ἐπιγραφίης Mi. || 6 ἡμετέρης²] ὑμετέρης Mi. || 7 ἐπιήρανε Mi. || 8 νόσοις Gu. || 9 ἐπὶ μίνυται Gu. || 12 ὑψηλὲ Py | ὑπηρμένος Mi. || 13 ἀδεινῶν Gu. || 14 Σαβελλείας Py (sed Σαβελλιάο corr. Sa.) | Μακεδονίου Py || 16 τάμε Gu. | ἀπέτεμενε Gu. || 20 Τριάδα²] Τριάδι Py (sed Τριάδα corr. Sa.) || 21 Τριάδι] Τριάδα Gu. || 22 ἧς] ἧ Py | ἀμφιπόλῳ Mi.

Similar [verses] on Gregory the Theologian

I shall praise the great force of theology, the chaste priest Gregory, shepherd of the younger Rome, glory of eloquence and potency of Attic fire, breathing boast of the stalwart epic poetry, [5] circling round in boundless circles of all kinds of our wisdom, [both] new and old. Hail great [and] beloved groom of the bride Chastity, who mingles together with the Trinity, the incorporeal intellects, and the untainted souls of men – third in order –. [10] [Chastity] rejoiced much in tending your couch! Hail foremost lot of the Christians, stay of the faith, vociferous Stentor of the omnipotent Holy Trinity, destructive bane to the madness of vehement heresies, curse of Sabellianism, blight to Macedonianism, [15] bane to Arius of cursed mind that severed God from God. He severed the godhead, [you] cut him off through your orations. Hail care of the orations, image of a wisdom that speaks, vivid image of epic poetry and prose writing, leaping, mourning, you are without exception the lord of all. [20] You breathe out the Trinity, you disclose the Trinity, you live for the Trinity, you lose your life for the Trinity, you are now its co-juror in the vault of heaven, while you, like a bee, bequeathed to us so much good honey, your other orations, and the ‘ἔμελλεν ἄρα’.

Notes on the text:

1–2. Θεολογίης ... κουροτέρης bears conspicuous likeness to *tetrast.Greg.Naz.* 14b4:

Ῥώμης κουροτέρης μεγ’ ἀμύμονος ἀρχιερῆος.³⁵³

Θεολογίης is attested only in Prodomos, yet more than once, cf. *tetrast.Greg.Naz.* 3b2: θεολογίην φυσικὴν τε μαθηματικὴν τε σοφίην³⁵⁴ and the poem ‘Verses of lamentation on the devaluation of learning’, v. 5: θεολογίη τε Πλάτωνος. It should not come as a surprise that Prodomos commences his poem with this word; apparently, he seeks to emphasize that Gregory was one of the most renowned theologians. Gregory, who was credited with this title at the Council of Chalcedon in 451, is actually the only prominent holy figure after John the Apostle who procured this honorific title. In order to illustrate Gregory’s unsurpassed superiority in the field of theology, the Byzantine poets invented various motifs, e.g. Theodore of Stoudios and John Geometres employ the motif of Gregory’s thundering.³⁵⁵

³⁵³ For a detailed discussion of these two verses see D’AMBROSI, Gregorio Nazianzeno 196–197; cf. also MAGNELLI, Prodomos —144.

³⁵⁴ For further annotations on the word see D’AMBROSI, Gregorio Nazianzeno 232. However, D’Ambrosi fails to mention that Prodomos makes use of this word in other parts of his work.

³⁵⁵ For a thorough discussion on the various motifs employed by the Byzantine poets for the extolment of Gregory see DEMOEN – OPSTALL, John Geometres and Gregory Nazianzen’s poems 227 (with extensive literature).

ἱρήα: the form ἱρήα for ἱερέα occurs also at *tetrast.* 115b4; in both cases it was coined spontaneously *metri gratia*.³⁵⁶

2. Πρώμης ποιμένα κουροτέρης: a quite common label for Constantinople in the Prodromic work (cf. *carm.hist.* VIII 2 and *tetrast.Greg.Naz.* 14b4). As for the word ‘ποιμένα’, it signifies the office of bishop (cf. *PGL* s.v.); hence, a clear allusion to Gregory’s enthronement on the patriarchal see of Constantinople (380–381 A.D.).³⁵⁷

3. Ρητροσύνης...ἄττικοιο: an allusion to *Greg.Naz.*, Or. 43.23: Τίς μὲν ῥητορικὴν τοσοῦτος, τὴν πυρὸς μένος πνέουσιν. The same image is to be found in the tetrastichs dedicated to him, cf. *tetrast.Greg.Naz.* 8b1: Καππαδόκαι καὶ Πόντε λόγοιό τε εὖχος Ἀθῆναι,³⁵⁸ while at *tetrast.Greg.Naz.* 2a1 (πῦρ πνέον στόμα) Prodromos envisages that Gregory’s mouth exhales fire.³⁵⁹ Gregory is usually compared to the great attic rhetors of the past; the Byzantines, moreover, deemed that Gregory’s rhetorical potency surpassed even that of Demosthenes.³⁶⁰ A telling example is the following extract from a poem of Psellos.³⁶¹

ὅπερ σοι παραδείγματι καὶ πάλιν διδασκτέον,
οὐχὶ τῷ Δημοσθενικῷ, τῷ δὲ τοῦ θεολόγου.
Οὗτος καὶ γὰρ ὁ πάνσοφος φιλόσοφος καὶ ῥήτωρ.

Ρητροσύνης occurs several times in Prodromos’ work (*carm.hist.* XXXVIII 52; XLII 38; LVIc 12 as well as at ‘Verses of Lamentation on the devaluation of learning’, v. 9). The word is also employed by authors who imitated Prodromos’ work, such as Euthymios Tornikes.³⁶²

Κύδος; the acute accent necessitates that the word stems from the word ‘ὁ κύδος’ which bears a negative connotation (i.e. ‘reproach, abuse’). Yet, there is no doubt that Theodore here wishes to bestow the word with a positive connotation (i.e. ‘glory’); hence, it derives from ‘τὸ κῦδος’. Metrical reasons suggest Prodromos’ change from κῦδος to κύδος, cf. also *carm.hist.*

³⁵⁶ Similarly, at *carm.hist.* LXXIX 27 one reads ἱρήων for ἱερῶν; for further annotations on this verse see HÖRANDNER, Prodromos and the City 58.

³⁵⁷ For Gregory’s residence in Constantinople see RUETHER, Gregory of Nazianzus 42–48.

³⁵⁸ For more parallels, cf. MAGNELI, Prodromea 142.

³⁵⁹ A recurrent medium for the description of rhetoric efficiency in Prodromos’ work; see, for example, the description of rhetoric in the epigram cycle ‘on virtues and vices’ or in the neglected Prodromic work Xenedemos ‘γλώσσας δὲ πλουτήσας Ἀττικοῦ πυρὸς μένος πνέουσιν’ (cf. *Xenedemos* 204.24–25). It is interesting to note that Xenedemos is, in all likelihood, an allusion to Psellos; see PAPAIOANNOU, Michael Psellos 241 (with literature).

³⁶⁰ On this matter see RHOBY, Gregor von Nazianz 412–413.

³⁶¹ *Mich. Psell.*, *Carm.* VII.177–179.

³⁶² PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, *Noctes Petropolitanae* 189 (line 49).

LXII 4: λῶστε Ἰωανίκιε, κύδος γενέθλης μεροπείης.³⁶³ Furthermore, Papagiannis has already noted Prodromos' practice to change the accentuation of dichrona for metrical reasons (cf. PAPAGIANNIS, *Tetrasticha*, I, 165).

4. πνείοντα ... ἐπογραφίης: a tangible reference to Gregory's rich production of hexameter verses. Gregory's extensive poetic corpus of approximately 17,000 verses³⁶⁴ was very influential and popular throughout the Byzantine centuries.³⁶⁵ The twelfth century, and accordingly Prodromos himself, was no exception to this rule³⁶⁶ – not to mention that the word 'πνείοντα' suggests that Gregory's poems were read and even taught in the twelfth century.³⁶⁷

5–6. Παντοδαπῆς ... ἡμετέρης: here, Gregory's mastery in all branches of learning is highly esteemed.³⁶⁸ In the sixth verse Prodromos plays with the word 'ἡμετέρης'.³⁶⁹ The former refers to the new-born church's philosophy, culture and paideia, while the latter stands for classical learning. Gregory defended classical paideia, and succeeded in infusing Hellenism into the early church.³⁷⁰ In a minor work of Psellos entitled 'Χαρακτῆρες Γρηγορίου τοῦ Θεολόγου, τοῦ Μεγάλου Βασιλείου, τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου, καὶ Γρηγορίου τοῦ Νύσσης' it is mentioned that beside to the well-known authors of antiquity there is now ὁ ἡμέτερος κύκλος of the Christian authors.³⁷¹

³⁶³ Hörandner, based on the manuscript tradition of the poem, also opted for κύδος, despite the fact that the previous editions offer κῦδος; see HÖRANDNER, *Historische Gedichte* 494.

³⁶⁴ SIMELIDIS, Gregory of Nazianzus 21. According to Norris, "only 19,000 verses have survived of the over 30,000 that he evidently wrote"; see NORRIS, *Gregory contemplating the beautiful* 21.

³⁶⁵ For Gregory's reception see SIMELIDIS, Gregory of Nazianzus 57–74; cf. RHOBY, *Gregor von Nazianz*, 409–417; DEMOEN – OPSTALL, *John Geometres and Gregory Nazianzen's poems* 223–248; and, more recently, PAPAIOANNOU, *Michael Psellos* 56 ff.

³⁶⁶ SIMELIDIS, Gregory of Nazianzus 66; SIMELIDIS, *Theodore Prodromos* 98–99; and MAGNELLI, *Prodromea* 111–144.

³⁶⁷ Simelidis has argued that Gregory's poetry was also part of the Byzantine school curriculum; see SIMELIDIS, *Theodore Prodromos* 75–79. However, Demoen in his recent review of Simelidis' book notes, "In chapter 2.2, he argues that Gregory's poems were used in Byzantine schools, a claim that will not be generally accepted, even if Simelidis has a point when he refers to the exegetical corpus on the poetry: two commentaries, four lexica and anonymous prose paraphrases of many poems – material «always needed in the classroom» (p. 76); See Demoen's review in *Gnomon* 85/4 (2013) 312–313; I am inclined to agree with Simelides' view.

³⁶⁸ For Gregory's education see RUETHER, *Gregory of Nazianzus* 18–28. Prodromos also refers to Gregory's exceptional education in his tetrastichs on Gregory; see D'AMBROSI, *Gregorio Nazianzeno* 142 and his comments on pp. 172–174.

³⁶⁹ PG's emendation of the second 'ἡμετέρης' to 'ὑμετέρης' is unnecessary.

³⁷⁰ See SIMELIDES, *Gregory of Nazianzus* 121.

³⁷¹ Boissonade, *Psellus* 125; this passage has already been spotted by Rhoby; see RHOBY, *Gregor von Nazianz*, 412–413.

7. Παρθενίης ... νύμφης: a concrete reference to Gregory's immaculate celibacy. Gregory maintains the negation of the flesh in many of his works,³⁷² while it is a traditional *topos* in Prodromos' literary arsenal in the praise of the former. For example, Prodromos describes Nazianzus' vision of chastity in a set of tetrastichs devoted to him bearing the title 'Εἰς Γρηγόριον ὄναρ τῇ παρθενίᾳ ὡς γυναικὶ ὁμιλοῦντα' based on *Greg.Naz.,carm.* II.1.45 [1369–72] 229–270. The hexametric tetrastich has, indeed, the form of a dialogue between Gregory and Chastity.³⁷³

–Γρηγόριε, προτίσσευ ἐμὸν πολυήρατον εἶδος·
 ἦν με λάβησθα βίοιο συνέμπορον, αἰθέρα δ' ἔλθης.
 –Τίς δὲ σύ, παρθενίη; περὶ χεῖλεσι χεῖλεα βάψα,
 σὸν λέχος ἀμφιέποιμι, γάμος δ' ἀποτῆλε μολεῖτω.

–O Gregory, look at my much-loved appearance! | If you take me as companion for your life, you will enter heaven.

–Who are you, Virginity? I dip my lips to your lips, | I want to tend your couch, and the wedding may last a long time.

ἐπιήρατε: a very infrequent word (cf. *LBG*: 'geliebt'); it occurs only once before Prodromos, namely at *Orph.*, *A.* v.87: παρθενίης ἀτραποῦς, ἐπιήρατον ἡρώεσσιν.

8–11. καὶ ... λέχος: A similar depiction – not for Chastity but for God – we come across in Gregory's poem *Greg.Naz., Carm.* II.1.24 [515] 8–10:

Πνεύματα θεσπεσίων ἀνδρῶν, ψυχαί τε δικαίων,
 Πάντες ὁμηγερέες, καὶ σὸν θρόνον ἀμφιέποντες,
 Γηθοσύνη τε, φόβῳ τε διηνεκὲς αἰδοῦσι

9–10. ἡ πρὸ ... ἀνδρῶν: Prodromos might draw inspiration from *Greg.Naz., Arc.* 6 12–13 bearing the title 'On Rational Natures'.³⁷⁴

Δεύτερα ἐκ Τριάδος βασιλῆϊον εὔχος ἐχούσης,
 ἄγγελοι αἰγλήεντες, αἰδέες, οἳ ῥα θόωκον

In claiming that Chastity is purely united with the Holy Trinity, the angels, and men who possess an unalloyed soul (i.e. Gregory), but Prodromos goes one step further.

It is interesting to note that a similar depiction is to be found in his poem no. 14: *Philia* is there purely united with the Holy Trinity and the rest of the celestial creatures (see p. 327, v. 45).

³⁷² For a list of Gregory's numerous encomia of virginal life see MCGUCKIN, *The Rhetorician as Poet* 203, esp. note no. 42; cf also SIMELIDIS, *Gregory of Nazianzus* 141 and 165.

³⁷³ D'AMBROSI, *Gregorio Nazianzeno* 146–147. For the commentary of this passage see *ibid.* 176–177.

³⁷⁴ For a thorough discussion of these verses see SYKES – MORESCHINI, *Poemata Arcana* 197–198.

8. ἀϋλοῖσι νόοις: in the poem on *Philia* the angels are labelled ἀσωμάτοις νόοις (cf. no. 14, v. 38).

9. καθαρῇσι ... ἀνδρῶν: for example, by analogy with *Greg.Naz., Carm.* [ed. Simelidis] I.2.17: Ὁλβιος, ὃς καθαροῖο νόου μεγάλῃσιν ἐρωαῖς.³⁷⁵

ἀμφιέπουσα λέχος: on the basis of this verse a nexus of interrelations can be assumed between the present poem and *tetrast.Greg.Naz.* 5b4: σὸν λέχος ἀμφιέποιμι. In the tetrastich Gregory expresses his fervent feelings towards Chastity by saying that he is willing to ‘tend her couch’ and marry her, while this verse can be viewed as a sort of response, since Prodomos claims that chastity rejoices in tending Gregory’s couch and uniting with him.

11. Χριστιανῶν ... ἔρμα: cf. *Greg.Naz., Carm.* II.2.1 [1460] 115–117:

Τοῖον μὲν **Χριστοῖο λάχος**, τοῖον δ’ ἀπὸ γαίης | Πατρὶ Χριστὸς ἄγει καρπὸν ἐὼν παθέων, | **ἔρμα λόγου**, λαοῦ δὲ κλέος, **κόσμου δὲ θέμεθλον**

πίστιος ἔρμα recalls the Homeric formula: ‘ἔρμα πόληος’ (e.g. *Il.* 16.549, *Od.* 23.121 – cf. also *LSJ*). Likewise, Gregory employs variants of this word combination, like ‘ἔρμα λόγοιο’ (e.g. *Greg.Naz., Carm.* II.1.13 [1228] 5) or ‘ἔρμα γυναικῶν’ (*AP.* VIII.28.6).

12. Στέντορ: a Greek hero of the *Iliad* particular known for his loud voice (cf. *Il.* 5.785–86). In drawing a *synkrisis* between Gregory and Stentor, Theodore apparently seeks to demonstrate how strongly Gregory defended the Trinitarian doctrine. To the best of my knowledge, Gregory is nowhere else called Stentor. Yet, the ‘Stentor motif’ recurs in other parts of the Prodomic work, e.g. in the satirical poem ‘Against a lustful old woman’ the marks of her aged body are shouting as loud as Stentor (*H* 140, 93: τὰ στίγματα κράζουσιν ἀντὶ Στεντόρων).³⁷⁶

13–15. πῆμ’ ... Ἀρείου: in order to highlight Gregory’s instrumental role in the defense of the Trinitarian doctrine against the various heretical sects, Prodomos juxtaposes three of the most tumultuous heresies: Sabellianism,³⁷⁷ Pneumatomachoi,³⁷⁸ and Arianism.³⁷⁹

³⁷⁵ For further examples within the poetic work of Gregory and a discussion of the phrase see SIMELIDIS, Gregory of Nazianzus 134.

³⁷⁶ The motif occurs also in the oration addressed to Alexios Aristenos on the occasion of his entry to the Orphanotropheion of St. Paul; see *Prodr., Orat.* 33.201.91. Furthermore, the vociferous voice of Stentor was a Byzantine maxim; see KARATHANASIS, Sprichwörter 30.

³⁷⁷ *ODB* II 1391.

³⁷⁸ *Ibid.* III 1688.

³⁷⁹ *Ibid.* I 167 and *BDGN* 74 ff.

ἀδινάων αἵρεσιάων: the same word combination is to be found in Prodomos' tetrastichs dedicated to Basil the Great (cf. *tetrast.Basil.* 1b1).

τμηξιθέον: a *hapax* (cf. *LBG* 'Gott teilend') which occurs also in the tetrastichs on Basil the Great as an epithet of the various heresies against which Basil struggled (cf. *tetrast.Basil.* 1b2). As source of inspiration for Prodomos probably was *Greg.Naz., Arc.* 2.27: ἡ χρόνος ἡ ἐθέλησις, ἐμοὶ τμηξίς θεότητος.³⁸⁰ There, Gregory maintains that the Father and the Son are indivisible.

16. ὃς θεότητα τάμεν: an explicit reference to Arianism, according to which the 'consubstantiality' of the Son with the Father cannot be accepted.

σοῖς δ' ἀπέτμαγες λόγοις: the essential role of Gregory's orations in the struggle against the heresies is another traditional *topos* in Byzantine poetry. For example, one epigram penned by Theodore of Stoudios reads as follows:³⁸¹

καὶ πάσας ἀπρίξ μωράνας τὰς αἱρέσεις
τὸν κόσμον ἐστήριξας ἐν τοῖς σοῖς λόγοις
'and by making all heresies at once look foolish, you fastened the world to the anchor of your words.'

18. ζῶν ... λογογραφίης: Gregory is eulogized not only for his poetic output (once more in the v. 4), but also for the production of orations.³⁸²

19. Σκιρτητὰ ... ἀνάσσω: a puzzling verse, particularly the overt contrast due to the juxtaposition of Σκιρτητὰ and πενθῆτορ. The former word describes the leaping up and down of godheads associated with Dionysian Mysteries, i.e. Dionysus (cf. *Orph.Hymn.* 45.7: ἐλθέ, μάκαρ, σκιρτητὰ, φέρων πολὺ γῆθος ἅπασι and *AP.* IX.524.19: σκιρτητήν, Σάτυρον, Σεμεληγενέτην, Σεμελῆα,) and Satyr (*Orph.Hymn.* 11.4–5: ἐλθέ, μάκαρ, σκιρτητὰ, περίδρομε, σύνθρονε Ὠραις). Since the word Τριάς is repeated four times in the following two verses, the word can be viewed as an insinuation of Gregory's intense joy for the Holy Trinity. As for the *hapax* 'πενθῆτορ' (cf. *LBG* 'der Trauernde, der Klagende'), it may refer to Gregory's gloomy character reflected very frequently in his own writings.³⁸³ Thus, despite his grief, Gregory leaps up and down out of his joyfulness for the Holy Trinity.

On the other hand, this verse has an intertextual relation to *tetrast.Greg.Naz.* 13a. Whereas Gregory is here described as 'leaper', in the tetrastich Theodore uses the same

³⁸⁰ For further annotations on this verse see MORESCHINI – SYKES, *Poemata Arcana* 100.

³⁸¹ *Theod. Studit., Carm.* LXVII 3–4; transl. in LAUXTERMANN, *Byzantine Poetry* 17; for further annotations see pp. 171–173.

³⁸² On the reception of his orations in Byzantium, see SAJDAK, *Gregorii Nazianzeni* and SOMERS, *Grégoire de Nazianze*.

³⁸³ On this issue, see GILBERT, *The Theological Poetry of St. Gregory of Nazianzus* 2–3.

phraseology to describe the response of Gregory's rivals after his resignation from the see of Constantinople:

Εἰς Γρηγόριον ἐξερχόμενον τοῦ Βυζαντίου
 Σκιρτᾶτε καθάλλεσθε τῆς ποιμνῆς, λύκοι·
 μακρὰν ὁ ποιμὴν, ἡ καλὴ λυκαγχὼν,
 πλὴν σφενδονᾶν δύναιτο κακὸν τῶν μακρόθεν.
 Βυζαντιάς, κλαίω σε τῆς ἀκοσμίας.

On the departure of Gregory from Byzantium

You may leap up and down, O wolves of the flock!³⁸⁴ | The shepherd is away, the good noose for the wolves. | However, he (i.e. Gregory) could strike you with a slingshot from afar! | O Byzantium, I pity you for your disorder!

ἀπάντεσι παντὸς ἀνάσσω: a Homeric formula (e.g. *Il.*12.242; *Od.*9.552 etc). The form ἀπάντεσι is a better conjecture, in terms of prosody, than ἀπάντεσσι.³⁸⁵

20–21. The word Trinity is repeated four times in these two verses as a reference to the Trinitarian theology of Gregory. A succinct summary of his Trinitarian doctrine can be found at *Greg.Nanz., Arc.* 1.25–39.³⁸⁶

22. ἦς ... ἔης: this verse depicts Gregory sitting next to Holy Trinity in the vault of Heaven. This is his reward for being the most fervent supporter of the Holy Trinity. A similar image is to be found in Prodomos' poem dedicated to Manuel Anemas, cf. *carm.hist.* LIV 164 τῷ τοῦ θεοῦ σου νῦν παρεδρεύεις θρόνῳ.

23. ἡμῖν δ...κάλλιπες ὧδε: Gregory's orations are compared to the sweetness of honey. This ancient *topos* is used extensively in Prodomos' work, e.g. *tetrast.Greg.Naz.* 3a2: μέλιττα μούσης; κηροπλαστεῖς γὰρ λόγους.³⁸⁷ The *synkrisis* of Gregory to a bee is not coincidental at all. In all likelihood, Prodomos has in mind the statement of Basil of Caesarea that classical wisdom must be plucked out of its dangerous pagan context 'as a bee gathers honey'.³⁸⁸

24. “τὸ ἔμελλεν ἄρα”: at first glance, the meaning of this expression seems to be unclear. The translation offered in *PG* –“nobis autem, sicut apes, mel relinquis dulce, sermones tuos praesentes ac futures”– is of no help.³⁸⁹ The answer is to be found in Gregory's funeral oration (no. 43) for Basil the Great, as it begins exactly with this set of words “Ἐμελλεν ἄρα

³⁸⁴ My translation is slightly different from the Italian which runs as follows, ‘Tripudiate e avventatevi sul gregge, O lupi!’; See D’AMBROSI, Gregorio Nazianzeno 163.

³⁸⁵ On this word, see TZIATZI-PAPAGIANNI, Theodoros Prodomos 376.

³⁸⁶ See also SIMELIDIS, Gregory of Nazianzus 155–156.

³⁸⁷ On this verse see D’AMBROSI, Gregorio Nazianzeno 172–173.

³⁸⁸ R.J. DE FERRARI (ed.), St Basil, The Letters, vols 4. Cambridge 1934 IV, 391.

³⁸⁹ PG 133, 1225C-D.

πολλὰς ἡμῖν ὑποθέσεις τῶν λόγων ἀεὶ.³⁹⁰ By using the *inc.* of this oration, Prodrōmos maintains that in addition to all other brilliant orations, Gregory has also ‘bequeathed’ to us the funeral oration for Basil. What is more, it is a very common practice in Byzantine literature to refer to Gregory’s particular oration in this manner; for instance, the sixty-first theological work of Psellos is entitled: Ἐκ τοῦ ᾠμελλεν ἄρα, εἰς τὸ καὶ εἰ τὸ πάντα ἐν πᾶσι κεῖσθαι,³⁹¹ while a poem penned by an anonymous poet contemporary with Prodrōmos bears the title: Ἐπὶ ἀναγνώσει τοῦ ᾠμελλεν ἄρα (for the recitation of ᾠμελλεν ἄρα).³⁹² This poem, transmitted in Marcianus gr. 524, served as a metrical preface to the recitation of Gregory’s Oration.³⁹³ A last parallel can be found in the treatise of Ps-Korinthios (ᾠμελλεν ἄρα πολλὰς ἡμῖν ὑποθέσεις τῶν λόγων ἀεὶ προτιθεὶς ὁ μέγας Βασίλειος).³⁹⁴

³⁹⁰ See PG 36, 493–606 = Or. 43, ed. J. BERNARDI, Gregoire de Nazianze, Discours 42–43. Paris 1992, 116, 1–5. For the wide reception of the oration throughout the Byzantine period see PAPAIOANNOU, Erotic discourse in eleventh-century Constantinople 51 (esp. note no. 27).

³⁹¹ See Mich. Psell., *Theol.* I 61.239–242.

³⁹² For the text accompanied with translation and comments see TSEREVELAKIS, Marcianus 280.

³⁹³ See ANTONOPOULOU, Recited Prefaces 77.

³⁹⁴ See HÖRANDNER, Pseudo-Gregorios Korinthios 102 and the annotations on p. 115.

No. 1 (H 120)

III

Ὅμοιοι εἰς τὸν Μέγαν Βασίλειον

- Καππαδοκῶν Βασίλειον ἀείσομαι ἀρχιερῆα,
 ἥθεσιν εὐπαγέα καὶ σταθερὸν ξυνέσει,
 εἶδεῖ καὶ βιότητι, διδάσκαλον ἀγνωσυνάων
 καὶ σιγῶντα μέγαν κήρυκα σωφροσύνης,
 5 βένθος ἅπαν λογικοῖο δαήμενον ὠκεανοῖο,
 νηὶ ὑπ' εὐσκάρθμῳ ὀξυπόροιο νόου.
 Χαῖρε μάκαρ Βασίλειε, βίου μερόπων παιδευτά,
 ἁρμονίη κόσμου νῦν πλέον ἐκμελέος,
 10 θειογόνου σοφίης μέγ' ἀμύμονος ἐσθλὲ σαφητά,
 τῆς θ' ἅμα ὀψιτέρης καὶ τε παλαιότερης.
 Εὐνομίῳ μέγα πῆμα κακοφρονέοντ' ἐνὶ θυμῷ,
 πνεύματι παγκρατέϊ λύσσαν ἐγειραμένου,
 τοῦ ῥὰ σαθρᾶς σοφίης κενοκόμπου τὰς λαβυρίνθους
 15 δεῖξας ἐοῖο λόγου ἀρραγέεσσι λίνις.
 Κτίσιος ὃς δεδάηκας ἀφ' ὑπόθεν αἵτια πάσης,
 οὐδὲ δαεῖς φθόνεσας ἐκ μερόπεσσι φάναι.
 Γαίην δ' εὐρυτάτην καὶ αἰθέρος ἄτρυτον οἶμον,
 πνοιοδότην τ' ἀέρα καὶ σέλας αἰθόμενον,
 20 καὶ ζώων τὰ γένεθλα βροτοῖς κατὰ μοῖραν ξειπες,
 χθὼν ὅσα καὶ ὅσ' ἀῆρ καὶ τε θάλασσα φέρει,
 καὶ χλοερῆς βοτάνης ιδιώματα πάντα μυθήσας·
 χαῖρε μονοτροπίης στάθμιον ἄζυγέος·
 χαῖρε βροτῶν βιότητος ἐπ' εὐπορον οἶμον ἰθύντορ,
 γήραος εὐκοσμίη, χαλινὲ κουροσύνης.

V f. 127^r Ax f. 3^v Y f. 4^v | Eu. 557 Gu. λ 5^v–6^r Mi. 1226A–C

tit. ὅμοιοι εἰς τὸν Μέγαν Βασίλειον V Gu. : στίχοι ἡρωελέγειοι εἰς τὸν Μέγαν Βασίλειον Ax Y || 2 vers. om. Eu. || 3 εἶδει Ax Y || 4 σιγέοντα Ax Y || 5 λογικοῖς Mi. | δαήμενον Ax : δαήμενον Y || 8 ἐκ μελέος Mi. || 10 δ' ἅμα Gu. || 12 ἀειράμενον Gu. || 13 τὰς | τοὺς Mi. || 14 ἀρραγέσσι Eu. || 16 ἐν Mi. | μερόπεσι Ax | φαεῖναι Ax Y || 19 μῖραν Ax || 20 φέρει legi non potest in Ax : φύει Eu. || 21 μυθήσας scripsi : μυθήσω V Ax Y Gu. | παταμυθήσω Eu. || 23 εὐπορων Gu. | ἰθύντος Gu. || 24 εὐκοσμία Ax

Similar [verses] on Basil the Great

I shall praise Basil, the archbishop of Cappadocia, firm in character and steadfast in sagacity, nature, and mode of life, mentor of chastity, and great herald of prudence that remains silent; [5] you understood all depths in the ocean of intellect by the swift-moving vessel of [your] quick-moving mind. Hail blessed Basil, mentor for the life of men, harmony of the very inharmonious world, most excellent interpreter of immaculate divine wisdom, [10] both of the recent one and the older. Great bane to the soul of the malignant Eunomios, who raised rage against the all-powerful Spirit. You pointed through the unbroken cords of your word to the rotten maze of wisdom of that vainglorious boaster. [15] Once you learned from on high [i.e. heaven] each cause of the Universe, you did not begrudge to disclose [them] to mortals. You spoke to humans, as is right, about the wide earth and the unending path of the ether, the breath-giving air and the burning light and the origin of the animals, [20] all those borne on land, air and sea bear, and you recounted all the features of the pale green plants. Hail standard of the unwedded [and] solitary [mode of life], hail leader of mortal's life through an easily traversed path. [Hail] decorum of old age, [hail] rein of youth.

Notes on the text:

1. **Καπαδοκῶν ... ἀρχιερεῖα:** cf. *AP* VIII 6,1 βασιλίου Βασίλιον ἀρχιερεῖα.

3. **ἀγνοσυνάων:** according to the *TLG*, this rare word (cf. *LBG* 'Reinheit') recurs only twice before Prodomos: *Ath., Ep. ad Cast.* M.28, 880.20 and *Clem., Canones Ceremoniales* 5.126.

4. **καὶ ... σωφροσύνης:** what is meant here is that although Basil is dead, he is still alive through his writings.³⁹⁵ This is a clear borrowing from Nazianzus' epigram on Basil (*AP* VIII 4,3–5).³⁹⁶

αἰαῖ, Βασιλίου δὲ μεμυκότα χεῖλεα σιγᾷ.
ἔγρεο· καὶ στήτω σοῖσι λόγοισι σάλος
σαῖς τε θυηπολίησι· σὺ γὰρ μόνος ἴσον ἔφηνας

'Alas, the lips of Basil are closed and silent. Awake, and by thy words and by thy ministry make the tossing to cease.'

This is a recurrent motif in Byzantine epigrams. One of the poems of the so-called anonymous Italian, dated to the second half of the ninth century on Basil reads as

³⁹⁵ The same conceit is repeated in the poem on Gregory of Nyssa; see p. 212.

³⁹⁶ Transl. in PATON, *The Greek Anthology* II 403.

follows:³⁹⁷ Λαλεῖ σιγῶσα, νουθετεῖ παραινέσεις [...], while a verse in an epigram of Philes:³⁹⁸ Βασίλειε ζῆς, ἀλλὰ σιγᾷς ἐνθάδε·

5. βένθος ... ὠκεανοῖο: cf. *AP* VIII,10.1: Βένθε' ἅπαντ' ἐδάης τὰ πνεύματος ὅσσα τ' ἔασι; this replication corroborates that Prodomos was familiar with Gregory's epigrams on Basil. The *synkrisis* of Basil to a ship can also be seen as a reference to his celibacy. For example, Gregory of Nazianzus in his poem 'Διαφόρων βίων μακαρισμοί' (*Greg.Naz., Carm.* I.2.17.53-54) compares celibates and thereby himself to a small ship.³⁹⁹

6. εὐσκόρθμω: although this Homeric epithet is normally used of horses, here it designates 'νηΐ' (before Prodomos only at *Q.S.*14.10). Theodore's work actually favours this kind of alteration, since the word 'ὕγροσκελῆς' – normally combined with 'ἵππος' – is used of 'ναῦς' (see nos. 1^{VI}, v. 12 and 20, v. 5).

8. ἐκμελέος: I prefer the epic form ἐκμελέος rather than the inferior reading of *PG* (i.e. ἐκ μελέος). The use of this epithet allows the poet to create a sharp contrast between the harmony that springs from Basil's mode of life and the disharmony and uncertainties of the earthly world. Prodomos, in the tetrastichs dedicated to Basil, frequently draws a connection between Basil and harmony, e.g. *tetrast.Basil.* κ2^V: Ἐμμελίη γὰρ ἔκυε προτ' ἡελίου, βρέφος, αὐγὰς [...]

9. θειογόνου ... σαφητιά: the verse accommodates three *hapax*:

(I) Θειογόνου is a *hapax* (cf. *LBG* 'aus Gott geboren/göttlicher') coined *metri gratia* instead of the common 'θεογόνου'.

(II) μέγ' ἀμόμονος ἐσθλᾶ: the *hapax legomenon* μεγαεσθλᾶ, which is not exemplified in any lexicon, has probably been separated into two parts on account of the *tnesis*. In favour of this argument speaks also the fact that Prodomos has coined similar words, e.g. *carm.hist.* VIII 168.290 'μεγακρατές' or *carm.hist.* XLV 119 'μεγαεργέ'.

(III) σαφητιά: cf. *LBG* 'Deuter/Erklärer'. It is worth noting that in the fourth poem (v. 5) Gregory of Nyssa is addressed in the same manner, but with the variant form σαφήτωρ.

³⁹⁷ For the text of the epigram see BROWNING, An unpublished Corpus 298. Baldwin commented briefly on this epigram; See BALDWIN, Anonymous Byzantine Epigrams 13–14. It is listed by Braounou among the epigrams which make use of the device of 'Beseeltes Bild'; see BRAOUNOU-PIETSCH, Beseelte Bilder 221.

³⁹⁸ For a new edition of the epigram along with a German translation see BRAOUNOU-PIETSCH, Beseelte Bilder 156.

³⁹⁹ See SIMELIDIS, Gregory of Nazianzus 145.

10. τῆς ... παλαιότερης: this verse involves a very subtle use of the words ὀπιτέρης and παλαιότερης. It needs to be viewed in conjunction with the previous verse, in which Basil is described as one of the foremost Christian theologians. Only then will we notice that the poet, through this word play refers, to the Old and New Testaments, and thereby to Basil's incomparable skills in interpreting the Holy Scriptures.

11–12. Εὐνομίου ... ἐγειραμένου: Eunomius was the leader of the Neo-Arians and one of the most rigorous opponents to Basil.⁴⁰⁰ Basil wrote three books rebutting his neo-Arian theology (*Adversus Eunomium*).⁴⁰¹

13. κενοκόμπου is a *hapax legomenon* (cf. *LBG* 'leer (eitel) prahlend'); cf. also *carm.hist.* XLV 40 κενόγκους ἐλπίδας ('leergewichtig' cf. *LBG*).

τὰς λαβυρίνθους: *PG* emendates the reading of the Basel edition 'τὰς λαβυρίνθους' into 'τοὺς λαβυρίνθους'. Both scribes are in complete consonance with the Basel edition, while the *LBG* treats the word as feminine, albeit based solely on Nicephoras Gregoras' epistolographical work. Since the reading 'τὰς λαβυρίνθους' does not entail any implications in terms of prosody, I have preferred the reading of the manuscripts and the *editio princeps*.

15–16. Κτίσιος ... φάναι: this verse encompasses a clear reference to Basil's striking homilies in the *Hexaemeron*.⁴⁰² Theodore attempts to highlight the *Hexaemeron*'s value in two ways: firstly, Basil is divinely inspired ἄφ' ὑπόθευ, and hence his work can be compared to the Old and New Testaments; secondly, the poet praises Basil because the composition of the *Hexaemeron* discloses to all men the origin and the structure of the universe.

ἐκ μερόπεσσι φάναι: *tnesis*.

17–21. Γαίην ... μυθήσω: the content of the *Hexaemeron* is condensed very skilfully in this part of the poem: the creation of heaven and earth, light, plants, and animals.

πνοιοδότην: a *hapax* (cf. *LBG* 'der Atem gibt') which recurs in Prodromos' poem 'on the Crucifixion' (v. 7) as an epithet of Christ.⁴⁰³

σέλας αἰθόμενον: cf. *Il.* 8.563 σέλα πυρὸς αἰθομένοιο.

⁴⁰⁰ On Eunomios, see *ODB* II 74, and more recently *BDGN* 311–319. For Eunomios and Gregory of Nazianzus see SIMELIDIS, Gregory of Nazianzus 125–126.

⁴⁰¹ For the text see PG 29.497 and BÖHM, Basilius von Cäsarea: *Adversus Eunomium* I–III.

⁴⁰² For the text see AMAND DE MENDIETA – RUDBERG, In hexaemeron homiliae. For the *Hexaemeron* see, for example, *ODB* II 926–927 and CALLAHAN, Greek Philosophy and the Cappadocean Cosmology 29–57.

⁴⁰³ Note that Prodromos coined a quite similar epithet πνοιοδοτήρ for ἀέρα (*tetrast.* 264b3).

19. κατὰ μοῖραν ἔειπες occurs seventeen times in Homer (e.g. *Il.* 1.286/*Il.* 8.146), and always in the same metrical place; cf. also *carm.hist.* VIII 6: πάντα δέ τοι κατὰ μοῖραν ἐριφραδέως ἀγορεύσω.

ἄζυγος: ‘unwedded’; the genitive form is to be found only in Gregory of Nazianzus (cf. *Greg.Naz., Carm.* I.2.1 [531] 115 and I.2.2 [611] 417).⁴⁰⁴ For further annotations on this word see SIMELIDIS, Gregory of Nazianzus 131 and 141.

⁴⁰⁴ For comments on this word see SIMELIDIS, Gregory of Nazianzus 131.

No. 1 (H 120)

IV

Ὅμοιοι εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Ἰωάννην τὸν Χρυσόστομον

- Χρυσολόγον μετὰ τοῖσι λιγαίνομαι Ἰωάννην,
 Ῥώμης ὀψιτέρης ἀρχιερῆα μέγαν,
 εὐκέλαδον μέγαλοιο χελιδόνα πνεύματος ἀγνοῦ,
 δόγματος εὐαγόρου κίθαριν ἐμμελέα.
 5 Χαῖρ' ἀγαθὴ κραδίη, χρυσοῦν στόμα, γλῶσσα λιγεῖα,
 σειρὴν ἡμετέρη σὺν τε δέουσ' ἀνέρας,
 καὶ τε φίλης βιότητος ὀπαζομένη μακρὰ κύκλα,
 ἄγγελε οἰκτοσύνης, ἐλπὶς ἀλιτροβίων,
 ἦτορ ἐὼν μερόπων ὑπὲρ ἐκπνείων ταλαεργῶν
 10 θειοφραδὲς μεγάλης μύστα θεηγορίας,
 σὰρξ ἀποχῆς ὁσίη καὶ ἀϋλὶ ἔνδοθεν ὕλης,
 πτηνὲ νόον, γενέτωρ βίβλου ἀπειρεσίης,
 Ἀντιοχεῦ γενέθλην, κόσμου δέ τε παντὸς ὄνειαρ,
 ἐσθλῆς δικοσύνης κλισμὸν ἐὼν προνέμων.
 15 Οὐνεκα γὰρ χήρης πολυπήμονος ἀμπελεῶνος
 ἔκ τε θοώκου ἔβης ἐξορίην τ' ἀνέτλης,
 ἐν Κομάνοις δέ σ' ἔδω Βυζαντιάς, οὐ κατὰ κόσμον,
 ἐσθλὸν ἐὼν θεμένη ἄρχου ἀτασθαλίῃ
 ἀλλοτρίῃ ἐνὶ χώρῃ· ἀτὰρ σὺ γ' οὐ λίπες ἔμψης
 20 ὄν θρόνον, ἦν τε πόλιν βασιλίδι πτολίων.
 Ἀλλὰ μετὰ τριάκοντα λυκαβάντων ὅλα κύκλα
 ἐς πυμάτην Ῥώμην ἀνακομιζόμενος.
 Νεκρὸς ἐὼν περ ἔειπες «ἀπάντεσιν ἀμφ' εἰρήνην»,
 τοῖα κε φιλαρέτων ἔστ' ἀέθλια βίου.

V f. 127^{r-v} | Gu. λ 6^{r-v} Mi. 1227A-B

tit. ὅμοιοι εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Ἰωάννην τὸν Χρυσόστομον V : ὅμοιοι εἰς τὸν Χρυσόστομον Gu. || 1 λιγαίνομεν Gu. || 3 ἐγκέλαδον Mi. || 4 εὐμελέα Gu. || 6 σειρὰ δὲ θ' ἡμετέρη συντεδέους ἀνέρας Gu. || 7 καὶ τε] καὶ συ Gu. | ὀπαζόμενος Gu. || 8 ἄγγελος Gu. || 10 θεηγορίας Gu. || 14 ἐσθλὰ Gu. | δικαιοσύνης Gu. || 15 χήρους Gu. : κλήρους Mi. || 16 θοώκου Gu. | τ' om. Mi. || 17 Κομάνοις] καμάτοις Mi. || 18 ἀρχὸν Gu. || 20 πολίων Gu. | πτολήων cum i supra η V || 22 ἐς] εὖ Gu. || 24 κε] καὶ Gu. | ἐστὶν ἄεθλα Gu.

Similar [verses] on Saint John Chrysostom

In their midst I shall sing in praise of John of golden orations, great archbishop of the later Rome, melodious swallow of the great and pure spirit, tuneful lyre of laudatory beliefs. [5] Hail immaculate soul, golden mouth, sweet-sounding tongue, our siren who binds men together, and grants [them] long years of a beloved life. [Hail] angel of pity, hope of those who living in wickedness, [you] breath out for patient mortals, [10] [hail] divinely inspired instructor of great theology, holy and incorporeal flesh of abstention within the world of substance, winged mind, begetter of innumerable books, [hail offspring] of an Antiochene family, [yet] helper of the entire world, you pastured the flock [seated upon] your see of illuminated justice. [15] You left the see and endured exile on account of the vineyard of the much-suffering widow. Byzantium gave you to Comana in no orderly way. The iniquity of the rule exiles her brave [Patriarch] to a foreign land. [20] But you did not leave the see and the queen city [above all] cities for ever, for you were brought back to the last Rome after thirty years. Though dead, you said ‘peace be to you all’ and such prizes suit people who lead a virtuous life.

Notes on the text:

1. **Χρυσολόγον** instead of the common ‘Χρυσόστομος’; Prodromos employs this word about twelve times in his tetrastichs on John Chrysostom.⁴⁰⁵

μετὰ τοῖσι: a reference to the first three holy figures (St .Paul, Gregory of Nazianzus, and Basil of Caesarea). On the basis of this reference a sort of connection can be assumed between the poems (see below p. 220).

2. **Ῥώμης ... μέγαν**: John was appointed archbishop of Constantinople in the autumn of 397.

3. **εὐκέλαδον ... ἄγνοῦ**: cf. *Io.Geom.*, *Carm.Hex.* 300 57: πνεύματος εὐκελάδου λύραν, bearing the title ‘εἰς τὸ ἔαρ’.⁴⁰⁶ Theodore also calls Chrysostom ‘swallow of Christ’ in the tetrastichs that relate to his life (τὸν ἡδὺν εἰπεῖν τὴν Χριστοῦ χελιδόνα).⁴⁰⁷ This particular comparison is of great interest since the swallow is closely linked to the arrival of spring, and

⁴⁰⁵ Cf. *tetrast.Chrysost.* κ7^v, κ8^r (twice), λ^r (twice), λ2^r, λ2^v (twice), λ3^r, λ3^v (twice) and λ4^v. Another similar word used by Prodromos for Chrysostom is the rare word ‘χρυσόγλωττος’; cf. *tetrast.Chrysost.* κ8^r; λ2^r and λ2^v.

⁴⁰⁶ For the word εὐκέλαδος see VAN OPSTALL, Jean Géomètre 526.

⁴⁰⁷ Cf. *tetrast.Chrysost.* λ4^r. The motif of the swallow is also used at *carm.hist.* LXXIX 32 (for annotations on this verse see HÖRANDNER, Prodromos and the City 59) as well as in a letter of Prodromos presumably addressed to the ephoros Theophanes (see *Prodr.*, *Epist.* 1.78.9). Note also that Manganeios Prodromos calls Prodromos music-making swallow (cf. *De Manganis* X, v. 29).

thereby constitutes a traditional *topos* in many Byzantine *ekphraseis* of spring;⁴⁰⁸ for example, Libanios' *ekphrasis* reads ἄδει μὲν ἐν ἔαρι χελιδόν (cf. *Lib., Or.* 9.10.5),⁴⁰⁹ while in a ninth-century metrical *ekphrasis*, written by a certain Arsenios, we read χελιδὼν ἄρτι Τηρήως (v.88).⁴¹⁰ The same connection is also made in numerous other texts, e.g. *Greg.Naz., Carm.* I.2.29 [902] 251: Εἵαρος ἄγγελοί εἰσι χελιδόνες or *Io.Tzetz., Epist.* 19.34.16-17: ὥσπερ ἐαρινὴν χελιδόνα εὐκέλαδον. From this perspective, the simile here seems to function perfectly well for two reasons: (a) Theodore succeeds in comparing John's voice to that of a swallow, and (b) John, like the swallow, presages the arrival of a new era.

4. εὐαγόρου is a *hapax* (cf. *LBG* 'lobpreisend'), while the word combination κίθαριν ἐμμελέα is attested at *Chrys., Expos. in Ps.* M.55.497.19: Τότε γίνεται κιθάρα ἐμμελής ὁ ἄνθρωπος. It is hardly likely that Prodromos assumes Chrysostom's words for his description, since they seem to be proverbial in twelfth-century literature, e.g. *Mich.Italic., Op.* 41.236.6: ἄν χορδὰς ἐμμελεστάτης κιθάρας or *Eust.Thessal., Op. Min.* 2.28.13: εὐρυθμίαν καὶ κιθάρας ἐμμέλειαν.

5. Χαῖρ' ... λιγεῖα: a series of well-culled words in order for John's virtues and skills to be highlighted. It is surely not coincidental that the poet first calls him ἀγαθὴ κραδίη and thereafter χρυσοῦν στόμα⁴¹¹ and γλῶσσα λιγεῖα. Obviously, Prodromos strives to emphasize that the last two virtues derive from his ἀγαθὴ κραδίη.

γλῶσσα λιγεῖα: the Homeric word 'λιγεῖα' (cf. *LSJ*) is used in various authors as an epithet for the Sirens, e.g. *Alcm., Fragm.* 30.1: ἃ Μῶσα κέκλαγ' ἃ λίγηα Σηρήν or *A.R., Arg.* 4.892: λίγεια Σειρήνες. As to the twelfth century, save for Prodromos, Nikephoros Basilakes' panegyric on Alexios Aristenos, who was closely related to Prodromos, also reads ὃ γλῶττα Σειρήν τῷ ὄντι λιγεῖα, ὃ νοῦς καὶ γλῶττης ῥεούσης ὀξύτερος.⁴¹² Concurrently, Λίγεια appears to be the name of one of the Sirens, e.g. *Herod., De prosodia catholica* 3,1.258.22: εἰς ἣν ἐξεβράσθη Λίγεια ἢ Σειρήν⁴¹³ or *Io.Tzetz., Chiliad.* VI.709: Τρεῖς ἦσαν αἱ Σειρήνες μὲν ὥδῃ κηλοῦσαι πάντας, ἢ Λευκωσία, Λίγεια μετὰ τῆς Παρθενόπης. Thus, 'λιγεῖα'

⁴⁰⁸ See LOUKAKI, *Ekphrasis Earos* 77–106.

⁴⁰⁹ It is indisputable that Prodromos knew that Libanios was the teacher of Chrysostom, as two tetrastichs from his corpus are bearing the title Εἰς Χρυσόστομον ὑπὸ Λιβανίου τῆς ἀνδραγαθίου φιλοσοφίαν καὶ ῥητορικὴν διδασκόμενον. As a consequence, it can be argued that this description was chosen consciously – not to mention that in the iambic tetrastich referring to Libanios, Chrysostom is called wryneck (ὦ τῶν ἰύγγων, ἃς ἀπ' ἀνδραγαθίου, cf. *Tetrast.Chrysost.* κ7^v)

⁴¹⁰ KALTSOGIANNI, A Byzantine metrical *ekphrasis* of Spring 63–78, esp. 76.

⁴¹¹ The same set of words (i.e. χρυσοῦν στόμα) recurs at *tetrast.Chrysost.* κ7^r and λ^v; the word combination is also encountered in an inscription on a reliquary dated to 11th/12th centuries; see RHOBY, *Byzantinische Epigramme*, II, no. Me77.

⁴¹² *Nic.Basil., Orat.* B.20.21–22.

⁴¹³ LENTZ, *Grammatici Graeci* 3 258, 22.

foreshadows to a certain extent the second part of the couplet where Chrysostom is called Siren.

6. σειρήν ... ἄνέρας: Chrysostom is called Siren, since like the Sirens, he beguiles all men with his voice. However, a sharp contrast is drawn between the Homeric Siren and the Prodromic one: whereas the former separates men (cf. *Od.* 12.41–43), Chrysostom joins them together in mutual benevolence and love.

As far as the ‘siren motif’ is concerned, it is used extensively in Prodromos’ poetic corpus, always with regard to the rhetorical skills of the dedicatee. Whereas we never come across this motif in Prodromos’ laudatory works addressed to the emperor or to a member of the Komnenian family, it is frequently used to describe holy figures granted with matchless rhetorical talent; in addition to Chrysostom, Ss. Peter and Paul are called sirens at *tetrast.* 208b3 and 289b4. This motif is also used in praise of learned high-ranking officials, like Gregory Kamateros,⁴¹⁴ Alexios Aristenos,⁴¹⁵ Manuel Anemas,⁴¹⁶ Stephen Meles,⁴¹⁷ and an ephoros (presumably under the name Theophanes).⁴¹⁸

σύν τε δέουσ’: *tnesis* instead of *συνδέουσ’*.

8. οἰκτοσύνης is a very rare word (cf. *LBG* ‘Mitleid’), attested only twice before Prodromos (cf. *TLG*). As for **ἀλιτροβίων**, cf. *tetrast.* 197b2: Χριστὸς ἀλιτροβίοι μεθίξεται ἡδέ τε δειπνεῖ. It also appears to be very rare, in that it is attested only three times before Prodromos’ time: *Greg.Naz.*, *Carm.* II.1.28 [1288] 12: Ἥμαρ ἀλιτροβίων); *Nonn.*, *Dion.* 12.72 and *Nonn.*, *Par.Jo.* 15.19).

9–10. ἥτορ ἐδὼν ... θεηγορίας: the poet seeks to enhance his praise of John by saying that the dedicatee devoted his life to the salvation of repentant sinners, while, in the second verse, he notes that John is an expert of the great Theology inspired by God.

θειοφραδές: according to *LBG*, this *hapax* (‘göttlich sprechend’) is used as an epithet of ἥτορ. I am, however, inclined to believe that it designates the word *μύστα*.

11. σὰρξ ... ὕλης: as in the case of Gregory and Basil, Prodromos makes special reference to John’s celibacy. Note the poignant pun between the words *ἀυλίη* and *ὕλης*.

⁴¹⁴ *Prodr.*, *Orat.* 36.239.24.

⁴¹⁵ Cf. *carm.hist.* LVic17 and OP DE COUL, Théodore Prodrome I 175 (lines 54–55).

⁴¹⁶ Cf. *carm.hist.* LIV 195.

⁴¹⁷ Cf. *carm.hist.* LXIX 5.

⁴¹⁸ *Prodr.*, *Epist.* 1.78.15.

12. πτηνὲ νόον: a very common way of describing holy figures, see among many examples, the next poem in which Gregory of Nyssa is described as ‘φύσις πτερόεσσα’ (v. 7).

γενέτωρ βίβλου ἀπειρεσίης: an allusion to his prolific writings. Numerous epigrams praise John’s numerous works; for example, one epigram of Philes reads as follows: ἀεὶ δὲ λαλεῖς ἀπὸ τῶν βίβλων.⁴¹⁹

14. ἐσθλῆς ... προνέμων: in order to determine the exact meaning of this verse, one should examine the four verses that follow. Only then is it possible to realise that John, owing to his banishment that followed upon the dispute with Empress Eudoxia, resigned from his patriarchal see for the sake of justice.

15. Οὐνεκα ... ἀμπελεῶνος: a reference to the well-known story of the widow.⁴²⁰ According to the story, a widow appeared before Chrysostom claiming that Empress Eudoxia usurped her vineyard. By supporting the widow, Chrysostom incurred the disfavour of the Empress.⁴²¹ The story is first attested in the fifth-century *Vita* of Porphyrius of Gaza allegedly written by Mark the Deacon.⁴²² In addition to the *Vita* of Porphyrios, it is also preserved in many vitae of John composed by various authors up to the tenth century, such as Theodore of Trimitus, George of Alexandria and Symeon Metaphrastes.⁴²³

16–19. ἔκ ... χώρη at this point the poet spells out how John was deposed unjustly from his see and was exiled to Comana; this event is also recorded in the tetrastichs (under the title: εἰς τὴν ἐξορίαν Ἰωάννου).⁴²⁴ In v. 17 Theodore, moreover, calls the Byzantine authority ‘wicked’. This is undoubtedly a direct reference to Empress Eudoxia. A thorough reading of the poem suggests that it was very carefully structured, as the first fifteen verses constitute an encomium of Chrysostom, while verses 17–18 a *Psogos* of Eudoxia. Thus, once the poet has enumerated all of John’s virtues, he says that the malicious Empress sent him to exile, thus drawing a sharp contrast between the virtuous John and the vicious Eudoxia.

⁴¹⁹ BRAOUNOU-PIETSCH, *Beseelte Bilder* 176. For parallels within Philes’ work see p. 178.

⁴²⁰ The tetrastichs on the life of John Chrysostom treat also this story under the title: εἰς Εὐδοξίαν τὸν τῆς χήρας ἀμπελῶνα λαμβάνουσαν (*tetrast.Chrysost.* λ2^v–λ3ⁱ). A later twelfth-century reference to this story is to be found in the poetic work of Theodore Balsamon (cf. *Theod. Bals., Carm.* XLV 42–45).

⁴²¹ For a detailed account of this particular story see BAUR, *Der Heilige Johannes Chrysostomus* II 142–145.

⁴²² GRÉGOIRE – KUGENER, *Marc le Diacre Vie de Porphyre Évêque de Gaza*, Chapter 37.

⁴²³ For a list of the *Vitae* including an account of this story see BAUR, *Der Heilige Johannes Chrysostomus* I XX–XXI.

⁴²⁴ Cf. *tetrast.Chrysost.* λ3^f–λ3^v.

Another interesting feature to be noted is the poet's grief over the city's treatment of its great shepherd. This is recognized as a *topos* in Prodromos' tetrastichs on the three hierarchs (e.g. *tetrast.Chrysost.* λ3^f γῆ Ῥωμαῖς κλαίω σε τῆς ἀκοσμίας or *tetrast.Greg.Naz.* 13a4 Βυζαντίας κλαίω σε τῆς ἀκοσμίας), while it brings to mind the Prodromic poem 'Verses of Farewell to Byzantium', where Constantinople is blamed once more for allowing one of its great citizens to depart. It would indeed not be too daring to assume that the cases of John Chrysostom and Gregory of Nazianzus provide a basis for Prodromos' device.

οὐ κατὰ κόσμον: this Homeric formula occurs occasionally in the same *sedes* of the verse (cf. *Od.*20.181).

20. πόλιν βασιλίδα πτολίων is Constantinople; this common label is encountered quite often in the Prodromic work, e.g. *carm.hist.* IV 251: τὴν βασιλίδα πόλιν.⁴²⁵

21-22. Ἀλλὰ ... ἀνακομιζόμενος: a reference to the translation of the relics of St. John Chrysostom from Comana back to Constantinople, thirty years after his death (in 438) by his disciple St. Proclus, Patriarch of Constantinople from 434 up to 444. The translation of Chrysostom's relics, celebrated on 27 January, is also recorded in the metrical calendar of Prodromos.⁴²⁶

23. Νεκρὸς ... εἰρήνην: when the relics of Chrysostom were brought back to Constantinople and were placed upon the patriarchal throne in the church of the Twelve Apostles, the multitude of people gathered around the church and heard the following words from John's mouth: 'Peace be to you all'. The account of this miracle is attested in the synaxarion of Constantinople,⁴²⁷ but more importantly at *Calend.* 111:

Ἡ ἀνακομιδὴ τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου, ὅτε καὶ νεκρὸς εἶπε τὸ «Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν»
Θανὼν τὸ χρυσοῦν καὶ πάλιν λαλεῖ στόμα.

⁴²⁵ For the praise of Constantinople see FENSTER, *Laudes Constantinopolitanae* 143 and more recently HÖRANDNER, *Prodromos and the City* 49–62.

⁴²⁶ ACCONCIA LONGO, *Teodoro Prodromo* 111.

⁴²⁷ DELEHAYE, *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, 425–430; see also *BHG*³ 877 ff.

No. 1 (H 120)

V

Ὅμοιοι εἰς τὸν Νυσσαέαν Γρηγόριον

- Γρηγόριον μετέπειτα κασίγνητον Βασιλείῳ,
 ποιμένι Καισαρέων, ποιμένα Νυσσαέων
 μέλψομαι οὐχ' ὑπὲρ αἴσαν ἀγάφρονα ἄνδρα καὶ ἐσθλόν,
 δεύτερον Εὐνομίου πῆμα θεοπτολέμου,
 5 δεύτερον ἀρχεγόνοιο σαφήτορα κοσμογενείης,
 πλάσιος ἀνδρομέης ἴστορ' ἐριφραδέα.
 Χαῖρε φύσις πτερόεσσα, ταχὺς νόος, ἡδὺ μύθημα,
 ἡδυμελὴς χαρίτων κῆπος ἐριπλοκάμων,
 10 γλῶσσα μέλι σταλάουσα Ὑμητίου ἡδίων οἶον,
 φρὴν σταθερὴ, καθαρῆς ἄνθεμα σωφροσύνης,
 δυσσεβέοντος ὄλεθρε, θεμεῖλιον εὐσεβεόντων,
 ὀρθοτόμε Τριάδος λάτρι μεγασθενέος.
 Ἀτραπὸν ὃς σκιόεσσαν ἀείσματος ὑψηλοῖο,
 15 κρυπινόου μεγάλου τοῦ, Σαλομὼν γενέτης,
 εὐπορον ἄμιν ἔφηνας ἐῆς φαέεσσι σοφίης,
 σκῶλον ἅπαν βαλέων οἶμου ἀπ' ἐκ μεσάτης.
 Ὅς μὲν Νυσσαέεσσιν ἐπίσκοπος οἶον ἐτύχθης,
 οὐδ' ἄρα Νυσσαέας οἶον ἐπεσκόπεες,
 20 πάντα βροτῶν δε γένεθλα, τὸ σὸν πέλεν, ἡδ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν
 πάντα τεοῖσι λόγοις κόσμον ἐπισκοπέεις.
 Ὑμνητὰ μακάρων, περιώσιον εὖχος ἱρήων,
 ὃς λόγον ἀμφὶ βίῳ καὶ βίον ἀμφὶ λόγῳ
 ἤρμους ἐμμελέως· ἐρατὸν δ' ὑπὸ λῖνον ἀείσας
 οὔασιν ὃς κραδίης χάρμα μέγα σταλάει.

V f. 127^v | Gu. λ 6^v–7^r Mi. 1127B–1128B

tit. ὁμοιοι εἰς τὸν Νυσσαέαν Γρηγόριον V : ὁμοιοι εἰς τὸν Γρηγόριον Νυσσέα Gu. || 2 ποιμένι] ποιμένα Gu. | Νυσσεέων Gu.
 || 5 κοσμογενείης Gu. || 14 γενέτην Gu. || 18 ἐπισκοπέεις Mi. || 24 σταλάεις Gu.

Similar [verses] on Gregory of Nyssa

And then I shall in due manner sing of the brother of Basil, archbishop of Caesarea, Gregory [who was] archbishop of the people of Nyssa, high-minded and stout, second bane to the God-hostile Eunomios, [5] second interpreter of the primordial creation of the world, eloquent authority of human creation. Hail winged nature, swift mind, sweet kinsman, odorous garden of Graces with very beautiful locks of hair, [whose] tongue drips with honey sweeter than that of Mount Hymettus, [10] steadfast in mind, instrument of utter prudence, destroyer of the impious man, foundation of pious men, orthodox servant of the omnipotent Trinity. You turned for us [i.e. the mortals] the shadowy path of the highly enigmatic lofty song, [whose] begetter [is] Solomon, [15] to an easily passable [path] through the light of [your] wisdom, by hurling aside every obstacle from the midst of the path. You were an excellent bishop for the people of Nyssa. During your lifetime you cared not only for the people of Nyssa, but for all the offspring of mankind. [20] But even now you watch over the whole world through your writings. Eulogist of blessed men, excellent boast of priests, you fitted harmoniously the word of God to [your] mode of life and [your] mode of life to the word of God. Then again, you shed immense joy by singing the lovely Linos-song to the ears of the heart.

Notes on the text:

1. **μετέπειτα**: further evidence for the strong connection between the six poems (see below p. 220).
2. **ποιμένα Νυσσαέων**: Gregory was consecrated bishop of Nyssa in 372. He was dethroned in 376 due to his opposition to Valens' favouring policy towards the Homoians, but he regained his see in 378 (see *BDGN* 106 ff).
3. The verse comprises a series of rare words and forms:
μέλψομαι: this particular form seems to be extremely rare. With the help of the *TLG* I was able to find only two further attestations, i.e. *Greg.Naz., Carm., II.1.34* [1322] 208 and *Mich.Psel., Orat.Paneg.* 13 [128] 21.
οὐχ' ὑπὲρ αἴσαν is a Homeric formula (e.g. *Il.3.59/Il.6.333/Il.10.445*) which recurs at *carm.hist.* VIII 213.

ἀγάφρονα: the word is otherwise attested only at *carm.hist.* XLII 13 (cf. *LBG* ‘hochgesinnt’) and later in the neglected poetic work of Euthymios Tornikes, who draws from the Prodromic corpus on various occasions (see below).⁴²⁸

4. δεύτερον ... θεοπτολέμου: Gregory complemented the three books *Contra Eunomium* of his brother, Basil of Caesarea, with some supplementary works.⁴²⁹ The epic form θεοπτόλεμος is of special interest: it is used in place of the more common ‘θεομάχος’, but like the latter it is also applied to the heretics. The word is otherwise attested only in an encomium on St. Demetrios written by Ioannes of Thessalonike around the year 600, once more as an epithet of the word ‘αἵρεσις’.⁴³⁰

5-6. δεύτερον ... ἐριφραδέα highlights Gregory’s contribution to a complete configuration of a Christian cosmogony: Basil of Caesarea’s *Hexaemeron* deals with the creation of the world up to the creation of the animals, while Gregory’s treatise ‘On the Making of Man’ (*De opificio hominis*) supplements the work of his brother.⁴³¹

Σαφήτορα: exemplified in the dictionary of Hesychios (cf. *Hsch.* 293.1 σαφήτωρ: μάντις ἀληθής, μηνυτής, ἐρμηνεύς). After Hesychios, Prodromos is the only author who makes use of this word. Theodore, moreover, employs it twice in his work, yet with different implications: whereas here it means ἐρμηνεύς, at *carm.hist.* VIII 33: οἱ μὲν ἄρ’ ὥς ἀπέβαν σαφήτορες ἄνδρες ὁμοκλής the translation μηνυτής should be chosen.

κοσμογενείης: an epic form instead of the common word ‘κοσμογένεια’.

6. πλάσιος ἀνδρομέης: cf. *R&D* I 67: ὑποκριθεῖσα τὴν βροτησίαν πλάσιν. The Homeric word ἀνδρομέος is cherished by Prodromos, e.g. *carm.hist.* VIII 128 and *tetrast.* 266b3.

ἐριφραδέα: a *hapax* (cf. *LBG* ‘wohlredend’). The derivative form ἐριφραδέως is used at *carm.hist.* VIII 6.

7. φύσις πτερόεσσα: see p. 205. In conjunction with this word combination note also that Theodore employs the Homeric ‘ἔπεα πτερόεντα’ at *carm.hist.* VI 101. There he speaks of

⁴²⁸ PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, *Noctes Petropolitanae* 196 (v. 302). It concerns a group of nine poems dedicated to the emperor Isaac Angelos. These are personifications of the nine Muses penned in different metres. See also p. 199 (v. 15) and 200 (v. 38) which concern an epitaph on the death of the wife of the Kouropalates John Chamakon. For a brief description of Tornikes’ poems see HÖRANDNER, *Euthymios Tornikes* (forthcoming).

⁴²⁹ Gregorius Nyssenus, *Refutatio confessionis Eunomii* (CPG 3136), ed. W. JAEGER. Leiden, 1960². For brief annotations and bibliography see *BDGN* 298–310.

⁴³⁰ See PHILIPPIDIS-BRAAT, *L’enkômion de saint Démétrius* 407, 26. Note that the variant form ‘θεοπολέμητος’ occurs in *Nic. Mesarit., Seditio Joannis Comnen.* 36.19–20.

⁴³¹ For the text see PG 44, 123–256. See also *BDGN* 544–545.

orators and wise men praising the emperor in both prose and verse. The verse ‘καί τ’ ἔπεα περόεντα νιφάδεσιν ἵκελα χύντο’ can indeed be translated as follows: ‘letting (i.e. the orators and the wise men) the rhetorical words flow like snowflakes’. Thus, the phrase ‘φύσις περόεσσα’ can accordingly be construed as an allusion to Gregory’s rhetorical efficiency. This argument can be pushed further on account of the words that precede and follow this particular word combination (ἐριφραδέα, ἡδὺ μύθημα, ἡδυμελής).

ταχὺς νόος: in the previous poem John Chrysostom is labelled ‘πτηνὲ νόον’.

8. ἡδυμελής ... ἐριπλοκάμων: Gregory is compared to ‘a dulcet garden of Graces with very beautiful locks of hair’. Although the “garden motif” is very common in Byzantine texts, its use in the verse in question is pertinent to that of the Byzantine novels. As is well known, the authors of such texts draw heavily on the Song of Songs for the imagery of a chaste woman enclosed in a beautiful garden.⁴³² Although Prodrōmos does not make use of this *topos* in his novel, certain analogies can be found in other contemporary or later Byzantine novels; see, for example, *H&H* 1.4.1: τὸν κῆπον ... Ὁ δὲ μεστὸς ἦν χαρίτων καὶ ἡδονῆς; *K&C* 810-812: τὰς χάριτας ὑπὲρ αὐτὴν τὴν τῶν χαρίτων φύσιν/Βοστρύχους εἶχεν ποταμούς, ἐρωτικούς πλοκάμους; *Achilleis Byzantina* 767: τὰς χάριτας τὰς τοῦ περιβολίου.⁴³³ Tentatively, this verse can be construed in a twofold manner: (a) as an allusion to Gregory’s commitment to the celibate life, and (b) to his exegesis of the Songs of Songs. Prodrōmos, moreover, made use of the ‘garden motif’ in a group of poems celebrating the marriage of Nikephoros Phorbenos. The third poem, devoted to the praise of the bride, opens in the following manner:⁴³⁴ Τίς εἶδε κῆπον ἀρετῶν; ἐλθέτω νῦν, ἰδέτω. In any case, the metaphor of the “garden” is used very often in Byzantine poems.⁴³⁵

9. Γλῶσσα ... οἶον: Gregory’s honey-dripping tongue is compared with the honey of Hymettus.⁴³⁶ This is a recurrent motif in Prodrōmos’ work, which, as with the ‘siren motif’, is always intimately connected with the rhetorical skills of the addressee, who is either a holy

⁴³² Littlewood maintained that the imagery of the garden played a pivotal role in Marian imagery with the most prominent example being the Salutations of the *Akathistos Hymn*. See LITTLEWOOD, *Romantic Paradises* 104–105.

⁴³³ For this passage see SMITH, *The Byzantine Achilleid* 109–110.

⁴³⁴ *Carm.hist.* LXIIIc 1.

⁴³⁵ See RHOBY, *Metaphors of nature in the poetry of Manuel Philes* 265–266.

⁴³⁶ For Mount Hymettus in Byzantine literature see RHOBY, *Reminiszenzen an antike Stätten* 219–220; for the popularity of Hymettus’ honey in Byzantine texts see HÖRANDNER, *Historische Gedichte* 493.

figure,⁴³⁷ a contemporary intellectual,⁴³⁸ or even a learned high-ranking official.⁴³⁹ The motif, moreover, appears also in numerous other twelfth-century texts. For example, Niketas Eugenianos, in the prose epitaph on Prodnomos, reports that Prodnomos brought to birth orations more beautiful than Adonis and sweeter than the honey of Hymettos,⁴⁴⁰ while Nikephoros Basilakes in an oration on Alexios Aristenos compares the sweetness of his mouth to the honey of Hymettos.⁴⁴¹

11. Δυσσεβέοντος ... εὐσεβέοντων: according to this verse, Gregory brings about destruction to the impious; reversely, he serves as a stronghold for those who live piously. The sharp contrast between the singular form of ‘δυσσεβής’ and the plural of ‘εὐσεβής’ must be noted. It is highly likely that metrical reasons induced Prodnomos to write *δυσσεβέοντος* instead of *δυσσεβέοντων*. Yet, it cannot be excluded that Prodnomos’ intention might have been to emphasize the case of Eunomius, Gregory’s most fierce adversary.

Ὁρθοτόμε ... μεγασθενέος: cf. *tetrast. Greg. Naz.* 11b1: Ἀμπνυτε ὀρθοτόμοι Τριάδος πρόμοι ἀρχεσιφώτου.

13–16. ἀτραπὸν ... σοφίης: a subtle allusion to Gregory’s exegesis on the Song of Songs.⁴⁴² Although many early Christian authors composed treatises on *Cantica Canticorum*, e.g. Origenes, Athanasius of Alexandria, Eusebius of Caesarea, Nilus of Ancyra etc., Gregory is viewed as the most prominent commentator of the Canticle, while his exegesis enjoys, arguably, an enormous reception throughout Byzantine centuries. There are indications that it was used extensively by authors of the first half of the twelfth century. A telling example is Iakovos Monachos, who draws to a great degree on Gregory’s commentary in letters addressed to his patroness, Irene the *Sevastokratorissa*.⁴⁴³ The same goes for the eleventh

⁴³⁷ In addition to Gregory of Nyssa, there is the case of St. Paul; see *tetrast.* 284a3–4: ἄκουε Παύλου τῶν μελισσαγῶν λόγων | σίμβλων δ’ ἀπορράγηθι τῶν Ὑμηττίων.

⁴³⁸ In the metrical preface to a book of *schede* by the monk Ioannikios we read: οὐδὲ μέλι γλυκὺ τόσσον δῶκεν Ὑμηττός (*carm.hist.* LXI 8); for further annotations on this verse see HÖRANDNER, *Historische Gedichte* 493. Furthermore, at *carm.hist.* XL 27: Ὑμηττίων δὲ ρευμάτων γλυκυτέραν dedicated to Isaac Komnenos.

⁴³⁹ Cf. *carm.hist.* LXIX 13: ἦ ῥά σε ἀμφικέχυνται Ὑμηττόθεν Ἀττικὰ σίμβλα addressed to the Logothete Stephen Meles. The motif is used extensively in his letters and orations as well; *Prodr.*, *Epist.* 2.81.1 addressed to Logothete Stephen Meles; *ibid.* 11.115.2 to Mytas; *ibid.* 21.143.5; *Prodr.*, *Epist.* 32.187.81–82 to Alexios Aristenos; and *ibid.* 37.252.18 to Constantine Hagiotheodoritis.

⁴⁴⁰ *Nic.Eugen., Mon. in Theod. Prodr.* 456.8–9. The same motif is to be found on pp. 460–461 (25–27): ὥς Ὑμηττὸν σὲ περικεχνηῶς ὥρώμην καὶ ὥς μάννα ὑετιζόμενον ἄνωθεν· οὕτω σε ὅλον γλυκασμὸν ὁ ὑψηλὸς βραχίων ἐπλάσαστο.

⁴⁴¹ *Nic.Basil., Orat.* B.17.26–27: ἐντεῦθεν Ὑμηττός σοι τὸ στόμα γίνεται καὶ μετρικοῦ σίμβλον μέλιτος.

⁴⁴² Gregorius Nyssenus, In *Canticum canticorum Homiliae* (CPG 3158), ed. H. LANGERBECK, In *Canticum canticorum* (= GNO VI; Leiden 1960). See also *BDGN* 121–125.

⁴⁴³ Cf. JEFFREYS, *Iacobi XXI/XXXVIII–XXXIX* [see also the list with numerous references in the *index fontium* 232–235]. See also JEFFREYS, *The Song of Songs and twelfth-century Byzantium* 36–54.

century; Psellos penned a didactic paraphrase of Gregory's commentary in verse for the emperor Constantine IX Monomachos (1042–1055).⁴⁴⁴

It would not come as a surprise if Prodromos was familiar with Psellos' verse paraphrase, since the wording of Theodore's poem displays a conspicuous likeness to Psellos' theological work εἰς τὸ παροιμιακὸν ῥητὸν τὸ 'ἡ σοφία ὠκοδόμησεν ἑαυτῇ οἶκον καὶ ὑπῆρξε στύλοις ἐπτά':⁴⁴⁵

[...] καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἀίσματος τῶν ἀσμάτων πολλὰ τὸ κεκρυμμένον ἔχει καὶ δυσερμήνευτον. ὅσον δ' οὖν πρὸς τὸν παρόντα λόγον ἀρκεῖ, ὁ μὲν Ἐκκλησιαστὴς μεσότης ἐστὶ δύο λαῶν, τοῦ τε ἀπὸ τῆς περιτομῆς φημι καὶ τοῦ ἐξ ἐθνῶν, οἷς ὁ ἐν σκιαῇ Σολομῶν [...] **κρυψινόου ... γενέτης**: Gregory succeeded in deciphering the meaning and the sense of Solomon's concealed thoughts as expressed in the Song of Songs; hence, his wisdom matches that of Solomon. Theodore maintains that Solomon was endowed with godlike wisdom at *tetrast.* 164b. We may also note that the motif is used at *Ptochoprod.* III 50: ἡ Σολομῶντος ἄρρητος θεόσοφος σοφία.

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κρυψινόου: the same word is employed in Psellos' exegetical poem on the Canticle (cf. *Mich.Psell.*, *Carm.* 2, 291: ἄλλο δὲ τοῦτο πέφυκε τοῦ λόγου τὸ κρυψίνου).

αἰίσματος ὑψηλοῖο: *metri gratia* instead of ἄσμα ἀσμάτων.

17.Νυσσαέσσειν: an otherwise unattested form (probably coined *metri gratia*).

πάντα βροτῶν δὲ γένεθλα echoes *Sophoc.OT* 1424-1425: ἀλλ' εἰ τὰ θνητῶν μὴ καταισχύνεσθ' | ἔτι γένεθλα [...]

Ὑμνητὰ μακάρων refers to Nyssa's funeral orations,⁴⁴⁶ but also to the numerous *vitae* or *encomia* for various holy figures.

19–20. ἡδ'... ἐπισκοπέεις: the idea of the perpetual nature of Gregory's writings is repeated at *calend.*, *Ian* 10: ζῆς καὶ θανῶν ζῆς, Νυσσαεῦ, τοῖς βιβλίοις and *tetrast.cal.* 50.199-200: ἀλλὰ τῇ Νυσσαέων ἀφῆκεν αὐτὸν ἐμπνέοντα ταῖς βίβλοις.

23.ἐρατὸν δ' ὑπὸ Λίνον αἰίσας: cf. *Il.*18.570: λίνον δ' ὑπὸ καλὸν ᾄειδε. Linus was a mythical minstrel who invented rhythm and melody; at the same time, he is also considered the father of threnody. For further annotations on Linus see *Eust.Thess.*, *Comm. in Hom. Il.* 18.570.

⁴⁴⁴ *Mich. Psell.*, *Carm.* XIII. For some brief annotations as well as bibliography see HÖRANDNER, The Byzantine Didactic Poem 59–60; see also ROILLOS, *Amphoteroglossia* 205–206 and BERNARD, *Beats of the Pen* 194.

⁴⁴⁵ *Mich. Psell.*, *Theol.* I 7.28.15–18.

⁴⁴⁶ Cf. CPG 3180 (to Meletius of Antioch), 3182 (to St. Placilla the Empress), and 3185 (to his Brother, Basil of Caesarea).

No. 1 (H 120)

VI

Ὅμοιοι εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Νικόλαον

- Οἶκτον ἀτὰρ μετέπειτα λιγαίνομαι, οἶκτον ἀεῖδω,
 οἶκτον ἐπικροτέω, οἶκτος ἐμῇ κιθάρῃ
 μέλπεται – ἢ μερόπεσσι, τί λῳῖον οἰκτοσυνάων; –
 Νικόλεων Λυκίης ἀρχιθόωκον ἀγνόν.
 5 Χαῖρ' ἐλέοιο θάλασσα, γλυκύρροε, σωσιάνειρα,
 οὔατα καὶ κραδίῃ γοργὰ λιταζομένοις.
 Ὅς πολὺν πενίης βαρυνούσου λύσας ἀνδρα,
 τρισσῶν θηλυτέρων δυστυχέων γενέτην
 10 νύκτα δι' ὀρφναίην χρυσοῦ βαλέων ἀποδέσμους
 τρισσοὺς λαθριδίῃ, κάμπαλιν ἔχιν' ἄγων.
 Ὅς προτόνους τέμνοντα καὶ ἱστία πάντα Βελίαν
 νηὸς ὑγροσκελέος, νηὸς ἀελλομάχου
 πόντισας ἔς τε βέρεθρα καὶ ἡερόεντ' ἐς Αἴδη·
 15 ὅς τ' ἐν ὕπνοις μολέων κοίρανον ἀμφὶ μέγαν
 χρυσολάτρην τ' ἐφ' ὕπαρχον ἐλύσας ἀνέρας οἴτου
 δεινὸν ὁμοκλήσας καὶ δέος ἀμφιχέας·
 ὅς τ' ἀπ' ἄκρης ποτὶ ναῦν ναύτην πεσέοντα κεραίης
 καὶ λυγρῇσι κόρης ἀμφιδέοντα μόρον
 20 ζῶν ἐοῖς ἐτάροις θαλασσοπόνοισιν ὀπάσας,
 χεῖρά τε καὶ τε νόον εἰς πόλον ἀμπετάσας.
 Χαῖρε Θεοῦ κραδίῃ, χαῖρ' οἰκτοσύνης πάτερ ἐσθλῆς,
 σπλάγχνα Θεοῦ μερόπων οὔνεκα πιμπράμενα.
 Χαῖρε, καὶ ὑμνητῆρι τεῶ χάριν ἀμφὶς ὀπάζων
 ἔς τε ῥέοντα κάτω καὶ τε μένοντα βίον.

V f. 127^v | Gu. λ 7^{r-v} Mi. 1228B-1230A

tit. ὅμοιοι εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Νικόλαον V : εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Νικόλαον ὅμοιοι Gu. || 2 οἶκτος] οἶκτον Gu. || 3 ἢ Gu. || 4 Νικόλαον Mi. | Λυκίης] Νικίης Mi. || 7 λύσας Mi. || 8 θυγατέρων Gu. || 9 βαλέων ἀποδέσμους] βασιλέων ἀπὸ δεσμοῦ Mi. || 10 λαθριδίῃ Mi. | ἔχινε Mi. || 11 τέμνων τε Gu. | Βελίου Gu. || 14 ὅς τ'] ὥς τ' Gu. || 15 τ'] δ' Gu. || 17 ὅς τ'] ὥστ' Gu. | ναύτην] ταύτην Gu. || 18 λυγρὸν ἦσι Gu. | ἀμφιθέοντα Mi. || 19 ὀπάσας scripsi : ὅπασας V Gu. || 21 οἰκτοσύνη πάτερ ἐσθλὲ Gu. || 23 τεῶ] Θεὸς Gu. | ὀπάζη Gu.

Similar [verses] on Saint Nicholas

And then again I sing the praises of pity, I hymn pity, I applaud pity, pity sings with [my] lyre Nicholas, the unalloyed archbishop of Lycia. What is better for human pity? [5] Hail sea full of mercy, sweet-streaming [sea], man-saving [sea] and spirited ears for those praying heartily [to you]. You released the white-haired man, the father of the three unfortunate maidens, from burdensome poverty by placing surreptitiously in the dark of the night [10] three sacks of gold, and walking off without a trace. You cast out the Devil, who cut off the forestays and all off the sails of the supple-legged vessel fighting the storm, into the pits of hell and murky Hades. You released the men from the fate that the gold-worshipping eparch imposed on them [15] by appearing in the dreams of the great lord, reproaching him and propagating fear. You returned alive to his sea-tossed comrades the mariner, who fell from the yard arm upon the ship and embrace death with mournful eyes, [20] by stretching out your arms and mind to the sky. Hail heart of God, hail father of excellent pity, [hail] flaming entrails of God for the sake of humans. Moreover, hail, for granting your minstrel twofold mercy both in wordly and eternal life.

Notes on the text:

1–2. Οἶκτον ... κιθάρη: by referring to him four times as ‘οἶκτος’, Theodore highlights Nicholas’ deep sympathy and mercifulness for those struck by misfortune. A monostich from Prodromos’ metrical calendar commemorates the saint in the same manner:⁴⁴⁷ Πινέεις τὸν οἶκτον καὶ θανῶν φύσει, μάκαρ.

μετέπειτα: a further tangible indicator of the strong connection between these six poems.

2–3. οἶκτος ἐμῇ κιθάρῃ μέλπεται: the lyre is, of course, Theodore’s poetry. As far as I know, this is the only example in his poetic work where Theodore puts it in such a straightforward manner. He customarily summons David to extol with his lyre the emperor and other members of the Komnenian court (e.g. *carm.hist.* XVII 60).⁴⁴⁸

⁴⁴⁷ *Calend. Dec* 6.

⁴⁴⁸ We may note that the story of King David, who subdued the evil spirit tormenting Saul (a torture inflicted on the latter by the Lord) by playing his lyre, is recorded in *tetrast* 126.

4. Theodore coined the *hapax* ‘ἀρχιθώκος’ (cf. *LBG* ‘der den ersten Sitz innehat, Erzbischof’) possibly having in mind the *hapax* ‘ἀμφιθώκος’ or the rare ‘ὕψιθώκος’ of Gregory of Nazianzus (cf. *PGL* s.v.).⁴⁴⁹

5. **Χαῖρ’ ... σωσιάνειρα**: the somewhat unknown fifteenth-century author Andronikos Doukas Sgouros⁴⁵⁰ composed two hexametric poems that are yet unedited. The first is dedicated to the Holy Trinity, while the second is to Gregory of Nazianzus. The last verse of the poem on Gregory is actually a borrowing from the present poem, as it reads as follows:⁴⁵¹
[...] θάλασσα γλυκόρροε σωσιάνειρα.

Χαῖρ’ ἐλέοιο θάλασσα is a striking simile with double function: firstly, Nicholas’ compassion is described as boundless as the sea; secondly, it is a subtle reference to Nicholas’ close relationship to the sea, as he is considered the patron of sailors.⁴⁵²

γλυκόρροε: The circulation of vocabulary among the works of twelfth-century authors has not been appropriately explored. This interesting word (cf. *LBG* ‘süß, mit Süßwasser fließend’) occurs for the first time in various works of the most prominent twelfth-century intellectuals: aside from Prodromos, it can also be found in works of John Tzetzes, Constantine Manasses, Eustathios of Thessalonike and Gregorios Antiochos (cf. *TLG* and *LBG*). It is not possible to determine whether it was coined at that time or borrowed from an earlier author. At any rate, given that Prodromos and Tzetzes precede, in chronological terms, the other three authors, they should probably be credited for coining or re-using the word. The word becomes even more interesting in view of the fact that Prodromos, Tzetzes, and Manasses shared the same patroness (i.e. Irene the Sevastokratorissa).

σωσιάνειρα: a rare word used for the sea (cf. *LBG* ‘Männer rettende’).⁴⁵³ The epithet draws a sharp contrast between Nicholas and the sea: the men are drowned by the latter, while they are rescued by him.

⁴⁴⁹ The poet was familiar with the latter word, since he makes use of it at *tetrast.* 184b4. For further annotations on the word see SYKES – MORESCHINI, *Poemata Arcana* 119.

⁴⁵⁰ For this author see Rhoby’s contribution in the *Lexikon der Byzantinischen Autoren* (forthcoming).

⁴⁵¹ I owe this reference to Andreas Rhoby; for the poem see TZIVARA – KARYDIS, *Ἡ βιβλιοθήκη τῆς μονῆς Πλατυτέρας Κέρκυρας* 94.

⁴⁵² On St. Nicholas as the rescuer of sailors, see the vv. 5–7 and 17–20, as well as JONES, *The Saint Nicholas liturgy* 43–44 and EADEM, *Saint Nicholas of Myra* 24–28.

⁴⁵³ As mentioned above, it recurs in the work of Andronikos Doukas Sgouros. Of note is that in an anonymous poem celebrating the refortification of Dorylaion (second half of the twelfth century, perhaps in 1175), the word ‘σωσιάνειρα’, modelled apparently on Prodromos’ *hapax*, is used of the emperor; see SPINGOU, *Dorylaion* 163. Prodromos has also coined a word bearing exactly the opposite implication: ‘φθισιάνειρα’ (*carm.hist.* VIII 124).

6. οὔατα ... λιταζομένοις: we are told that Nicholas promptly helps all those who pray wholeheartedly to him. Consequently, this verse points to his fame as one of the most wonder-working saints of Byzantium as well as one of the most effective intercessors at the heavenly court.⁴⁵⁴ It is worth mentioning that St. Nicholas is described as ‘stream of miracles’ in two of Prodromos’ poems.⁴⁵⁵ The location of the verse in the poem is conveniently directly before the report of four well-known miracles accomplished by the saint.

7–20. Ὅς πολλὸν ... ἀμπετάσας: four miracles attributed to St. Nicholas are juxtaposed within these 14 verses. It is possible that Theodore draws on various hagiographical vitae of Nicholas⁴⁵⁶ or even on the oral tradition for the transformation of the most well-known miracles into verses. On the other hand, it is even more tempting to think that these verses correspond to a specific vita icon of Nicholas, especially if we take into account that the first of such icons, depicting the most well-known miracles of the saint, date from as early as the eleventh century.⁴⁵⁷ Parallel examples of epigrams associated with a vita icon of the saint can also be found. For instance, no. 249 [SPINGOU 277] of codex Marcianus gr. 524 is related to a vita icon of St. Nicholas adorned by George Skylitzes; vv. 10–16 of the epigram refer to miracles performed by the saint.⁴⁵⁸

7–10. Ὅς πολλὸν ... ἔχνη ἄγων: these four verses encompass the story of the three maidens whose father, unable to marry them off due to the absence of dowry, intended to employ them as prostitutes. They were finally saved thanks to the philanthropy of Nicholas who during the night left three bags of gold in front of their house.⁴⁵⁹ The story is also recorded in a Prodromic schedos on Nicholas:⁴⁶⁰

[...] κόρα{ι}ς νυμφαγωγεῖ, ὅτι πολλοὶ οἱ λαμπροὶ καὶ στίλβοντες χρυσοὶ αὐταῖς παρέχονται χρήσιμοι.

⁴⁵⁴ Cf. *ODB* II 1469–1470. We may note that Maguire argues that the reason for the rich iconographical illustration of Nicholas’ miracles is that he was not specialized in his miraculous activities but was rather a “generalist”; cf. MAGUIRE, *The Icons of their Bodies* 169.

⁴⁵⁵ See *carm.hist.* LVII 9–10 as well as the poem no. 8 of the present edition (vv. 6–7).

⁴⁵⁶ Cf. ANRICH, *Hagios Nikolaos*.

⁴⁵⁷ On the vita icons of Saint Nicholas see ŠEVČENKO, *Saint Nicholas in Byzantine Art* and EADEM, *The Vita Icon and the Painter as Hagiographer* 149–165.

⁴⁵⁸ For the epigram see SPINGOU, *Marcianus* 87. Spingou claims a performative function of the epigram (see pp. 165–166).

⁴⁵⁹ For the textual sources transmitting the story of the three maidens see ŠEVČENKO, *Saint Nicholas* 86. The story can also be found in some vita icons of Nicholas; see ŠEVČENKO, *Saint Nicholas in Byzantine Art* 86–87 and the correspondent plates.

⁴⁶⁰ VASSIS, *Theodoros Prodromos* 16 (lines 12–13).

λύσσα: a very infrequent epic form attested twice in the poetic work of Gregory of Nazianzus (*carm.* I.2.29 [904] 272 and II.1.1 [971] 13), once in *AP* VI,202.4, and another time in Prodromos' work (*carm.hist.* LXXVII 11).

9–10. νύκτα ... ἄγων: cf. *Vitae et Miracula Nicolai Myrensis, Vita compilata*. I 222 21–27:

Λάθρα γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸ ἀρκοῦν χρυσίον τῷ γάμῳ τῆς πρώτης θυγατρὸς **νύκτωρ** διὰ τῆς θυρίδος ἐπιρρίψας, οἴκαδε ὤχετο, δύο [...] ἐν τῷ μέσῳ **τὸν ἀπόδεσμον τοῦ χρυσίου** [...]

νύκτα δι' ὀρφναίην: this Homeric phrase (e.g. *Il.*10.276/*Od.*9.143) is re-used twice in the tetrastichs (cf. *tetrast.* 113b2 and 219b3); both are in the same metrical place of the verse.

11–13. Ὅς ... Αἰδῆν: a clear allusion to one of the most well-known sea miracles attributed to Nicholas. According to this account, Nicholas, during a ship journey to the Holy Land, rebutted the devil who caused a violent storm intending to sink the ship.⁴⁶¹

11. Ὅς ... Βελίαν: cf. *Nic.Basilac., Progymn.* 26.123: τῶν προτόνων καὶ τὰ ἱστία διέρρηξεν [...]

Βελίαν: a very rare form in place of the common 'Βελίαρ'. The *TLG* shows three occurrences (among them *Greg.Naz., Carm.* II.1.44 [1359] 76), while it is re-used at *tetrast.Basil.* κ6^r.

12. νηὸς ... ἀελλομάχου recurs verbatim in the poem 'Hypothetical verses on a corpse without hands tossed by the sea' (v. 6).

νηὸς ὑγροσκελέος: the word ὑγροσκελής, attested for first time in Libanios (cf. *LSJ*), is normally used of horses. Other twelfth-century examples corroborate this use, e.g. *Anna Comnen., Alex.* 4.7.2.7 [137,30] and *carm.hist.* XV 48.

ἀελλομάχος: before Prodromos attested only at *AP* VII,586.4. Of note is that Prodromos' contemporary, the author Constantine Manasses, coined similar words, such as 'ἀελλόπνοος' and 'ἀελλόπους' (cf. *LBG*).

13. πόντισας ... Αἰδῆν: cf. *Il.*8.13: ἥ μιν ἐλὼν ῥίψω ἐς Τάρταρον ἡερόεντα. Whereas other Byzantine poets employ the Homeric 'ἐς Τάρταρον ἡερόεντα' without verbal changes, e.g. John Geometres (*carm.hex.* 53.17 and 76.12), Prodromos invents a variant form of the Homeric phrase.

Αἰδῆν: epic form instead of ἄδης; for Hades in Byzantine literature see *ODB* s.v. Hades.

14–16. ὅς τ' ... ἀμφιχέας: the poet refers to the miracle of the three generals. According to this story, the mercenary eparch of the city, after having been bribed, accused three guiltless

⁴⁶¹ For the texts preserving this story see ŠEVČENKO, Saint Nicholas in Byzantine Art 98 (for icons depicting this story see 98–99).

generals of treachery. Nicholas, responding to the pleas of the three men, appeared before Constantine the Great and commanded him to release the three generals, otherwise certain calamities would transpire.⁴⁶² The story is also attested in the Prodromic schedos dedicated to Nicholas: ⁴⁶³οὐκ ἀπειλεῖ βασιλεῦσι καὶ τούτων ἴστησι τὸν θυμὸν καὶ τὸ αἶπὸ τῶν στρατηλατῶν καταστέλλει κατάκριμα.

μολέων: an otherwise unattested epic form of the participle μολών.

Χρυσολάτριν: for annotations on the word see p. 316.

δαινὸν ὁμοκλήσας is based on the Homeric phrase ‘δαινὰ ὁμοκλήσας’ (*Il.* 16.706 and 20.408).

17–20. ὅς τ’ ... ἀμπετάσας: Nicholas resurrected a mariner who was compelled by the devil to plunge to the deck, leading to his death.

ποτὶ ναῦν: perhaps *metri gratia*, instead of the Homeric ποτὶ νῆας (cf. *Il.* 12.273/15.295 and *Od.* 3.298)

χεῖρά ... ἀμπετάσας: cf. *AP.App* 6.268.2: καὶ νόον ἀμπετάσασα πρὸς αἰθέρα πυρσοέλικτος and *tetrast.Greg.Naz.* 10b1–2:

Αἱ ῥα θεηγορίην γράψαν χέρες, αἱ θύεσσι
παμμεδέονθ’ ἱλάοντο καὶ ἐς πόλον ἀμπετάοντο.

Χαῖρε Θεοῦ κραδίη: Prodromos calls Nicholas ‘heart of God’; cf. also *carm.hist.* LXXIV 36: [...] τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν καρδίαν and LXXIX 47: ἄνδρα θεοῦ κραδίην [...] addressed to Patriarch Theodotos II and Stephanos Skylitzes respectively.

σπλάγχνα ... πιμπράμενα: the phraseology bears resemblance to *R&D* II 300: τὰ σπλάγχνα πιμπρᾷ [...]

23–24. Χαῖρε ... βίον: being a dedicatory epigram, it concludes with an appeal to St. Nicholas to grant his extoller (i.e. Prodromos) mercy both for his earthly and celestial lives. As far as the wording of these two verses is concerned, they are similar to two verses of *AP* I 22,3 σὴν χάριν ἄμμιν ὅπαζε καὶ ὀλβιόδωρον ἀρωγήν and I 26,2: σὴν μοι ὅπαζε χάριν καὶ νῦν καὶ ἔπειτα καὶ αἰεὶ.

⁴⁶² For sources of this story see ANRICH, Hagios Nikolaos, I, 67–96 (under the title *Praxis de Stratelatis*) and ŠEVČENKO, Saint Nicholas in Byzantine 115. The subject-matter of an anonymous poem of 630 verses written around 1300 is based preclusively on this story; see MERCATI, Vita giambica di S. Nicola di Mira 44–65.

⁴⁶³ VASSIS, Theodoros Prodromos 16 (lines 10–11).

Commentary

(keywords: author=donor, Orphanotropheion, oral performance)

These six poetic works, grouped under no. 120 in Hörandner's comprehensive list of Prodromos' works, are dedicated to six saints: Paul the Apostle, Gregory of Nazianzus, Basil of Caesarea, John Chrysostom, Gregory of Nyssa and Saint Nicholas. Each one is the dedicatee of innumerable Byzantine epigrams written by well-known, less known, or even anonymous poets. The same holds true for the Prodromic work, where we can find not only scattered references to these six figures, but also entire poems eulogizing them. For example, Paul's life is treated extensively in tetrastichs on the Old and New Testaments,⁴⁶⁴ as well as in the verse calendar.⁴⁶⁵ Gregory of Nazianzus, Basil of Caesarea, and John Chrysostom are duly celebrated in the tetrastichs dedicated to their lives,⁴⁶⁶ as well as in the respective verse calendar. Gregory of Nyssa is commemorated in both verse calendars,⁴⁶⁷ while St. Nicholas in a schedos and in his verse calendar.⁴⁶⁸ It is also worth mentioning that some of these six figures are juxtaposed in other poems by Prodromos; for example, the historical poem no. LVII, which concerns an epigram about a depiction of the Theotokos together with Christ, and surrounded by John Chrysostom, Gregory of Nazianzus, Basil of Caesarea and St. Nicholas.⁴⁶⁹ In poem no. 8 of the present edition the poet asks from St. Nicholas and John Chrysostom to intercede on behalf of an anonymous donor who might be identified with Theodore himself. Aside from these two examples, in the historical poem no. LIX Prodromos appeals for help from Gregory of Nazianzus, Basil the Great, Gregory of Nyssa and John Chrysostom against a certain Barys who accused him of being heretical on account of his keen interest in the classics.

Nevertheless, in none of the aforementioned or other poems/epigrams is to be found all six of these holy figures together; or, to be more precise, there is no other such group of six separate poetic texts dedicated to these six holy figures. Thus, a legitimate question springs to mind: why did Prodromos choose to commemorate these specific six holy individuals? I believe that, based both on the text itself and what we know about Prodromos' work and life, we can formulate some reasonable assumptions.

⁴⁶⁴ Cf. *tetrast.* 277–293.

⁴⁶⁵ Cf. *calend.*, *Iun* 29.

⁴⁶⁶ Cf. Hörandner no. 118.

⁴⁶⁷ Cf. *tetrast.cal.* 50 and *calend.*, *January* 10.

⁴⁶⁸ See VASSIS, Theodoros Prodromos 14–17 and *calend.*, *December* 6.

⁴⁶⁹ For more details on the nature of this depiction see my commentary on this poem.

Before all else, it should be noted that whatever the original occasion, Prodnomos' intention was to use them all together at once. Numerous connective words speak in favour of this argument. For instance, Prodnomos opens the fourth epigram dedicated to John Chrysostom in the following manner: 'In their midst I shall sing in praise of John [...]'. Here, the poet explicitly states that among the other holy figures he will also eulogize John Chrysostom. Similarly, the last two poems on Gregory of Nyssa and St. Nicholas open as follows: 'And then I shall in due manner sing the brother of Basil [...]' and 'And then again I sing the praises of pity [...]', respectively. Doubtlessly, the words 'μετὰ τοισί' and 'μετέπειτα' function as a type of link among these six poems (I will come back to this issue later).

Returning to the question of why Prodnomos chose to commemorate these six saints, some hints are offered in the v. 22 of the epigram dedicated to St. Paul, reading as follows: 'Remember Theodore, [your] devout servant'. This verse is invested with a double-layer implication: firstly, it discloses to the modern reader the dedicatory nature of the epigram; secondly, it creates a strong link between Prodnomos and St. Paul.

As far as the latter issue is concerned, Prodnomos' association with the school attached to the Orphanotropheion of St. Paul was suggested a long time ago by Robert Browning on the basis of the correspondence between Prodnomos and Italikos.⁴⁷⁰ On the other hand, Hörandner maintained that Prodnomos simply took refuge in the alms-house which was attached to the Orphanotropheion without obtaining an official teaching post.⁴⁷¹ Whether or not Prodnomos procured a teaching post in the school attached to the church of St. Paul is difficult to say. However, this verse ('your devout servant') may suggest that Prodnomos' status in the Orphanotropheion was higher than that of a mere resident of the hospice.⁴⁷²

Furthermore, it is hardly surprising that an epigram dedicated to St. Peter is not included in this group. The Orphanotropheion had initially been dedicated to its founder, Saint Zotikos (in all probability in the fourth century) but was later re-dedicated by Emperor Justin II to Ss. Peter and Paul.⁴⁷³ Nevertheless, in twelfth-century sources, Paul's role as patron of the Orphanotropheion seems to have superseded that of Peter.⁴⁷⁴ For example, in Prodnomos' monody for Stephanos Skylitzes, we are told that the latter was appointed teacher

⁴⁷⁰ BROWNING, Unpublished Correspondence 279–297.

⁴⁷¹ HÖRANDNER, Historische Gedichte 27–28.

⁴⁷² For more annotations on this matter see section 1.2.

⁴⁷³ On the Orphanotropheion, see MERGIALI-FALANGAS, L'école Saint-Paul 237–246 and MILLER, The Orphans of Byzantium 176 ff.

⁴⁷⁴ MILLER, Two Teaching Texts from the Twelfth-Century Orphanotropheion 17.

of Philosophy in the school attached to the church of St. Paul.⁴⁷⁵ Additionally, Prodnromos, in an oration dedicated to his entry into the Orphanotropheion, names only Paul.⁴⁷⁶

In this connection, and taking into consideration that Prodnromos' epigram on Paul – which precedes the other epigrams – is a dedicatory one, it would be reasonable to draw the conclusion that Theodore had in mind the patron of the Orphanotropheion and, in all likelihood, a very special occasion associated with it. Prodnromos' epigram is not, after all, the only twelfth-century case related to the Orphanotropheion. Leo of Rhodes, who became metropolitan of Rhodes sometime before 1166, and who was a teacher at the Orphanotropheion, dedicated a *schedos* in verse form to the school's patron, St. Paul.⁴⁷⁷ In addition to Leo of Rhodes' poem, a twelfth-century nine-line verse composition preserved in the thirteenth century ms. Marcianus gr. XI.31 forms a request towards St. Paul to reward the victor in a grammar and *schedos* competition.⁴⁷⁸ Nonetheless, as I will argue below, the function of Prodnromos' epigram deviates from that of these two examples.

Given that a close relation between Prodnromos' epigram on St. Paul and that the Orphanotropheion of St. Paul had been established, it should immediately be noted, unsurprisingly, that the poems on the three holy Hierarchs and on Gregory of Nyssa are also included in this poetic group. These four holy characters are considered to be the greatest Christian teachers of Byzantium and their works would be studied thoroughly by the students of the Orphanotropheion. Moreover, for Prodnromos, these saints were paradigmatic figures, for, as mentioned above, he compares himself to them in order to refute the accusations of Barys. As to the epigram on St. Nicholas, it should be mentioned that Prodnromos himself became a monk at some point in his life taking the name Nicholas;⁴⁷⁹ hence, Nicholas was Prodnromos' personal patron. Moreover, Nicholas' compassion and contribution in assisting orphans are emphasized not only in the present poem, but also in a Prodnromic *schedos* dedicated to him.⁴⁸⁰

Nevertheless, there remains one essential question that needs to be addressed: what was the original function of these six epigrams? The answer is not at all easy, since here we

⁴⁷⁵ *Prodr., Orat.* 38.267.82–84: ὁμοῦ δὲ ψήφῳ βασιλικῇ τὸν διδασκαλικὸν διέπειν ἔλαχε θρόνον τῆς τοῦ μεγίστου Παύλου διατριβῆς.

⁴⁷⁶ Cf. *Prodr., Orat.* 33.199.40: [...] καὶ πάντα πᾶσι κατὰ τὸν ἐμὸν καὶ ἡμέτερον γενήσομαι Παῦλον.

⁴⁷⁷ MILLER, Two Teaching Texts from the Twelfth-Century Orphanotropheion 12.

⁴⁷⁸ BROWNING, Il codice Marciano gr. XI. 32; cf. also MILLER, Two Teaching Texts from the Twelfth-Century Orphanotropheion 18.

⁴⁷⁹ PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, Εἷς καὶ μόνος Θεόδωρος Πρόδρομος 399 and HÖRANDNER, Historische Gedichte 32; cf. also section 1.2.

⁴⁸⁰ *Ibid.* 16, 16–17: τίς ὀρφανὸς ἢ τίς ταπεινὸς οὐκ ἐπέτυχε τῆς τοῦτου ὅλης ἐπικουρίας.

come across Lauxtermann's frequently cited statement: 'poems and epigrams are out of context in manuscripts'.⁴⁸¹ Moreover, some of these six epigrams seem even to switch context.⁴⁸² More precisely, the epigram on Gregory of Nazianzus was added by a later scribe to the first folio of the thirteenth-century manuscript Py, which is a rich collection of works by Gregory of Nazianzus. The same applies to the epigram on Basil of Caesarea which is preserved in the codex Ax and its copy Y, dated to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, respectively.⁴⁸³ The epigram was copied in the fifteenth century by the same scribe in the preceding folio of both codices, which are rich anthologies with works of Basil. Thus, the epigrams on Gregory of Nazianzus and Basil of Caesarea were re-used as *laudatory book epigrams* for the collections of these two church fathers.⁴⁸⁴

Nonetheless, we can scarcely assume that these six epigrams were used as such at the time of their composition. No written works are ascribed to St. Nicholas, while in the last three verses of the first poem on St. Paul, the poet asks from the saint to remember him on the Day of the Last Judgment. Likewise, the poem on St. Nicholas concludes with an appeal to the saint to grant his extoller, who is no other than Prodomos himself, mercy both for his earthly and his celestial life. Thus, as already highlighted, the first and the last epigrams of this group display explicit features that can be found in dedicatory epigrams. However, in marked contrast to the vast majority of dedicatory epigrams, the donor and author of this group of epigrams is the same person. The phrase *μνῶεο Θεωδώρου* in v. 22 of the first poem leaves no doubt about that. Apparently, Prodomos, like most Byzantines, also longed for spiritual redemption. As will be discussed further below, a further example suggesting this is the case of epigram no. 9 commemorating the restoration of an icon. This epigram has come down to us in three manuscripts; in the fourteenth-century manuscript from the National Library of Vienna it is entitled as follows: "On an Icon of the Theotokos; restored and purchased by himself". The title explicitly states that Prodomos was not only the author of this epigram, but also the donor, the purchaser, and the owner of the icon on which his epigram was purported to be inscribed. The list of epigrams where the author is the same person as the donor is, in fact, longer. For example, an epigram of Theodore Balsamon dedicated to a depiction of the Theotokos from the Monastery of Hodegon concludes as

⁴⁸¹ LAUXTERMANN, *Byzantine Poetry* 60.

⁴⁸² For examples of epigrams switching contexts see LAUXTERMANN, *Byzantine Poetry* 172–173 and BERNARD, *The Beats of the Pen* 64–65.

⁴⁸³ For the relation of the two manuscripts see the section 3.6.

⁴⁸⁴ For the different types of book-epigrams see BENTEIN – DEMOEN, *Book epigrams* 69–88. For similar cases see LAUXTERMANN, *Byzantine poetry* 172–173.

follows: Θεόδωρος σοι Βαλσαμῶν ταῦτα γράφει,⁴⁸⁵ while the same has been argued for an anonymous epigram from Marc. gr. 524.⁴⁸⁶

Going back to the question of practical use, one may wonder whether these six epigrams were inscribed or performed. To my mind, the latter is indisputable.⁴⁸⁷ Although the elegiac meter is deemed as one ‘not apt for oral delivery’,⁴⁸⁸ this does not seem to be entirely true for the twelfth century. A telling example is the long hexametric inscription (145 vv.) composed on the occasion of the inauguration of the Pantokrator Monastery. According to the manuscripts preserving the epigram, it was recited every year on the commemoration day.⁴⁸⁹ Besides, there is ample evidence pointing to this function. First of all, the *lemma* of the poems which runs as follows: ‘Προσφωνητήριοι εἰς...’ (a *hapax legomenon* – cf. LBG ‘Anrufungs-’) leaves no doubt that they are performative supplications addressed to these holy figures. The argument can be bolstered in view of the extended use (fourteen times) of the χαῖρε salutation,⁴⁹⁰ as well as the opening verse of each epigram.⁴⁹¹ More importantly, the form and the structure of these six epigrams are similar to that of Gregory of Nazianzus’ poem ἀποτροπή τοῦ πονηροῦ καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπὶ κλήσις’ (*Carm.* 2.1.55). Indicatively, this poem was also used by Prodromos as a model for poem no. 12. It should not be considered a coincidence that this Gregorian poem, as with each epigram under consideration, consists of twelve elegiac couplets, while the title προσφωνητήριοι seems to be an alteration of the word ἐπὶ κλήσις. They are indeed prayers, as Gregory’s poem, that are directed to these six saints. But once more it should be noted that they were not delivered on the feast days of the corresponding saint; as demonstrated earlier, the use of connective words does not justify their separate delivery on different calendar days.

As shown above, these six epigrams are closely associated with the Orphanotropheion, but it may be possible to go one step further and suggest that they reflect a very personal moment for Prodromos that took place in the church of the Orphanotropheion. Each epigram may in fact correspond to a depiction of the saint as seen in the twelfth-century

⁴⁸⁵ *Theod. Bals., Carm.* XXIV.

⁴⁸⁶ See SPINGOU, Marcianus 123 and 256.

⁴⁸⁷ For an excellent introduction to the performative function of epigrams on works of art see *ibid.* 157–175.

⁴⁸⁸ See BERNARD, *Beats of the Pen* 55.

⁴⁸⁹ RHOBY, *The Meaning of Inscriptions* 746.

⁴⁹⁰ For the χαῖρε salutation see PELTOMAA, *The Akathistos Hymn* 36–39.

⁴⁹¹ On St. Paul: I shall praise Paul, mouth of the eternal God; On Gregory of Nazianzus: I shall praise the great power of theology; on Basil of Caesarea: I shall sing Basil, the archbishop of Cappadocia; On John Chrysostom: In their midst I shall sing in praise of John of golden orations; On Gregory of Nyssa: And then I shall in due manner sing of the brother of Basil; and on St. Nicholas: And then again I sing the praises of pity.

church of the Orphanotropheion. It is likely that each epigram was read out aloud before the depiction of each saint by Prodromos himself (perhaps in different places in the church). The poet most likely began with St. Paul, the patron of the church, whose depiction would surely be in a prominent place. Then followed the four epigrams dedicated to the church fathers, functioning like a ‘bridge’ between the epigrams for Ss. Paul and Nicholas. Noticeable is that in contrast with the first and last epigrams of the group, they do not include any supplication on behalf of Prodromos. On account of this absence some of them “floated from one context to another”, and they were subsequently used as *laudatory* book epigrams. As for the depictions of the church fathers they were related to, it can be argued that they were to be found in the iconographic programme of the church’s apse. Particularly interesting is the last epigram, as it is highly likely that it was performed before a vita icon of St. Nicholas. Indeed, this appears to be the earliest specimen of an epigram associated with a vita icon of St. Nicholas.⁴⁹²

Unlike most of the dedicatory epigrams, there is no mention of an act of material dedication within these six epigrams. Or, to put it even more clearly, there is no sign of an explicit or implicit indication to a donation made by Prodromos to the Church of St. Paul. Prodromos expects in turn spiritual salvation, but instead of a material gift, he is offering ‘gifts of words’.⁴⁹³ These epigrams should, in effect, be envisaged as panegyrics, similar to those written by Prodromos for the emperor and other members of the Komnenian family. Yet, Prodromos here does not pursue acquisition of a material gift, but a reward in the life hereafter. If my hypothesis is correct, we can visualize a ritual function for these six epigrams, which could also include the students of the Orphanotropheion.

All in all, these six neglected epigrams represent, on the one hand, Prodromos’ unsurpassed poetic skills in terms of meter, language, style, and sources. On the other hand, they show Prodromos’ close relation to the Orphanotropheion of St. Paul, even if he never obtained an official post at the school which was attached to it. Furthermore, it is clear that they were not composed on commission, as were most epigrams of this genre, but for Prodromos’ own use. They afford us, therefore, a precious glimpse into Prodromos’ life in an ecclesiastical context of the Komnenian era.

⁴⁹² The epigram from Marc. gr. 524 – mentioned earlier – dates probably slightly later.

⁴⁹³ On this concept see BERNARD, *Gifts of Words* 37–51.

No. 2 (H 121)

Εἰς τὸν Ἀβραὰμ ξενίζοντα τὴν ἁγίαν Τριάδα

- Τί ταῦτα ποιεῖς; Βουθυτεῖς, Ἀβραμ γέρον;
 – Οὐκ· ἀλλὰ δεῖπνον καὶ τράπεζαν ἀρτύω.
 – Ὁ δαιτυμὼν τίς, ᾧ τὸ δεῖπνον ἀρτύεις;
 – Ἡ Τριάς αὐτή. – Καὶ Θεὸς βοῦν ἐσθίει;
 5 – Οὐ γὰρ ἐρευνῶ τοὺς ἀπορρήτους λόγους.
 – Ὡς ὑπέρευγε πίστεως τῆς σῆς, γέρον·
 ὡς ὑπέρευγε τοῦ φιλοξένου βίου·
 καρπὸν γὰρ ἀμφοῖν, καρπὸν ὀσφύος θύεις.

B f. 449^v V f. 117^v Es f. 197^v Ha f. 146^v He f. 167^r N f. 97^v R f. 229^r Vi f. 173^v W f. 54^v | Mo. 16 Bo. 8 Mi. 1223 Mil. 399–400

tit.: εἰς τὸν Ἀβράμ ξενίζοντα τὴν ἁγίαν Τριάδα B : εἰς τὸν Ἀβραὰμ ξενίζοντα τὴν ἁγίαν Τριάδα V R : om. Es : τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν Ἀβραὰμ ξενίζοντα τὴν ἁγίαν Τριάδα Ha : στίχοι τοῦ Προδρόμου κύρου Θεοδώρου εἰς τὸν πατριάρχην Ἀβραὰμ ξενίζοντα τὴν ἁγίαν τριάδα He : τοῦ αὐτοῦ (i.e. Θεοδώρου Προδρόμου) εἰς τὸν Ἀβραὰμ ξενίζοντα τὴν ἁγίαν Τριάδα N W : τοῦ Προδρόμου κύρου Θεοδώρου στίχοι εἰς τὸν Ἀβραὰμ ξενίζοντα τὴν ἁγίαν Τριάδα Vi : εἰς τὸν Ἀβραὰμ καὶ τὴν ἁγίαν τριάδα, κατ' ἐρώτησιν καὶ ἀπόκρισιν Mo. || 1 Ἀβραμ Ha He Vi W : Ἀβραὰμ Es R || 2 Οὐκ] οὐκ Mo. || 4 Καὶ] ὁ Es | ἐρῶ supra καὶ add. R || 5 ἀπορρήτους] θεοπνεύστους R : θεοπλάστους Mo. || 6 vers. om. Mi. Mil. || 7 ab ὡς ὑπέρευγε text. om. R || 8 θύεις] φύεις Es Ha He N Vi W : φέρει V (sed φέρη corr. Bo.)

On Abraham entertaining the Holy Trinity

- Why are you doing these things? Will you make sacrifice of an ox, aged Abraham?
 – No, rather I prepare dinner and a banquet.
 – For which guest do you prepare dinner?
 – [For] the Holy Trinity!
 – Does God eat beef?
 [5] – I do not investigate unfathomable reasons.
 – Ovations on your faith, old man! Ovations on your hospitable mode of life! For you sacrifice a double fruit, [an ox as well as] the fruit of your loins.

Notes on the Text:

1. **Τί ... γέρον:** cf. *carm.hist.* LXXIV 80: Τί ταῦτα ποιεῖς, Ἰακώβ πάτερ γέρον;.

Ἀβραμ: Prodromos very frequently modifies this proper name – either Ἀβραμ (e.g. *tetrast.* 16b1 and *carm.hist.* LXIII 2) or Ἀβραάμ (e.g. *carm.hist.* XXX 294 and *tetrast.* 20a4) – to fit the meter of his dodecasyllabic verses.⁴⁹⁴

⁴⁹⁴ For such modifications within the work of Gregory of Nazianzus see SIMELIDIS, Gregory of Nazianzus 140–141.

4. Καὶ ... ἐσθίει: Prodromos seems to be familiar with early Byzantine commentaries on the *Philoxenia* of Abraham expressing bewilderment at whether the Holy Trinity consumes nourishment. The following excerpt from the work of Theodoret is a case in point:⁴⁹⁵

Καὶ ἡ αὐτὴ λέγει Γραφή, ὅτι ἄνδρας εἶδεν Ἀβραάμ. Εἰ τοίνυν γυμνῷ προσεκτέον τῷ γράμματι, ἄνδρες, οὐκ ἄγγελοι ἔφαγον· εἰ δὲ τὸν νοῦν ἀναπτύσσωμεν, ὥς ὥφθησαν ἔφαγον. Ὡς περ γὰρ ἀσώματον ἔχοντες φύσιν, καὶ αὐτοὶ, καὶ ὁ τούτων Δεσπότης, σώματα ἔχειν ἔδοξαν, οὕτως γὰρ ἐωράθησαν· οὕτως ἐσθίοντες ὥφθησαν, οὐ στόματι καὶ γαστρὶ τὴν τροφὴν προσενεγκόντες· οὔτε γὰρ εἶχον σώματα· ἀναλώσαντες δὲ αὐτὴν ὥς ἠθέλησαν. Ἀνοίας γὰρ ἐσχάτης τὸ πολυπραγμονεῖσθαι τῶν ἀρρήτων τὸν τρόπον.

8. καρπὸν ὀσφύος is cherished by Prodromos, cf. *carm.hist.* LXIII 15 (this poem is also built upon the motif of *Philoxenia*), as well as *R&D* VI 371 –in all the three cases at the end of the verse.

θύεις: in contrast with the norm, the reading offered by V is inferior from ms B. The same goes for ‘φύεις’ offered by most of the manuscripts.

⁴⁹⁵ Cf. PG 80, 177C.

No. 3 (H 122)

Ἀβραάμ, Σάρρα, μόσχος, Ἰσμαήλ, Ἄγαρ,
 ἄρτοι, τράπεζα, δρυς, τὸ δῶμα, καὶ τέλος
 Τριάς Κύριος – τὸ ξένον – ξενίζεται.

He f. 167^r N f. 97^v Vi f. 173^v W f. 54^v

tit. τοῦ αὐτοῦ [i.e. Θεοδώρου Προδρόμου] εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ N Vi W : tit. om. He

Abraham, Sarah, ox-flesh, Ishmael, Hagar, loaves, banquet, oak, house, and finally Trinity the Lord – how extraordinary! – is entertained!

Commentary

(keywords: Philoxenia, mnemonic epigram, verse-filling asyndeton, post-Byzantine reception)

These two epigrams describe Abraham's reception of the Holy Trinity at Mamre, also known as the Hospitality of Abraham.⁴⁹⁶ The topic is also treated in the tetrastichs on the Old and New Testaments,⁴⁹⁷ while it emerges as a recurrent motif in Prodhomos' poetry. The first example derives from a dedicatory epigram on an icon of Christ commissioned by Alexios Kontostephanos,⁴⁹⁸ nephew of Manuel I.⁴⁹⁹ On vv. 20–24 of this epigram we are told that the donor seeks to host Christ as did Abraham. The second example is to be found in the historical poem no. LIX which constitutes a defense against Barys' charges that the poet favours heretical views. The reference to the reception of the three angels (vv. 95–98) should here be understood as an attempt to underscore Prodhomos' steadfast Trinitarian belief. More importantly, there is a dedicatory epigram commissioned by Constantine Alopas for an icon depicting the Hospitality of Abraham.⁵⁰⁰ In this connection, we may note that the icon was not donated to a church but was hosted in the house of Alopas.⁵⁰¹ It is, therefore, very likely that the epigram was performed in Alopas' house before the particular icon, with the donor asking also for the intercession of St. Nicholas.

Turning to the two epigrams under consideration, the first – slightly longer – assumes the form of a dialogue between the beholder and Abraham,⁵⁰² while the second describes in a rather laconic manner the reception of the Holy Trinity. Yet, there exist some clear links: firstly, the second epigram is preserved only in manuscripts that transmit the first poem. Secondly, in both epigrams there is a feeling of puzzlement regarding the fact that the Holy

⁴⁹⁶ The *philoxenia* of Abraham is described at *Gen.* 18,1–16. For the *philoxenia* of Abraham in Byzantium see *ODB* III 1664. It is rather surprising that the number of Byzantine epigrams dealing with this theme is not as abundant as one might expect. As a matter of fact, I am aware of an epigram from the Greek Anthology (cf. *AP* I,67), as well as a series of eleven epigrams of Manuel Philes describing the depiction of the *Philoxenia* engraved on a stone. These epigrams are likely connected to a relief image of the Sacrifice of Abraham in Blachernae; see BRAOUNOU-PIETSCH, *Beseelte Bilder* 85 ff. In addition to these two examples, there is a poem preserved in *Vindob. Phil. gr.* 149 (f. 9^v); See HUNGER, *Katalog*, I, 251.

⁴⁹⁷ Cf. *tetrast.* 20.

⁴⁹⁸ Cf. *carm.hist.* LIII.

⁴⁹⁹ See *Io. Kinnamos, History* 211, transl. in Brand, 167–168.

⁵⁰⁰ Cf. *carm.hist.* LXIII. Hörandner has identified this Constantine Alopas with Constantine Alopas who was magistros, vestes, judge of the Velum of Thrace and Macedonia; see HÖRANDNER, *Historische Gedichte* 496. However, such an identification is not correct because Constantine Alopas was active in the eleventh century; see *DOSSeals* I no. 43.6. For the Alopas family see SEIBT, *Die Byzantinischen Bleisiegel* I 302–304.

⁵⁰¹ Cf. v. 13: ἤνεγκεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον, ἐξένισέ σε.

⁵⁰² The instrumental role of dialogue in Byzantine epigrams is a somewhat unexplored issue. In Prodhomos' epigrams it seems to have a prominent place. For instance, seventy epigrams from his tetrastichs on the Old and New Testaments assume the form of a dialogue.

Trinity is hosted and consumes food.⁵⁰³ As mentioned above, Prodrornos echoes a view expressed by early commentators of the *Philoxenia*, such as Theodoret of Kyrrhos.

It is very difficult to draw conclusions about the original context of these two epigrams, as no mention of a donor or hints to the original occasion are to be found in the epigrams' texts. The question of whether they were actually inscribed is equally impossible to answer, although several depictions could presumably host these two epigrams.⁵⁰⁴ However, why did Prodrornos compose two epigrams on the same subject? Moreover, given that he was inspired by an icon of the *Philoxenia*, were both epigrams for the same icon?⁵⁰⁵ Tentatively, it can be suggested that they were rough drafts which were never used as real inscriptions. Besides, the epigram commissioned by Constantine Alopas, which was surely used as an inscription, echoes, to a certain extent, the wording of the first epigram on Abraham.⁵⁰⁶ Another hypothesis would be the following: they could have been intended as potential verse inscriptions on future depictions of the *Philoxenia*. Therefore, not knowing in advance how much space would be left for the inscription of the epigram, Prodrornos decided to write two epigrams, one longer and one slightly shorter but on the same subject-matter. As far as the second epigram is concerned, I have already mentioned in the introduction that a double function can be assumed: first, due to the use of the technique of the "verse-filling asyndeton", it could have been inscribed on an object with a limited space.⁵⁰⁷ Secondly, the quasi-mnemonic structure of the second epigram also postulates a didactic purpose for the text. Prodrornos could have used both in the class in order for the students to memorize the main characteristics of the *Philoxenia*.

In either case, the first epigram, albeit in an abbreviated form, ended up as a book inscription in the sixteenth-century illuminated manuscript *Vatoped*. 1161.⁵⁰⁸ More specifically, on folio 323^v there is a miniature depicting the three angels seated next to a banquet along with Abraham and Sarah (see figure no. 1). On the left side of the depiction, Prodrornos' modified epigram reads as follows:⁵⁰⁹

Ἡ ἀγ(ία) Τριάς

⁵⁰³ The same applies to the tetrastich on the Old and New Testaments; see *tetrast.* 20b3: καὶ φάγεν ἐν δὲ πίε (κρυπτῆς τάδε οἰκονομίας).

⁵⁰⁴ For such depictions see *LCI* I 23–27; *RbK* I 11–18 s.v. "Abraham". See also HÖRANDNER, *Historische Gedichte* 485–486.

⁵⁰⁵ For a more detailed analysis of this issue see the two epigrams on the Crucifixion.

⁵⁰⁶ Cf. *carm.hist.* LXIII vv. 2–5: κὰν τῇ δρυὶ πρὶν Ἀβρὰμ ἐξένισέ σε, | εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ καλύβην ἦνεγκέ σε, | ἔσφαξε μύσχον, ἐκ κρεῶν ἔθρενέ σε.

⁵⁰⁷ For a similar example see RHOBY, *Byzantinische Epigramme* II no. Me 98.

⁵⁰⁸ PELEKANIDES, *Οἱ θησαυροὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Ὁρους*, IV, 322.

⁵⁰⁹ *Ibid.* 322.

Βουθητῆς Ἀβραάμ γέρων,
ἀλλὰ δεῖπνον καὶ τράπεζαν ἀρτίῳ
(καὶ) δὲ τίς, ὅ τι δεῖπνον ἀρτίοις
καὶ αὐτῇ καὶ Θεὸς βοῦν εἰσεῖσει.

No. 4 (H 123)

Ἐπὶ ἀναγνώσει

- Ὁ παμβασιλεὺς ἐξανέστη τοῦ τάφου·
 ἢ συναγωγῇ τῶν Ἰουδαίων μάθε
 πῶς ἐξανέστη τοῦ τάφου κεκλεισμένου
 καὶ κειμένου δ' ἄνωθεν αὐτοῦ τοῦ λίθου,
 5 καθὼς προῆλθεν ἐκ πύλης κεκλεισμένης,
 τῆς παρθενικῆς ἐσφραγισμένης πάλιν.
 – Ψευδὲς τὸ ῥητόν· τίς γὰρ ἂν πίστιν λάβῃ;
 Τὸ γὰρ ἀληθὲς τοῖς μαθηταῖς ἐκλάπη.
 – Ποῖ δ' οἱ φύλακες ἦσαν; Οὐκ ἐν τῷ τάφῳ
 10 ἐπαγρυπνοῦντες παρ' ὅλην γε τὴν νύκτα;
 – Ὀλίγον ἀφύπνωσαν ἐκ ῥαθυμίας,
 εὐθύς δ' ὁ νεκρὸς τοῖς μαθηταῖς ἐκλάπη.
 – Ἀσυλλόγιστον εἶπας· αἱ γὰρ σφραγίδες
 σῶαι μένουσιν, ὥς λέγεις, ἐν τῷ τάφῳ·
 15 εἰ γὰρ ὁ Χριστὸς τοῖς μαθηταῖς ἐκλάπη,
 οὐκ ἦν ὁ τάφος ἐσφραγισμένος πάλιν;
 Πίστευε λοιπόν, τὴν ἀνάστασιν λέγε·
 τοῖς στρατιώταις μηδαμῶς χρυσοῦν δίδου
 Χριστὸν κλαπέντα μαρτυρεῖν πανταχόσε,
 20 ἐπεὶ οὐ δόξουσιν ἀληθῶς λέγειν.
 Ὁ γὰρ ἀληθὴς ἀμετάβλητος Λόγος
 ἀρκεῖ τοσαῦτα τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις λέγειν·
 τυφλοὶ γὰρ ὄντες, οὐ δύνανται τι βλέπειν,
 ἀλλ' οὐδὲ κωφεύοντες ἀκούειν ὅλως.
 25 Σὺ δ' ἐξαναστάς, ὦ Θεοῦ θυηπόλε,
 τὸν εὐλογητὸν τοῖς προκειμένοις δίδου.

R f. 229^v–230^r | Mil. 355–356

tit. τοῦ αὐτοῦ (i.e. Θεόδωρος Πρόδρομος) ἐπὶ ἀναγνώσει R || 2 ἢ an ὃ scribendum? || 7 λάβοι in app. cr. Mil. || 15 ἐκλάπη in app. cr. Mil.: ἐκλάμπη R

On the Reading

– The King of Kings arose from the tomb. O Synagogue of the Jews, learn that he arose from the sealed tomb, though a stone lay upon it, [5] just as when he came out through the closed gate, the virginal gate, that was sealed again.

– This is deceptive talk, who would put faith in this? The truth is that [his body] was stolen by the disciples.

– Where were the guards? Were they not keeping vigil at the tomb all night?

[10] – They fell asleep for a while due to their lethargy and immediately the corpse was stolen by the disciples.

– You are speaking irrationally, for, as you said, the seals remained unbroken upon the tomb. [15] For if Christ had been stolen by the disciples, would the tomb have not been resealed? Have faith, speak about the resurrection, do not give to the soldiers gold to assert everywhere that Christ was stolen, [20] since it will appear that they do not tell the truth. The true immutable Word of God suffices to say these things to the Jews, but since they are blind, they see nothing; and since they are completely deaf, neither can they hear. [25] So rise again, O Priest of God! Give blessings to the present words!

Notes on the text:

lemma Hörandner maintained that the title of the epigram should be emendated into ‘ἐπὶ ἀναστάσει’ owing to the content of the poem.⁵¹⁰ However, such an emendation is uncalled for as the epigram falls into the group of the so-called ‘recited prefaces’.⁵¹¹

3-6. πῶς ...πάλιν: cf. *Procl. CP, Hom. Thom.* 33.7.20.4:

Ὡςπερ γὰρ ἐγεννήθη καὶ τὰς πύλας τῆς παρθενίας οὐκ ἔφθειρεν, οὕτως ἐντὸς τῆς οἰκίας εὐρέθη καὶ τὸ κλειθρον οὐκ ἤνοιξεν· καὶ ὥςπερ ἀνῆλθεν ἐκ τοῦ τάφου κεκλεισμένου τοῦ τάφου, οὕτως εἰσῆλθε τῇ σαρκὶ ὅπου ἦν θεότι καὶ τὰς θύρας οὐκ ἀνεπέτασεν.

The same concept is at *tetrast.* 263a1-4 in the form of a dialogue:

- Πῶς ἦλθες ἐντὸς τῶν θυρῶν κεκλεισμένων;
- Καθὼς ἀπῆλθον τοῦ τάφου φρουρουμένου.
- Καὶ πῶς ἐκεῖθεν ἐξελήλυθας, Λόγε;
- Ὡς πρὶν προῆλθον ἐκ πύλης κεκλεισμένης.⁵¹²

and more importantly at *Christus Patiens* 2500-2503:

Πῶς πῶς πάρεστι, τῶν θυρῶν κεκλεισμένων;
τάχ’ ὥς ἀνέστη καὶ τάφου κεκλεισμένου
καὶ πρὶν προῆλθεν ἐκ πυλῶν τῆς παρθένου,
ἅλυστα τηρῶν κλειθρα μητρὸς πανάγνου.

These four extracts display very conspicuous affinities in terms of wording and content. The original source of inspiration for Prodromos and the anonymous author of *Christos Paschon* seem to be Proclous. But what link is there between the two Prodromic poems and the contemporary *Christos Paschon*?

There are three possible scenarios:

- (a) They merely share a common source.
- (b) One of the two authors imitates the other.
- (c) Prodromos is to be identified as the author of *Christos Paschon*.

⁵¹⁰ HÖRANDNER, *Historische Gedichte* 47.

⁵¹¹ See also ANTONOPOULOU, *The recited Metrical Prefaces* 62.

⁵¹² See also the *App. Fontium* in PAPAGIANNIS, *Tetrasticha*, II, 277.

The last is the most intriguing, as it sheds some light on the very thorny and long-standing question of authorship that has been discussed by numerous scholars.⁵¹³

5–6. Καθὼς ... πάλιν: the gate of the tomb is compared to the virgin womb of the Theotokos. According to Christian tradition, Christ was conceived miraculously by the agency of the Holy Spirit, while Mary's womb was kept sealed after she gave birth to Jesus.⁵¹⁴ The imagery of the Theotokos as gate is a very common *topos* not only in Byzantine hymnography,⁵¹⁵ but also in Byzantine epigrams.⁵¹⁶ Prodomos re-uses this *topos* at *tetrast.* 185a2 and 263a4.

8. τοῖς μαθηταῖς ἐκλάπη: the phrase occurs three times in the poem – always in the same *sedes* of the verse.

9–10. Οὐκ ... νύκτα: cf. *Rom.Melod., Cant.* IV 42.16.5: Ἐπαγρυπνοῦντες τῇ τα[φῇ καὶ] σκοποῦντες μή τι γένηται.

23–24. τυφλοὶ ... ὄλως: in describing the Jews as blind and deaf, the poet attempts to highlight their refusal to accede to the resurrection of Christ.

25–26. the epigram concludes with a request to the celebrating priest to bless the reading of the homily that follows.⁵¹⁷

⁵¹³ HÖRANDNER, Christos Paschon 185–202; see also MARCINIAK, Greek Drama 90–91.

⁵¹⁴ Cf. *Ez* 44, 2: καὶ εἶπεν κύριος πρὸς με Ἡ πύλη αὕτη κεκλεισμένη ἔσται, οὐκ ἀνοιχθήσεται, καὶ οὐδεὶς μὴ διέλθῃ δι' αὐτῆς, ὅτι κύριος ὁ θεὸς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ εἰσελεύσεται δι' αὐτῆς, καὶ ἔσται κεκλεισμένη.

⁵¹⁵ EUSTRATIADES, Θεοτόκος 67–68.

⁵¹⁶ For example, it can be found in an epigram by Philes on an image of the Theotokos above the gate of the monastery of Hodegon; see BRAOUNOU-PIETSCH, Beseelte Bilder 113 [for further examples making use of this *topos* see pp. 115–116]. Furthermore, the *topos* appears in metrical inscriptions (see Rhoby, Byzantinische Epigramme I and II) and in some epigrams from the Marcian Anthology (see SPINGOU, Marcianus 221–222).

⁵¹⁷ On this issue see ANTONOPOULOU, The recited Metrical Prefaces 58.

Commentary

(keywords: *Christos Paschon*, oral performance)

The initial function of many Byzantine epigrams remain unknown, because the modern reader is ignorant of the original context. Occasionally, there are not even some hidden hints that could help readers to construct a convincing hypothesis. The present epigram, by way of contrast, contains some such evidence: both the title ('On the reading') as well as the two concluding verses suggest a performative function. Furthermore, on the basis of these two features it has been listed in the group of poetic works which Antonopoulou recently termed 'recited metrical prefaces'. These include epigrams that were intended to be read out loud before the delivery of a homily or a hagiographical text.⁵¹⁸

This is, in fact, one of the earliest dated metrical prefaces. Another Prodromic epigram (i.e. no. 11) also claims the title of being the earliest specimen of this kind of epigram. Nevertheless, one cannot reject the possibility that this practice was introduced by Prodromos' imitator, the so-called Manganeios Prodromos, whose corpus includes eleven such epigrams.⁵¹⁹ In either case, the genre continued to flourish during the twelfth century, with poets such as John Apokaukos and Nikephoros Prosouch who set their pens to produce such epigrams.⁵²⁰ Similar epigrams flourished in the early fourteenth with Manuel Philes, whose poetic output includes twenty-six such poetic compositions.⁵²¹

The content of the poem is based on the account in Matthews' Gospel (28, 11–15) of how the Jews attempted to distort the story of Christ's Resurrection by maintaining that his disciples secretly stole his body from the tomb which was kept by Roman custody.⁵²² Indeed, one of the two speakers constantly castigates the Jews for their reluctance to accept Christ's Resurrection. It is not possible to identify the precise homily that the poem was meant to introduce, since, in both manuscripts, it is transmitted detached from the homily. Furthermore, a considerable number of Byzantine homilies expound this particular Gospel passage, thereby making the task of identification even more difficult.⁵²³

⁵¹⁸ For a detailed discussion of this group of epigrams see ANTONOPOULOU, *The recited Metrical Prefaces* 58–79.

⁵¹⁹ For a brief analysis of these epigrams see *ibid.* 63–65.

⁵²⁰ It should also be noted that there is a twelfth-century anonymous epigram transmitted in the Marcianus gr. 524 entitled 'Ἐπὶ ἀναγνώσει τοῦ Ἑμελλεν ἄρα'; for the text of this poem see TSEREVELAKIS, *Marcianus* 280.

⁵²¹ ANTONOPOULOU, *The recited Metrical Prefaces* 68–75.

⁵²² *Matt.* 28, 11–15. the same story is also transmitted in *Acta Pilati*; see VON TISCHENDORF, *Evangelia Apocrypha* 315–316.

⁵²³ For a discussion of possible homilies accompanying this poem see ANTONOPOULOU, *The recited Metrical Prefaces* 62, esp. note no. 35.

Another indicative feature of the poem is the dialogue, not shown as such in Miller's edition.⁵²⁴ As mentioned earlier, the poem is intimately associated with an ecclesiastical milieu. In this connection, it should be emphasized that the dialogue, and in particular the dramatic dialogue, is invariably an essential device of texts intended to be delivered within such an environment. For example, Cunningham has shown that the employment of dialogue in Byzantine preaching was a common practice already from the fourth century onwards.⁵²⁵ Its role was twofold: first, it is a strong medium of persuasion, and secondly, it keeps the interest of the congregation constantly alert as a result of the enhancement of the rhetorical impact.

In the same vein, it is a remarkable fact that even exclusively liturgical texts are built on features of dramatic dialogue. One such striking example is a thirteenth-century Kanon in the form of *ethopoia* composed by Meletios Galesiotes on the occasion of the Feast of the Adoration of the Magi.⁵²⁶ Indeed, a case for the "performative function" of such liturgical texts within an ecclesiastical milieu has been proposed.⁵²⁷ Their performance was probably executed by engaging clerics or choral singers. According to La Piana, this amounted to a kind of religious theatre, yet not *sensu stricto*.⁵²⁸ By way of support, one may also add the case of certain liturgical spectacles, especially during Holy Week, which require the involvement of dramatic performance.⁵²⁹ On the other hand, as has rightly been observed, La Piana's view has not been well received by the modern scholars.⁵³⁰

Be that as it may, the poem exhibits a peculiarity when compared with the second metrical preface ascribed to Prodromos, as do the already published examples penned by his contemporary author, Manganeios Prodromos. This does not seem to be either a solemn

⁵²⁴ The punctuation in Miller's edition does not lead the reader to notice that the poem is not a monologue but a well-elaborated dialogue. For example, with regard to verses 8–9, Miller fails to introduce a question mark after the word 'νύκτα', while in the next verse the question mark should be erased. Moreover, apart from the punctuation, there are also some verbal pointers highlighting the dialogic form of the epigram, that is, the extensive use of the second person singular: e.g. v.13 εἶπας v. 14 λέγεις v. 17 πίστευε and λέγε v. 18 δίδου v. 26 δίδου.

⁵²⁵ CUNNINGHAM, The function of dialogue in Byzantine preaching 101. Cunningham distinguishes the extra-textual as opposed to the intra-textual or dramatic type see 102.

⁵²⁶ ZERVOUDAKI, Hymnography in a Form of Rhetoric 49–79. Likewise, the present dialogue is also an *ethopoia* in the sense that it explores the character of the Jews.

⁵²⁷ See LA PIANA, Le rappresentazioni sacre nella Letteratura bizantina and LA PIANA, The Byzantine Theatre. For the Kanon see ZERVOUDAKI, Hymnography in a Form of Rhetoric 60–61.

⁵²⁸ See Marciniak's chapter 'Religious Theatre or the Theatre of religion' in MARCINIAK, Greek Drama 24–30.

⁵²⁹ Such as Ἄρατε πύλας and the Νιττή; see PUCHNER, Τὸ βυζαντινὸ θέατρο 241 ff; PUCHNER, Ευρωπαϊκὴ Θεατρολογία 87–90; VIVILAKIS, Θεατρικὴ αναπαράσταση στο Βυζάντιο καὶ στη Δύση 38–41; for a recent discussion of the above-mentioned examples and for others, e.g. the liturgical spectacles entitled the Office of the Three Children in the Furnace and the Cyprus Passion Cycle or Play see MARCINIAK, Greek Drama 24–30.

⁵³⁰ CUNNINGHAM, The function of dialogue in Byzantine preaching 102, note 6.

monologue or a mere recitation of a poetic text by way of an introduction to the reading of a sermon, but a painstaking dramatic dialogue which could have been conducted by two different speakers or two groups of speakers. In this connection, Prodomos' "Farewell poem" bears witness to this practice:⁵³¹

ἐν δὲ χορεῖται
 φιλοσόφων ἐκάτερθε περικροτέουσ' ὁμιλαδὸν
 καὶ λιγυρὴ λαλαγεῦσα ἐπ' ὀκρίβαντι χελιδὸν
 ἀμφιπεριψαλάησι, σοφῶν δ' ὑπὸ οὐατα θέλγει·
 in choruses | philosophers on each side [of the church] rattle alternately in groups | and a swallow with
 sweet-sounding voice twitters on the pulpit, | it sings all-around and beguiles the ears of the
 philosophers.

As rightly observed by Hörandner, this is a reference to a "liturgisches Geschehen"; the philosophers singing from two different places of the church are monks, while the swallow is the preacher.⁵³²

Finally, the conspicuous dramatic nature of the epigram is compatible with the sentiments of the contemporary centonic drama *Christos Paschon*. As noted above, Prodomos' epigram and *Christos Paschon* share a common theme, that is, the equation of the gate of Christ's tomb to the immaculate womb of the Theotokos, not to mention that both are invested with an overt lexical resemblance. More importantly, Prodomos' epigram may create the pertinent prerequisites to place the performance of the *Christos Paschon* in an ecclesiastical environment.

⁵³¹ *Carm. hist.* LXXIX 30–34.

⁵³² HÖRANDNER, Prodomos and the City 59.

No. 5 (H 124)
Εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν Βαρβάραν

I

Λαμπρῶν ὁ πατήρ ἄξιοι σε τῶν γάμων,
τῶν γὰρ θεϊκῶν, χριστομάρτυς Βαρβάρα,
καὶ βασιλικὴν ἐνδύει σε πορφύραν,
χρῶννύς σε τῶν σῶν αἱμάτων τῇ κογχύλῃ.
5 Λαμπὰς δὲ γαμήλιος αὐτὸς ἐστὶ σοι
ὅλος κεραυνόβλητος ὀφθεῖς ὑψόθεν.

R f. 232^{r-v} Ba f. 209^v–210^v L f. 120^v–121^v Ne 106^v–107^r Vg f. 89^v–90^r | Mor. 4–11 St. 345

tit. στίχοι περὶ τῆς ἁγίας Βαρβάρας R : τοῦ Προδρόμου εἰς τὴν μάρτυρα Βαρβάραν Ba : τοῦ Προδρόμου στίχοι εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν Βαρβάραν C : τοῦ αὐτοῦ (i.e. Θεοδώρου Προδρόμου) εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν Βαρβάραν L : Στίχοι Προδρόμου κυροῦ Θεοδώρου εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν Βαρβάραν Ne : τοῦ Προδρόμου εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν Βαρβάραν Vg : ἀνώνυμου στίχοι τρίμετροι περὶ τῆς ἁγίας Βαρβάρας Mor. || 1 ἄξιοι] σὸς Mor. || 2 χριστόμαρτυ Ba : χριστόμαρτυν L : χριστομάρτυ R || 3 ἐνέδυσε L || 4 χρῶννις Ba : χρῶννύ R | αἱμάτων] ὀμμάτων L || 5 λαμπρά γε γαμήλιος αὐτὸς λαμπὰς σοι Ne : Λαμπὰς δὲ γ' αὐτὸς ἐστὶ σοι γαμήλιος Mor.

I

On Saint Barbara

O Barbara, martyr of Christ, your father deems you worthy of splendid [and] divine marriages and dresses you in royal purple, [by] staining you with the purple dye of your blood. [5] He himself is your wedding torch, scorched entirely by a thunderbolt from on high.

Notes on the text:

3–4. καὶ ... τῇ κογχύλῃ: Prodromos' source of inspiration seems to be *Io.Euchait.metrop., Canon*. III 96–102:

Ἰμάτιον σωτηρίου ὕφανας
σεαυτῷ καὶ εὐφροσύνης
μαρτυρικῇ
βεβαμμένον πορφύρα
καὶ κεχρωσμένον κογχύλῃ τοῦ αἵματος,
ἐν οἷς στολισθεῖς βασιλικῶς
σὺν Χριστῷ βασιλεύεις, Δημήτριε.

The expression 'royal purple' is a reference to Christ (see PENTCHEVA, *Icons and Power* 154; EVANGELATOU, *The Purple Thread of the Flesh*). Similar wording is frequently used in poems dedicated to the Theotokos for the description of Christ's immaculate conception by her. For example, *Philes, Carm.* II 125.15–16:⁵³³

Ἦ σαρκὸς ἱστούργησας αὐτὴ πορφύραν | Βαφεῖσαν ἐκ σῶν παρθενικῶν αἱμάτων

⁵³³ See BRAOUNOU-PIETSCH, *Beseelte Bilder* 85; see also the detailed discussion of this couple of verses on p. 87.

II

- Πρηστήριοι πρὶν οὐρανόβρυτοι φλόγες
 παιδοφθόρον φθείρουσι Σοδόμων πόλιν,
 κεραύνιοι καὶ νῦν δε πυρὸς λαμπάδες
 παιδοκτόνον φλέγουσιν αἰσχρὸν πατέρα.
 5 Ὁ γὰρ ἐφ' ὕψους ἐκδικεῖ πατὴρ φθάνων
 τὴν εἰς σέ, μάρτυς, πατρικὴν ἀστοργίαν.

R f. 232^{r-v} Ba f. 209^v–210^v L f. 120^v–121^v Ne 106^v–107^r Vg f. 89^v–90^r | Mor. 4–11 St. 342–345

|| εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν L || 1 οὐρανόβλητοι Vg Mor. : οὐρανόβλυτοι Ne || 2 παιδοφθόρων Vg || Σωδόμων Mor. || πτόλιν L St. || 3 κεραύνιος Vg || 5 ὁ] σὸς L | ἀφ' Ba Vg | πατὴρ φθάνων] πῦρ φθάνων Ba | γ' post γὰρ add. Mor.

II

Formerly flashes of fire bursting out from heaven destroyed the child-slaying city of Sodom, while now lightning torches of fire burn the wicked child-slaying father. [5] O martyr, the Father coming from on high inflicts the penalty to the paternal heartlessness [imposed on] you.

Notes on the text:

1–2. Πρηστήριοι ... πτόλιν: the *synkrisis* of the lightning which burnt Barbara's father to the fire that consumed the city of Sodom is a commonplace in Byzantine works devoted to St. Barbara; cf. *Io. D., Laud. Barb.* V 272. 21–22:

Σκηπτὸς γὰρ οὐρανόθεν ἐνεχθεὶς κεραυνὸς σῶμά σου τὸ μιὰρὸν ἐξετέφρωσεν καὶ τὸ μὲν Σοδομιτικὸν ἐνταῦθά σε πῦρ ἐκεραύνωσεν [...]

A further reference can be found in the ninth-century encomium by St. Peter of Argos, cf. *Petr. Argiv., Barbar.* 385:

Ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν καὶ τοῦτον ἡ θεία μέτεισι δίκη πῦρ γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτόν, καθάπερ ἐπὶ Σοδομίτας ποτὲ κατενεχθὲν κατετέφρωσέ τε καὶ ἐξελίκησε καὶ πρὸς τὸ διαιωνίζον καὶ ἄσβεστον πῦρ παρεπέμψατο.

Πρηστήριοι φλόγες: the same combination of words is attested twice in the historical poems: cf. *carm.hist.* LXIVa 17: πρηστήριον πῦρ βαρβάροις ἐπερράγη and LXXIV 29: ἐχθοῖς δὲ πρηστήριον ὡς Αἴτνης φλόγα.⁵³⁴ Niketas Eugenianos borrowed this phrase (cf. *D&C* VI 398: πρηστήριον πῦρ ἔσχε τριταίου τρόμου.)

οὐρανόβρυτοι: a very rare word (cf. *LBG* 'aus dem Himmel hervorbrechend'), which recurs only in the anonymous *Kanons on Athanasios of Athos* (νίφεις διδασκαλίας

⁵³⁴ Being familiar with Prodhomos' work, Efthymios Tornikes writes πῦρ ἀρτίως ἀπέσβη, τὸ δ' αἰτναῖον παρ' ἐμοὶ πάντως μένει παφλάζον τε καὶ πρηστήριον (cf. *Eyth. Tornic., Orat.* 3.107.19.22–23).

οὐρανοβρύτους).⁵³⁵ It is not possible to determine if this were coined by Prodromos, since the Kanons date from the 11th to the 13th centuries.⁵³⁶

2. παιδοφθόρον: the translation by *PGL* ('corrupting boys') is not suitable. My preferred translation is 'child slaying' in conjunction with 'παιδοκτόνον' (v. 4).

3. κεράνιοι λαμπάδες: before Prodromos occurs only at *E*, *Supp.* 1011 and *E.*, *Ba.* 244 (as well as 594).

⁵³⁵ POLEMIS, Κανόνες εἰς ὅσιον Ἀθανάσιον τὸν Ἀθωνίτην 59 v. 28.

⁵³⁶ For the dating of the canons see *ibid.* 10.

III

- Ὁ τεκνοφόντης ἴσχε μαργῶσαν χέρα·
 μὴ κατενεγκὼν ἀνέλης τὴν παρθένον.
 Οὐδὲ σὸν τὸ τέκνον οὐδὲ σῆς ἐξ ὀσφύος·
 εἰ τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν, οὐκ ἀποσφάττειν ἔτλης
 5 τὴν παῖδα τὴν εὐπαιδα, δύσπατερ πάτερ.
 Πλὴν οὐ βραδύπους ἡ Δίκη· τὸ πῦρ φθάνει.

R f. 232^{r-v} Ba f. 209^v–210^v L f. 120^v–121^v Ne 106^v–107 Vg f. 89^v–90^r | Mor. 4–11 St. 342–345

|| εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν L || 1 ὁ] ὃ Mor. | ἴσχε L | τεκνοφόντης Ba || 2 ἀνέλης] ἀνέλεις R: ἀνεθείς Ba : ἀνέλε L : ἀνελεῖς Ne

III

The slayer of the child may hold back his raging hand! Do not slay the maiden by letting [the sword] fall upon [her]! She is neither your child nor of your loins; for if she were, you would not venture to slay [5] the finest child, O most unrighteous father. But [divine] justice is not slow-footed, fire attains [to render justice]!

Notes on the text:

1. **τεκνοφόντης**: this word does not occur before Prodrornos. Interestingly, it is also used in a number of anonymous poems dedicated to St. Barbara, transmitted in codex Marcianus gr. 524.⁵³⁷

μαργῶσαν χέρα is first attested at *E, Hec.* 1128; however, it is very likely that Prodrornos has seen this expression in a lexicon, as it is exemplified in both Photios and Suda.

2. **ἐξ ὀσφύος**: Prodrornos is very fond of this expression (see p. 226).

5. **τὴν ... πάτερ**: an excellent and elaborated pun in order to illustrate the contrast between the good daughter and the evil father. As for the word ‘δύσπατερ’, it is a *hapax* (cf. *LBG* ‘schlechter Vater’).

6. **Πλὴν οὐ βραδύπους ἡ Δίκη** is borrowed from the poetic corpus of Gregory of Nazianzus, (cf. *AP* VIII,246.2: οὗτος ἀνὴρ, οἴμοι, ὡς βραδύπους σύ, Δίκη and 247,1: Ὡς βραδύπους σύ, Δίκη, καὶ Τάρταρος οὐκέτι δεινός.). Yet, by inserting the particle ‘οὐ’, the verse assumes exactly the opposite meaning. The same conceit is to be found in a schedos on St. Barbara by Christodoulos Hagioeuplitis: ἀλλὰ φθάνει τάχιον ἢ θεία δίκη (ed. GALLAVOTTI, schedografia 31, v. 24).

⁵³⁷ For a new edition of these epigrams see further below.

IV

Καλὸν κακοῦ κόρακος ὥδὸν εὐρέθης,
καὶ τὴν παλαιὰν ἥσυχνας παροιμίαν·
οὐκοῦν ἐπώασαντος ἐν σοὶ τοῦ Λόγου,
συλλαμβάνεις μὲν πνεῦμα καθ' Ἡσαΐαν,
5 νεόττιον δὲ μαρτυρικὸν ἐξάγεις·
ἄρ' ἀετός σε, μάρτυς, οὐ κόραξ κύει.

R f. 232^{r-v} Ba f. 209^v–210^v L f. 120^v–121^v Ne 106^v–107 Vg f. 89^v–90^r | Mor. 4–11 St. 342–345

|| εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν L || 4 Ἡσαΐαν Mor. || 5 ἐξάγεις Ne || 6 ἄρ' L

IV

You revealed yourself as a good egg from a bad crow and put the old saying to shame. Thus, once the Word of God incubates within you, you conceive the Spirit in accordance with to Isaiah and you bring forth [5] a new-born martyr; hence, O martyr, an eagle brought you forth, not a crow.

Notes on the text:

1–2. **καλὸν ... παροιμίαν**: a modification of the well-known proverb for the needs of the poem. For the proverb see LEUTSCH – SCHNEIDEWIN, *Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum* I 107 (IV no. 82) and KARATHANASIS, *Sprichwörter* 115.

3–5. **οὐκοῦν ... ἐξάγεις**: cf. *Is.* 26,18: ἐν γαστρὶ ἐλάβομεν καὶ ὠδινήσαμεν καὶ ἐτέκομεν· πνεῦμα σωτηρίας σου ἐποιήσαμεν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἀλλὰ πεσοῦνται οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.

Ἡσαΐαν: for Isaiah see *ODB* II 1013–1014. Isaiah is mentioned twice in the Prodromic work; cf. *carm.hist.* XVII 291–300, where, by extracting words from Isaiah and other prominent prophets, Prodromos dedicates a series of dekasticha to the emperor John on the occasion of the campaign against the Persians. Furthermore, *carm.hist.* LXII 8–9 includes a reference to the coal placed in the mouth of Isaiah.

V

- Προέρχεται μὲν ἐκ καλάμης ὁ στάχυς·
 πλὴν ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν ἀποθήκη λαμβάνει,
 τὴν δὲ φλέγει πῦρ· ἄρα γοῦν καὶ Βαρβάρα
 καλαμίνης προῆλθε πατρὸς ὁσφύος.
 5 Οὐκοῦν Θεοῦ μὲν ἀποθήκη Βαρβάραν,
 πῦρ δὲ φλογίζον τὴν καλάμην λαμβάνει.

R f. 232^{r-v} Ba f. 209^v–210^v L f. 120^v–121^v Ne 106^v–107 Vg f. 89^v–90^r | Mor. 4–11 St. 342–345

|| εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν L || 1 προσέρχεται Mor. || 2 τομὲν R (sed τὸν μὲν corr. Mor. St.) || 3 τὴνδὲ R (sed corr. Mor. St.) | ἄρα Ba Mor. || 4 πατήρ Ba

V

The ear of corn stems from a reed. But while the ear of corn is stored, fire sets the reed on fire. Barbara, too, came from a father with reed-like loin. [5] Hence, Barbara is stored in the barn of God, while the reed receives the burning flames.

Notes on the text:

1-6: the conceit of the epigram built on the biblical association of harvest with judgement (cf. *Joel* 3,13; *Matth.* 13,24-30; and *Rev.* 14,15-16) is also to be found in Christodoulos Hagioeuplitis' schedos on St. Barbara: καὶ τμητικὸν δρέπανον ἐκτείνασά μοι | ἄωρον ἐξέκοψεν αὐτὸν ὡς στάχυν (GALLAVOTTI, Schedografia 31, vv. 25–26).

2. πλὴν ... λαμβάνει: cf. *carm.hist.* XVI 196: εἰς ἀποθήκην ἐμβαλεῖ δίκην εὐχρήστου σίτου and *carm.hist.* XXXIIIb 9: τοὺς δ' εἰς τὰς ἀποθήκας σου συνάγεις ὥσπερ σῖτον.

6. πῦρ δὲ ... λαμβάνει: cf. *carm.hist.* XVI 102: ὥσεί καλάμην φλέγεις; *carm.hist.* XVII 229: ὡς δ' εὐπρηστον καλάμην.

VI

Τὸν Θεσβίτην κτείναντα τοὺς Βάαλ θύτας
 οὐράνιον πῦρ ἀναδιφρεύει φθάνον·
 τὸν σὸν δέ, μάρτυς, πατέρα κτείναντά σε
 ὀλέθριον πῦρ ἐκπεσὸν καταφλέγει·
 5 διπλοῦν γὰρ ἴσως οὐρανὸς τὸ πῦρ βρύει,
 ἓν μὲν κολάζον, ἓν δὲ πῦρ σωτηρίου.

R f. 232^{r-v} Ba f. 209^v–210^v Fc f. 353^v L f. 120^v–121^v Ne 106^v–107^r Vg f. 89^v–90^r | Mor. 4–11 St. 342–345

|| εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν L || 1 Θεσβύτην R (sed Θεσβίτην corr. St.) | Βαάλ St. || 4 ἐμπεσὸν Vg Ba L || 5 βρύει] βρέχει Ne || 6 σωτήριον Mor.

VI

Heavenly fire, having slain the priests of Baal, comes to lift up the Tishbite; O Martyr, the deadly fire falls and burns your father who slayed you; [5] for heaven pours forth double fire, one that chastises and one that saves.

Notes on the text:

1–2. Τὸν ... φθάνον: a reference to Elijah and specifically the confrontation with the priests of Baal (cf. *III Reg.* 18,17–40). The story is attested twice in other works of Prodhomos: cf. *carm.hist.* LIX 80–81 and *tetrast.* 171a–b. A subtle reference to the story is also included in a letter addressed to Michael Italikos (cf. *Epistula ad Michaelem Italicum* 287.25).⁵³⁸

Θεσβίτην: a very common designation of Elijah (cf. *III Reg.* 17,1: Καὶ εἶπεν Ἡλίου ὁ προφήτης ὁ Θεσβίτης ἐκ Θεσβων τῆς Γαλααδ).

⁵³⁸ For this passage see the annotations in BROWNING, Unpublished correspondence 295.

VII

Ἡδύκρεων σῶς, ἀλλὰ τέλματος τόκος·
καὶ Βαρβάρα γοῦν βορβόρου κᾶν ἐξέφυ,
ὅμως πρόκειται τῷ Θεῷ τροφή ξένη
καὶ πᾶν τὸ συσσίτιον αὐτοῦ λαμπρύνει·
5 χαίρει Θεὸς γὰρ ἀπὸ σαπρῶν βολβίτων
ἄρτους ἑαυτῷ καθαρὸς παριστάνων.

R f. 232^{r-v} Ba f. 209^v–210^v L f. 120^v–121^v Ne 106^v–107 Vg f. 89^v–90^r | Mor. 4–11 St. 342–345

|| εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν L || 1 ἡδὺ κρεῶν Ba : ἡδύκρεως Ne Vg Mor. | ἀνὰ τέλματος τόπον Vg || 2 καὶ βορβόρου γοῦν Βαρβάρα κᾶν ἐξέφυ Vg || 3 ὅμως] ὅπως Ne || 4 πᾶς Vg || 5 χαίρει γὰρ θεὸς L | βολβίτων L || 6 παριστάνει Mor.

VII

Piglet with sweet flesh, but offspring of a swamp. Though born of a wallowing [beast], Barbara is exceptional food before God illuminating his entire banquet, [5] because God rejoices in offering himself pure loaves from putrid cow-dung.

Notes on the text:

1. **Ἡδύκρεων σῶς**: a very odd reference not to be found in any other Byzantine text dedicated to the saint. As for the word ‘ἡδύκρεων’, it is quite rare, being attested only five times in the corpus of Aristotle (cf. *TLG*), and once in a letter of Michael Italikos, addressed in fact to Prodromos:⁵³⁹

[...] ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡδύκρεων ἄλλως τὸ ζῶον [...]

In this particular letter Italikos wonders why Prodromos prefers meat over cheese. It is highly likely that Prodromos borrowed the word from Italikos’ letter or vice versa that Italikos copied it from Prodromos’ poem.

2. **καὶ ... ἐξέφυ**: in order to lay emphasis on the antithesis between the moral maiden and the immoral father, Theodore plays with the words ‘Βαρβάρα’ and ‘βορβόρου’. Such puns are typical in verse synaxaria (see HUNGER, *Byzantinische Namensdeutungen in iambischen Synaxarversen* 3–26.). It should be noted that the word ‘βόρβορος’ is also used in the encomium on Barbara written by John of Damascus (*Io. D., Laud. Barb.* V 260, 33).

⁵³⁹ *Mic.Italic., Orat.* 238,9.

3. **τροφή ξένη**: attested twice in the historical poems: *carm.hist.* XLV 47 and LXXIV 59 applied to Sevastokrator Andronikos and Patriarch Theodotos, respectively. Note that the word ‘τροφή’ is also used extensively in hymnographical texts of the Theotokos.⁵⁴⁰

5. **σαπρῶν βολβίτων**: the poet re-employs the phrase at *carm.hist.* XVII 180, once more at the end of the verse.

6. **ἄρτους** is another word from Marian typology used extensively in Byzantine hymnography.⁵⁴¹

⁵⁴⁰ EUSTRATIADES, Θεοτόκος s.v. τροφή; see also HANNICK, The Theotokos in Byzantine hymnography 69–76 and CUNNINGHAM, The Theotokos as a source of spiritual nourishment 236–244.

⁵⁴¹ EUSTRATIADES, Ἡ Θεοτόκος s.v. ἄρτος.

VIII

5 Πατήρ ὁ θυτήρ, παῖς τὸ θῦμα παρθένος·
 τί τοῦτο; Μή τις καὶ πάλιν Ἰεφθάε
 θυγατροθυτεῖ τῷ Θεῷ; Μή σύ, ξένε.
 Τοῦργον μὲν ἴσον, ὁ σκοπὸς δ' ἐναντίος·
 πλὴν ἀλλ' ἰδοῦ, πῦρ ὑετίζεται ξένον
 τὸν ἱερευτήν, οὐ τὸ θῦμα συμφλέγον.

R f. 232^{r-v} Ba f. 209^v–210^v L f. 120^v–121^v Vg f. 89^v–90^r | Mor. 4–11 St. 342–345

|| εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν L || 2 ὁ add. ante Ἰεφθάε Mor. || 3 θυγάτρα θυτεῖ Mor.

VIII

The father sacrifices, the virgin child [is] the offering. Why did this happen? Did not Jephthah also sacrifice his daughter to God? No, stranger! The task [might be] equal, but the purpose the reverse. [5] Above all, here, extraordinary fire showers the sacrificer without burning the offering.

Notes on the text:

2–3. τὴν ... Θεῷ: according to *Iud.* 11,30–40, Jephthah after defeating the Ammonites sacrificed his daughter as the fulfillment of a rash vow. The story is recorded also at *tetrast.* 100. A detailed reference to this particular story is to be found in an approximately contemporary poem penned by the Protekdikos Andronikos, where the story of a nun accused of cannibalism and murder is recounted.⁵⁴²

Ξένε: for the ξένος motif see, TUELLER, The passer-by in archaic and classical epigram 51–52.

⁵⁴² See MACRIDES, Poetic Justice in the Patriarchate 142, 81–85. It might be interesting to note that Eftymios Tornikes treats also the struggles of Jephthah with the Ammonites and Ephraimites in a poem entitled ‘Οἱ ἐν Θήβαις οἰκοῦντες σύρφακες ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ὁμιλίαις αὐτῶν λαλοῦντες τὸ νῦν καὶ τὸ λαῦδα ὑφειμένως πῶς καὶ σχεδὸν ἡμισυ, ἐγκαλοῦσι κατὰ τῶν γειτονοῦντων αὐτοῖς Εὐριπιωτῶν διπλασιαζόντων καὶ διπλαζόντων ἔστιν ὅτε τὰ τοιαῦτα στοιχεῖα, ἐν ταῖς αὐτῶν λέξεσι ἐναντίως’. See HÖRANDNER, Euthymios Tornikes (forthcoming).

IX

5 Τὸν Ἰσαὰκ μὲν Ἀβραὰμ θύων πάλαι
 μάχαιραν ἠϋτρέπιζε καὶ πῦρ καὶ ξύλα,
 ὁ βάρβαρος δὲ Βαρβάραν πατὴρ θύων
 τῆς μὲν μαχαίρας ἠκόνησας τὸ στόμα,
 τὸ πῦρ δ' ἀφήκας, ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ τὰ ξύλα
 πλὴν καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἄνωθεν οὐρανὸς βρέχει,
 καὶ σύ δ' ὁ θυτὴρ ἀρκέσεις ἀντὶ ξύλων,
 πάρεργον ὀφθεῖς τῶν ἀφ' ὕψους ἀνθράκων.

R f. 232^{r-v} Ba f. 209^v–210^v L f. 120^v–121^v Ne 106^v–107 Vg f. 89^v–90^r | Mor. 4–11 St. 342–345

|| εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν L || 1 μὲν] om. Ne || 4 ἠκονήσω Vg L : ἠκόνησεν in marg. conl. Morellus || 5 ἀφήκας cum -εν supra -ας R : ἀφήκεν Morellus || 6 ἄνωθεν οὐρανὸς βρέχει] ἄνωθε καὶ τὸ πῦρ φλέγει R St. || 7 ἀρκέσας Ba || 8 ὀφθης Ba | [α]φ' ὕψους ἀνθράκων in marg. Vg

IX

In the old days Abraham prepared dagger, fire and woods to sacrifice Isaac. Whereas you, the barbarian father, whetted the dagger's blade to sacrifice Barbara, [5] leaving aside the fire and the wood. However, heaven showers from on high fire and you, O sacrificer, suffice, for the wood is deemed inferior matter from the coals [falling] from high.

Notes on the text:

1–2. Τὸν ... ξύλα: the sacrifice of Isaac (*Gen.* 22,1-13) is also treated in the *tetrast.* 24.⁵⁴³

2. μάχαιραν ... ξύλα: cf. *tetrast.* 24a4: ὁρᾷς τὸν υἱόν, τὴν μάχαιραν, τὰ ξύλα.

3. ὁ βάρβαρος ... θύων: the same pun (Βαρβάρη–βάρβαρος) is also to be found in the second verse of a tenth-century poem of the saint (ἡ Βαρβάρη δὲ Βαρβάρου μισεῖ τρόπους) which is wrongly attributed to John of Melitene in the manuscript.⁵⁴⁴

4. στόμα μαχαίρας is a very common phrase in the work of Prodrōmos: e.g. *carm.hist.* IV 106/287; *carm.hist.* LIX 76; *R&D* I,19 etc.

⁵⁴³ A series of epigrams by Manuel Philes describe a depiction of the sacrifice on stone. Most of the epigrams were recently re-edited and commented by Braounou; see BRAOUNOU-PIETSCH, *Beseelte Bilder*. One epigram from the Palatine Anthology is also based on the Sacrifice of Isaac (cf. *AP* I,65).

⁵⁴⁴ For the text see LAUXTERMANN, *Byzantine Poetry* 316. For the question of authorship see p. 316.

X

Ἄν ἐξ ἀκάνθης εὐγενὲς τρυγᾷς ρόδον,
 ὁ σὴρ δὲ τὴν μέταξαν ἱστούργησέ σοι,
 τὸ δ' ὄστρεον μάργαρον ἐσφαίρωσέ σοι,
 τὴν πορφύραν δ' ὁ κόχλος ἐξήνηθησέ σοι,
 5 δεῦρο προσελθὼν ἱστόρει καὶ Βαρβάραν,
 ρόδον, μέταξαν, μαργαρίτην, πορφύραν,
 ὡς ἐξ ἀκάνθης, σπηρός, ὀστρέου, κόχλου,
 τοῦ καὶ φονευτοῦ καὶ φυτοσπόρου λέγω.

R f. 232^{r-v} Ba f. 209^v–210^v C f. 196^r Fc f. 357^v L f. 120^v–121^v Ne f. 106^v–107^r Vg f. 89^v–90^r | Mor. 4–11 St. 342–345

|| εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν L || 1 εὐγενὲς] εὐφυνὲς C St. : ἀγενὲς Mor. || 2 σὴς L || μετὰξιν R || 4 τὴν] καὶ C || δ'] om. C || ὁ] ἡ R || ἐξήνηθησέ] ἐθρέψατο C : ἐξύφανέ L : ἐξήρπασέ Mor. || καὶ κόχλος ἐξήνεγκεν αὐθις πορφύραν Vg Ne || 5 προσελθὼν Ba L Vg || πρόσσελθε Βαρβάραν καθιστόρει C || 5–6 ordo versuum diversus est C || μάργαρον καὶ C || 8 vers. om. C

X

If you harvest a noble rose from thorns, the silkworm weaves silk for you, the oyster makes pearl rounded, the shell-fish blooms purple dye for you, [5] come here and depict Barbara, the rose, the silk, the pearl, the purple from the thorn, the silkworm, the oyster, the shell-fish – I mean from the murderer and progenitor.

Notes on the text:

1–4. Ἄν ... σοι: the poet seeks to emphasize that Barbara is of high value, albeit generated by a worthless father. In order to succeed in conveying this message, Theodore employs a series of rather stock allegorizations encountered in many other contemporary works:⁵⁴⁵ *Nic.Eugen.*, *Mon. in Theod. Prodr.* 456.17⁵⁴⁶ or *Nic.Basil.*, *Progymn.* 12.85 treating the well-known myth of Danaë,⁵⁴⁷ to name but a few examples.

This particular *topos* is attested even in works of Byzantine poets from southern Italy. In a poem of Roger of Otranto, Taranto and Otranto are presented as personified to quarrel. Taranto utters the following words:⁵⁴⁸

-Ἐν τῷ κόχλῳ πορφύρα, κὰν τοῖς ὀστρέοις
 Τῶν μαργ<αρ>ων πέφυκεν ἡ κοσμιότης,
 Κὰν ταῖς ἀκάνθοις τὰ μυρίπινοα ρόδα.
 ὡς γοῦν ἀκάνθοις, ὀστρέοις τε καὶ κόχλοις
 ρόδον πέφυκα, μάργαρος καὶ πορφύρα,
 ἐν αἷς ὀρώμαι καὶ θαλάσση καὶ πέτρῃ

⁵⁴⁵ On these allegorizations see ROILLOS, *Amphoteroglossia* 135.

⁵⁴⁶ [...] καὶ κόχλος πορφύραν κρύπτων ἄντικρυς ἐλογίζοντο ἢ ὄστρεον ἀτεχνῶς συνειργον ἔνδον τὸν πολύτιμον μάργαρον.

⁵⁴⁷ [...] ὡς ἐν νυκτὶ σελήνην, ὡς ἐν κάλυκι ρόδον, ὡς ἐν κόχλῳ πορφύραν, ὡς ἐν ὀστρέῳ μάργαρον.

⁵⁴⁸ *Rog. Otrant.*, *carm.* 174.

-Ἐξίθι πετρῶν τοιγαροῦν ἀλιρρύτων,
 ὡς ἐξ ἀκανθῶν, ἐκ κόχλων, ἐξ ὀστρέων
 ῥόδον φαεινῇ, μάργαρος καὶ πορφύρα·

1. Ἄν ἐξ ... ῥόδον: the same motif can be found at *Jo. D., Laud. Barb.* 263.9.21–22: Ὅντως οὐ μόνον ἐξ ἀκανθώδους φυτοῦ ῥόδον ὠραῖον καὶ εὐωδέστατον φύεται⁵⁴⁹ and in Hagioeuplitis' schedos on Barbara: ὡς ἐξ ἀκάνθης ἀνατείλασαν ῥόδον (GALLAVOTTI, *Schedografia* 31, v. 3)

⁵⁴⁹ Nevertheless, a *topos* in Byzantine texts; see, among many, *Greg.Naz., Carm.* II.1.38 [1328] 55; *Theod. Studit., Carm.* CXII.8, and *Const.Manass., Synopsis Chronike* 4814.

No. 6 (H 125)
Εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν Βαρβάραν

Φύσι παγγενέτειρα, βίοςπορε, πότνα, μεγαλκές·
σειρὴ κοσμοδέτειρα, διδάσκαλε συμφροσυνάων·
ἢ ῥὰ τοκεῦσι τόκοις τε πόθου ἐφύτευσας ἀνάγκην,
τὴν θῆρες μὲν ἔτισαν ἀτὰρ βροτὸς ἥσχυεν ἀνήρ.
5 Οὐχ' ὀράας τόδε ἔργον, ἀνάρσιον, οὐδὲ θεμιτόν;
Φύτις ἐκεῖ κατὰ παιδὸς ἐὼν ἀνατεῖνατο χεῖρα,
ὄφρα μὲν ἔκ τε τάμησι καὶ αἵματι δάκτυλα βάψη·
οὐδέ τε χεὶρ νάρκησεν, ἄορ δ' οὐκ ἔκπεσε χειρός,
10 ἀλλ' ἔτλη καὶ ἔρεξε τόσον, γίγαν ἥλιε, μύσος
ἡλίκον οὐποτ' ἔρεξε λέων μέγας οὐποτε φωλάς.

Pi f. 320^r–321^v L f. 121^v

tit. τοῦ αὐτοῦ (i. e. Θεοδώρου Προδρόμου) εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν Βαρβάραν ὅμοιοι (i. e. ἡρωικοὶ στίχοι) Pi : εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ἡρωικοὶ L
|| 1 Φύσει L || 2 σειρὰν L || 5 ἀνάρσιον] ἀνόςιον L || 6 φύτης L | τεῖν L

On Saint Barbara

Universal Mother, you who sews life, gracious lady, all-mighty! Cord that unifies the world, teacher of union! You who planted the need for love between parents and offspring, which the beasts honoured, but a mortal man dishonoured. [5] Do you not see that this deed is not legitimate but untoward? There the begetter stretched out his hand against the child, so to behead her and stain [his] fingers with blood. Neither grew numb the hand [of Dioscorus], nor did the sword fall from [his] hand, but, O giant Sun, he wrought and contrived such a polluted murder [10] that neither a mighty lion nor a bear ever wrought.

Notes on the text:

1–2. The poem opens with an apostrophe to nature through a series of well-wrought and rare epithets:

Φύσι παγγενέτειρα: perhaps modelled on *AP* XII,97.4: ὥς φθονερὰ παγγενέτειρα Φύσις. The *LBG* encompasses a further twelfth-century testimony to this word combination, i.e. in the hortatory discourse of Christophoros Zonaras to his son Demetrios.⁵⁵⁰

βίοςπορε: otherwise attested only in the fragmentarily preserved work of Dioskoros of Aphroditos (cf. *LBG* 'Leben säend').

⁵⁵⁰ TSOLAKES, Χριστοφόρος Ζωναράς 392, 36.

Πότνα: a Homeric word applied to the word ‘θεά’ (cf. *LSJ*). Of interest is that it is used six times for the Theotokos in *Christos Paschon*.⁵⁵¹

μεγαλκές: a *hapax legomenon* (cf. *LBG* ‘sehr stark’) which recurs twice in a historical poem (cf. *carm.hist.VIII* 240 and 263).

κοσμοδέτειρα συμφοροσυνάων: an otherwise unattested word combination; the word ‘κοσμοδέτειρα’ is a *hapax legomenon* (cf. *LBG* ‘weltverbindende’), while ‘συμφοροσύνη’ is very rare (*LSJ*). According to the *TLG*, it can also be found in the typikon of the Monastery of Theotokos Evergetis, while the *LBG* offers a further testimony (s.v. συμφοροσύνη). The form συμφοροσυνάων is modelled on the Homeric ἀφοροσυνάων (cf. *Od.* 16.178 and 24.458).

6. Φύτις: Having consulted the unpublished material of *LBG*, I was able to find three further attestations to the specific word. Yet all of them date to the fourteenth century and onwards, indicating that Prodromos seems to have coined the word. Although other authors write ‘φύτης’, Prodromos prefers ‘φύτις’ for metrical reasons.

8. οὐδέ τε χεῖρ νάρκησεν is a Homeric phrase (cf. *Il.* 8.328). The same motif is also attested in John of Damascus’ encomium on St. Barbara:⁵⁵² Πῶς σου ἡ χεῖρ οὐκ ἐνάρκησεν τῇ ἰδίᾳ θυγατρὶ ἀναιρετικὴν ἐπενέγκαι τομήν.

⁵⁵¹ *Christus Patiens* 101/131/560/646/1025/2572.

⁵⁵² Cf. *Jo. D., Laud. Barb.* 272.18.16–17.

Commentary

(keywords: “shuffling around the same words and conceits”, Marcianus gr. 524)

Both nos. 5 and 6 are dedicated to St. Barbara, one of the most venerated saints throughout the centuries in the Byzantine tradition.⁵⁵³ According to the story, Barbara was beheaded by her own father, the pagan King Dioscorus, on account of her conversion to Christianity. After the execution of her death-sentence, as divine punishment, he was struck by lightning and his body consumed by flame. An initial observation of the group of dodecasyllabic epigrams results in a plausible question about their structure and content: do they form a single epigram of ten stanzas or ten separate epigrams on the same subject? I think that there is ample evidence in favour of the latter interpretation. To start with, each of these stanzas puts emphasis, in one way or the other, on Barbara’s piety, the cruel slaughter by her own father, as well as divine punishment that eventually imposed on the latter. Therefore, one can easily see that each epigram represents a complete, self-contained statement on a similar conceit. What is more, the manuscript L transmits them in the form of ten separate epigrams, since, from the second epigram onwards, all bear the *lemma*: ‘εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν’. On the other hand, Ne transmits nine out of the ten epigrams, while C only the last. Furthermore, as indicated in the introduction, it should always be borne in mind that the practice of writing a series of epigrams on the same subject in order for the patron/donor to choose the most suitable, is a prevailing practice throughout the Byzantine centuries. There are several parallel examples in the corpus of other well-known Byzantine poets, such as John Geometres and Manuel Philes.⁵⁵⁴ Notwithstanding, it is equally likely that they were used as a kind of “rhetorical exercise” (see also section 1.3).

Whereas the *lemma* is of no help, the language of the texts suggests that they could have potentially been used as inscriptions.⁵⁵⁵ If so, it is very likely that they were purported to be inscribed next to a depiction of Barbara’s martyrdom: her decapitation by her father and the latter’s divine punishment. Although in Byzantine iconography Barbara usually stands

⁵⁵³ For a detailed overview of the prose works dedicated to the saint as well the modern literature see ANTONOPOULOU, *Αγία Βαρβάρα* 69–74, esp. 69, note no. 4.

⁵⁵⁴ For literature on this issue see section 1.3.

⁵⁵⁵ E.g. II (v.3) νῦν VII (v. 5) πλὴν ἄλλ’ ἰδοῦ ; there is also an address to the viewer cf. VII (v. 3) Μὴ σὺ, ξένε. In the hexametric poem cf. v. 6 (ἐκεῖ).

alone,⁵⁵⁶ there are two examples depicting the beheading of the saint: the eleventh-century Menologion of Basil II⁵⁵⁷ and the Oxford Menologion.⁵⁵⁸

Furthermore, it is tempting to surmise that a personal motivation may lie behind the composition of these eleven epigrams. St. Barbara is venerated as healing saint,⁵⁵⁹ especially of infectious diseases. There are, indeed, many such references to this in Byzantine hymnographical texts already from the eighth century and onwards, e.g. John of Damascus, Christopher Mitylenaios, and Arsenios of Corfu.⁵⁶⁰ Together with the written sources, a fresco dated to 1280 belonging to the church of the Panagia Amasgou at Moutoullas on Cyprus, depicts St. Barbara with St. Marina and, more importantly, also with St. Anastasia, the so-called Pharmakolytria (“healer of potions”).⁵⁶¹ On the other hand, as is well known, Prodromos had suffered from the severe disease of smallpox.⁵⁶² Accordingly, it can be argued that Prodromos produced these poetic works because he simply solicits the intercession of the saint to be delivered from his disease. This indeed remains a mere speculation.

Prodromos was not the only Byzantine poet who set his pen to commemorate her. On the contrary, we find a considerable amount of verse by other poets dedicated to her. The case of a verse schedos by Christodoulos Hagioeuplitis on the saint has already been discussed (see section 1.3). However, the earliest testimony seems to be a three-line epigram which in the manuscript tradition is wrongly attributed to John of Melitene.⁵⁶³ Nicholas of Otranto penned a quatrain which was probably meant to be inscribed on an icon depicting the martyrdom of the saint.⁵⁶⁴ To this list should be added an anonymous poem of fourteen dodecasyllables that treats a part of the martyrdom of the saint and the divine punishment of her father.⁵⁶⁵ However, the twelve dodecasyllabic epigrams of the twelfth century transmitted in the thirteenth-century manuscript Marcianus gr. 524, in addition to a hexametric anonymous poem from the fourteenth-century manuscript Vaticanus gr. 743, are of immense interest with regard to the Prodromic epigrams on St. Barbara.

⁵⁵⁶ For a brief account on the depiction of St. Barbara see MAGUIRE, *The Icons of their Bodies* 29.

⁵⁵⁷ [P. FRANCHI DE' CAVALIERI], *Il menologio di Basilio II*; for the codex see D'AIUTO, *El menologio de Basilio II*.

⁵⁵⁸ See HUTTER, *El menologio de Oxford* 81.

⁵⁵⁹ On the healing saints, see Archbishop Damianos of Sinai, *The Medical Saints* 41–50.

⁵⁶⁰ See KOMINIS, *Αγιολογικά - ὕμνογραφικά εἰς ἁγίαν Βαρβάραν* 33–34.

⁵⁶¹ See MAGUIRE, *The Icons of their Bodies* 30.

⁵⁶² For literature on this issue see HÖRANDNER, *Historische Gedichte* 30.

⁵⁶³ LAUXTERMANN, *Byzantine Poetry* 316. For the authorship see p. 316.

⁵⁶⁴ This has been argued in ANTONOPOULOU, *Αγία Βαρβάρα* 69. For the text of the poem see GIGANTE, *Poeti* 147–148.

⁵⁶⁵ ANTONOPOULOU, *Αγία Βαρβάρα* 69–74. It might be interesting to note that this anonymous poem is to be found in B that transmits the dodecasyllabic poems on Barbara by Prodromos.

As far as the fourteenth-century manuscript Vaticanus gr. 743 is concerned, the poem is transmitted together with six unpublished anonymous poems.⁵⁶⁶ On the basis of their stylistic features, Lauxtermann argued that they date from the eleventh or the twelfth century.⁵⁶⁷ The hexametric epigram devoted to St. Barbara to be found on fol. 106^r runs as follows:

Εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν μάρτυρα Βαρβάραν

Ἄ μερόπων δειλὸν γένος, ἄγριον, ἦδ' ἀθέμιστον.
 Θηρίον ἠδέσσατο βρῶξεν δ' ἐὰ οὔποτε τέκνα.
 Οἱ δὲ τεκνοραΐσται. Πατὴρ ἐν χερσὶ φάσανον ἄθρει.
 5 Βαρβάραν ὅς δ' ἐφύτεσεν κτείνει. Βαρβάραν οὗτος
 ὦ τίνα τίς τέκε; Τίς δὲ τεκὼν καὶ ἔκταν ὡς αὐτός;
 Ναὶ φύσις ἐξαπόλωλε. Τί δ' ὄμματα εἰς τί καὶ αἰδώς;
 Παρθενικῆς οὐ φείσῃ δῆμιε· ἡνὶ δε κάλλος,
 ἡνὶ δε μαρμαρυγὰς χαριέσσας οἷα σελήνης.
 10 Αὐχένι τῷδε βαλεῖς ξίφος ἄγριον ἀλλὰ δοκῶ μοι
 καὶ ξίφος αἰδέσεται περικαλλέα λεῦσσον δειρήν.

1 ὦ fortasse

No direct connection can be claimed between this epigram and Prodromos' hexametric epigram. Nevertheless, the anonymous epigram employs an image also to be found in Prodromos: whereas the beast honours the law of nature and does not gulp down its offshoot, the wretched father slaughtered his own daughter.

Turning now to Marcianus gr. 524, of exceptional value for our purposes, it comes as a surprise that the twelve epigrams are divided into two separate groups. The first group, containing five epigrams, is located on folio 23^v of the manuscript, while the second group contains the remaining seven epigrams in another part of the manuscript, namely, on f. 105^r.⁵⁶⁸ In both cases the epigrams are preserved anonymously. Indeed, the second group of poems does not even bear a title. It is clear, however, that they were penned by the same poet. Recently, it has been argued quite convincingly that the breaking of these twelve epigrams into two groups on different folios of the manuscript is due to a possible re-arrangement of the quires of the codex.⁵⁶⁹

⁵⁶⁶ For a list of these poems see LAUXTERMANN, *Byzantine Poetry* 295 and VAN OPSTALL, *Jean Géomètre* 109.

⁵⁶⁷ LAUXTERMANN, *Byzantine Poetry* 295.

⁵⁶⁸ Lambros has wrongly noted that the second groups of poems can be found on f. 104^v; see LAMBROS, *Μαρκιανὸς κῶδιξ* 142.

⁵⁶⁹ SPINGOU, *Marcianus* 40.

Whereas the first group (no. 66) has been edited by Lambros,⁵⁷⁰ the second one (nos. 175–181) – save for the incipits and the last epigram (no. 181) – has not yet been published. What follows is Lambros' edition for nos. 66/181 with some new readings as well as a transcription of the six unpublished poems.⁵⁷¹

Εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν Βαρβάραν

no. 66¹

[fol. 23^v]

Τὸν τεκνοφόντην ὡς δοκεῖ σέβων Κρόνον
κτείνεις ἀφιλόστοργος παῖδα σὴν, πάτερ.
Ὁ δ' οὖν κεραυνὸς ὃς βαλὼν σε συμφλέγει
οὐ τοῦ Διὸς μὲν ἐστὶ τοῦ πατροκτόνου·
μῦθοι γὰρ οὗτοι· τοῦ Θεοῦ δὲ Βαρβάρας,
ὃς καὶ κεραυνὸς δεικνύει πατροκτόνους.

1 δοκεῖς L

no. 66²

Πατρὸς τεκνοσφαγοῦντος, οὐ πατρὸς τάχα
πυρὸς ποταμὸς τῆς γεέννης οὐ στέγει·
σπινθῆρα δ' αὐτοῦ μικρὸν ἐκπυρηνίσας,
κεραυνοποιεῖ τοῖς δι' ἄερος δρόμοις·
φλέγει δὲ βαλὼν, τὴν κρίσιν γὰρ προφθάνει,
τὴν ἔκτοτε φλόγῳσιν οὐκ ἄρκεῖν κρίνων.

3 αὐτὸν L 5 φλόγα L

no. 66³

Ναὶ καὶ σὺ τέκνον ἦσθα, μισόπαις πάτερ,
τῶν πρὶν χεόντων αἷμα τῶν θυγατέρων,
φονοκτονούντων τοῖς ἀθέσμοις πρακτέοις
τὴν παῖδα καὶ γὰρ κτιννύεις ὡς γοῦν τότε,
καὶ νῦν ἀνήφθη πῦρ Θεοῦ· τοίνυν φλέγου,
μὴ Βαρβάρας γῆ σῶμα καὶ τὸ σὸν λάβοι.

3 post φονοκτονούντων γῆν add. M | ἀθέσμως L

no. 66⁴

Τιμᾶν τεκόντας, μὴ Θεοῦ δὲ προκρίνειν
Χριστοῦ νόμος· τοῦτον δὲ πληροῖ Βαρβάρα·
παιδοκτονεῖν δε τίς σε διδάσκει, πάτερ,
ἢ Σατὰν αὐτὸς ὁ σπορεὺς τῆς κακίας
ὡς ἀστραπὴν πεσόντα Χριστὸς ὃν βλέπει,
ὃς καὶ Κάϊν δείκνυσιν ἀδελφοκτόνον;
Ὁ γοῦν κεραυνὸς σὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν πεμπέτω.

no. 66⁵

Ἄργυρος ἡ παῖς ἐκ πατρὸς μολιβδίνου·
εἰδῶλα λοιπὸν ἄργυρος καὶ χρυσίον,

⁵⁷⁰ LAMBROS, Μαρκιανὸς κῶδις 32–33.

⁵⁷¹ Unfortunately, it was not possible to establish the full text of the epigrams because the particular folio of the manuscript is severely damaged. Moreover, Foteini Spingou is preparing a new edition of these poems together with other poems from Marcianus gr. 524.

- 5 ὥς φησι Δαυίδ, ἔργα χειρῶν οὐ σέβει
 κἄν Βαρβάραν γοῦν ἐκπυροῖ φῶς βασάνων
 ἀλλ' ἐκκαθαίρει, μὴ τὸ πῦρ ὕλην λάβῃ,
 πρηστήρ δὲ τὸν μόλιβδον ἐξ ὕψους φλέγει.

no. 175

- 5 Ἄστοργε πάτερ Βαρβάραν τεμῶν ξίφει
 ἦν ἐκκύεις σχῶν ὥσπερ ἔμβρυον λίθος,
 εἰκας αὐτὸν ὡς λίθου τεμεῖν τόκον·
 ἦ καὶ σὺ πέτρας ἐξέφυς πλὴν τὸ ξίφος
 ὅστοις τραχήλου προσραγὲν, πῦρ ἐκθλίβει
 ὑψοῦ δ' ἀνελθὼν, ὡς κεραυνὸς σὲ [φλέγει].

[fol. 105']

5 [φλέγει] supplevi (ope Hörandner)

no. 176

- 5 Σὺ μὲν τὸ πῦρ Ἥφαιστον ἐξυμνῶν λέγεις
 τὸ δ' ἀθετεῖ τὴν κλῆσιν ὡς δὲ πῦρ φλ[έγει]
 δοῦλον γάρ ἐστι τοῦ Θεοῦ τῆς Βαρβάρας
 σέβει δὲ μὴ σέβουσαν αὐτὴν σοῦ πλέον.
 Καὶ σὴν σιδηρᾶν μισότεκνε καρδίαν
 τεφροῖ μετ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ τεκνοκτόνου ξίφ(ους).

2 φλ[έγει] supplevi

no. 177

- 5 Ὡφθης μυσαρὸς αὐτόχειρ πατὴρ τέκνου
 τὸ δ' αἷμα πατὴρ οὐράνιος λαμβάνει
 καὶ τοῦτο τῆς γῆς ὥσπερ ἀτμὸν ἀνάγων
 νέφη συνῆξεν ἀστραπ(ὴν) δὲ πληθύνας
 κεραυνοβλητῶν εἰς σποδὸν τούτων λύει
 ὡς θερμὸν αἷμα τοῦτο τρο[..]χέον.

1 ὥφθη L

no. 178

- 5 Ἦν ἂν τὸ κρεῖττον εἰ πατὴρ ἄλλος φθάσας
 παιδοκτονεῖν δέδωκε [.....]
 πατὴρ γὰρ ἂν σὸς ἐκ βρέφους ἔκτεινέ σε
 ὥφθη γὰρ οὐκ ἂν κ[.....] τόσης
 πλὴν ἢ κεραυνοῦ σύντροχος καυτηρία
 τὸν τύπον ἀπέγραψεν ὃν πρῶτος γράφεις.

6 ἀπέγραψεν scripsi : ἀπόγραψεν M

no. 179

- 5 Βλέπων φλέγον πῦρ πατέρα παιδοκτόνον
 ἐκ τῆς φλογίν[ης τ]οῦτο ῥομφαίας κρίνε
 στραφεῖσα καὶ γὰρ προσλαβεῖν τὴν Βαρβάραν
 ὡς εἶδεν οὐκ [...] τηλίκον δράμα.
 Καὶ πῦρ ἀποστίλψασα ῥομφαίας δίκην,
 ἀναστρέφειν μέλλοντα ὡς σφαγὴν [..].

2 φλογίν[ης τ]οῦτο supplevi (ope Hörandner et Rhoby)

no. 180

- 5 Οὐχ' ὥς μελίσσης, ὥς δὲ κηφῆνος γόνος,
 πικροῦ πατρὸς προῆλθε γλυκερὸν μέλι
 ἐντεῦθεν αὐτὸς κεντρίον φέρων ξίφος
 [...] πρὸς γῆν αἶμα Βαρβάρας χέει
 πρὸς πῦρ τολοιπὸν κηρὸς αὐτὸς εὐρέθη
 [τα]κεῖς κεραυνῷ μέχρις αὐτῶν ὀστέων.

6 [τα]κεῖς supplevi

no. 181

- 5 Τί καὶ πάλιν πῦρ οὐρανὸς κάτω βρέχει;
 [...] ὧδε μὴ Θεοῦ θυμὸς πά[λιν]
 ναὶ πρῶτον ἅμα καὶ μόνον πατὴρ τέκνον
 [φέρων] σφραγίδα δεσποτικὴν τιννύει,
 Αἰγυπτίαν δε τοῦτον ὥς κληματίδα
 Θεὸς κεραυνοῖ τὸν δὲ καρπὸν οὐ φλέγει
 φθάνει γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐκτεμὼν τοῦτον ξίφει.

2 πά[λιν] supplevi 4 [φέρων] supplevi (ope Hörandner)

There are conspicuous affinities between the epigrams from Marcianus and the dodecasyllabic epigrams of Prodromos. First of all, there are two groups of twelve and ten epigrams respectively. The epigrams preserved in Marcianus are short, as are the Prodromic pieces, nearly all of them consist of six verses (except for nos. 66⁴ and 181 which have seven verses). As for their content, as in the case of the Prodromic poems, they focus on Barbara's slaughter by her father and the latter's being struck by lightning as an expression of providential justice. Moreover, both make use of stock motifs and clichéd similes and maxims in order to highlight the *antithesis* between the righteous daughter and unrighteous father:

Prodromos	Marcianus gr. 524
IV (v. 1): Καλὸν κακοῦ κόρακος ὦν εὐρέθης V (v. 1): Προέρχεται μὲν ἐκ καλάμης ὁ στάχυς; VII (vv. 1-2): Ἡδύκρεων σῶς, ἀλλὰ τέλματος τόκος/καὶ Βαρβάρα γοῦν βορβόρου κἄν ἐξέφυ.	66 ⁵ (v.1): Ἀργυρὸς ἢ παῖς ἐκ πατρὸς μολιβδίνου 180 (vv. 1-2): οὐχ' ὥς μελίσσης, ὥς δὲ κηφῆνος γόνος/πικρὸν πρὸ προῆλθε γλυκερὸν

It should, however, be noted that the resemblance between these poems is not limited to the fields of structure and content, for we may also observe some similarities in the wording. Undoubtedly, the most striking is that the word 'τεκνοφόντης' can be found solely in Prodromos and once again in one of the epigrams from Marcianus.⁵⁷² But there are more:

⁵⁷² Cf. III, v. 1 and 66¹, v. 1 respectively.

Prodromos	Marcianus gr. 524
IV (v. 5): διπλοῦν γὰρ ἴσως οὐρανὸς τὸ πῦρ βρύει ⁵⁷³ II (v. 1): Πρηστήριοι πρὶν οὐρανόβρυτοι φλόγες	181 (v. 6) Τί καὶ πάλιν πῦρ οὐρανὸς κάτω βρέχει 66 ⁵ (v. 6): πρηστήρ δὲ τὸν μόλιβδον ἐξ ὕψους φλέγει

Doubtlessly, these two groups of epigrams, datable roughly to the same period, stand very close. Unfortunately, the epigrams from Marcianus also contain no explicit indication at all about their original use. But their related structure suggests that both could potentially serve the same purpose. The stimulating idea that each was presented to the same donor for him to choose the most suitable should be abandoned. It is hardly likely that two ‘rival poets’ would have employed the extremely rare word ‘τεκνοφόντης’ at the same time. Equally unlikely is the idea that Prodromos is the author of the epigrams preserved in the Marcianus manuscript, despite the fact that the *Anthologia Marciana* preserves a good number of Prodromic works⁵⁷⁴ and that the dodecasyllable of these anonymous epigrams appears to be flawless.⁵⁷⁵ These two groups of epigrams demonstrate that irrespective of their being either renowned or undistinguished, the twelfth-century poets penned epigrams for similar objects (or, in this case, even for the same object). This anonymous poet could, moreover, be a further reader of the Prodromic work who imitated the structure, content, and patterns of Prodromos’ series of epigrams.

⁵⁷³ It is, arguably, interesting to mention that one of the manuscripts (i.e. Ne) offers the following reading: διπλοῦν γὰρ ἴσως οὐρανὸς τὸ πῦρ βρέχει.

⁵⁷⁴ On this issue see RHOBY, *Zur Identifizierung* 196–197.

⁵⁷⁵ Except for 66³ v. no. 3 which has a redundant syllable.

No. 7 (H 127)

I

Εἰς τὰς ἑορτὰς τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ

Εὐαγγελισμός, γέννα, κλήσεως θέσις,
 χεὶρ Συμεῶν, βάπτισμα, φῶς Θαβωρίου,
 Λάζαρος ἐκ γῆς, βαῖα, σταυροῦ ξύλον,
 ἔγερσις, ἄρσις, Πνεύματος παρουσία.

V f. 117^{r-v} B f. 446^r Es f. 197^v Ha f. 146^v P f. 122^r Pc f. 200^v Vz f. 142^{r-v} W f. 55^v

tit. εἰς τὰς ἑορτὰς τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ V : τοῦ αὐτοῦ (i.e. Μανουὴλ Φιλῆ sed τοῦ Πτωχοπροδρόμου in marg.) εἰς τὰς δώδεκα ἑορτὰς B : om. Es : εἰς τὰς Δεσποτικὰς ἑορτὰς Ha : legi non potest in P : εἰς τὰς Δεσποτικὰς ἑορτὰς Pc : στίχοι τοῦ μακαριωτάτου κυρίου Θεοδώρου τοῦ Προδρόμου περὶ των δεσποτικῶν ἑορτῶν Vz : τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰς ἑορτὰς W || 1 εὐαγγελισμός legi non potest in P || 3 βαῖα V

On the twelve Feasts of our Lord Jesus Christ

I

Annunciation, Nativity, Bestowing of Name, Hand of Simeon, Baptism, the Light of Tabor, Lazarus from the depths, Palm Sunday, the Wood of the cross, Resurrection, Ascension, Appearance of the Holy Spirit.

Notes on the text:

lemma the Prodromic authorship is questioned in three manuscripts: in Vz the poem is ascribed to John Mauropous. It is very likely that the scribe had in mind Mauropous' collection of epigrams describing the Dominical feasts.⁵⁷⁶ Philes is the second Byzantine poet who can claim the authorship to this poem, since in manuscript S the poem is preserved under his name. However, the Prodromic authorship should be considered as certain, especially if we take into account that manuscript V dates from before 1283, while Philes' date of birth is reckoned at around the year 1270.⁵⁷⁷ Scribe B displays special interest: whereas the scribe of this manuscript assigns it to Philes, a later scribe notes ahead of the epigram 'Τοῦ Πτωχοπροδρόμου'.⁵⁷⁸

⁵⁷⁶ It might be interesting to note that Migne published this poem along with other religious poems of Mauropous dedicated to Christological feasts; cf. PG 120 1197 A–B.

⁵⁷⁷ See BRAOUNOU-PIETSCH, Beseelte Bilder 33.

⁵⁷⁸ This was one of pieces of the evidence used by Hörandner in order to strengthen his argument that Prodromos and Ptochoprodromos were the same person; see HÖRANDNER, Autor oder Genus? 314–324.

1.-4 Εὐαγγελισμός ... παρουσία: the following twelve Lord's feast are juxtaposed: Annunciation,⁵⁷⁹ Nativity,⁵⁸⁰ Circumcision,⁵⁸¹ the Holy Meeting,⁵⁸² Lazarus Saturday,⁵⁸³ Epiphany,⁵⁸⁴ Transfiguration,⁵⁸⁵ Palm Sunday,⁵⁸⁶ Crucifixion,⁵⁸⁷ Resurrection,⁵⁸⁸ Ascension,⁵⁸⁹ and Pentecost.⁵⁹⁰

⁵⁷⁹ This particular feast is described in two other parts of the Prodomic work, cf. *tetrast.* 237 and *calend.* 118.

⁵⁸⁰ Cf. *tetrast.* 187 and *calend.* 107.

⁵⁸¹ Eight days after his Birth, Christ was circumcised and was named Jesus; this name was given to him by Gabriel when he appeared to the Theotokos and announced to her that she will conceive the Son of God (cf. *Luc.* 2, 21: Καὶ ὅτε ἐπλήσθησαν αἱ ἡμέραι ὀκτὼ τοῦ περιτεμεῖν τὸ παιδίον, καὶ ἐκλήθη τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦς, τὸ κληθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀγγέλου πρὸ τοῦ συλληφθῆναι αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ κοιλίᾳ). This feast, which is celebrated on 1 January, is also described at *tetrast.calend.* 35.

⁵⁸² Cf. *tetrast.* 238, *calend.* 113, and *tetrast.calend.* 75.

⁵⁸³ Cf. *tetrast.* 259.

⁵⁸⁴ Cf. *tetrast.* 190 and *tetrast.calend.* 109.

⁵⁸⁵ Cf. *tetrast.* 211 and *tetrast.calend.* 134.

⁵⁸⁶ The feast of Palm Sunday is described nowhere else in the work of Prodromos.

⁵⁸⁷ Cf. *tetrast.* 229 and the two epigrams under the no. 10.

⁵⁸⁸ Cf. *tetrast.* 231.

⁵⁸⁹ Cf. *tetrast.* 236.

⁵⁹⁰ Cf. *tetrast.* 265.

II

1. Τὸ χαῖρε, παῦλα τῆς παλαιγόνου λύπης.
2. Ἡ γέννα, ρίζα πλάσεως τῆς δευτέρας.
3. Ἡ κλῆσις, εἰκόνισμα τῆς σωτηρίας.
4. Ἡ Συμεὼν χεῖρ, δεῖγμα τοῦ γραπτοῦ νόμου.
5. Ἡ βάπτισις, κάθαρσις ἀνθρώπων ρύπου.
6. Τὸ τοῦ Θαβῶρ φῶς, τῆς ἐμῆς νυκτὸς λύσις.
7. Ὁ Λάζαρος, φροῖμιον αἰσχους θανάτου.
8. Ψυχῶν ἔαρος σύμβολον, τὰ βαῖα.
9. Ἀμαρτίας σταύρωμα, τὸ σταυροῦ ξύλον.
10. Θανὴ θανῆς, ἔγερσις ἢ τοῦ Κυρίου.
11. Ἄρσις πεσόντων, ἄρσις ἢ τοῦ Δεσπότη.
12. Τὸ Πνεῦμα, τέρμα τῆς ἐμῆς σωτηρίας.

V f. 117^{r-v} B f. 446^f Es f. 197^v Ha f. 146^v P f. 122^f Pc f. 200^v Σ f. 273^f W f. 55^v | Mi. 1223A-B Mig. 1197A-B Mil. 389

|| 1 παῦλα] λύτρον W || 2 ρίζα] τύπος Mi.¹ Mil. || 6 λύσις] φύσις Es || 8 ψυχῆς Mig. || 9 τὸ σταυροῦ ξύλον] τὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ ξύλον Es : τοῦ σταυροῦ ξύλον X

II

1. The [Angelic] Salutation, cessation of the old grief.
2. The Birth, root of the re-creation.
3. The naming, image of the redemption.
4. The hand of Simeon, demonstration of the written law.
5. The Baptism, purgation of the moral pollution of mortals.
6. The Tabor light, deliverance from my darkness.
7. Lazarus, prelude to the debasement of demise.
8. Token of soul's spring, the Palm Sunday.
9. Crucifixion of the sin, the wood of the cross.
10. Demise of Death, the resurrection of the Lord.
11. Raising of the fallen, the ascension of the Lord.
12. The Holy Spirit, fulfilment of my redemption.

Commentary

(keywords: mnemonic epigrams, epigram cycle)

These two epigrams dedicated to the twelve feasts of the Lord form one version of the so-called Dodecaorton.⁵⁹¹ Both treat in precise chronological order the same Christological feasts (from the Annunciation to Pentecost). Their structure – especially the of the first – resembles that of the second epigram for Abraham's philoxenia. Thus, it can be suggested that they could serve a didactic purpose, that is to say, a student could in this way memorize the twelve Lord's feasts.

In the second epigram, each single verse treats one Christological feast. The verses should, in fact, be understood as autonomous monostichs, every one describing in a very succinct manner each of these occasions.⁵⁹² It could even be argued that it is a cycle of twelve separate epigrams/monostichs dedicated to the Lord's Feasts.⁵⁹³ The practice of writing cycles of epigrams is already attested from the seventh century in the poetic work of George of Pisidia, while it reappears in the ninth century with the cycles of Ignatios Magistor and the so-called Anonymous Patrician.⁵⁹⁴ Two such collections are known under the idiosyncratic label *DOP* 46 and *DOP* 48.⁵⁹⁵ The former, written at some point during the course of the eleventh century, is preserved in two manuscripts produced around the year 1100. The second, transmitted in Marc. Gr 524, is datable to c. 1050–1200. In addition to these, Lauxtermann has mentioned the instance of the abridged version of Prodromos' tetrastichs as well as a yet unpublished cycle of epigrams in Laura B 43.⁵⁹⁶ More recently, Floris Bernard complemented this list by claiming the same function for Mauropous' poems nos. 2–26, preserved in the famous manuscript Vat. gr. 676.⁵⁹⁷ All the above mentioned collections of epigrams – irrespective of whether they were actually inscribed or they had the potential to function as such – are closely related to iconographic programmes, either of miniatures or frescoes, in a church.⁵⁹⁸

The epigrams, however, under consideration deviate from the previously mentioned cycle of epigrams in three aspects: they bear no title (e.g. 'On the Annunciation', 'On the

⁵⁹¹ For the Dodecaorton see *ODB* II 868–869 and *RbK* I s.v. Dodekaorton.

⁵⁹² It resembles his iambic calendar that also has the form of monostichs.

⁵⁹³ Hörandner was the first who formed this term for these collections of epigrams; See HÖRANDNER, Ein Zyklus von Epigrammen.

⁵⁹⁴ For a detailed discussion see LAUXTERMANN, Byzantine Poetry 180 ff.

⁵⁹⁵ HÖRANDNER, Ein Zyklus von Epigrammen 107–115 and IDEM, A Cycle of Epigrams 117–133.

⁵⁹⁶ See LAUXTERMANN, Byzantine Poetry 78 ff.

⁵⁹⁷ BERNARD, Beats of the Pen 78–80.

⁵⁹⁸ See LAUXTERMANN, Byzantine Poetry 78.

Birth of Christ' etc.), they are much shorter, and they are strictly restricted to the twelve Dominical feasts. Although the last two divergences are not all that essential, the same cannot be said for the first. The absence of titles for the monostichs can hardly be explained, thus reducing the dynamic of the argument that it is a cycle of twelve autonomous monostichs. One reasonable explanation for this omission is the following: the epigrams, copied from either a work of art or a literary source, were put together by an anthologist – along with the first epigram⁵⁹⁹ – under the generic lemma 'εἰς τὰς Δεσποτικὰς ἑορτάς'.⁶⁰⁰ Thereupon, this distorted structure of the epigrams was spread over and eventually prevailed in the manuscript tradition. In support of this supposition, we may note the case of an anonymous cycle of twenty-nine epigrams under the title 'Εἰς τὰς ἑορτάς [τὰς δε]σποτικὰς (each epigram ranges between one to three verses) preserved in the fourteenth-century manuscript *Ath. Pantel.* 174.⁶⁰¹

If this premise is correct, one of the original functions of these monostichs could closely be connected to the pictorial programme of a manuscript or a church. At least, this should have been Prodromos' original intention, even if they were never used as such. Regrettably, no frescoes accompanied by inscriptions are extant. On the other hand, there are a number of manuscripts with miniatures depicting some of the Christological feasts, whether or not accompanied by epigrams.⁶⁰² Prodromos' cycle displays a further peculiarity when compared with the other cycles of feasts: it includes the Circumcision of Christ, a feast somewhat rarely depicted. Actually, only the Oxford Menologion bears witness to the depiction of this feast.⁶⁰³ It should be noted that at the beginning of that book one finds a cycle of miniatures depicting Christological feasts.⁶⁰⁴ Undoubtedly, the monostichs by Prodromos would suit perfectly to furnish the captions of these miniatures.

⁵⁹⁹ It should be emphasized that in most manuscripts the epigrams are presented as a single unit. Actually, only the apograph S bears the separating title 'on the same' for the second epigram, while in two of the manuscripts (i.e. Es and Ha) the separation is indicated by the insertion of a double dot after the last verse of the first epigram. The distorted presentation of the epigrams in the manuscripts is mirrored in all modern editions as well, even in that of Miller based on S.

⁶⁰⁰ The case may be pertinent to that of the abridged version of Prodromos' tetrastichs. See LAUXTERMANN, *Byzantine Poetry* 79. The case of an epigram from Marc. Gr. 524 entitled 'On the triklinos, renovated by the emperor Manuel, in order to serve as a refectory for the monks'; there, alongside him, his grandfather the emperor Alexios, his father the emperor John, and the Bulgar-slayer' can be considered similar; see SPINGOU, *Marcianus* 133–135.

⁶⁰¹ KOTZABASI – PARASKEUOPOULOU, *Athous, Pantel.* 174 217–219.

⁶⁰² See HÖRANDNER, *A Cycle of Epigrams* 122; LAUXTERMANN, *Byzantine Poetry* 186–187; and BERNARD, *Beats of the Pen* 79–80.

⁶⁰³ See HUTTER, *El menologio de Oxford* 81.

⁶⁰⁴ *Ibid.* 63ff.

Furthermore, shortly before Prodomos, another Byzantine writer penned a series of epigrams on the Dodecaorton. This was Gregory Pardos (ca. 1070–1156), who became metropolitan of Corinth after 1092. These epigrams, ranging between nine to eleven verses, treat the following twelve Christological feasts: Nativity, Epiphany, the Holy Meeting, Annunciation, Palm Sunday, Crucifixion, Deposition, Pentecost, Resurrection, Antipascha (St. Thomas), Ascension, and Transfiguration.⁶⁰⁵ Unlike most epigrams dedicated to the Lord's feasts, these twelve lack any chronological order.⁶⁰⁶ At the same time, as is well known, Pardos' work includes a series of commentaries on twenty-three Dominical and Marian feasts composed by such hymnographers as Cosmas the Melodist, John of Damascus and Theophanes.⁶⁰⁷ Each commentary on the Christological feasts is described by these collections of epigrams. However, of greater interest is that in Viennese manuscript theol. gr. 128 the Kanon texts attributed to Kosmas the Melodist as well as to John of Damascus and the correspondent commentary by Pardos are to be found together with these epigrams. In fact, each epigram can be found either at the beginning or the end of the correspondent commentary. With reference to this, Hunger noted that 'Für die verschiedene Präsentierung der Epigramme – einmal im Haupttext, ein andermal marginal – weiß ich keine Erklärung anzubieten'.⁶⁰⁸ It is self-evident that these texts are used as book epigrams, yet we cannot be certain whether this was Pardos' original intention, or he was commissioned to write these epigrams for the iconographic programme of a manuscript or a church?

In this connection, another question springs to mind: Is it possible that Prodomos' monostichs are related to his commentaries on the Kanons of the Christological feasts? An intriguing possibility, though with little to sustain it, and this for two main reasons. First, while one of the monostichs is dedicated to the Annunciation, his corpus of commentaries does not include the Kanon of John of Damascus on the Ascension.⁶⁰⁹ Secondly, neither Kosmas the Melodist nor John of Damascus composed a Kanon for the Circumcision of Christ and accordingly Prodomos wrote no such commentary.

Finally, the form and wording of these two epigrams was imitated by later poets. With regard to the first, Nikephoros Kallistou Xanthopoulos composed three such epigrams, of six,

⁶⁰⁵ HUNGER, Gregorios von Korinth 637–651. The epigram on Antipascha is also transmitted in fourteenth-century manuscript Ath. Pantel. 174; see KOTZABASI – PARASKEUOPOULOU, Athous, Pantel. 174 210.

⁶⁰⁶ Hunger has already pointed out that the epigrams do not follow the liturgic calendar. See HUNGER, Gregorios von Korinth 637.

⁶⁰⁷ KOMINIS, Γρηγόριος Πάρδος 248–253. For brief annotations on Pardos' commentaries see SKREKAS, John of Damascus XXIII–XXV.

⁶⁰⁸ HUNGER, Gregorios von Korinth 638.

⁶⁰⁹ For a list of Prodomos' commentaries see STEVENSON, Theodori Prodomi xxiv–xxvi.

four, and three verses respectively.⁶¹⁰ The only observable deviation is that Nikephoros replaced the Circumcision of Christ with the Dormition of the Theotokos.⁶¹¹ The cycle of monostichs was also imitated; Philes wrote an epigram entitled Ἐτεροι στίχοι ὅμοιοι εἰς τὰς δεσποτικὰς ἑορτάς (*Philes, Carm. V 61*), whose structure and content resembles strongly the Prodromic cycle of monostichs.

⁶¹⁰ Guntius fol. 4.

⁶¹¹ The sixteenth-century codex *Meteora Metam.* 72 on folio 618^v transmits an anonymous epigram under the title *Τὸ δωδεκάορτον*; see BEES, *Τὰ χειρόγραφα τῶν Μετεώρων* 72. In all probability, the anonymous poem of the *Meteora* codex is nothing more than a variant reading of Xanthopoulos' epigram *Στίχοις, εἰς τὰς Ἰβ' ἑορτάς*. In all likelihood, the copyist of the *Meteora* codex copied either Xanthopoulos' epigram with some trivial alterations in terms of wording, or the epigram was merely copied from a now lost manuscript. In addition to Xanthopoulos' epigrams, there is a yet unpublished anonymous epigram on the Christological and Marian feasts; HÖRANDNER, *Historische Gedichte* 60 no. 177.

No. 8 (H 129)

Εἰς τὴν ὑπεραγίαν Θεοτόκον

Πολλοῖς τὸν ἐκ σοῦ πικράνας, ἀγνή, τρόποις,
 σχεῖν μὲν σε θερμὴν ἰλεώτεραν θέλω
 γυμνὸς δὲ πάσης τυγχάνω παρρησίας,
 αἰσθάνομαι γὰρ τῶν ἐμαυτῶν σφαλμάτων.

- 5 Οὐκοῦν μεσίτας πρῶτον εἰς σὲ λαμβάνω,
 τὸν χρύσειον ῥοῦν δογμάτων Ἰωάννην
 καὶ Νικόλαον ἄλλο ῥεῦμα θαυμάτων·
 ὧν καὶ λαβοῦσα τὰς παρακλήσεις κόρη,
 τὴν πρὸς θεὸν σὴν ἀντίδος δυσωπίαν·
- 10 αἰτουμένους μὲν ᾧδε κάμοι καὶ τέκνοις
 τὴν εὐμάρειαν εὐτυχεῖν τὴν ἐν βίῳ
 ἐν τῇ κρίσει δέ, δεξιὰν λαχεῖν στάσιν.
 Ὑμῶν δ' ὁ μὲν σύμπραττε καὶ συνευδόκει,
 θερμουργέ, γοργέ πρὶν δεηθῇ τις φθάνων·
- 15 ὃ δ' ἐκπόνει μοι τῆς δεήσεως λύσιν
 τῶν γὰρ θεϊκῶν σὺ γραφεὺς λυτηρίων.

L f. 123^v–124^r

tit. τοῦ αὐτοῦ (i.e. Θεοδώρου Προδρόμου) εἰς τὴν ὑπεραγίαν Θεοτόκον L || 2 ἰλεώτεραν scripsi : ἰλεώταιραν L

On the Most Holy Theotokos

O pure one [Theotokos], I want to have you as my ardent and merciful [intercessor], for I have embittered your Son in many ways; but I am void of all boldness, for I am aware of my own sins. [5] So, do I firstly employ as mediators to you, John, the golden stream of right beliefs and Nicholas, the other stream, of miracle. And maiden, once you receive their supplications, give in exchange your entreaty to God. [10] Here, they ask for me and the children to attain good fortune in life, while, at the Day of Judgment, to obtain a good lot. The first of you two [i.e. Nicholas] lend aid and consent, fervent [saint], fleet-winged [saint], you who attain before one prays! [15] The other [i.e. John] accomplishes my redemption of prayer, for you [i.e. John] are the scribe of divine remedies!

Notes on the text:

3. γυμνός ... παρρησίας: the concept of *παρρησία* is frequently associated with the Theotokos in Byzantine hymnography.⁶¹² The fact that the donor exclaims that ‘I am naked of all *parrhesia*’ brings to mind the *Akathistos Hymn* 13.16:

χαῖρε, στολή τῶν γυμνῶν παρρησίας

Hail, robe of free intercession given to the naked⁶¹³

The concept is also used extensively in Byzantine epigrams, such as the telling example of an epigram inscribed on a twelfth-century icon of the Theotokos with Christ, now kept in the Hermitage. The third verse of the inscription reads thus:⁶¹⁴ τοῦτ(ον) δυσώπει μ(η)τρικῇ παρρησίᾳ. (For more annotations on the concept of *παρρησία* see DRPIĆ, *Kosmos of Verse* 274–275).

6–7 τὸν ... θαυμάτων: These two verses are to be found slightly altered at *carm.hist.* LVII 9–10:

τὸν χρυσόγλωττον ᾧδε σὺν Νικολάῳ,
διττοὺς ποταμοὺς δογμάτων καὶ θαυμάτων.

Prodromos is very fond of re-using the same wording or even verbatim verses in different poems. Here, the subject of the two poems is quite similar as both refer to John Chrysostom and St. Nicholas. In other situations, no such link can be found. One indicative example is the use of the verse ‘νήδς ὑγροσκελέος, νήδς ἀελλομάχου’ in a dedicatory epigram for St. Nicholas as well as in the verse *ethopoia* ‘Hypothetical verses on a corpse without hands tossed by the sea’.

Δυσωπίαν: I translate entreaty/supplication. The word is used with the same meaning at *carm.hist.* LVII 17 (cf. also PAPAGIANNIS, *Philoprodromica* 177).

10–11. αἰτουμένους ... ἐν βίῳ: cf. *carm.hist.* LXXV 112–113:

αἶτει τοῖς τέκνοις ἐκ θεοῦ πᾶν ἀγαθὸν δοθῆναι
πᾶσαν εὐμάρειαν ζωῆς πᾶσαν εὐετηρίαν.

12. δεξιὰν λαχεῖν στάσιν: a typical expression in Byzantine dedicatory epigrams. For example, the last verse of a dedicatory inscription from Mistra runs as follows:⁶¹⁵

⁶¹² See EUSTRATIADES, Θεοτόκος 58. For the *parrhesia* in the *Akathistos Hymn* see PELTOMAA, The image of Virgin Mary in the *Akathistos Hymn* 154 and 178. In this connection, it is worth noting that a poem of Philes entitled Τοῦ σοφωτάτου Φιλῆ μετάφρασις τῶν οἰκῶν τῆς ὑπεραγίας θεοτόκου. Κοντάκιον reads as follows : ὦ χαῖρε θνητῶν πρὸς θεὸν παρρησία! (cf. *Philes, Carm.* V 1.71).

⁶¹³ Transl. in PELTOMAA, The *Akathistos Hymn* 13.

⁶¹⁴ RHOBY, *Byzantinische Epigramme*, II, no. 1k52, v. 3.

⁶¹⁵ RHOBY, *Byzantinische Epigramme*, I, no. 152, v. 4 and IDEM, *Dedicatory epigrams* 322. For the *Marcian Anthology* see nos. 116 (v. 14) and 246 (v. 15).

θεοπρόβλητος {έν} δεξιοῦ τυχεῖν θέλων.

13–14. ὕμῳν ... φθάνων: as noted earlier, Nicholas is one of the most effective agents of intercession. This same notion is maintained in the hexametric poem dedicated to him.⁶¹⁶ As for the word ‘θερμουργός’, this usually has a negative meaning: ‘doing hot and hasty acts, reckless’ (cf. *LSJ*). Likewise, the verb ‘θερμουργέω’ is translated in *LBG* as follows: ‘heftig sein, impulsiv handeln’. Yet, it is clear that Prodromos here wishes to bestow a positive aspect of Nicholas. Since the word is a combination of the words ‘θερμός’ and ‘ἔργον’, I chose the translation ‘fervent saint’.

⁶¹⁶ See the sixth verse of the poem dedicated to St. Nicholas.

Commentary

(keywords: Apse, self-quotation)

An innumerable number of dedicatory epigrams addressed to the Theotokos ask her to intercede on behalf of mankind or a particular donor. However, this epigram displays a distinctive feature: it is John Chrysostom and St. Nicholas who are supplicated to intercede between the commissioner of the epigram and the Virgin (vv. 5–7). Thereupon, a second plea follows. This time for a mediation of the Theotokos between the two saints and God (vv. 8–9). Thus, it is plain that the epigram is built upon a double plea for intercession.

Despite the fact that the *lemma* of the epigram makes mention only of the Theotokos, the double intercession suggests that it is closely connected with a depiction of the Virgin Mary along with John Chrysostom and St. Nicholas. The exact type of this depiction is a more complex issue. As far as I know, there is no Byzantine icon depicting the Theotokos surrounded by these two saints. However, an epigram commissioned by Andronikos Kamateros (*carm.hist.* LVII), the author of the so-called *Sacred Arsenal*,⁶¹⁷ may be of some help in discovering which depiction to which the epigram in question is related. Hörandner, in the introductory note to the epigram,⁶¹⁸ maintained that it was closely connected to an icon depicting the Theotokos surrounded by the Saints John Chrysostom, Nicholas, Gregory of Nazianzus and Basil of Caesarea. Putting it more precisely in his commentary, he writes “Unter Kyklos ist hier wohl die Hausmauer oder eine Umfriedungsmauer zu verstehen.”⁶¹⁹ But the fifth verse of the poem, which reads: ‘εἰς τὸν κύκλον γράφω σε τοῦ νέου δόμου’, leaves no doubt that it does not describe an icon but rather a wall painting within a newly-built church.

The only part of a church which could host such a depiction is the apse. The Theotokos holding the infant Christ would be in the centre, while on both sides St John Chrysostom/Nicholas and Gregory of Nazianzus/Basil of Caesarea. In a similar vein, Prodhomos would here have in mind the representation of an apse, although Basil and Gregory did not figure in this epigram.⁶²⁰ Interestingly enough, the hierarchical scheme of the two groups of intercessors reflects that found in the iconographic programme of an apse, as images of saints are always situated to a lower level than the Virgin Mary.

⁶¹⁷ On Kamateros see BUCOSSÌ, George Skylitzes 37–50; cf. also EADEM, *Sacred Arsenal* 111–130; note that the ‘μοι’ in the fourteenth verse should be emendated into ‘με’.

⁶¹⁸ HÖRANDNER, *Historische Gedichte* 469.

⁶¹⁹ *Ibid.* 470.

⁶²⁰ One could argue that on the other side of the apse there would be a second epigram addressed to Gregory of Nazianzus and Basil of Caesarea.

Critical attention should be paid to vv. 5–6 of the epigram which, as noted above, are to be found almost verbatim in that commissioned by Andronikos Kamateros. This particular epigram has been used by modern scholars to support the argument that the depiction of Manuel, along with Ss Nicholas and Theodore of Tyron in another epigram commissioned by Kamateros, is closely linked to Manuel's foreign policy.⁶²¹ Bucossi has, more specifically, considered this to be a hint at Manuel's ecclesiastical policy by maintaining that the Prodromic epigram is an allusion to "the role of St. Nicholas as protector of the Orthodox Faith at the Council of Nicaea".⁶²² However, the argument seems to have been pushed too far. In my opinion, the two verses should be viewed in relation to the present epigram and as such be translated as, 'The golden-tongued along with Nicholas, | double streams, of right beliefs and miracles [respectively]'.⁶²³ Therefore, Prodromos' intention is not to present St. Nicholas as a guardian of the Orthodox Faith, but rather as one of the most wonder-working saints.⁶²⁴

On the other hand, how should the use of two verses in two different epigrams be explained? What would be the response of Kamateros, one of the most well-known officials in the court of Manuel, if he were told that the same set of words was used in another epigram? These two questions raise a further one; did originality play a pivotal role in the dedicatory epigrams? No at all, self-quotation is a very common practice of Byzantine poets. Prodromos re-uses many of his verses in poems which serve completely different purposes. A very good example from the present corpus is the verse νηὸς ὑγροσκελέος, νηὸς ἀελλομάχου which is repeated verbatim in an epigram for St. Nicholas (no. 1^{VI}) and a verse *ethopoiia* (no. 20).

⁶²¹ For the imperial connotation of this depiction see MAGDALINO, Manuel I Komnenos 476.

⁶²² BUCOSSİ, Georgios Skylitzes 524 39–40. The same view is expressed in SPINGOU, Marcianus 281–282.

⁶²³ Cf. *carm.hist.* LVII.9–10: τὸν χρυσόγλωττον ὧδε σὺν Νικολάῳ | διττοὺς ποταμοὺς δογμάτων καὶ θαυμάτων

⁶²⁴ In support of this claim, we may note that the same image of Nicholas is conveyed in the hexametric epigram of the present edition, while in the poem dedicated to John Chrysostom we can find an allusion to his contribution to the protection of the Orthodox Faith (cf. δόγματος εὐαγόρου κίθαριν ἐμμελέα).

No. 9 (H 130)

Εἰς εἰκόνα τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου

- Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὸν σόν, ὦ Θεοῦ μητερ, τύπον
 ὁ πανδαμάτωρ οὔτος ἠδέσθη χρόνος,
 φθερεῖν δὲ τὴν μόρφωσιν ἠπείλησέ σου,
 πατὴρ ἀπάντων καὶ φθορεὺς δεδειγμένος·
 5 ἐντεῦθεν ἡ σώσασα τὴν δούλην φύσιν
 ἀπημπολήθης – ὦ ξένου πρατηρίου –.
 Ἐντεῦθεν ἡ τέξασα τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν
 φθορᾶς κεκινδύνευκας ὀφθῆναι μέρος,
 ἀλλ' αὐτὸς εὖνου θερμότητι καρδίας,
 10 ἐπριάμην σε τὴν ἀπάντων δεσπότην
 καὶ πρὸς νέαν ἤνεγκα καὶ κρείττω πλάσιν·
 ἀνθ' ὧν με δοῦλον ὄντα τῆς ἀμαρτίας
 καὶ ψυχικὸν παθόντα παντελῆ φθόρον,
 ἀνταγόρασον σαῖς λιταῖς πρὸς τὸν Λόγον.

Vi f. 173^v N f. 98^r O f. 14^r

tit. τοῦ αὐτοῦ (i.e. Θεοδώρου Προδρόμου) εἰς εἰκόνα τῆς Θεοτόκου. Ἀνακαινισθεῖσαν, ἐξωνισθεῖσαν παρ' αὐτοῦ Vi : Θεοδώρου τοῦ Προδρόμου O : τοῦ αὐτοῦ (i. e. Θεοδώρου Προδρόμου) εἰς εἰκόνα τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου N || 5–7 vers. om N || 6 πρατορίου Vi | vers. om. N || 7–8 vers. om. N O || 8 ὀφθῆναι N || 9 θερμότης Vi || 11 ἤνεικα O | κρείττω] νέαν N Vi | καὶ πρὸς νέαν ἄγαγε καὶ κρείττω πλάσιν post v. 14 add. O

On a depiction of the Most Holy Virgin Mary

But Mother of God! This all-subduing Time failed to respect your image. It threatened to ruin your form, [for it] has been shown to be the father and destroyer of all. [5] Hence, although you saved the enslaved nature, you were sold. What an extraordinary bargain! From that point a part of you was in danger of ruination, even though you gave birth to immortality. But I myself, owing to the eagerness of my kind heart, [10] have purchased you, O holy Lady of all, and brought you to a new and better shape. In exchange, for I, the slave of sin, have suffered complete pollution of my soul, purchase me in return through your prayers to the Word.

Notes on the text:

lemma Vi reads: “On a depiction of the Theotokos. Restored [and] traded by him”. It is explicitly stated that Prodromos was not only the author of this epigram, but also the purchaser and the owner of the icon on which his epigram was purported to have been inscribed. Doubtlessly, this title exhibit great interest, for the poet appears to be one and the same as the donor. The same was argued above for the six hexametric epigrams H. 120 (for further parallel examples see pp. 219–224).

1–4. Ἄλλ’ οὐδὲ ... δεδαιγμένος: The conceit of destroying time is phrased in strongly similar terms in epigrams commemorating the restoration of the icons; see, among the many examples, Lambros no. 43 vv. 3–4:

τύπου δὲ σεπτοῦ σοῦ κατίσχυσε χρόνος
καὶ πρὸς φθορὰν ἤνεγκεν ἀστάτως ῥέων

πανδαμάτωρ χρόνος: this expression, first attested at *Bacchyl.*, *Epinicia* 13.168, occurs quite frequently in the Palatine Anthology (e.g. *AP* XVI,275.2 and *AP.App.* II,163.7). In the twelfth century, it recurs only at the verse *vita* of Oppian by Constantine Manasses.⁶²⁵ Finally, it is worth mentioning that a post-Byzantine inscription (a. 1856) reads as follows: Ὁ πανδαμάτωρ χρόνος ὁ τρώγων πάντα.⁶²⁶ Note also that the word ‘πανδαμάτωρ’ is applied to the emperor John II Komnenos at *carm.hist.* XVIII.

7. ἐντεῦθεν ... ἀφθαρσίαν: cf. *Philes, Carm.* II 66.4: Καὶ τῷ γένει βλύσασα τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν.

9. εὖνου καρδίας recurs at *carm.hist.* LXXIII 6.⁶²⁷

14. ἀνταγόρασον σαῖς λιταῖς: cf. *H* no. 164 v. 4: ἐξαγόρασον ταῖς λιταῖς σου, παρθένε; this is a dedicatory epigram for a depiction of the Theotokos commissioned by George of Antioch. Hörandner has listed the particular poem under Prodromos’ dubious works.⁶²⁸ More recently, Andreas Rhoby has attributed it to Manganeios Prodromos.⁶²⁹ However, the similarity of wording between the two epigrams leaves no doubt that it was penned by Prodromos.

⁶²⁵ COLONNA, *De Oppiani Vita antiquissima* 38 (v. 28).

⁶²⁶ MANGO – ŠEVČENKO, *Some Churches* 247.

⁶²⁷ The ProdrOMIC authorship of this poem has been questioned; see RHOBY, *Zur Identifizierung* 196 (hence, this expression speaks in favour of the ProdrOMIC authorship).

⁶²⁸ HÖRANDNER, *Historische Gedichte* 57.

⁶²⁹ RHOBY, *Zur Identifizierung* 177–178 no. 65.

Commentary

(keywords: poet=donor, renovation of icons)

This dedicatory epigram, which commemorates the renovation of a portable icon of the Theotokos, unfolds in a somewhat typical manner:⁶³⁰ in the first eight verses we are told that all-taming Time has threatened to ruin the beauty of the icon. Thereupon the poet, inspired by the concept of slavery, employs pertinent vocabulary and similes (e.g. δούλην φύσιν/ἀπημπολήθης). Although the Virgin Mary – in giving birth to the Son of God – saved the ‘enslaved nature’ (i.e. the mortals), she is now sold in a market like a slave. The transition to the second part of the poem is indicated with the word ἀλλ’, extending from v. 9–12. Here the donor, who probably is Prodhromos himself, states that he bought and renovated the icon due to his fervent feelings for the Virgin Mary. In return, he asks to be granted redemption from his sins.

Although not explicitly stated in the epigram, the renovation of the icon seems to include the repainting of the depiction of the Theotokos. Such is deduced from the three opening verses of the epigram. However, the epigram does neither confirm nor discards the possibility that the wood of the icon was also replaced. Whatever the answer, it is true that the replacement of the wood of an icon seems to be particularly popular in the twelfth century. Two icons depicting the Five Martyrs of Sebasteia (dated 15 March 1197) and St. Panteleimon from the Lavra Monastery bear invaluable witness to this.⁶³¹ Indeed, according to the *Typika* for the Komnenian monasteries of the *Pantokrator* and the *Kosmosoteira*,⁶³² the practice seems to be operating much earlier. Additionally, according to an epigram by Nicholas Kallikles, John II Komnenos brought to Constantinople, after a campaign, an icon of Christ which he renovated with gold and precious stones and subsequently offered to the Pantokrator Monastery.⁶³³

Apart from Prodhromos’ and Kallikles’ epigrams, a considerable number of others commemorating the conservation of portable icons survive in the Marcan Anthology. To begin with, two epigrams refer to the conservation of two icons depicting Ss Petros and Paul

⁶³⁰ For the structure of the inscriptional dedicatory epigrams see RHOBY, Dedicatory epigrams 316; Spingou has proposed a similar structure on the basis of the dedicatory epigrams preserved in Marcanus 524; see SPINGOU, Marcanus 183–195.

⁶³¹ CHATZEDAKES, Χρονολογημένη βυζαντινή εικόνα 225–240.

⁶³² These two sources have already been noticed by Spingou and Drpić; see SPINGOU, Marcanus 239 and DRPIĆ, Kosmos of Verse 117 respectively.

⁶³³ For the epigram see now VASSIS, Das Pantokratorkloster von Konstantinopel in der byzantinischen Dichtung 221–224.

respectively.⁶³⁴ These were commissioned by a certain Paul, abbot of the Moglena Monastery situated in the region of Moglena in what is now the village Chryse, in Pella, west Macedonia.⁶³⁵ It has been suggested that Peter was the successor to St. Hilarion, bishop of the episcopal see of Moglena, who, between 1134 and his death in 1166, established a Monastery, which upon his death was likely to have been named after him.⁶³⁶ Another epigram commemorating the restoration of an icon of the Theotokos was commissioned by a certain Vardas Liparites.⁶³⁷ Having researched the family of Liparites, Werner Seibt has placed him in the third quarter of the twelfth century.⁶³⁸

Epigram no. 86 was commissioned by a certain Euphemia Kleronomos for an *encheirion* for a triple-lamp attached to an icon of the Theotokos that she had renovated, on the occasion of her taking the monastic habit.⁶³⁹ The next epigram celebrates the restoration of an icon depicting the three youths.⁶⁴⁰ The donor of this restoration appears to be Andronikos Kamateros, the author of the so-called *Sacred Arsenal*. This unpublished work of great importance is transmitted in ten manuscripts, dating from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries.⁶⁴¹ In two manuscripts, the text is transmitted together with an iambic poem of 102 verses written by George Skylitzes, at the same time it functions as an introduction to the content of the *Sacred Arsenal*.⁶⁴² More recently, Rhoby has suggested that George Skylitzes could also be the author of this dedicatory epigram.⁶⁴³ Since the *Sacred Arsenal* is dated to around 1173, the introductory poem of Skylitzes should be placed around the same period. The same applies, in all likelihood, to this particular epigram. In support of this claim, we may note that it makes mention of the fact the Kamateros holds the office of *megas droungarios tes biglas* which he acquired at a later stage of his career.⁶⁴⁴

The title of the next epigram leaves no doubt as to its original function (Εἰς εἰκόνα τοῦ ἁγίου μεγαλομάρτυρος Γεωργίου ἀνακαινισθεῖσαν παρὰ τοῦ Μιχαήλ τοῦ Τατικίου).⁶⁴⁵ Nothing is known about Michael Tatikios; he could be a descendant of Tatikios who was

⁶³⁴ See LAMBROS nos. 43 and 44. For the second epigram see also SPINGOU, Marcianus 187.

⁶³⁵ See TIB 11 (forthcoming).

⁶³⁶ See SPINGOU, Marcianus 201–202.

⁶³⁷ For the text see LAMBROS no. 64; for an English translation of the epigram see SPINGOU, Marcianus 177.

⁶³⁸ See SEIBT, Liparites 127.

⁶³⁹ LAMBROS no. 86 [SPINGOU no. 88]. For an English translation and annotations see also RHOBY, *Structure of Dedicatory epigrams* 323–324.

⁶⁴⁰ LAMBROS no. 97 [SPINGOU no. 99].

⁶⁴¹ BUCOSI, Georgios Skylitzes 38.

⁶⁴² *Ibid.* 37–50.

⁶⁴³ RHOBY, *Zur Identifizierung* 179–189.

⁶⁴⁴ BUCOSI, Georgios Skylitzes 37.

⁶⁴⁵ LAMBROS no. 99 [SPINGOU no. 101].

Alexios' comrade-in-arms.⁶⁴⁶ In addition to the epigrams from the Marcian Anthology, we might note that Theodore Balsamon penned two epigrams for the restoration of two icons depicting the Theotokos and St. Tryphon in the Tryphon Monastery.⁶⁴⁷

Two conclusions can be drawn based on the above-mentioned evidence. Firstly, the production of dedicatory epigrams on restored icons begins and flourishes in the twelfth century, whereas it appears to decrease at the threshold of the thirteenth century (in that the death of Theodore Balsamon has been placed slightly after 1195).⁶⁴⁸ Secondly, Kallikles and Prodromos' epigrams are the earliest witnesses to this practice. More importantly, Prodromos appears to be not only the author of the epigram, but also the donor of the renovated icon. That is indeed the only example where Prodromos' name is connected to an object of art.

⁶⁴⁶ SKOULATOS, *Les Personnages Byzantins de l'Alexiade* 287–292.

⁶⁴⁷ *Theod. Bals.*, carm. XXXIII and XXXV.

⁶⁴⁸ HORNA, *Theodoros Balsamon* 169.

No. 10 (H 132)

I

Εἰς τὴν σταύρωσιν ἡρώοι στίχοι

- Μὴ σὺ γε, ἀγριόθυμε, τετρήνεια ἀγνὰ θεοῖο
 δάκτυλα· μὴ σὺ χολῆς πικρὸν ἐντύνειαι κρητῆρα
 χεῖλεσι παμμεδέοντος, μὴ δὲ σὺ δουρὸς ἀκωκῆ
 πλευρὰν ἀκηράτην οὐτάσσει. Ἦ σὺ μὲν οὕτα
 5 καὶ σὺ δὲ χεῖρα τέτραινε, χολὴν δὲ σὺ αὖτε κέραιρε,
 ὥς γὰρ ἐγὼν Αἴδαο φύγω γένυν, ἢ πρό με μάρψεν.

V f. 30^r Pi f. 320^r | Th. 531

tit. Εἰς τὴν σταύρωσιν ἡρώοι στίχοι V: τοῦ κυρίου Θεοδώρου τοῦ φιλοσόφου καὶ Προδρόμου στίχοι ἡρωικοὶ εἰς τὴν σταύρωσιν Pi || 2 πίκρον Pi

I

Hexameters on the Crucifixion

O savage [soldier], do not pierce the sublime fingers of God! Do not supply the bowl of bitter gall to the lips of the Ruler of Rulers! Do not wound the undefiled ribs with the point of the lance! But then, you may wound [my ribs] [5] and pierce my hand and moreover mix the gall, for I will flee from the jaws of Hades, before he snatches me away.

Notes on the text:

1–4: cf. *Ioh.* 19,29/34 and *tetrast.* 229a3.

1. **ἀγριόθυμε**: cf. *LBG* ('von wilder Gesinnung, mit wildem Sinn'); the word is applied to βαρβαρίς at *carm.hist.* VIII 51, while in the poetic works of Gregory of Nazianzus and John Geometres to the demons.⁶⁴⁹

2–3 **χολῆς πικρὸν ἐντύνειαι κρητῆρα**: cf. *Mich. Psell., Orat. Hagiogr.* 3b.155–156: μεστὸν χολῆς κρατῆρα τούτῳ κεράσαντες.

3. **παμμεδέοντος**: for the word see D'AMBROSI, Teodoro Prodromo 251 (s.v. παμμεδέων). This particular epithet is used of Christ in poems composed before, as well as after Prodromos' time (e.g. *AP* XV,40.40: Χριστὸν παμμεδέοντα κασίγνηταί τε ἔται τε and *Theod. Metoch., Carm.* XVIII.362: ἡμετέρῳ νύ τ' ἄνακτι παμμεδέοντι Χριστῷ).

⁶⁴⁹ VAN OPSTALL, Jean Géomètre 194.

δουρὸς ἀκωκῇ: a Homeric expression (e.g. *Il.*10.373/*Il.*11.253/*Il.*16.323) reappearing in the same *sedes* of the verse at *carm.hist.* II 53.

4. πλευρὰν ἀκηράτην οὐτάσσει: cf. *Io.Maurop.*, *Canones* III,236–7: καὶ τὴν ἀκήρατον ἐλογχεύθης σου πλευρὰν [...] and *AP.App.* I 370,2: ἐξ ἀκηράτου Λόγου πλευρᾶς ῥυέντος. The same wording is encountered in a verse inscription on a reliquary for Holy Blood, now to be found in the Tesoro di San Marco in Venice (v. 2: πλευρᾶς Ῥυέντος ἐξ ἀκηράτου Λόγου).⁶⁵⁰

6. Ὡς ... μάρψεν: faintly reminiscent of *Fragm. Adesp.* 208: ἐμπεδὴς γαμόρος μάρψεν Αἰδης. But it is more likely that Theodore knew the verse from *Hsch.* 2425.

⁶⁵⁰ See RHOBY, *Byzantinische Epigramme*, II, no. Me 83.

Εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ ὅμοιοι

II

Πνοὴν πνοιοδότης μὲν ἐρεύγεται ἐνθάδ' Ἰησοῦς·
 μήτηρ δ' ἀγνοτόκεια νέκυν στοναχίζεται υἱά,
 ἀγνός δ' αὖθ' ἐτέρωθε δάκρυ σταλάησι μνητής,
 δεξιτερῇ βαλέων φίλον κάρα· θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι.

V f. 30^r Pi f. 320^r

tit. εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ ὅμοιοι V Pi || 2 νέκυν om. Pi | υἱά Pi || 3 ἐτέρωσε Pi

II

On the same subject

Here Jesus, the giver of breath, yields his last breath. His mother, who gave immaculate birth, bewails her dead son, while, on the other side [of the cross], the unalloyed disciple in tears points with his right hand to the beloved head of Christ! A wonder to behold!⁶⁵¹

Notes on the text:

1–4: cf. *Ioh.* 19,26.

1. **πνοιοδότης** is a Prodromic *hapax legomenon* recurring twice in his work (cf. *LBG* ‘der Atem gibt’); yet, it defines two different words: here, it is employed as an epithet of Christ, while, in the hexametric poem on Basil of Caesarea (H 120^c), Prodromos uses it as an epithet of the word ἀήρ (cf. *LBG*).

2. **μήτηρ δ' ἀγνοτόκεια**: there are numerous variations of this expression in the work of Prodromos: e.g. *tetrast.* 186b4: κούρη θ' ἀγνοτόκεια and *carm.hist.* VIII 46: παρθένον ἀγνοτόκειαν.

3. **μνητής**: a second testimony to this rare word can be found at *carm.hist.* LXXIX 44; Kambylis translated the word as *Lehrer* (‘teacher’).⁶⁵² More recently, with reference to the present poem, Hörandner argued quite convincingly that it means ‘disciple’.⁶⁵³

⁶⁵¹ Transl. in MAGUIRE, *Image and Imagination* 20, slightly modified.

⁶⁵² For his comments on the word see KAMBYLIS, *Prodromea* 121–122.

⁶⁵³ For his comments on the word and his well-found argument see HÖRANDNER, *Prodromos and the City* 61.

4. δεξιτερῇ ... ἰδέσθαι: Maguire maintained that the epigram was purported to be inscribed on a depiction representing St. John with inclined head. Accordingly, he translated the last verses as “casting his beloved head to his right”.⁶⁵⁴ However, I would be more inclined to consider the phrase “φίλον κάρα” as an allusion not to John but to the Crucified. Therefore, in the depiction which Prodomos had in mind John does not incline his head but points to Christ with his right hand.

θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι: the poetic work of Prodomos abounds with this Homeric phrase (e.g. *carm.hist.* VI 87 and VIII 121; *tetrast.* 127b3).

⁶⁵⁴ MAGUIRE, *Image and Imagination* 20.

Commentary

(keywords: crucifixion, for the same depiction?)

The subject-matter of the Crucifixion is treated once more in Prodomos' tetrastichs on the Old and New Testaments.⁶⁵⁵ Indeed, the dodecasyllabic tetrastich was later inscribed on a fifteenth-century icon of the Crucifixion, now to be found in Moscow.⁶⁵⁶ Nevertheless, although dozens of dodecasyllabic epigrams treat the scene of the Crucifixion, there are only a small number of hexametric epigrams on this subject. Aside from the present poem and the hexametric poem from the tetrastichs on the Old and New Testaments, I only know of one poem ascribed to Anastasios Quaestor, the so-called "Stammerer".⁶⁵⁷

The *lemma* 'on the same subject' placed directly before the second epigram allows the contemporary reader to determine with certainty that they are two separate epigrams on the Crucifixion. Even though the Crucifixion is the subject-matter of both epigrams, the depiction we envisage after reading both of them is not quite the same. In the first epigram, Prodomos focuses on the soldier who pierces Christ's fingers, proffers him gall of vinegar, and thrusts the lance into his side, while, in the second, the poet provides us with the following description: Christ upon the cross flanked by the Virgin Mary and St. John.

A question arises as to the method of composition for these two epigrams: Given that Theodore reckoned with a pictorial composition, did he have the same scene of the Crucifixion before him (yet treating it from a different perspective), or two separate images at the time he penned these two epigrams? Was he inspired by a single depiction of the crucifixion or by two completely different ones?

This, to be sure, is a difficult question, but I consider that both scenarios are equally likely. Admittedly, most of the Byzantine depictions of the Crucifixion involve all the features that these two epigrams refer to.⁶⁵⁸ Yet, there are iconographic equivalents of the

⁶⁵⁵ Cf. *tetrast.* 229a–b. It is interesting to note that there is also a third quatrain on the Crucifixion listed by Hörandner under the dubious works of Prodomos (H no. 179). Hörandner has noted that the epigram is transmitted in the fourteenth-century manuscript Esc. R-III-17 (see HÖRANDNER *Historische Gedichte* 61). The Prodomic authorship of the poem seems, nonetheless, rather unlikely. Henry Maguire has noticed that the poem was copied by a twelfth-century scribe in an eleventh-century manuscript now to be found in the University Library at Salamanca (MS. 2722, fol. 11^v). Indeed, he published the poem; see MAGUIRE, *Image and Imagination* 21. More recently, Marc Lauxtermann has pointed out that the poem is also preserved in Vat. Urb. 120 (s. XIII ex. fol. 2^v) and Athous Dion. 264 (s. XVII, fol. 337^v); On the basis of the *lemma* of the latter manuscript (τοῦ Μελιτηνῆ), Lauxtermann has attributed the poem to John of Melitene; see LAUXTERMANN, *Byzantine Poetry* 315.

⁶⁵⁶ See RHOBY, *Byzantinische Epigramme*, II, no. Ik 48 (with bibliography).

⁶⁵⁷ On the life of Anastasios see LAUXTERMANN, *Three Biographical Notes* 391–405, esp. 401–405. For the text of the poem see *AP* XV,28. For further annotations on the poem see LAUXTERMANN, *Byzantine Poetry* 110–111.

⁶⁵⁸ For the iconography of Crucifixion see *ODB* I 555 and GRONDIJS, *Du crucifié mort sur la croix*.

first epigram. One such example is a miniature from the so-called “Theodore Psalter” (Lond. add. 19352, fol. 87^v) representing the crucified Christ with a spearman. Simultaneously, there are numerous depictions representing Christ flanked by the Virgin Mary and St. John the Evangelist, to name but two indicative examples: a ninth-century icon from Mount Sinai,⁶⁵⁹ or a painting commissioned by the hermit St. Neophytos towards the end of the twelfth century.⁶⁶⁰

The two epigrams display a further significant difference. In the first epigram, Christ is described alive, since in v. 6 he explicitly states that he will escape from the jaws of Hades. On the contrary, in the second epigram, He is already dead upon the cross. One could, of course, argue that the living Christ is merely a poetic device; perhaps a sort of *ethopoiia*, employed by Prodromos, in order for him to endow the epigram with vividness. In the same vein, for example, in an epigram on the Cross penned by John Geometres, Christ appears to be the narrator of the poem.⁶⁶¹ At the same time, provided that they were written for two different depictions of the crucifixion, it cannot be excluded that the first epigram corresponds to a depiction which represents Christ still alive on the cross. In favour of this argument we may note that the representation of the dead Christ prevails in Byzantine iconography of the Crucifixion only from the last years of the ninth century. Before that time, the type of the living Christ was in exclusive use.⁶⁶² Although it is difficult to believe that the first epigram describes a type of icon that ceased to exist roughly two hundred years before Prodromos, it cannot be completely ruled out.

To sum up, these two epigrams raise numerous questions about the method that Prodromos followed in their composition. Regrettably, there are no definite answers. Neither the lemma nor the manuscripts offers evidence as to their original occasion of composition. Accordingly, they should be classified as ‘literary epigrams’, although the word ἐνθάδ’ in the opening verse of the second epigram suggests that they were meant to serve as inscriptions.

⁶⁵⁹ MAGUIRE, *Image and Imagination* fig. 9. This icon also bears a metrical inscription; see RHOBY, *Byzantinische Epigramme*, II, no. Ik 1 (with bibliography).

⁶⁶⁰ MAGUIRE, *Image and Imagination* fig. 13.

⁶⁶¹ CRAMER, *Bibliothecae Regiae Parisiensis* IV 297.

⁶⁶² MARTIN, *The Dead Christ* 189–196.

No. 11 (H 133)

- Ἥδὺς ποταμὸς ὁ προκείμενος λόγος·
 ἡδὺς ποταμός, ἀλλὰ δύσβατος λίαν·
 ῥεῖθρον γὰρ ἐκχεῖ, καρδίας καθηδύνων,
 Ἀτλαντικὸν πέλαγος, Βοσπόρου πλάτος.
5 Διψῶν πιεῖν δραμοῦμαι καὶ λαβεῖν κόρον·
 τὸ ρεῦμα φρικτόν, πομφόλυγες ἐκ βάθους,
 φλοῖστος πολὺς ἐκ τούτου, τοῦτό μοι φόβος·
 διπλῇ μερίμνῃ τήκομαι, καὶ τί πάθω;
 Ἔλκει μὲν ἔνθα δίψα συντήκουσά με
10 θέλοντα πιεῖν, ἐκ δὲ θατέρου μέρους
 ὁ τοῦ βυθοῦ με πάλιν ἀνθέλκει φόβος.
 Τί γοῦν δράσω; Λαλεῖτε πρὸς τοῦ κυρίου,
 ἄθροισμα σεπτὸν καὶ φίλη ξυναυλία.
 Οὐ πρὸς κόρον πίοιμι καὶ καθυγράνω
15 ψυχὴν ἐμὴν τακεῖσαν ἐξ ἁμαρτίας,
 αὐχμῶσαν ἐν στερήσει τῶν θείων λόγων;
 Οὐκ ἂν θέλουσι συμμετασχεῖν πλησμίως
 ἡμῖν παρέξω καὶ καθηδύνω φρένας;
 Ναί, σαῖς γὰρ εὐχαῖς προστιθῶ τὴν ἐλπίδα,
20 καὶ σοι θαρρῶν εἴσειμι τόνδε τὸν πόνον.
 Σύ δ' ἄλλ' ἀναστὰς εὐλόγει μοι τὸν λόγον.

W f. 54^v N f. 97^v–98^f | Pa. 178–179

tit. τοῦ αὐτοῦ (i.e. Θεοδώρου Προδρόμου) W N Pa. || **1** vers. om. N Pa. || **3** vers. legi non potest in W || **4** ἀτλαντικοῦ Pa. || **5** διψῶ W | πιεῖν] ποιεῖν N | δραμοῦμαι] αἰροῦμαι W Pa. || **6** πομφόλυγες W || **7** τοῦτό μοι] τις ἐμοὶ N Pa. || **8** διπλῇ μερίδι N : Ἐν πλημμυρίδι Pa. || **9** ἐνθεν Pa. || **10** ποιεῖν N || **12** τοῦ κυρίου] τοὺς οὐρανοὺς Pa. || **13** συναυλία N Pa. || **17** πλησμίαν N : πλησμίας Pa. || **18** ὑμῖν Pa. || **21** μου Pa.

The present discourse is a sweet-watered river; a sweet-watered river, yet extremely difficult for a man to walk therein, for it pours forth a stream that is a delight of the heart [similar to] an Atlantic Ocean, the width of the Bosphorus. **[5]** But since I am thirsty I hasten to drink and slake my thirst. The stream of the river [is] frightful, bubbling from the depths, much surge [comes] from it [i.e. the river]; this [causes] me fear. I am wasted away by a double anguish, and what do I suffer? The thirst that wastes me away drags me thither, **[10]** wanting to drink; but instead, the fear of the deep bottom draws me once more to the opposite direction; what shall I do? Speak before Christ, holy assembly and beloved communion! Shall I not drink with insolence and **[15]** moisten my soul, which was dissolved by sin, which shrivelled, deprived of divine words? Even if some are not willing to partake copiously [of it], shall I not provide [it] to us and delight our hearts? Certain yes, for I will impose hope upon your

prayers, [20] and having gained courage from you I enter into this pain. But you [i.e. priest] stand up and bless for me the discourse.

Notes on the text:

1. Ἦδὺς ... λόγος: cf. *Philes, Carm.* V 7.177: Ἄλλος ποταμὸς ὁ προκείμενος λόγος; It is of interest that the specific poem of Philes is also a recited metrical preface.⁶⁶³

Ἦδὺς ποταμὸς: some later epigrams open with the similar word combination Ἦδὺ τὸ ρεῖθρον.⁶⁶⁴

4. Ἀτλαντικὸν ... πλάτος is repeated slightly different in the Prodromic poem “Against a lustful old woman”: Ἀτλαντικὸν πέλαγος, Αἰγαῖον βάθος (v. 9),⁶⁶⁵ in order for Theodore to compare the immense lust of the old woman with the boundless extent of the Atlantic and the enormous depth of the Aegean sea.

5. κόρον: Prodromos meditates extensively on the concept of surfeit at *R&D* V 144–162. For a pertinent use of the concept, compare no. 18 (especially the first and the third epigrams).

Διπλῇ μερίμνῃ the origins of this expression can be traced back to the Greek tragedians; cf. *Aesch. Pers.* 165: ταῦτά μοι διπλῇ μέριμν’ ἄφραστός ἐστιν ἐν φρεσίν and *Eur. Orest.* 633: διπλῆς μερίμνης διπτύχους ἰὼν ὁδοῦς.

12–13. λαλεῖτε ... ξυναυλία: the delivery of the poem before a church congregation becomes explicitly clear at this point of the poem.⁶⁶⁶ For further evidence in support of this complicated and stimulating practice, one can also refer to the titles of some poems penned by Manganeios Prodromos for Irene the Sevastokratorissa.⁶⁶⁷

φίλῃ ξυναυλία: the phrase is also to be found in a poem of Nikephoros Ouranos dedicated to Symeon Metaphrastes: Ἄλλ’ ὃ γλυκεῖα καὶ φίλῃ ξυναυλία (v. 34).⁶⁶⁸

⁶⁶³ See ANTONOPOULOU, Recited Metrical Prefaces 63.

⁶⁶⁴ See ICB 301.

⁶⁶⁵ MIGLIORINI, Teodoro Prodromo 3; cf. also his comments on this verse on p. 12.

⁶⁶⁶ See ANTONOPOULOU, Recited Metrical Prefaces 63.

⁶⁶⁷ All three poems fall into the category of the recited metrical prefaces. The *lemmata* of the poems read as follows: 1. οἱ παρόντες στίχοι ἀνεγνώσθησαν ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ οἴκου τῆς σεβαστοκρατορίσσης, ἐν τῷ τοιοῦτῳ ναῷ καὶ ἑορταζομένης καὶ τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου τῆς Ὁδηγητρίας. Manganeios’ poem was read out in the church of the *oikos* of the *sebastokratorissa*, when the [feast of] the holy Theotokos the Hodegetria was also being celebrated in the same church (Manganeios, *Poems*, 72) 2. Καὶ οὗτοι ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ναῷ ἀνεγνώσθησαν. These were also read out in the same church (Manganeios, *Poems*, 73) and 3. Καὶ οὗτοι ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ναῷ καὶ διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπόθεσιν. These too in the same church and on the same subject (Manganeios, *Poems*, 72). On these poems see ANTONOPOULOU, Recited Metrical Prefaces 64–65. See also Manganeios’ poems nos. 67–69 and 103.

⁶⁶⁸ MERCATI, Niceforo Uranos 126–134, esp. 131.

15. **ψυχὴν ... ἁμαρτίας:** cf. *AHG May* 4,32–33: τὴν ψυχὴν μου τακεῖσαν τῆς ἁμαρτίας φλογμῷ.

20–21. **καὶ ... λόγον:** the poem concludes with an address to the officiating priest to bless the oration he will deliver.⁶⁶⁹

⁶⁶⁹ For parallels see ANTONOPOULOU, *Recited Metrical Prefaces* 58.

Commentary

(keywords: “river motif”, oral performance, poet=donor)

This untitled epigram is the second work of Prodnomos intended to introduce the reading of a homily.⁶⁷⁰ Yet, in the absence of any hints in the epigram, we cannot draw any conclusions about its identity. Regrettably, the manuscript tradition of the epigram is of no help as both manuscripts containing the epigram transmit it separately from the homily.

Theodore states repeatedly throughout the epigram that the homily is akin to a river full of sweetness but all the while inaccessible. In doing so, he apparently strives to emphasize that the theme of the homily was very difficult to expound. The use of the ‘river motif’ is particularly interesting because it implies intertextual links – both direct and indirect – with poems composed before, during and even after Prodnomos’ lifetime. The image of the river-crossing (conveyed explicitly in the second verse of the Prodnomic poem) is to be found in Gregory of Nazianzus’ poem ‘On Rational Natures’ where he contemplates the nature of the angels. Therein, Gregory compares himself to a traveller who attempts to cross a raging stream (cf. *Greg.Naz., Arc.* 630–635). It is highly likely that Prodnomos employed this image after having read the latter poem. In support of this supposition, we may note that Theodore was very familiar with the *Poemata Arcana*, as in his work there are no less than 12 *loci paralleli*.⁶⁷¹

Another parallel use of the motif can be found within the poetic output of the contemporary poet Manganeios Prodnomos. As we have seen earlier, Manganeios has composed a good number of ‘metrical prefaces’.⁶⁷² One of them bears the title ‘On a reading of St. Gregory the Theologian’. Moreover, on the basis of vv. 15–18, it has been argued that it was meant to introduce Gregory’s oration no. 19 (*ad Iulianum exaequatorem*).⁶⁷³ More importantly, vv. 6–15 of that epigram bear overt resemblance to the Prodnomic epigram and thereby they are worth citing in their entirety:⁶⁷⁴

τὸν Ἐφράτην ῥέοντα τὸν μέγαν δέχου,
σχοίνισμα σεμνὸν τῆς φιλοίκτου παρθένου·
πλὴν ἀλλὰ πρόσχευς μὴδὲ χανδὸν ἐκρόφα,
μὴδ’ ἐμποροῦ ῥεύματος ἀλλὰ ῥανίδος
κἂν γὰρ λαμυρὸς ἦ τις ἀλλὰ καὶ βρίθει,
καὶ πίνει μὴ πίδακας ἀλλὰ σταγόνας,

⁶⁷⁰ Hörandner earlier described it as “Vorwort zu einem theologischen Werk”; see HÖRANDNER, *Historische Gedichte* 48.

⁶⁷¹ See ZAGKLAS, Theodore Prodnomos: reading, eulogizing, and imitating the poetic work of Gregory of Nazianzus (in progress).

⁶⁷² See ANTONOPOULOU, *Recited Metrical Prefaces* 63–65.

⁶⁷³ *Ibid.* 63–64.

⁶⁷⁴ *Manganeios* [Miller] 45, vv. 6–13.

μη καὶ καταγχοῆς, πλημμυρεῖ γὰρ ὁ ξέως,
καὶ τῷ γλαφυρῷ συγκαλύπτει τὸ γρῖφον·

Manganeios, as with Prodromos, likens Gregory's homily to a river, albeit the latter likens it in particular to the Euphrates. This is, arguably, an effective medium for emphasizing that the homilies teem with various implications, while both of them are followed by words of exhortation for moderation in the consumption of 'water'. After Prodromos and Manganeios, the specific metaphor was re-employed in a few 'metrical prefaces' penned by Manuel Philes.⁶⁷⁵ This is perhaps an indication that the thirteenth-century poet was familiar with the 'metrical prefaces' written by his two predecessors.

Furthermore, on the basis of v. 13, where the congregation of a church is explicitly addressed, it has been suggested that the epigram was delivered by Prodromos in the church attached to the Orphanotropheion where he spent his final years after having being infected by smallpox.⁶⁷⁶ This would hardly be surprising, since, as I have shown above, the original function of the six hexametric epigrams (no. 1) is also closely connected with the church of St. Paul. In following Antonopoulou's suggestion, reading the poem meticulously, and excluding the idea that it was commissioned by a donor, it can be further assumed that Prodromos is not only the author and the narrator of the verse preface, but also of the homily the present poem meant to introduce. This would explain why Theodore does not fail to express his constant anguish for undertaking such a rugged task. In other words, it is hardly likely that he would exhibit so much reluctance and hesitation, if the homily that he was about to read out was not a product of his own pen.

However hypothetical this scenario, it cannot be ruled out, especially when considering that some of Prodromos' writings display strong theological inclinations. For example, his commentaries on the Kanons of Cosmas the melodist and John Damascenus, the life of St. Meletios the Younger, and the innumerable religious epigrams. What is more, whereas elsewhere I will argue that poem no. LIX, against a certain Barys, who accused him of favouring heretical views, seems to be an *ethopoiia* based on Nazianzus' poems and ideas,⁶⁷⁷ it cannot be completely excluded that Prodromos was involved in debates over the theological issues of his time.⁶⁷⁸

⁶⁷⁵ ANTONOPOULOU, Recited Metrical Prefaces 63, esp. note no. 38.

⁶⁷⁶ *Ibid.* 63.

⁶⁷⁷ See ZAGKLAS, Theodore Prodromos: Reading, eulogizing, and imitating the poetic work of Gregory of Nazianzus (in progress).

⁶⁷⁸ It must be noted that a group of literati was involved in theological disputes at that time. Indeed, Browning counted about twenty-five cases of "intellectual heresy" in the course of the Komnenian dynasty; See BROWNING, Enlightenment and Repression 15–19; KAZHDAN – EPSTEIN, Change in Byzantine Culture

More notably, Theodore is not the only example of literati who composed poems as a kind of introduction to one of his homilies. For instance, the eleventh-century poet John Mauropous wrote a series of book epigrams (the so-called programmes) which function as such.⁶⁷⁹ Moreover, three of these epigrams are connected to homilies composed by Mauropous himself: epigram no. 27 is concerned with the homily on the dormition of the Theotokos [no. 183], epigram no. 28, on the angels [no. 177], and epigram no. 95, the second homily on St. George [no. 182]. But unlike Mauropous' case, the task of identifying which homily Prodromos' epigram was meant to introduce is much more difficult, since Prodromos' output does not abound with homiletic works. As a matter of fact, a mere two of the homilies might be written by him, both of them being listed in the group of the dubious works. The first homily (no. H 181) is connected to the feast of St. Peter in chains,⁶⁸⁰ while the second (no. H 182) – still unpublished – treats the procession of the Holy Spirit. On the other hand, the “river motif”, which is very often employed in recited prefaces, meant to introduce homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus may stipulate that Prodromos' epigram was read before the delivery of a Gregorian homily.

158–163; MAGDALINO, Manuel I Komnenos 276 ff; and PODSKALSKY, *Theologie und Philosophie in Byzanz* 116 ff. Some indicative examples are Eustratius of Nicaea, Nikephoros Basilakes, and Michael Glykas (*ODB* II 855–856).

⁶⁷⁹ See KARPOZILOS, Συμβολή στη μελέτη τοῦ βίου καὶ τοῦ ἔργου τοῦ Ἰωάννη Μαυρόποδος 82–85. It has also been pointed out by Antonopoulou; see ANTONOPOULOU, *Recited Metrical Prefaces* 61.

⁶⁸⁰ HÖRANDNER, *Historische Gedichte* 61.

No. 12 (H 142)

Σχετλιαστικοὶ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀτιμίᾳ τοῦ λόγου

- Ἐρρετ' ἐμοῦ βιότοιο ἀπόπροθεν, ἔρρετε, βίβλοι.
 Ἐρρε, πρόπαν μελέδημα παλαιγενέων ἀνθρώπων
 μηκέτ' ἐμοὶ πελάοις, ἄλλους δέ τε δίζεο φώτας.
 Ἐρρετ' Ἀριστοτέλους πολυμήχανα δήνεα τέχνης,
 5 θευλογίη τε Πλάτωνος, ἅπασά τε φιλοσοφίη,
 Ἐμπεδοκλῆος ἄριστα μελήματα, Μοῦσαι Ὀμήρου,
 Μοῦσαι Δημοκρίτοιο, καὶ Ὀρφέος, ὃν τέκε πατήρ
 Ὑάγρος, οὐδ' ἄρα οἱ περὶ ἄσματος ἄλλος ἐρίζοι.
 Οἶχεο, ρήτροσύνη· ἐξοίχεο, ὀρθογραφίη·
 10 ἄλλα θ' ὅσα χθονίοισι λόγῳ ἐπὶ κῦδος ὀπάξει
 ἔρρετε· ἄλλω ἔοιτε μεληδόνοιο ἄξια πολλῆς,
 οὐκ ἐμοί. Ἦ γὰρ ἐγὼ κενεὸν περὶ μόχθον ἀνέτλην,
 ὕμμεσιν ἐμμογέων· τό δ' ἐτώσιος ἔπλετ' ὀϊζύς,
 μαψίδιον τε μέλημα, καὶ ἀπάτη ἀφρονεόντων.
 15 Ἐρρετ' ἐμοῦ βιότοιο ἀπόπροθεν, ἔρρετε, βίβλοι.
 Θυμέ, σὺ δ' ἐκ σοφίης μὲν ἀπέγρεο, οὐκ ἐθέλων περ·
 μηδ' ἄρ' ἐκκτι λόγοιο μέγ' ἄχνησο· μὴ δέ σε λύπη
 θυμοβόρος κρατεῖτω, ἐναυομένη φίλα γυῖα.
 Ἀλλὰ βίβλων τε λόγων τε καὶ ἀτελέος μελεδῶνος,
 20 τηλοῦ ἀποσκεδάξεν· ἀτὰρ θυμέλῃσι μεθίζεν,
 καὶ τε γελωτοπόνοισι παρέξεο, καὶ τε μίμοισι,
 παῖζε δ' ἐν οὐ παικτοῖσι· τὰ γὰρ βροτοὶ ἴσασιν ἄρτι
 τιμᾶν ἀφρονέοντες ἄπιστα δὲ θεσμὰ λόγοιο.
 Εἰ δ' ἄρα μὴ θυμέλῃσι παρέμμεναι ἔσχευ ἐέλδωρ,
 25 ἦσο σιγῇ ἀκέων, πάτον ἀνθρώπων ἀλεείνων,
 μηδ' ἀγορῇ μερόπων πωλέσκεο κυδιανείρη,
 καὶ τάχα δυσβόρους κόσμου προφύγης μελεδῶνας.
 Ἐρρετ' ἐμοῦ βιότοιο ἀπόπροθεν, ἔρρετε, βίβλοι.

V ff. 117^v–118^r P ff. 122^{r-v} N f. 98^v | Th. 195

tit. τοῦ αὐτοῦ (i. e. Θεοδώρου Προδρόμου) σχετλιαστικοὶ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀτιμίᾳ τοῦ λόγου V N : σχετλιαστικοὶ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀτιμίᾳ τοῦ λόγου P || 2 ἔρρετε πάμπαν μελώδημα παλαιγενέων ἀνθρώπων N || 4 δήνεα] μήχεα P || 7 δημοκράτοιο N || 8 ὕγρος N | ἐρίσει N : ἐρίαν P || 11 πολλεῖς P || 12 ἀνέτλην] ἐτλην P || 13 ὕμμεσιν] om. N || τὸ] om. N || 16 ἀπέγρεο] ἀπείργεο P || vers. 17–21 om. N || 18 ἐναγόμενη P || 21 γελωτοπόνοισι P | μίμοισιν P || 22 παικτοῖσι] om. P | βροτὸν N || 23 θερμὰ λογοῖο N : θέσαν τὰ λόγοιο Th. || 24 θυμέλῃσι in marg. P | παρέμμεναι ἔσχευ] ἐνὶ ξέμεν ἔσχευ N || 25 ἐλεείνων N || 27 προφύγης μελεδῶνας] προσφύγησθα μερίμνας N

Verses of lamentation on the devaluation of learning

Depart from my life; away, [my] books! Go away, every learning of humans born long ago! Approach me not again, but seek after other men. Depart versatile wiles of Aristotle's Art, [5] [depart] Plato's Theology, and all Philosophy, excellent playthings of Empedocles, Muses of Homer, Muses of Democritus, and of Orpheus, whom [his] father, Oeagrus, begot, and with whom those involved with hymns do not vie. Flee, Rhetoric! Leave, Orthography! [10] Together with all arts which, through words, bring glory to mortals, begone! You may be deserving of much learning for someone else, but not me! For, truly, I have suffered in vain. I suffered because of you, worthless wailing, false anguish, and deception of the foolish ones. [15] Depart from my life; away, [my] books! O my spirit, you were severed from wisdom, albeit unwillingly. Neither grieve beyond measure on account of the Learning! Nor being seized by your soul-consuming grief, which burns the beloved limbs. Reversely, retreat far away from books, discourses, [20] and never-ending suffering. Take a seat beside the entertainers of dancing and singing, and sit close to the jesters and mimes, play their games but take nothing seriously! For foolish mortals have now learned to honour the treacherous rules of learning. But if you have no desire to be by the entertainers of dancing and singing, [25] [then] say naught, and shun the paths of men, never proceed to places of gatherings, where men win glory, and you will perhaps eschew the very consuming sufferings of the world! Depart from my life; away, [my] books! ⁶⁸¹

Notes on the text:

1. Ἔρρετ' ... βίβλοι: Theodore opens his poem with a direct address to his books, bidding them to leave him alone. The opening verse, reappearing twice in the remainder of the poem (in 15th and final verse) seems to owe much to *Greg. Naz., Carm. II.2.3* [1495] 211: Ἐρρετέ μοι, βίβλοι πολυηχέες· ἔρρετε, Μοῦσαι⁶⁸² and *AP.App* 255.1: Ἔρρε μοι, ὧ τρίτάλαινα Πολύμνια· ἔρρετε, Μοῦσαι.⁶⁸³

The use of the imperative form of ἔρρω in the very first verse of a Prodromic poem is not without parallel, cf. *tetrast.* 165b: Ἔρρετ' ἐμῶν λεχέων ἀπόπροθι, φῦλα γυναικῶν. In the

⁶⁸¹ I have also consulted the English translation in KYRIAKIS, Theodoros Prodrimos and his adversities 80–81.

⁶⁸² Cf. also DEMOEN, *Ad Vitalianum* 436–437.

⁶⁸³ The theme of the latter poem is somehow linked to that of Prodrimos' poem. Therein, Constantine the Sicilian states that his former master, Leo the Philosopher, bids farewell to poetry in order to study rhetoric under the mentorship of Photius; cf. SPADARO, *Sulle composizioni* 175–205; for the authorship of this poem see WESTERINK, *Leo the Philosopher* 193–222, esp. 197.

same vein, his student and faithful imitator, Niketas Eugenianos, begins one of his poems in the following way: Ἐρρετέ μοι ἀπόπροθι ἄνθεα εὐοδμα πάντα.⁶⁸⁴ More importantly, the verse under consideration is akin to vv. 12–13 of poem no. LXXVII, ‘Hexameter verses against illness’, where Theodore asks illness to leave him by making use of numerous imperatives.⁶⁸⁵

2. παλαιγενέων ἀνθρώπων occurs at the same metrical *sedes* at *h.Hom.,h. Cer.* 113: Τίς πόθεν ἔσσι γρηὺς παλαιγενέων ἀνθρώπων.

πρόπαν: I translate it as an epithet of μελέδημα, although it is also attested as an adverb (though not before Maximus Planoudes/cf. *LBG* “völlig, ganz und gar”).

4–9: here, Prodromos refers to the entire spectrum of Greek literature and philosophy, as he enumerates the most highly esteemed classical authors (Aristotle, Plato, Empedocles, Homer, and Democritus), while in v. 9 he explicitly addresses Rhetoric and Orthography. It is clear that Prodromos attempts to demonstrate his profound learning. Theodore refers very frequently to his *paideia*; for instance, in the historical poem no. XXXVII (vv. 50–59), addressed to Anna Komnene, nine verses are dedicated to the description of his education.⁶⁸⁶

πολυμήχανα δήνεα τέχνης is to be found verbatim at *tetrast.* 6b4 (in both cases at the end of the verse).⁶⁸⁷ Of special interest to this phrase is a parallel in *AP* I,10.68: τοξεύσει ἐκάτερθε πολύτροπα δήνεα τέχνης.⁶⁸⁸ Nevertheless, the expression seems to be a conflation of *Od.*10.289 (= πάντα δέ τοι ἐρέω ὀλοφώϊα δήνεα Κίρκης) and the Homeric word *πολυμήχανος*, which is an epithet of Odysseus (first time in *Il.*2.173), meaning ‘inventive’, ‘resourceful’ ‘of many wiles’.⁶⁸⁹

⁶⁸⁴ PAPADIMITRIOU, Prodromos 317 (7b).

⁶⁸⁵ See also BAZZANI, Poem LXXVII 7.

⁶⁸⁶ For further parallels see the section 1.2.

⁶⁸⁷ Cf. also *carm.hist.* XLII 38: δήνεα ῥητροσύνης borrowed later by Euthymios Tornikes; See PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, *Noctes Petropolitanae* 190 v. 53.

⁶⁸⁸ Cf. also *Opp., Hal.* 3,1: Νῦν δ’ ἄγε μοι, κηπτοῦχε, παναίολα δήνεα τέχνης. It is certain that Prodromos knew the work of Oppian. For instance, he quotes some of his verses in his works ‘Xenedemos’ and ‘To the caesar or the color green’; see CRAMER, *Bibliothecarum Oxoniensium* III 215 and 221, respectively. Also, it is worth mentioning that in the *Ptochoprodromika* the author “criticized his family for advising him to read Oppian rather than becoming a baker” (cf. *ODB* III 1525). Around the same time the first Byzantine lives of Oppian were produced: Prodromos’ contemporary author, Constantine Manasses, wrote a verse Vita of Oppian; an anonymous prose Vita of Oppian was also penned at some point in the twelfth century; For their editions see COLONNA, *De Oppiani Vita antiquissima* 33–40. Many other twelfth-century authors were fond of Oppian; see RHOBY, *Zur Identifizierung* 170–171 and LAUXTERMANN, *Poem of Exile* (forthcoming).

⁶⁸⁹ In all likelihood, a subtle reference to rhetoric, as Odysseus is deemed one of the most consummate rhetors in the Greek tradition; see SANDYWELL, *The Beginnings of European Theorizing* 126–128. This has already been pointed out by Nilsson for the use of the word ‘πολύτροπος’ in Prodromos’ poem ‘on the Garden’; see NILSSON, *Byzantine Gardens* 23.

6. Ἐμπεδοκλῆος ἄριστα μελήματα: for Empedocles see p. 344. Whereas Prodromos here praises the works of Empedocles, he belabours harshly his cosmological theory in the poem dedicated to Philia (vv. 53-57). This should not be considered as a discrepancy, but rather as an example of Prodromos' flexibility in using motifs.

9-10. καὶ...ἐρίζοι: by including a reference to Orpheus, Theodore strives to emphasize his deep immersion into poetry.⁶⁹⁰ As for the word Ὑαγρος (according to Greek mythology, he was the father of Orpheus), it is a very rare form – instead of the common Οἶαγρος – otherwise attested only in the work of Arethas (cf. *TLG*).⁶⁹¹

10. κῦδος ὁπάξει: a standard Homeric expression (e.g. *Il.* 8.141/*Il.* 17.566) seen quite frequently in the work of Gregory of Nazianzus (e.g. *Greg. Naz., Carm.* I.1.26 [503] 61 and I.2.2 [609] 388), as well as in the Greek Anthology (e.g. *AP. App.* I 131.4).

13-14. τὸ δ'ἐτώσιος ... μέλημα: the second hemistich of v. 13 is perhaps a subtle reminiscence of the Homeric expression ἐτώσιον ἄχθος ἀρούρης (*Il.* 18.104).⁶⁹² Moreover, these two verses bear very close resemblance to *carm. hist.* XXXVIII 84: μαυιδίη μελεδὼν καὶ ἐτώσιος ὄντα οἰζύς. In fact, the only difference is that they are broken into two verses, pointing to the fact that Theodore recycles the wording in his poetry.

17-18. Λύπη ... γυῖα is a concoction of words taken from Homer. The word θυμοβόρος occurs four times in Homer and always used of ἔρις (cf. *LSJ*).⁶⁹³ On the other hand, the expression ἐναννομένη φίλα γυῖα is modelled on the Homeric φίλα γυῖα λέλυντο (e.g. *Il.* 13.85).⁶⁹⁴

20-21. ἀτὰρ ... μίμοισι: for detailed annotations about Byzantine jesters and mimes see MARCINIAK, *How to Entertain the Byzantines?* (forthcoming); for the Prodromic work, see below.

⁶⁹⁰ Orpheus is used extensively in Byzantine literature as a symbol of poetry; See *ODB* III 1538. The motif is used also in Prodromos' work 'The Plato-lover, or The Tanner' (H 149); see MIGLIORINI, *Gli Scritti Satirici* 70, lines 45-50.

⁶⁹¹ A second reference to Oiagros is to be found in the prose monody for Constantine Hagiotheodorites; *Prodr., Orat.* 37.253.31.

⁶⁹² Besides, this particular Homeric expression is used with exactly the same words at *carm. hist.* LXXVII, 47; for further annotations on this verse see BAZZANI, *Poem LXXVII* 11.

⁶⁹³ The word can also be found in some poems by Gregory of Nazianzus (e.g. *carm.* I.1.9 [459] 35 – as an epithet of κακία– and *carm.* II.1.73 [1421] 10 – as an epithet of πῆμα), as well as in the Planoudean Anthology (e.g. *AP. App.* II 696,14).

⁶⁹⁴ Prodromos' work abounds in a variety of versions for this expression, e.g. *tetrast.* 33b3: ἔρωσ δέ οἱ ἔφλεγε γυῖα and 190b4: φόβος δέ με γυῖα ὑπῆλθεν.

21. καί ... μίμοισι: use of the word *παρέζω* in the same *sedes* of the verse is further evidence for the strong Homeric orientation of the poem (cf. *Il.* 1.407). As for the word *γελωτοπόνος*, it is another well-wrought *hapax* (cf. *LBG* ‘Spaßmacher’), supplanting the common *γελωτοποιός*.

22. παῖζε δ’ ἐν οὐ παικτοῖσι first attested in the work of John Chrysostom (cf. *PGL* s.v. *παικτός*) is a proverbial phrase, at least by Prodromos’ time. It is used extensively from the eighth century onwards, albeit slightly changed, for example, in the epistolographic works of Stoudites and Photius.⁶⁹⁵ Thereafter, it can be found verbatim in Psellos,⁶⁹⁶ while it was particularly cherished by many twelfth-century authors; see, among many examples, the work of Michael Glykas,⁶⁹⁷ Constantine Manasses,⁶⁹⁸ and Eustathius of Thessalonica.⁶⁹⁹ The phrase is used in later authors as well, such as Manuel II Palaeologus, Gregory Palamas, Theodore Metochites (cf. *TLG*).

As for the verse under consideration, the adaptation of the phrase was made in an original manner. In using the imperative form (i.e. *παῖζε*) instead of indicative, Theodore bestows an opposite meaning. It is clear that Prodromos’ intention is to ridicule of the writers and the ‘theatres’ of his time.

23. ἄπιστα δὲ θεσμὰ λόγιοι: by analogy with *R&D* VII 333: ἄθεσμα θεσμὰ δυσμενοῦς τυραννίδος.

παικτοῖσι: the word first recorded in *PGL*, yet wrongly written (*παῖκτος*) was corrected later in *LBG* (‘spielerisch, scherzhaft, zum Spaß’).

ἔσχες ἐέλδωρ recurs at the same metrical *sedes* at *carm.hist.* III 88 and *tetrast.* 162b4.

πάτον ἀνθρώπων ἀλεείνων: a Homeric expression (*Il.* 6.202) particularly fashionable in the twelfth century, e.g. *Io.Tzetz.*, *Epist.* 19.37.2 and *Chil.* VII.868; *Anacharsis* 1325 and *Nic.Choniat.*, *Histor.* 645.9.

26. μηδ’ ... κυδιανείρη: the poet here copies Homer almost word by word, cf. *Il.* 1.490: οὐτέ ποτ’ εἰς ἀγορὴν πωλέσκετο κυδιάνειραν.

⁶⁹⁵ *Theod. Stud.*, *Epist.* 477.687.12: συγγράφεσθαι ἐν οὐ παικτοῖς and *Phot.*, *Epist.* 221.52: οὐδὲ δεῖ σπουδάζειν ἐν παικτοῖς.

⁶⁹⁶ E.g. *Mich.Psel.*, *Theol.* I 17,13 and I 24,74.

⁶⁹⁷ E.g. *Mich.Glyk. Keph.* II 133,10.

⁶⁹⁸ *Const.Manass.*, *Synopsis Chronike* 5008.

⁶⁹⁹ E.g. *Eust.Thessal.*, *Comm. In Hom. Il.* III 797, 27.

Commentary

(keywords: rhetoric of poverty, self-representation, rhetorical *theatra*)

The only scholarly remarks made about this neglected poem are these of Roderic Beaton, in his seminal article ‘The rhetoric of poverty: the lives and opinions of Theodore Prodromos’. In a brief discussion of Prodromic works associated with the so-called ‘rhetoric of poverty’, he describes it as follows:

[...] in the highly elaborate Homeric pastiche in hexameters, ‘Lament for the low prestige of learning’ (MPG 33: 1419-22) the underpaid scholar furiously bids his books farewell, saying he’d be better off watching actors or streetshows. Since he refuses to debase himself so far, there is nothing for him but to sit alone.

Beaton is absolutely correct in saying that the poem is a well-wrought Homeric patchwork. As shown above, whole or partial verses borrowed from Homer are re-employed in a very sophisticated manner. However, Beaton’s brief note does not explain in full the reason that Prodromos fabricated such a Homeric pastiche, or what is its place within the corpus of twelfth-century poems expressing the woes of various authors for the absence of any economic self-sufficiency.

The poet in the opening verse addresses his books, asking them to depart from his life. The reason is that he did not benefit from his purported erudition, which is recapitulated in a very skilful manner in vv. 4–9 by the juxtaposition of some of the most well-known classical authors, such as Aristotle, Plato, Empedocles, Homer, Democritus and Orpheus. His high level of learning is further supplemented by the arts of rhetoric and orthography. There is no doubt that the poet by the ingenious interjection of these six verses succeeds in placing his *paideia* within an “inexpugnable fortress”. In doing so, he bestows an escalating tone of despair and frustration onto the poem, and provides perfect justification for growing anger as well as a hyperbolic reaction.

Thereupon, the poet is induced to keep himself at a distance from never-ending learning and to indulge in places of spectacles replete with dancing and singing entertainers, jesters and mimes. This is not the first time that Prodromos speaks of such performances, usually in the form of subtle references in his work. For instance, in the satirical dialogue “Amarantos, or The erotic desire of an old man” the protagonist’s old teacher of philosophy, Stratocles, is to marry a very young girl. But to Amarantos’ surprise his old august teacher resembles a mime or jester.⁷⁰⁰ Similarly, in his work ‘On those who blaspheme against

⁷⁰⁰ Ἡ παρειὰ δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἐξεστηκόσι τῆς ῥητιδος καὶ τοῖς κυρτώμασι χλωρῷ βαπτομένη τῷ φύκει, ταῖς δὲ εἰσοχαῖς καὶ κοιλίαις τῆς ἀρχαίας ὥχρας τὸ πλέον ἐναποσώζουσα, ἅτε τῷ συμμεμυκῶτι τῶν οἰδημάτων μὴ

Providence on account of poverty' Prodhromos tells us that hideous men who are married to young and beautiful girls also act like mimes or jesters.⁷⁰¹

Aside from these, there are also much more straightforward references to such performances; as, in his poem, 'Verses of Farewell to Byzantium', with its very brief yet insightful description of Constantinople. The queen city is praised, among other things, for its *θέατρον* which, as Hörandner has already pointed out,⁷⁰² should be understood as 'spectacles or places of spectacles'.⁷⁰³ Such references corroborate Roilos' allegation that the resurrection of Satyrion, having committed a fake suicide by plunging a sword into his neck during a banquet thrown by Bryaxes, "reflects the role of actual comic entertainers at the Byzantine court or the 'salons' of the Constantinopolitan aristocracy".⁷⁰⁴

However, are not the Byzantine court and similar 'salons' considered to be equally appropriate places for hosting the so-called 'rhetorical theatra'?⁷⁰⁵ I would be inclined to see a double layered implication in these two verses: first, a reference to these entertaining spectacles held at either court or among the aristocratic entourage, or even in the streets; and second, an indication of these 'rhetorical theatra'. I would even take this one step further by arguing that Theodore's reference to these jesters and mimes insinuates (with a rather ironic tone) some of the contemporary literati.⁷⁰⁶ Otherwise, the narrator's allegation that one should not take these 'spectacles' too seriously – for the people 'have now learned to honour the treacherous rules of learning' – could not be fully justified. In fact, I cannot discern a

καταδῶναι πρὸς τὸ κοῖλον τῆς βαφῆς ὅλης συγχωρουμένης, παγγέλοιόν τινα μίξιν ἀπετέλει ὡχροκοκκίνου. Ἐνούλιστο δὲ ἡ κόμη καὶ ἐπυρρία· τὸ πλέον δὲ τοῦ γενείου ξυρῶ πρὸς τὸ περιφερὲς περιήρητο καὶ ἡ κόρη κόχλω διεμελαινέτο, τοῦτ' οὐκ αἴσιον συλλογισαμένου τοῦ φιλοσόφου· μέλανος γὰρ ἐκεῖθεν τοῦ τῆς λήμης ὕγρου καταρρέοντος, οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν τὸ σόφισμα ἐξελήλεγκτο. (10.5–14 = 86.163–71).

⁷⁰¹ Text in PG 133 1293–1294a: καὶ ὁ μὲν ἄμβλωμα τῆς φύσεως ὦν καὶ τῶν Ἐμπεδοκλείων τεράτων ἀσχημονέστερος, τὸ εἶδος αἰσχροῦ, ἀσβόλου πλήρης τὸ πρόσωπον, ὅποιους ἐν ταῖς σκιναῖς ἀνθρωπίσκους εἰσάγομεν διασκευάζοντες Αἰθιοπικώτερον, ῥυσσὸς τὸ δέρμα [...]. These two passages have been noticed by Roilos; see ROILLOS, *Amphoteroglossia* 279; cf. also CULLHED, *Theodoros Prodhromos in the Garden of Epicurus* (forthcoming).

⁷⁰² HÖRANDNER, *Prodhromos and the City* 56.

⁷⁰³ *Carm.hist.* LXXIX: ἄφοδὰ τ' ἀγορέων τε χάρις καὶ ἡν θέατρον. The word theatre is mentioned twice in the remaining Prodhromic work. First, in the monody of Gregory Kamateros (see *Prodr.*, *Orat.* 36.244.167). And second, in a discourse of thanks to Alexios Aristenos (see *Prodr.*, *Orat.* 31.174.22). In both cases, it seems to signify places of spectacle and amusement.

⁷⁰⁴ R&D IV 226–316; see the discussion in ROILLOS, *Amphoteroglossia* 275 ff. However, Roilos does not note that this scene is actually a novel motif which goes back to Achilles Tatius (cf. *L&K* III.20).

⁷⁰⁵ On 'rhetorical theatra' see MULLETT, *Aristocracy and Patronage* 173–201; MAGDALINO, Manuel I Komnenos; IDEM, *Cultural Change* 33–35; LAUXTERMAN, *Byzantine Poetry* 56; MARCINIAK, *Greek Drama* and IDEM, *Byzantine Theatron* 277–285; STONE, *Euthymios Malakes in Theatron* 55–65; and RHOBY, *Eirene Sebastokratorissa* 305–307. For the Palaeologan period see TOTH, *Rhetorical Theatron in Late Byzantium* 429–448 and GAUL, *Thomas Magistros*.

⁷⁰⁶ It is interesting to note that in the Maiuri poem Prodhromos maintains that Manuel cannot find someone more faithful and devoted than him. However, if the emperor wants, he can replace him with a juggler (cf. *Carm.* [Maiuri] 39–41.)

connection between the concepts of spectacles and of learning, unless the former also bears the implication of a ‘rhetorical theatron’. It might also be noted that v. 26 seems to speak in support of this view. Therein, the narrator, choosing reluctance to approach such theatra, is prompted to eschew these places of gatherings where people seek glory. To be sure, the rhetorical theatra constituted the obvious place for a man of letters to acquire glory by showing off his recondite learning.

A further vital question deserving attention is whether the seemingly strong autobiographical evidence should be taken literally. If the narrator of the poem were to be identified with Prodhomos himself, one could argue that Theodore penned this poem not in the flush of his youth, but rather at an advanced age and completely disappointed. And this because he saw nothing good from his constant preoccupation with learning. For example, it may be argued that he was rewarded with a promotion to a bureaucratic or ecclesiastical office, as were most of the twelfth-century literati/teachers, or that the number of the commissions from the Komnenian court decreased because he allegedly fell out of Manuel’s favour after his succession to the throne in 1143.⁷⁰⁷ Although this seems to be the most plausible circumstance, since the Byzantine poet by including self-referential elements expressed authentic sentiments,⁷⁰⁸ we should not either forget that in Byzantine twelfth-century literature the boundaries between fact and fiction are quite frequently blurred,⁷⁰⁹ while as noted in section 1.3, he is the most skilled virtuoso author with regard to the ethopoetic persona. The four Ptochoprodromic poems are a case in point, for Prodhomos toys in a very skilful way with four different ethopoetic personas.⁷¹⁰ In the same vein, the poem under question is probably nothing else but a carefully interwoven guise of Prodhomos within the frame of the ‘rhetoric of poverty’. This particular phenomenon was articulated also in the high style.⁷¹¹ The most telling example is the historical poem no. XXXVIII addressed to Anna Komnene. In connection with this poem, it has been suggested that the employment of epic language should be understood as an attempt on behalf of Prodhomos to project himself as an equal to the beggar Homer, and therefore as an effective medium to enhance the motif of beggary in poems, as well as his pivotal role as benefactor of his powerful patrons.⁷¹²

⁷⁰⁷ STANKOVIĆ, *Generation Gap* 211–218.

⁷⁰⁸ On this issue, see LAUXTERMANN, *Poem of Exile* (forthcoming).

⁷⁰⁹ On this matter, see BOURBOUHAKIS, *Glykas* 53–75.

⁷¹⁰ See ALEXIOU, *The Poverty of Ecriture* 4; BEATON, *Η ηθοποιία του άτακτου μοναχού* 101–107, esp. 102. More recently, the same has been suggested for the poem from prison of Glykas; see BOURBOUHAKIS, *Michael Glykas* 69.

⁷¹¹ KULHÁNKOVÁ, *Die byzantinische Betteldichtung* 175–180.

⁷¹² CULLHED, *The blind Bard* 49–67.

Similarly, the present poetic work is built upon the *topos* of the futility of learning. A separating line should be drawn between it and the traditional begging poems. The former does not include pleas for economical support nor compares the wealthy, vulgar artisans with the genteel intellectuals who suffer starvation and misery, irrespective of how much time and effort they spend to acquire a decent education. The phenomenon of begging poetry, or to put it better, the *ethopoia* of the begging intellectual seems to be a ‘project in progress’ from the second quarter of the twelfth century onwards. Certainly, this particular poem of Prodrōmos is but a further articulation of this *topos*. It is impossible to determine whether this was composed earlier than the corresponding poems addressed to Anna Komnene or the poems of ‘Poor Prodrōmos’.

As to the form and structure of the poem, its pattern is partly predicated upon the poem ἀποτροπή τοῦ πονηροῦ καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπὶ κλήσις (*Carm.* II, 1, 55), actually a prayer directed to Christ. Gregory opens the poem with an address to evil, asking it to vanish from his life, while he concludes it with an appeal to Christ for salvation. In the same vein, Prodrōmos in his poem addresses his books asking them to flee, for he did not benefit from his purported erudition. The opening verse of the Prodrōmic poem is, indeed, strongly reminiscent of Gregory’s poem.

Ἔρρετ’ ἐμοῦ βίοτοιο ἀπόπροθεν, ἔρρετε, βίβλοι

Φεῦγ’ ἀπ’ ἐμῆς κραδίης, δολομήχανε, φεῦγε τάχιστα·

φεῦγ’ ἀπ’ ἐμῶν μελέων, φεῦγ’ ἀπ’ ἐμοῦ βίотου (*carm.* II, 1, 55, 1/ cf. also *Carm.* II.2.3 [1495] 211:

Ἔρρετέ μοι, βίβλοι πολυηχέες ἔρρετε, Μοῦσαι).

At the same time, Prodrōmos, as in his poem “Farewell to Byzantium”, expresses his strong will to withdraw from public places. In all likelihood, his ideas are reverting to Gregory of Nazianzus.⁷¹³

Finally, how should the use of hexameter be interpreted? Clearly, it is an attempt to establish a connection between the poet and Homer. On the other hand, it should also be viewed in connection with the flowering of rhetoric and satire during the twelfth century. For example, its sentiment can be compared with the preface of an unpublished encomium for a Greek governor written by his contemporary Nicholas Kataphloron, who was maistor of

⁷¹³ Many later poets draw inspiration from Gregory and express similar sentiments. Marc Lauxtermann investigates this issue in the forthcoming second volume of his book on Byzantine Poetry. For these two Prodrōmic poems and their similarities to poems from Gregory’s corpus see also ZAGKLAS, Theodore Prodrōmos: Reading, eulogizing, and imitating the poetic work of Gregory of Nazianzus (in progress).

rhetors and oikoumenikos didaskalos.⁷¹⁴ In this work Kataphloron inveighs against other rhetors of his time for producing works which are excellent in rhetorical terms but empty of content. They are, he says, nothing more than patchworks of excerpts from classical authors. Kataphloron, moreover, calls them grave-diggers and desecrators of the dead.⁷¹⁵ But his work has a strong satirical tone, as he himself was maistor of rhetors, while his work is but a pastiche of classical quotes.⁷¹⁶ In the same sense, a strong satirical tone permeates this Prodromic *ethopoiia*, as the narrator, despite the fact that he bids farewell to his books, chose to do that by composing a poem which is an extensive interweaving of resonances and borrowings from Homer. Concurrently, the meter and the numerous Homeric reminiscences and expressions allow us also to assume a didactic purpose for this poem.⁷¹⁷ If this supposition is right, it means that the satire and, more notably, the motif of the futility of letters were introduced by Prodromos into the school milieu (see also my annotations for the ensuing poem).⁷¹⁸

⁷¹⁴ LOUKAKI, Nikolaos Kataphloron 143–166.

⁷¹⁵ *Ibid.* 154, lines 41–43: '[...] τὸ δ' ὅτι τυμβωρυχοῦσιν εἰς τοῦμφανές οἱ μάκαρες ῥήτορες οὗτοι καὶ ἀνορύττουσι τοὺς νεκροὺς καὶ σκυλεύουσι καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τάφων ἀναλέγονται τὰ ἱμάτια τοῦ λόγου καὶ τὸν πρόλοιπον κόσμον [...]'. For this passage see also MARCINIAK, *The Undead in Byzantium* 107 ff.

⁷¹⁶ *Ibid.* 164–165.

⁷¹⁷ Recently, Bernard has argued the same for the poems nos. 8 and 52 of Mitylenaios who should not be labelled 'historical poems' because they were rather exercises in Homeric versification; see BERNARD, *Beats of the Pen* 176–180.

⁷¹⁸ For school exercises with strong satirical nuance see MARCINIAK, *Bion Praxis* 225 ff.

No. 13 (H 143)

Σχετλιαστικοὶ εἰς τὴν Πρόνοιαν

- Οὐκ ἄγνοῶ μέν, δημιουργέ μου Λόγε,
 ὡς ἀχανὲς ἄβυσσος ἐν σοὶ κριμάτων·
 αὐτὴν φυλακὴν Ἀμβακοῦμ παρατρέχω,
 σκοποῦντος ὡς ἴδοι τι καὶ πύθοιτό τι·
 5 οὐ Παῦλον αὐτὸν ἄγνοῶ, τὸ σὸν στόμα,
 «ὡ γνῶσεως» λέγοντα «καὶ πλούτου βάθος».
 Πείθει με τιμᾶν τὴν Πρόνοιαν μυρία
 τοῦ παντὸς ἢ κίνησις ἢ τεταγμένη.
 Ἦλιος αὐτὸς τοῖς ἀνωτάτω δρόμοις
 10 ἀντιτρέχων μέν, ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ συντρέχων,
 βρύων δὲ φῶς, μετρῶν δὲ τὸν πάντα χρόνον,
 ὥρας δὲ τὰς τέτταρας εὐρύθμως τρέπων,
 γεννῶν δὲ καὶ χειμῶνα καὶ τίκτων θέρος
 καὶ τὰς ἐν ἄμφοϊν ἐμμέσους ποιῶν κράσεις,
 15 λάμπων, ἀνίσχων, ὡς γίγας ἐκ τῆς ἔω,
 μεσουρανῶν ἔπειτα, τὴν δύσιν φθάνων,
 δύνων, τρέχων, κάτωθεν ἀνίσχων πάλιν,
 καὶ νύκτα τίκτων καὶ κύων τὴν ἡμέραν·
 αὔξη σελήνης καὶ πολύτροπος φθίσις
 20 τοῦ νυκτερινοῦ γλαυκοφεγγοῦς ἡλίου.
 Οἶδα Προνοίας ἔργα καὶ τὰ τῶν κάτω.
 Τοὺς γὰρ πρὸς αὐτῷ τῷ σελιναίῳ κύκλῳ
 ἰστώντας αὐτὴν μὴ δ' ἐπεισκυκλητέον.
 Ἦ τίς γὰρ ἐστήριξε τὴν γῆν ἐν μέσῳ,
 25 ὕδωρ ὑπενθεις βάθρον ἀπείρῳ βάρει,
 εἰ μὴ Προνοίας τῆς σοφῆς σοφὸς λόγος;
 Ἄγε βραχὺν κάχληκα ῥίψον εἰς ὕδωρ·
 μὴ νήξεταί σοι κοῦφος ἀνάρρουν πλέων,
 μὴ φεύξεταί σοι τοῦ βυθοῦ τὸν πυθμένα;
 30 Εἰ γοῦν ὁ κάχληξ ταῦτα, πῶς τὴν γῆν ὅλην

V ff. 97^v–99^f Es ff. 198^f–199 I ff. 2^v–3^v Lh ff. 12^f–13^v | Gu. v1^f–4^f Ky. 108–110 Mi. 1333A–1340A

tit. τοῦ αὐτοῦ (i.e. Θεοδώρου Προδρόμου) σχετλιαστικοὶ εἰς τὴν πρόνοιαν V Es I Gu. : τοῦ κυροῦ Θεοδώρου τοῦ Προδρόμου, στίχοι ἱαμβικοὶ, εἰς τὴν θεῖαν πρόνοιαν Lh || 2 ἀχανὲς Es | χρημάτων Gu. || 3 αὐτὴν] οὐ τὴν Lh | Ἀμβακοῦμ Es I : Ἀβακοῦμ Lh || 4 ἴδοιτο Lh | πείθοιτό Lh || 6 ὦ Es || 7 πείθει με τιμᾶν] πείθει τι μὲν τὲ Lh || 8 συγκίνησις Lh || 9 αὐτοῖς Lh | ἀνωτάτης Lh : || 10 vers. om. Lh || 11 φάος Ky. | βρύων δὲ φῶς καὶ μετρῶν πάντα χρόνον I : βρύων μὲν φῶς, μετρῶν τὸν πάντα χρόνον Lh || 12 εὐρύθμως] εὐθύμως Lh | τρεπτῶν I : τρέχων Lh || 13 γενῶν Lh | καὶ] om. Lh || 14 ἐμμέσους] ἀμέσους Es : ἐν μέσῳ I : ἀμμέσους Lh || 15 ἐνίσχων Lh || 16 δ post μεσουρανῶν add. Lh | δύσιν] φύσιν Lh || 19 αὔξει Es : αὔξις Lh || 20 γλαυκοφεγγοῦς Lh || 22 πρὸς αὐτῷ] ἐπ' αὐτῷ Lh | σελιγνέω Lh || 23 ἐπισκυκλητέων Lh : ἐπισκυλητέων Ky. || 25 ἐπενθεις Es : ἐπιθεις Lh | βάθρον] βάρον Lh || 28 κοῦφος om. Es | ἀνάρρουν Lh : ἀνὰ ῥοῦν Gu. | πλέων Es || 29 φεύξεταί] φθέγγεταί Gu. || 30 γοῦν] γὰρ Lh | κάχλιξ Lh

- ὁρῶν ἐφ' ὕγρῶν ἀρρεπῶς ἵσταμένην
 οὐκ εὐθυμηθῶ τὴν Πρόνοιαν εὐθέως;
 Τίς πηγνύει μὲν εἰς νέφος τὴν ἀτμίδα,
 καὶ τοῦ νέφους τὴν πῆξιν εἰς ὄμβρον λύει;
35 Τῆς χιόνος δὲ τὰ πρόσωπα σεμνύνει
 ἐκ λευκότητος ἐμφύτου ψιμμιθίου;
 Σφαιροὶ δὲ τὴν χάλαζαν ἐν τόνῳ ξένῳ;
 Τρέφει δὲ τὴν ἄγρωστιν ὀρθρίᾳ δρόσῳ;
 Τίς ἀνέμους ἔταξε τοὺς εὐθυπνόους;
40 Οἷς ἀντέταξε τοὺς ἀνακαμψιπνόους;
 Καὶ συνελὼν, τίς τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς οὐσίαν
 σοφῶς κυβερνᾷ τὴν πολυτροπωτάτην;
 Κἂν τὴν Ἐπικούρειον ἀδολεσχίαν
 λέληθε ταῦτα, καίπερ οὐ λαθεῖν δέον.
45 Εἰ γὰρ μία ναῦς, ἵππος εἷς φθορὰν πάθοι
 χωρὶς χαλινῶν καὶ κυβερνήτου δίχα,
 καὶ τὴν μὲν εἰσδέξαιτο πόντιος δράκων,
 τὸν δὲ σφαλέντα θήρ χαραδραῖος φάγοι·
50 πῶς ἂν ἀκυβέρνητον εἵποιμεν μένειν
 τὸ κοσμικὸν πλήρωμα, τὴν πᾶσαν κτίσιν;
 Οὐκ ἄγνοῶ γοῦν, ὥς προεῖρηκα φθάσας,
 ὥς κριμάτων ἄβυσσος ἐν σοί, Χριστέ μου·
 πλὴν εἰς τὸ βάθος οὐ δυνάμενος βλέπειν
55 καὶ τοὺς ἐκάστου συννοεῖν κρυπτοὺς τρόπους
 πρὸς τοὺς κυλίνδρους ἄχθομαι τῶν πραγμάτων
 καὶ δυσχεραίνω τὰς νεμήσεις τῶν βίων.
 Ἥ πῶς ὁ τέκτων, ὁ κναφεύς, ὁ λατόμος,
 ὁ βυρσοδέψης, ὁ σκυτεύς, ὁ γηπόνος,
 ὁ λοιπὸς ὄχλος τῆς βαναυσίδος τύχης,
60 σοφῶν μὲν ἀνδρῶν, τῶν γενῶν δὲ κοσμίῳ
 ὥς δεσπότης ἄρξειεν οἰκετιδίων,
 καὶ νῦν μὲν ἐντρίψειεν αὐτοῖς κονδύλους,
 νῦν δ' ἐξ ἀμάξης ὕβριοι – τὸ τοῦ λόγου –;
 Καὶ τίς μὲν ὀψόπωλιν αὐχῶν μητέρα,
65 ἢ γοῦν ὀπωρόπωλιν ἢ καπηλίδα,
 καὶ πατρὸς υἱὸς τυγχάνων ἀνωνύμου
 τυχὸν ξύλων ἄρχοντος ἢ ξύλων πράτου,

|| 31 ἀρεπῶς Lh || 34 τῶν νέφων Lh | τὴν om. Es || 35 τὸ πρόσωπον Lh | σεμνύνει] μηνύει I || 36 λευκότητος] γλαυκότητος Gu. || 38 Τρέφει] στρέφει Lh | ὀρθρίᾳ] ἐνθεΐα I || 39 ἔταξεν Lh || 40 ἀντέταξεν Lh || 42 τὴν bis Lh || 43 Ἐπικούρειαν Lh : Ἐπικούριον Gu. | ἀδολεσχίαν Lh || 45 ναῦς] om. Mi. | φθορὰς Es | πάθη Lh || 46 χαλινού Lh | κυβερνίτου Lh || 47 εἰσδεξετο Lh || 48 φάγει Lh || 49 εἴποι μὴ Gu. || 51 γοῦν] οὖν Gu. : μὲν Lh | προεῖρηκας Lh || 52 κριμάτων] ἀφ[...] Es || 53 τὸ] στὸ Lh || 55 κυλίνδρους Gu. | ἔχθομαι Lh || 57 κναφεύς Lh || 58 βυρσοδέψεις Lh || 59 βαναύσιος Lh | τύχης] τέχνης Lh || 60 τοῖν γενοῖν V Es I Lh | κοσμίῳ] τιμίῳ Lh || 61 οἰκέτει δίων Lh || 62 αὐτῷ | κονδύλοις Lh || 65 ὀπωρόπολιν Lh || 66 τυγχάνων] ὑπάρχων Lh || 67 τυχῶν Lh | ξύλων¹] ξύλον Lh | ἄρχοντος I | ξυλοπράτου Lh

- 70 ἢ τῶν ὅσα πρίαο καὶ τριωβόλου,
 ἀγροῖκος ἀνὴρ καὶ προσήκων βλατίῳ,
 σκαπανέως πρόσωπον αἵσχιστον φέρων,
 αἰδρις εἰς πᾶν τῶν καλῶν καὶ τιμίων,
 καὶ μὴ δ' ὅπως κνήσαιο γινώσκειν ἔχων,
 πιεῖν διδαχθεὶς καὶ μεθυσθῆναι μόνον
 75 ἢ καὶ φαγέσθαι τῶν σελευκίδων πλέον,
 μαθήσεως δὲ μὴ δὲ κρούσας τὴν θύραν,
 ὁδοῦσι κείρων τῆς ὑπῆνης τὸ πλέον,
 ἐν τῷ λαλεῖν δὲ σιέλων χέων πίθους,
 ἐκεῖνος οὗτος εὐπορεῖ μὲν ἀργύρου,
 80 ὅλας δὲ πλίνθους ἐνδέδεται χρυσίου,
 κτίζει δὲ λαμπρὰς οἰκίας χρυσοστέγους,
 ἵππων δὲ γαύρων ἀγέλας ὅλας τρέφει
 ἐκ θετταλῆς γῆς καὶ πέδων Ἀραβίας,
 χρυσοῖς δὲ τούτους ἐνστολίζει φαλάροις,
 85 προέρχεται δὲ τῆς λεωφόρου μέσον
 ὑπὸ προπομποῖς ἀρχικῶς ἐσταλμένος,
 καὶ προσκυνεῖται, καὶ Θεοῦ τιμὴν ἔχει.
 Ἄλλος δὲ σεμνός, εὐγενὴς τῶν ἐξ ἔω,
 καλὸς μὲν εἶδος, καλλίων δὲ τὸν βίον,
 λόγων μαθητὴς καὶ διδάσκαλος λόγων
 90 πανημέριος ἐνσχολάζων ταῖς βίβλοις,
 παίδευσιν ἀσκῶν καὶ τρυφῶν τὸ μανθάνειν,
 ἀνέστιος πρόεισιν, ἄθλιος, πένης,
 μὴ δὲ τρύφους γοῦν εὐπορῶν πιτυρίου·
 τῆς ἀρετῆς δὲ φίλος ὢν καὶ τῶν λόγων,
 95 οὐδὲ βραχείας εὐτυχεῖ τιμῆς μέρος,
 τωθάζεται δὲ καὶ διώκεται πλέον·
 τί μὴ τὸ πάντων δυσθεώτερον λέγω;
 Οὐ γὰρ ἀποχρῶν τοῖς κακοῖς πλουτεῖν μόνον
 ἐν πᾶσιν ἄλλοις τοῖς δοκοῦσι τιμίσις,
 100 ἀλλὰ προαρπάζουσι καὶ τὰ βιβλία,
 ὥς κτήσιν ἀργὴν, — ὃ μεγίστης ζημίας —
 καὶ λωποδυτεῖ τοὺς λόγους τὸ χρυσίον.
 Ὡμοι, πόσους ἔρρευσαν δακρύων πίθους
 105 ἰδὼν μὲν σοφοὺς ἐν μέσῳ συνεδρίῳ
 λαλοῦντας ὀρθὰ καὶ περιφρονουμένους,

|| 68 τριωβόλου I || 69 προσήκων Gu. | βλατίων Lh || 70 σκαμπανέως Lh | αἵσχιστον] ἔχθιστον Es Lh | 71 καλλῶν Lh | τε post καλῶν add. Es || 72 κνήσαιο Lh || 74 Σελευκίων Lh || 75 τὴν θύραν om. I | δέ²] om. I | vers. om. Gu. Ky. Mi. || 76 vers. om. Gu. Ky. Mi. || 77 χέων] λαλεῖν I : χρεῶν Lh || 78 εὐπορεῖν Lh | ἀργύρους Lh || 79 ὅλους Es || 80 οἰκείας Lh || 81 γαυρῶν Gu. Mi. | τρέφει Lh || 82 Ἀραβίας Lh || 83 ἔχει post τούτους add. Lh || 85 προπομπῆς Ky. : προπομπῶν Lh || 86 ἔχει] φέρει Lh || 87 ἐξέω Lh | λόγου μαθητῆς post ἐξ ἔω add. Lh || 88 ab καλὸς μὲν εἶδος text om. Lh || 91 τὸ] τῷ I || 94 τοῦ λόγου I | post v. 94 iterum v. 90 add. V || 97 τὸ] τῶν Ls || 98 κακοῖς] καινοῖς Gu. : κοινοῖς Mi. || 101 κτίσιν I || 102 λωποδυτοῖ Gu. || 104 ἰδὼν σοφοὺς μὲν Es I Gu. || 105 ὀρθοὺς Es

- παράφρονας δὲ πλουσίους τιμωμένους.
 Ληρεῖ Μέλητος, καὶ διδάσκει Σωκράτης·
 καὶ ζῆ Μέλητος, καὶ τελευτᾷ Σωκράτης.
 Ὁ συκοφάντης ἐκδιδράσκει τὰς δίκας·
 110 οἱ δ' ἔνδεκα κρίνουσι τοὺς ἐλευθέρους
 καὶ τρίβεται μὲν φάρμακον τῷ γεννάδᾳ·
 ὁ δ' Ἄνυτος πέφευγε τὴν τιμωρίαν.
 Χριστὸν πένης ἔλεξε, δυσσεβῶς λέγει·
 Πλούσιος Ἀντίχριστον, εὖσεβῶς λέγει.
 115 Ἐπάγχομαι πρὸς ταῦτα· μισῶν τὸν βίον,
 θέλω θανεῖν· ἥλιον οὐ θέλω βλέπειν.
 Ἐντεῦθεν εἰσήγαγεν ἄλλος τὴν τύχην,
 τὸ δ' αὐτόματον ἄλλος, Ἑλλήνων δύο·
 ἄμφω δὲ κοινῶς τὴν ἀκυβερνησίαν.
 120 Ἐντεῦθεν ἠγνόησαν οἱ τότε χρόνοι
 καὶ τῆς Προνοίας χρῆμα τῆς σοφωτάτης.
 Ἐντεῦθεν ἡ ξύμφυλος ἀνθρώπων φύσις
 ἔγνω διασπασθεῖσα πρὸς μέρη δύο,
 καὶ κλήσεων ἄδικος ἐγράφη νόμος
 125 τὸ πλάσμα τέμνων εἰς τομὰς ἀσυμφύλους·
 καὶ τὸν μὲν ὠνόμασε δοῦλον ἡ τύχη,
 τὸν δὲ προσεκλήρωσε τοῖς ἐλευθέροις.
 Ἀρχηγὲ κακῶν, χρυσέ, γῆς τυφλὸν τέκνον,
 ὡς ἀπόλοιτο καὶ παρέλθοις ἐκ μέσου
 130 τὸ στασιῶδες χρῆμα καὶ κοσμοφθόρον.
 Ἀλλ' ἐν κενοῖς μοι ταῦτα πρὸς τὸ χρυσίον·
 τί γὰρ πεπαρώνηκεν ἄψυχος φύσις;
 Ὡς ἀπόλοιτο τῶν βροτῶν ἡ φαυλότης,
 οἱ τοὺς καλοὺς κρίνουσιν ἐξ εὐτυχίας,
 135 καὶ τοὺς κακοὺς τοῦμπαλιν ἐξ ἀτυχίας.
 Ὡ τάλανες πένητες, ἄθλιον γένος,
 πλούτου μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ χρυσίῳ
 τῆς ἀρετῆς τὴν δόξαν ἀφηρημέναι·
 «ὅμως ὁ κόσμος ἀγαθὸν πῶς ἂν δράσῃ
 140 ἐν τῷ πονηρῷ κείμενος;» Λέγει Λόγος.
 Ὡμοὶ πόσον δάκρυον ἐξ Ἡρακλείτου,
 πόσος γέλως δὲ πάλιν ἐκ Δημοκρίτου,
 ὁ μὲν κατοικτίσασα τὸν μωρὸν βίον,
 οὗτος δὲ μωκήσασα τοὺς ἀβελτέρους.

|| 107 Μέλitos V Gu. | Ληρεῖ Μέλητος, καὶ τελευτᾷ Σωκράτης I || 108 Μέλitos V Gu. | vers. om. I || 110 Οἱ δ' οἱδ' Gu. | ἔνδεκα] ἐνδία Es || 112 Ἄνυτος Es || 114 legi non potest in I || 115 Ἐπάγχομαι] ὑπεύχομαι Es || 116 θέλων βλέπει Es || 118 Τὸ δ' τὸδ' Gu. || 121 καὶ] τὸ Es | τῆς σοφωτάτης legi non potest in I || 122 ξύμφυλος Gu. || 125 ἀσυμφύλους Gu. || 127 τὸν δὲ in lacuna Es || 130 τὸ in lacuna Es || 133 ἀπόλοιτο Es I Gu. | τῆς βροτῆς Es || 141 Ὡ μοι Ky. || 142 γέλως δὲ] δὲ γέλου Es || 143 ὁ] τὸ Es Gu.

- 145 ὄντων γὰρ τούτων ἐξ ἑκατέρου τρόπου
 χρή σφᾶς ἑαυτοὺς καὶ γελᾶν καὶ δακρύειν.
 Ἔμοι δὲ τίς χρήσειε σαλπίζον στόμα,
 ἀγχίστροφον δὲ γλῶσσαν εἰς λόγου πλάτος,
 καὶ πρὸς κορυφὴν Παρνασοῦ στήσας ἄκραν
 150 – ὥς ἐξ ἀπόπτου τὴν βοὴν διευρύνω –
 εἰπεῖν παράσχοι ταῦτα πρὸς τοὺς πλουσίους·
 οἱ χρυσολάτραι ποῖ πλανᾶσθε πλούσιοι;
 Οἷαν δὲ καὶ στέλλεσθε, δείλαιοι, τρίβον;
 Ὁ πλοῦτος ὕλη γῆς ῥέουσα συντόμως,
 155 ἥ οἱ κακοὶ φέρουσι πάντως τὸ πλεόν.
 Τί κακίους γίνεσθε πλουτοῦντες πλεόν;
 Εὖρημα κυνὸς ἢ σεβαστὴ πορφύρα·
 ὁ μάργαρος κύημα φαῦλον ὀστρέου·
 λίθοι τὸ σύμπαν, οἱ χλοάζοντες λίθοι·
 160 ὁ λαμπρὸς οἶκος ἐκ τιτάνου καὶ ξύλων,
 ὀπτῶν τε πλίνθων καὶ λίθων ἐξεσμένων,
 γῆς τίτανος, γῆς ξύλα, γῆς πάντες λίθοι·
 τὴν γῆν δὲ τιμῶν καὶ σέβων οὐκ αἰσχύνη;
 Εἶεν· τί ταῦτ' ἔλεξας, ἄγριον στόμα;
 165 Σίγα· σίγα, δείλαιον· οὐκ ὀρθῶς λέγεις.
 Τῶν κριμάτων γὰρ τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν πυθμένα
 ἐξιχνιάζειν οὐδὲ Παῦλος ἰσχύει.

|| 145 ὄντων γὰρ τούτων] ὄντως γὰρ ὄντως I Gu. Ky. || 159 χνοάζοντες Gu. || 161 τε om. Es || 162 τῆς τίτανος γῆς, ξύλα γῆς, πάντες λίθοι Mi. || 164 ἔλεξας] ἔδοξας Es

Verses of Complaint against Providence

O world-creating Word, I am not unaware of how immense is the depth of your will. I run by the watch-post of Habakkuk, who keeps watch to see and find out something. **[5]** I am not unaware of Paul, your own mouth that says, “Oh depth of the riches and wisdom”. However, the appointed motion of everything induces me to honour Providence a thousand times. The sun running against the heavenly routes, **[10]** but at the same time alongside them (i.e. rising and setting), pouring forth light, and counting unceasingly the time, shifting the four seasons in harmony, both begetting the winter and bringing forth the summer, and in both intermediate [seasons] building up climatic condition, **[15]** shining, rising up from the east like a giant, then culminating, verging on the west, setting, running [and] rising up again from below, both bringing forth the night and conceiving the day. The progress of the moon and manifold waning **[20]** of the night sun that gleams palely. I also know that the works below [are] of Providence. For those who place her (i.e. Providence) next to the lunar cycle should not be included. Who supported the earth in the midst, **[25]** by putting water of boundless weight as a foundation beneath it, if not the wise word of wise Providence? Take a small pebble [and] hurl it into the water. Since it is light, will it not swim away for you by streaming upwards? Will it not shun for you the depth of the [sea] bottom? **[30]** If the pebble [can do] all of these things, how could I not instantly be delighted about Providence when I see the whole earth standing steadfastly over the waters of the sea? Who condenses the vapour into cloud, and melts the condensate cloud into shower? **[35]** Who forms the sights of the snow from the natural whiteness of its pigment? Who makes the hail rounded into an extraordinary lathe? Who nurtures the grass with the morning drizzle? Who sets the straight-blowing winds? **[40]** [And who] sets the returning winds in opposition? And, to briefly put, who steers wisely our diverse nature? Even if these escaped the notice of the Epicurean prate, it shouldn’t have. **[45]** For truly a vessel become shipwrecked without a helmsman [and] a horse would break down without [its] reins, and the ship would be swallowed by the monster of the sea, while the beast of the cliff would devour the horse that slipped. How then could we say that the universal completion, **[50]** the whole creation, is without a helmsman? As I said earlier, I am not unaware that there exists an abyss of will within you, O my Christ! However, since I am not able to see into the depth and understand the concealed devices of each entity, **[55]** I grieve about the order of things, and I am furious at how lives are distributed. How the carpenter, the fuller, the stonecutter, the tanner, the cobbler, the farmer, the remaining multitude of the class of artisans **[60]** [rules] wise men of noble origins, just as

the master who rules his servants, and now gives them thrashings, [and] insults them abusively and offensively? One is boasting of [his] mother, **[65]** who works in the fish market or in the fruit market or in a tavern, and [being] the son of an anonymous father, perhaps of a lord of wood or of a seller of wood, or of this (wood) that you would buy for a three-obol piece. Though a rural man, he suits his shoes, **[70]** he bears the most shameful face of a digger, he is ignorant of everything good and unworthy of honour, he does not even know how to scratch himself, he only has learned to gulp and become inebriated, or to consume more food than the Seleukides. **[75]** He never knocked on the door of learning, he cuts off his abundant beard with his teeth, while, when he speaks, he pours out storage jars filled with saliva. Such a person has plenty of silver, he puts on entire ingots of gold, **[80]** builds splendid houses with roofs of gold, nurtures entire flocks of splendid horses from the land of Thessaly and of Arabia. Also, he adorns them with golden ornaments, traverses in the midst of the thoroughfare, **[85]** escorted by convoys in a royal manner, [he] is saluted and is honoured like a god. The other one is modest, a noble person from the east, beautiful in visage, but much more beautiful in his [mode of] living, a disciple and teacher of orations **[90]** spending all his time with books, exercising teaching and indulging in learning. He is homeless, wretched, poor, [and] does not even have sufficient chunks of bran bread. Being fond both of virtue and orations, **[95]** he eschews the enjoyment even of simple honours, and is mostly mocked and persecuted. Why not speak about the most hateful thing? It is not enough for the wicked to be the only ones to grow rich among all others who are deemed reputable, **[100]** but they even snatch the books away, like worthless possessions; oh, the most severe damage! And the gold plunders the orations. Alas! How many storage jars of tears I poured seeing wise men in the midst of the council **[105]** being scorned, although they talk moderately. On the other hand, the foolish rich are honoured. Meletos talks nonsense, while Socrates demonstrates [it] with arguments, but Meletos continues to live, while Socrates passes away. The accuser escapes the punishment, **[110]** while the eleven are judging the free ones. The venomous hemlock is pounded for the noble Socrates, while Anytos escapes the punishment. [If] the poor talks like Christ, he talks impiously. [If] the rich man talks like the Antichrist, he talks piously. **[115]** I struggle with these [things]. I loathe life, I wish to perish! I no longer wish to look at the sun! Therefore, someone introduced the [theory of] fortune, while another the [theory of] chance spontaneity, both are Hellenes; both have in common the lack of steering. **[120]** From that point the old times were unaware of the existence of Providence, supreme in wisdom. From that point the human nature of the same

race suffered because it was split into two parts, and the unjust law of inheritance was written, **[125]** slicing up the creation into two incompatible cuttings. And Fortune called the (first) one slave, and assigned the other to the free men. O gold, first cause of evil, blind child of earth! You may perish and disappear from the midst [of the earth], **[130]** [you] seditious wealth and destroyer of the world. But these [accusations] against gold are in vain for me. Wherefore did spiritless nature act as if drunk? The meanness of humans may perish! They who judge the good ones on the basis of [their] good fortune, **[135]** and the bad ones again on the basis of [their] misfortune. O wretched poor, miserable race, you are deprived of virtue's glory with this wealth and gold! **[140]** "But how will the world act well if it (i.e. the world) is laid upon evil?" said the Word of God. Alas, so many tears from Heraclitus, but also so much laughter from Democritus! The former laments foolish life, the latter mocks foolish ones. **[145]** For truly, truly, it is necessary that they both laugh and weep about themselves in both ways. Who would use me as a mouth that trumpets, as a quick-changing tongue as to the depth of discourse? And having placed [me] on the highest peak of Parnassus, **[150]** – I will outcry from an invisible point – makes possible for me to say these to the wealthy ones: Where are you the rich, who worship gold, wandering about? O wretched [ones], [why] do you set out such a path? Wealth, which the evil ones certainly possess beyond measure, is earthly material that elapses very quickly. Why do you become more wicked by becoming even richer? The venerable purple is a finding of the dog, the pearl is a shameful offspring of the oyster, the rocks are the universe, the stones that put out shoots. **[160]** The splendid house of whitewash and wood, of roast bricks and carved stones. Whitewash [is] of the earth, wood [is] of the earth, all stones [are] of earth. Are you not ashamed to honour and revere the earth? So be it; why did you say these [things], savage mouth? **[165]** Hush, hush, wretched! You are not talking rightly, for not even Paul is able to search out the depth of God's will.

Notes on the text:

1. **Οὐκ ... Λόγε:** the second hemistich of the verse recurs in the opening verse of the thirteenth poem of Mitylenaios entitled ‘On the inequality of life’⁷¹⁹— notably in the same metrical *sedes* of the verse.⁷²⁰ The theme of Mitylenaios’ poem is indeed pertinent to that of Prodromos, as it treats prevailing injustice and the insurmountable gulf between rich and poor (for further annotations see the “commentary”).⁷²¹

2. **ὥς ἀχανῆς ... κριμάτων:**⁷²² cf. Ps. 35,7: τὰ κρίματά σου ἄβυσσος πολλή. This could be a “self-quotation” since it reappears at *carm.hist.*, *Epitaphius in Alexium*. 22: τῶν κριμάτων τὸ βάθος ἢ τὸν πυθμένα;⁷²³

3–4. **αὐτήν ... πύθοιτό τι:** *Hab.* 2,1: Ἐπὶ τῆς φυλακῆς μου στήσομαι καὶ ἐπιβήσομαι ἐπὶ πέτραι καὶ ἀποσκοπεύσω τοῦ ἰδεῖν τί λαλήσει ἐν ἐμοὶ καὶ τί ἀποκριθῶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἔλεγχόν μου. A standard quotation, at least by Prodromos’ time; for example, it was picked up by the anonymous compiler of the *Etymological Gudianum* in order to expound the word φυλακή (cf. *Etymol.Gud.* 559.10).

5. **τὸ σὸν στόμα:** for the imagery of Paul as the mouth of God within Prodromos’ work see p. 182.

6. **ὦ ... βάθος:** *Rom.* 11,33: ὦ βάθος πλούτου καὶ σοφίας καὶ γνώσεως θεοῦ. This quotation is re-employed in Prodromos’ little known prose treatise on the scripture saying ‘He will walk before him in the spirit and power of Elijah’.⁷²⁴

Εἰ γὰρ καὶ Παῦλος τῷ μεγάλῳ διδασκάλῳ τῆς οἰκουμένης ὅλον καθέντι τὸν νοῦν εἰς ἀκρότατον τῶν θείων ἐννοιῶν τὸν πυθμένα ταῦτα περιῆλθεν εἰπεῖν· ὦ βάθος πλούτου καὶ σοφίας καὶ γνώσεως θεοῦ, ὥς ἀνεξερευνήτα τα κρίματα αὐτοῦ!

8–40 encompass a detailed description of the features of Providence. Likewise, in Prodromos’ prose work entitled ‘On those who blaspheme against Providence on account of poverty’ (H 151), her features are summarized as follows:⁷²⁵

Ἀλλ’, ὥσπερ αὐτῇ τῇ καταβολῇ τὸν βίον ἐρρύθμισας, τὴν αὐτὴν καὶ νῦν ἐνδεικνυμένη προμήθειαν, κίνει τὸν αἰθέρα κύκλῳ, τὴν γῆν ἐν τῷ μεσαιτάτῳ ἔδραζε, τὸν ἄερα διάχει, ἅπλου τὴν θάλασσαν, κίνει τὸν μέγαν εὐτάκτως ἥλιον, καὶ τρέπε τὰς ὥρας, καὶ μέτρει τὸν χρόνον, καὶ γέννα τὰ ἀναγκαῖα· ἄναγε τὰς ἐκ τῶν ὑγρῶν ἀναθυμιάσεις, συνίστα τὰ νέφη, κάταγε τοὺς ὄμβρους, ἄρδε τὴν γῆν.

⁷¹⁹ *Christ.Mityl.*, *Carm.* 13,1: Δίκαια ταῦτα, δημιουργέ μου λόγε.

⁷²⁰ Concerning the first part of the verse, many Byzantine poems open in similar manner; cf. *ICB* 565 and 734.

⁷²¹ On the poem see LIVANOS, Christopher of Mytilene 49–74.

⁷²² Note that the editions as well as some later manuscripts read ὥς ἀχανῆς ἄβυσσος ἐν σοὶ χρημάτων which makes little sense.

⁷²³ In addition, it is used extensively in texts of the church fathers as well as in later Byzantine texts (cf. *TLG*).

⁷²⁴ See PG 133 1301C–1302B.

⁷²⁵ See PG 133 1300A.

12. ὥρας: I translate ‘seasons’, although none of the lexica exemplifies this meaning.
20. γλαυκοφεγγοῦς: an infrequent word recurring only at *D&C* VIII.113 and *Anacharsis* A 884.⁷²⁶ Apparently, both Nicetas and the anonymous author⁷²⁷ of *Anacharsis* or *Ananias* borrowed it from *Prodromos*.
- 22–23. Τοὺς γὰρ ... ἐπεισκευκλητέον: the meaning of these two verses is not clear to me.
- 24–25. Ἦ ... βάρει: cf. *Gen.* 1,6: Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεός Γενηθήτω στερέωμα ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ ὕδατος καὶ ἔστω διαχωρίζον ἀνὰ μέσον ὕδατος καὶ ὕδατος. καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως.
27. Ἄγε ... ὕδωρ: cf. *carm.hist.* VI 33: ἐκ δὲ κάχληκας ἔβαλλεν, ὅλη δ’ ἐφαιεῖντο.
32. οὐκ ... εὐθέως: to my knowledge, the construction of εὐθυμέω with accusative is otherwise unattested.
38. Τρέφει ... δρόσῳ: cf. *D&C* V 19: ὡς εἰς ἕαρ ἄγρωστις ὀρθρίαν δρόσον.
- 39–40. Τίς ἀνέμους ... ἀνακαμπινόους: cf. *Ps.-Arist., De Mundo* 394^b35–36; *Posidon., Fragm.* 337a.24 and *Jo.Stob., Anthol.* 1.40.1.227. The same phrasing at *R&D* VI.208: ὑπὸ προπομποῖς ἀνέμοις εὐθυπνόοις. It is more likely that *Prodromos*’ source is the *florilegium* of John Stobaios given its extensive use throughout the Byzantine centuries.⁷²⁸
- 43–44. Κἄν τήν ... δέον: a brusque scolding of the Epicureans. The attack against Greek philosophers is a frequent phenomenon in *Prodromos*’ work. For example, the pre-Socratic philosopher Hippo is castigated on account of his atheism in the prose treatise on Providence.⁷²⁹

⁷²⁶ In addition, at *Anacharsis* A 351 is employed the derivative form γλαυκοφέγγεια, while *Manasses* makes use of the similar word γλαυκόφωτος as an epithet of the moon (cf. *LBG*).

⁷²⁷ Christides has attempted to identify the anonymous author of the pamphlet with Niketas Eugenianos. See *CHRISTIDIS, Μαρκανά Ανέκδοτα* 89–92. However, his attempt has been described as unconvincing; see *ODB* I 83.

⁷²⁸ *ODB* III 1958.

⁷²⁹ Cf. PG 133 1237A: μηδ’ εἰς τὴν Ἰππωνος ἐμπέσομεν ἀθεότητα, ὡς τοῦ παντὸς ἐπιχειρεῖν ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τὴν θεῖαν Πρόνοιαν. Note that the vehement attack against Greek views is a very common practice in works of the church fathers. A telling example is Gregory of Nyssa’s *Dialogus de anima et resurrectione qui inscribitur Macrinia* (PG 46. II–160).

45–48: examples against the view of the Epicureans. Parallel examples were used by Gregory of Nazianzus in his poem ‘On Providence’ for the rebuttal of the theory that the Universe was self-generated and automatic, cf. *Greg.Naz., Arc.* 5.10-13:⁷³⁰

Τίς δὲ δόμον ποτ’ ὅπωπεν, ὃν οὐ χέρες ἐξετέλεσσαν;
Τίς ναῦν, ἢ θοὸν ἄρμα; τίς ἀσπίδα καὶ τρυφάλειαν;
Οὐτ’ ἂν τόσσον ἔμεινεν ἐπὶ χρόνον, εἴπερ ἄναρχος,
Καὶ χορὸς ἂν λήξειεν ἀνηγεμόνευτος ἔμοιγε.

Who has ever seen a house without hands to bring it to completion? Or a boat? A swift chariot? A shield or a helmet? The world would not have lasted so long if it had lacked an originator, as I believe a choir would cease without a conductor.

51–56. Οὐκ ... μου: the opening verses of the poem are repeated, albeit slightly altered.

55. πρὸς ... πραγμάτων is perhaps the source of inspiration for *Anacharsis* A 707–709:

Οὐκοῦν ἄχθομαι ταῖς τοῦ βίου παλιρρόποις μεταβολαῖς καί, ὥς εἰκός, διαλύνομαι τοῖς τῶν πραγμάτων οἷον ἐρεῖν κυλίνδροις μεταρριπτούμενος καὶ ἀεὶ πρὸς τὸ κατόπιν ἐκκυλιόμενος.

57–96. contain a juxtapositional description of the rustic craftsmen and the genteel intellectuals; whereas the former enjoy a comfortable life, the latter are plunged into tremendous poverty.

57–86. Ἦ πῶς ... ἔχει: a parallel description of the rustic craftsmen is encountered in the prose work on Providence:⁷³¹

Καί, ποῦ γάρ, φαμέν, ἡ πρόνοια, εἰ ὁ μὲν καπηλίδος υἱὸς ἢ τυχὸν ὀψοπωλίδος, ἄφρων ἐπικικῶς καὶ ἀνόητος, καὶ μηδέν, ὃ φασιν, ὅσον ἀπομύζασθαι συνιείς, ἔπειτα λαμπρὸς πομπεύει διὰ τῆς λεωφόρου, χρυσοῦ δὲ πλίνθους ὅλας, καὶ ἵππους, καὶ ἡμιόνους, καὶ οἰκίας λαμπρὰς περιβάλλεται.

57–59. Ἦ πῶς ... τύχης: cf. *Haplouch., Dram.* 67–69:

Ποθῶ γενέσθαι βυρσοδέψης, λατόμος
ἢ καὶ τις ἄλλος τῆς βαναυσίδος τέχνης.
Καὶ γὰρ σκυτεὺς τις ὀψοπώλης ἄσοφος

In connection with these verses, we may note that Cataudella maintained that Haploucheir drew inspiration from *Plutus* 160-167 where it is described that every trade is accomplished by man because of the wealth.⁷³² Yet, it is clear that the poet copied them from Prodromos’ poem.⁷³³ As far as I know, has passed rather unnoticed the ProdrOMIC adherence to the financial self-efficiency of the tradesmen or the artisans,⁷³⁴ and its culmination in the begging

⁷³⁰ Transl. in SYKES – MORESCHINI, *Poemata Arcana* 23.

⁷³¹ Cf. PG 133 1293A–B.

⁷³² CATAUDELLA, Michele *Apluchiro e il ‘Pluto’ di Aristofane* 88–93. One can find Cataudella’s views summarized in MARCINIAK, *Greek Drama* 102.

⁷³³ HÖRANDNER, *Prodromos-Reminiszenzen* 101–103 and more recently IDEM, *Musterautoren und ihre Nachahmer* 211.

⁷³⁴ See the poem of Prodromos addressed to Anna Komnene (*carm.hist.* XXXVIII 68–74).

poetry of that time⁷³⁵ is a device having with roots to the *Plutus* of Aristophanes. Prodrornos, among the many groups of artisans, also culled tailors and tanners, both of whom are to be found in the *Plutus*. Alexiou has already pointed out the keen interest of the twelfth-century literati in Aristophanes.⁷³⁶ Tzetzes' commentary on *Plutus* (ed. KOSTER) is a striking example.

Βυρσοδέψης: Aristophanes, in the frame of his vehement attack against Cleon, calls him tanner and associates the *techne* of tanning with low status and a bad smell (see LIND, Der Gerber Kleon).

σκυτεύς : for annotations on the low social status of the cobbler see ALEXIOU, The Poverty of Écriture 17.

59. ὁ λοιπὸς ... τύχης: a delineation of the *banausoi* as a mob is to be found in the verse chronicle of Ephrem.⁷³⁷ As to the phrase βαναυσίδος τύχης, it is formed on the analogy of βαναύσου τύχης (cf. *carm.hist.* IV 246 and XXXIb 6). The word βαναυσίς, a derivative of βάνανσος coined by Prodrornos himself, recurs in the begging poem addressed to Anna Komnene [*carm.hist.* XXXVIII 68 βαναυσίδος ἔμμεν' ἄγωγῆς], once again as a label of the handicraftsmen who enjoy a comfortable life.⁷³⁸

63. νῦν δ' ἐξ ἀμάξης ὕβριοι is a saying which in Greek is indicated with the phrase «τὸ τοῦ λόγου» (= as the saying goes).⁷³⁹ However, it is omitted in the translation because there seems to be no similar saying in English.

64. Καὶ ... μητέρα: cf. *Haplouch., Dram.* 69: καὶ γὰρ σκυτεύς τις ὀψοπώλης ἄσοφος.

67. τυχὸν ξύλων ἄρχοντος ἢ ξύλων πράτου: the meaning of this verse is not clear to me.

69. ἀγροῖκος ... βλαυτίῳ: the shoes are a sign of economical self-efficiency.⁷⁴⁰ Although the present reference has so far remained unnoticed, the *topos* of the artisans, who, despite their lack of *paideia*, enjoy footwear dominates in twelfth-century begging poetry. For example, cf. *Ptochoprodr.* III 60–61:

Αὐτός, ὅταν ἐμάνθανεν, ὑπόδησιν οὐκ εἶχεν,

⁷³⁵ See the fourth Ptochoprodromic poem (vv. 157 ff.).

⁷³⁶ ALEXIOU, The Poverty of Écriture 21, esp. note 45.

⁷³⁷ Cf. *Ephr.Aen., Histor.Chron.* 5553–5555: ὁ ξυγκλύδων ὄχλος δὲ καὶ τῶν συρφάκων | ἀλλαντοπῶλαι, βυρσοδέψαι καὶ ράπται, | παλιγκαπήλων ἀλόγιστος φατρία.

⁷³⁸ As noted above, the word was also used in the *Dramation* of Haploucheir (v. 68: τῆς βαναυσίδος τέχνης).

⁷³⁹ It is worth mentioning that even the scribe has written παροιμία next to the this verse.

⁷⁴⁰ For further annotations and bibliography on this matter see ALEXIOU, The Poverty of Écriture 18, esp. note 37.

καὶ τώρα, βλέπε τον, φορεῖ τὰ μακρομύτικά του
or *carm.hist.* XXXVIII 71: ὥς κεν ἐοῖσι πόδεσσιν ὑπ' ἄρβυλα καλὰ τιταίνω.

As for the word βλαυντίον, it noteworthy that it is attested first in Aristophanes (cf. *LSJ* s.v.). However, with the help of the *TLG*, I was able to conclude that whereas it does not occur frequently in Byzantine texts dating from the early centuries, it was taken up by prominent twelfth-century authors, such as Prodromos, his imitator Niketas Eugenianos, and Eustathios of Thessalonike (cf. *TLG*).

70. σκαπανέως ... φέρων: worthy mention is that in Prodromos' satirical work 'Sale of the political and poetical lives' (H 147), the potential purchasers of the most celebrated classical authors (i.e. Homer, Hippocrates, Euripides, Aristophanes, Pomponius and Demosthenes) are described as follows:⁷⁴¹

δυναίμην πρὸς οὕτως ἀγροίκους καὶ ἐπιεικῶς σκαπανέας ποιεῖσθαι το κήρυγμα.

73. μεθυσθῆναι: the motif of inebriation correlated with rustic performances is a fond topic of satirical treatment in twelfth-century literature. For example, Theodore in his novel describes in an enhanced satirical tone the dancing of the drunken sleeping Nausikrates at a banquet (cf. *R&D* II 109–110 and III 19–32).⁷⁴²

74. ἡ ... πλέον: this vulgar artisan is compared to the bird Seleukis (*Pastor roseus*, Rosenstar) which is described as follows: 'a voracious bird that pleases farmers by consuming whole armies of locusts bent on attacking their crops'.⁷⁴³ In making such a comparison, the poet succeeds in conveying an image of extremely gluttonous, vulgar artisans.⁷⁴⁴ Notable, in a hitherto unpublished twelfth-century poem by Euthymios Tornikes entitled 'On a senseless bishop of Seleukia who seized the episcopal see contrary to the canon laws of the monasteries of Euboia', the addressee's gluttony is compared to that of Seleukis.⁷⁴⁵ Euthymios Tornikes, who was very familiar with Prodromos' poetry, probably composed this *synkrisis* based on this particular poem.

75–76 ὁδοῦσι ... πίθους: both the editions and the later manuscripts omit these two verses.

⁷⁴¹ MIGLIORINI, Teodoro Prodromo 127, 17–18. For the sense of humour in this extract see MARCINIAK, Bion Prasis 222.

⁷⁴² For important annotations on this scene and for further examples from twelfth-century literature see ROILLOS, *Amphoteroglossia* 246–256. In addition to Roilos' examples, one should also mention the case of the aged Maryllis who after eating and drinking excessively, dances in honour of Dionysos (*D&C* VII 270–289). On this scene see BURTON, Eugenianus' *Drosilla and Charicles* 704–709.

⁷⁴³ On Seleukis in classical texts see ARNOTT, *Birds in the ancient world* 309–310.

⁷⁴⁴ The gluttony motif plays an instrumental role in Prodromos' work. For example, the word *παμφάγος* is used six times in *Catomyomachia*.

⁷⁴⁵ See HÖRANDNER, Euthymios Tornikes (forthcoming).

75. ὁδοῦσι ... πλέον: in complete accord with the prose work: γελοῖος τὴν τρίχα, γελοιότερος τὴν ὑπὴν⁷⁴⁶ and in sharp contrast with the description of the genteel intellectual, which reads: ὁ δέ τις ἀγαθὸς νεανίας ἄρτι τῷ ἰούλῳ τὴν γένυν γεωμετρούμενος.⁷⁴⁷

77. ἐν τῷ ... πίθους recurs verbatim at *Haplouch.*, *Dram.* 71.

78–86. Ἐκεῖνος ... ἔχει: after conveying a completely negative picture of these illiterate men, Prodromos proceeds by saying that they enjoy a luxurious life. They are rich, dressed in gold-embroidered gowns, owners of splendid houses and horses.

80. κτίζει ... χρυσοστέγους: cf. *carm.hist.* XXX 395: καὶ καταλείπων τοὺς λαμπροὺς καὶ χρυσοστέγους οἴκους. As for the word χρυσόστεγος, according to the *TLG*, it occurs only three times prior to Prodromos (in two of them it is used of the οἶκος).

81–82. ἵππων ... Ἀραβίας: cf. *carm.hist.* XLIV 69–71:

ἵπποι πωλοδαμνείσθωσαν ἰσὴλικες τῷ βρέφει,
Ἀραβικοὶ καὶ Θετταλοὶ, τῆς μάχης ὑπηρέται,
ἐτοιμαζέσθω χαλινά, φάλαρα τεκταινέσθω

Nonetheless, the quality of Arabic and Thessalian⁷⁴⁸ horses is proverbial in Prodromos' work (cf. *carm.hist.* XLV 210–211/LIX 20–21). Parallel references to the excellent breed of Arabic horses are to be found in twelfth-century works associated, in one or the other way, with Prodromos, e.g. *Timar.* 193⁷⁴⁹ and *Anacharsis A* 1144–1145.⁷⁵⁰

84–85. προέρχεται ... ἐσταλμένος *Haplouch.*, *Dram.* 73–74:

προέρχεται μὲν τῆς λεωφόρου μέσον
ὑπὸ προπομπῆς ἀρχικῶς ἐσταλμένος.

cf. also *Ptochoprod.* IV 305: ἐκεῖνοι καβαλάριοι διαβαίνουνσιν τὴν πόλιν and *Io.Tzetz.*, *Epist.* 14.26.21–22: καὶ ἡμιόνους λιπῶσι καὶ ὑψηλοῖς ἐποχῇται καὶ περίβλεπτος πολλοῖς καταφαίνεται and 67, 97, 16–17: καὶ ἐπλατύνθη ἡμιόνους τε λιπῶσιν ὀχεῖται καὶ ὑψηλοῖς καὶ προπομπεύοντας.

⁷⁴⁶ Cf. PG 133 1294A.

⁷⁴⁷ *Ibid.* 1294A.

⁷⁴⁸ The most famous horse of Antiquity, Alexander's charger Bucephalus, was a Thessalian horse. Moreover, this is a traditional *topos* in Greek texts, see e.g. Sophocles, *El.* 703–706; Euripides, *Andr.* 1229.

⁷⁴⁹ ἵππον Ἀραβικὸν ὠνησάμενος γαῦρον.

⁷⁵⁰ Ἴπποι δὲ τούτοις Ἀραβικοὶ γαυριῶντες ὑπέστρωντο.

87–96. the description of the genteel poor intellectual in the correspondent prose work runs as follows:⁷⁵¹

ὁ δὲ τις ἕτερος, Κόδοις μὲν τὸ γένος, Πλάτωσι δὲ τὴν παιδείαν παραβαλλόμενος, μηδὲ μιᾷς εὐποροίῃ γούν ἡμιόνου.

87. Ἄλλος ... ἐξ ἔω *Haplouch., Dram.* 76: ἄλλος δὲ σεμνός, εὐγενής τὰ πρὸς λόγους.

εὐγενής τῶν ἐξ ἔω *Job* 1,3: καὶ ἦν ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐκεῖνος εὐγενής τῶν ἀφ' ἡλίου ἀνατολῶν.

89–91. λόγων ... μανθάνειν involves a certain degree of self-reference. Indeed, the ethopoetic and biographical features seem to mingle in various works of Theodore. For example, the previous work, ‘Verses of lamentation on the devaluation of learning’, includes an extensive treatment of the narrator’s education which, in effect, reflects Prodrornos’ own education.

92. ἀνέστιος ... πένης *Haplouch., Dram.* 77: ἀνέστιος πρόεισιν, ἄθλιος, πένης.

93. μὴ ... πιτυρίου cf. *R&D* III 422: στερεῇ τὰ πολλὰ καὶ πιτυρίου,⁷⁵² whereas the poem on Philia reads καὶ τοῦ τρύφους γεύθητι τοῦ πιτυρίου (v. 272). Food denotes social class.⁷⁵³ In emphasizing the total absence of food, Prodrornos seeks to place the intellectuals at the very bottom of the twelfth-century pyramid of economic prosperity. It comes with no surprise that the same idea is expressed in the *Ptochoprodromika*.⁷⁵⁴

100. ἀλλὰ ... βιβλία: an escalation of Prodrornos’ frustration against these shabby vulgarians, for they snatch even the books owing to their burgeoning wealth. On the other hand, the intellectuals, on account of their disastrous financial situation, cannot afford such valuable – but at the same time indispensable – commodities.⁷⁵⁵ The same idea is expressed in a series of Prodrornic works. First, an encomium for Patriarch John IX Agapetos (1131–34) reads thus:⁷⁵⁶

ἰδιαίτερον τοίνυν εἶναι τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ τῷ πλούτῳ ὑπείκασθαι τὴν σοφίαν συνέβαινε, πενίῃ δὲ ἀσοφίαν ἐναντίως τῷ λόγῳ ἐλάττανε, πολὺ βιβλίων μὲν ὄντων τῶν πολυχρύσων, τῶν δὲ ἀπορωτέρων σχολῇ γε καὶ μικροῦ τινος τεμαχίου χάρτου κατευπορούντων θριπιδεστάτου καὶ εὖ μάλα εὐρωτιδῶντος, καὶ

⁷⁵¹ Cf. PG 133 1293B.

⁷⁵² Therein, Dosikles, being imprisoned with Rhodanthe, laments over the hardships she has endured.

⁷⁵³ See ROILLOS, *Amphoteroglossia* 259–260.

⁷⁵⁴ Cf. *Ptochoprod.* IV 399: ἐκεῖνοι τὴν σεμίδαλαν, ἡμεῖς τὸν πιτυροῦντα.

⁷⁵⁵ On this verse see MAGDALINO, Manuel I Komnenos 340–341. The specific verse should perhaps be viewed in analogy with the vv. 95–102 from the third poem of ‘poor Prodrornos’. For these verses see also ALEXIOU, *The Poverty of Écriture* 8.

⁷⁵⁶ MANAPHIS, Θεοδώρου τοῦ Προδρόμου 240, 312–317. For this passage see MAGDALINO, Manuel I Komnenos 323.

μόγις που τὸν χρυσαόριον ὄλβον ἀπαληλιμμένον καὶ τοῦτον εἰ τύχη τῷ πλείστῳ καὶ ὑπὸ γαλῆς ἢ μυδὸς ἐνουρημένον περιλαμβάνοντος.

Secondly, in the satirical work, ‘The Plato-lover, or The Tanner’, Theodore is extremely scornful of a rustic man who possesses a book of Plato:⁷⁵⁷

Ἀπέχεις, ὦ φιλότης, τὴν ἰατρείαν, ἥδη σοι ὁ ἔμετος τεθεράπεται, ἀπόδος μοι καὶ αὐτὸς τὸν μισθόν, ἀπόδος τὰ ἰατήρια, κατάρθου τῆς χειρὸς τὸ βιβλίον, ναί, ὦ πρὸς εὐπλοῖαν καὶ φορὰν ἀνέμων, κατάρθου· εἰ δὲ μὴ βούλοιο καταθέσθαι, κἂν γοῦν μὴ ἐπὶ πολλῶν, ἐνύβριζε τῷ βιβλίῳ, ἀλλ’ ἵνα τὸ ὁμηρικὸν παρωδήσω «σιγῇ ἐπὶ σείῳ, ἵνα μὴ Πλάτων γε πύθεται» ἢ Πλάτων μὲν οὐδαμῶς, πρὸ πολλοῦ γὰρ αὐτῷ «ἡ ψυχὴ ἐκ ρεθέων πταμένη, Αἰδόσδε βεβήκει», τῶνδε δὲ γενναιοτέρων ἐταῖρων αὐτοῦ, ὃς καὶ δυσχεράνας ὅτι μάλιστα πρὸς τὸ πρᾶγμα, τὸ τε βιβλίον ἀποσπάσει σου τῶν χειρῶν καὶ πολλοὺς κατὰ κόρρης κονδύλους ἐντρίγεται».

And thirdly, the work, ‘Sale of political and poetical lives’ (H 147), a sequel of Lucian’s dialogue ‘Sale of lives’, describes the auction conducted by Hermes of some of the most well-known authors from antiquity (i.e. Homer, Hippocrates, Euripides, Aristophanes, Pomponius and Demosthenes).⁷⁵⁸ What is particularly interesting is that the potential bidders are delineated as ignoramuses. As such, they are unable to appreciate the genuine qualities of these authors. However, the fact that these rustic men possess the essential financial means to buy the lives of these authors should be viewed not only as an attempt by Prodrōmos to bestow extra humour on his work, as has been suggested,⁷⁵⁹ but also as a subtle reference to the Prodrōmic *topos* that only the newly rich artisans or tradesmen, who, are deprived of any education, can afford to buy these classical authors. I would, indeed, take it one step further and argue that the title of the work has a strong allegorical connotation and that, in fact, it is a sale of ‘political and poetical books’.

Furthermore, the verse under consideration can be found nearly unaltered in the poem of Euthymios Tornikes ‘On a senseless bishop of Seleukia who seized the episcopal see contrary to the canon laws of the monasteries of Euboia’ (see my annotations in the commentary).⁷⁶⁰

104–106. ἰδὼν ... συνεδρίῳ Haplouch., *Dram.* 78–79:

παράφρονας μὲν ἐν συνεδρίῳ βλέπω
σοφοὺς ἀτίμους, ἀσόφους τιμωμένους.

This image brings to mind *R&D* II 236 where a description of Rodanthe’s father, Straton, is included. Among his many merits, it is underscored that ‘he is respected in the council’.

⁷⁵⁷ See MIGLIORINI, Teodoro Prodrōmos 71, 124–132. For further comments see MAGADALINO, Manuel I Komnenos 333.

⁷⁵⁸ Hermes is closely correlated with the rhetoric in twelfth-century literature; see ROILLOS, Amphoteroglossia 28.

⁷⁵⁹ MARCINIAK, Bion Prasis 222.

⁷⁶⁰ V. 42: ἀλλὰ προῦφήρπασε καὶ τὰ βιβλία; see HÖRANDNER, Euthymios Tornikes (forthcoming).

108–112: cf. *Nic.Eugen., Mon. in Theod. Prodr.* 456.13–14: πῶς Ἄνυτοι κακοῦργοι ζῶσι καὶ Μέλητοι καὶ τῷ σοφῷ Σωκράτει παρετρίβη τὸ φάρμακον.

Eugenianos' borrowing serves a twofold purpose: first, he alludes to the present poem; and second, he equates Prodromos with Socrates.⁷⁶¹

115–116. μισῶν ... βλέπειν: cf. *D&C* VI 125: μισῶ τὸ βιοῦν οὐδὲ φῶς θέλω βλέπειν.

117–118. Ἐντεῦθεν ... ἄλλος: the automatic theory, as well as that of chance, is here introduced.⁷⁶² It is not easy to determine who are the two Greek philosophers, as both concepts are closely associated with Epicureanism.⁷⁶³ Of some help might be Sykes' note on the Nazianzenos' poem 'On Providence':

'But Aristotle appears to associate τὸ αὐτόματον with Democritus and his followers, among whom Epicurus is rightly numbered, and the term became established to characterize this philosophy; cf. *Arist.Ph.*196^a24 ff., with the note in W. D. Ross's edn., *Aristotle's Physics* (Oxford, 1936), 515'.⁷⁶⁴

It could thus be interpreted as a reference to both Democritus, who is mentioned later in the poem, and to Epicurus.

119. ἀκυβερνησίαν is a quite rare word, in that it occurs only two times before Prodromos (cf. *PGL* 'lack of guidance' and *LBG* 'Führungslosigkeit').

122. Ἐντεῦθεν ... φύσις *carm.hist.* XL 19: ὄκτειρα τὴν σύμφυλον ἀνθρώπων φύσιν.

128. Ἀρχηγέ ... τέκνον cf. *tetrast.* 23b1: οἶνε, κακῶν ἀρχηγέ, μέθης πάτερ, ἔρρ' ἀπ' ἐμεῖο and thereupon *Haplouch., Dram.110*: ἀρχηγέ κακῶν, ἀρχαϊκή κακίαν. All of these verses are formed on the analogy of the maxim Χρυσέ, κακῶν ἀρχηγέ, βιοφθόρε, πάντα χαλέπτων first attested at *Ps.-Phoc.* 44. Nonetheless, it is hardly likely that it was taken up directly from the work of Pseudo-Phocylides, especially when one thinks that it was a rather standard maxim by the twelfth century as exemplified in various lexica (cf. *Etymol. Magnum* 321.45 and *Ps-Zonar., Lexicon chi* 1842.2).⁷⁶⁵

γῆς τυφλὸν τέκνον: perhaps an allusion to the blind *Plutus* of Aristophanes.

⁷⁶¹ It is worth noting that in Manasses' *A&K* a similar contrast is drawn between Socrates and Mikyllos (Lucian's figure from *Kataplous*); see *A&K* 171.

⁷⁶² It might be interesting to note that a section of Psellos' work *Omnifaria Doctrina* is entitled as follows: Περὶ τύχης καὶ αὐτομάτου; for the text of the work see WESTERINK, *De omnifaria doctrina*.

⁷⁶³ For a detailed analysis on this matter see the vast commentary of Sykes on Gregory's poem 'On the Providence'; see SYKES – MORESCHINI, *Poemata Arcana* 178–179.

⁷⁶⁴ *Ibid.* 179.

⁷⁶⁵ Note that the maxim is included verbatim in the prose work on the Providence; see PG 133 1299B.

130. κοσμοφθόρον: the choice of this word seems to have been affected by the word βιοφθόρος in the maxim on which v. 128 was modelled. In support of this we may note that, by analogy with the maxim, it is applied to the word χρῆμα.

141–144. Ὁμοι ... δακρύειν: in order to highlight the tragedy and the absurdity of the current situation, Prodrornos refers to the well-known story of the weeping Heraclitus and laughing Democritus.⁷⁶⁶ Although this story is well-documented before Prodrornos, there is no doubt that his source of inspiration is Lucian's work 'Sale of lives'.⁷⁶⁷ As already mentioned, Theodore's work 'Sale of poetical and political lives', modelled on 'Sale of lives' carries on the narrative from the point that Lucian's work breaks off. Prodrornos did not, however, imitate the work of his predecessor in a slavish manner. On the contrary, he introduced a series of novelties.⁷⁶⁸ For example, the replacement of the pessimistic Heraclitus and the optimistic Democritus with their correspondencing literary counterparts, namely Euripides and Aristophanes.

The story is also included in Prodrornos' satirical work 'Amarantos, or The erotic desire of an old man' (H 146).⁷⁶⁹ Furthermore, the introduction of this story in various textual contexts is, arguably, fashionable in twelfth-century Byzantium, as a *TLG* search shows numerous occurrences, e.g. *Anacharsis* A 1475–1477, *Georg. Tornic.*, *Orat.* 283,2–3, *Euth. Malac.*, *Epist.* 1,133, *Io. Tzetz.*, *Chiliad.* II.723–724, *Eust. Thessal.*, *De capta Thessalonica.* 130.25.

147. σαλπίζον στόμα: Theodore wishes that his tongue may be a loud-sounding trumpet like the appearance of God on Sinai in *Ex.* 19,16/19 – at the same time, it should be viewed as a call on God.⁷⁷⁰

148. ἀγχίστροφον δὲ γλῶσσαν: in his seminal study on the poetics of the Komnenian novels, Roilos discusses the 'double-tonguedness' of twelfth-century rhetoric.⁷⁷¹ In order to bolster his argument, Roilos cites two examples from Prodrornos' poetic corpus. Both of them

⁷⁶⁶ For a discussion of this story see LUTZ, Democritus and Heraclitus 309–314. Regrettably, the author does not include any Byzantine sources in her investigation.

⁷⁶⁷ Cf. *Lucian.*, *Sacr.* 15: Ἡρακλείτου δὲ τινοῦ ἢ Δημοκρίτου, τοῦ μὲν γελασμένου τὴν ἄνοιαν αὐτῶν, τοῦ δὲ τὴν ἄνοιαν ὀδυρουμένου.

⁷⁶⁸ On this matter see MARCINIAK, Bion Prasis 219–239.

⁷⁶⁹ MIGLIORINI, *Amaranto* 183–247. 51–57. For an insightful examination see CULLHED, *Theodoros Prodrornos in the Garden of Epicurus* (forthcoming).

⁷⁷⁰ The same wish is expressed at *carm. Arc.* 1.23 by Gregory of Nazianzus; for further annotations on this verse see SYKES – MORESCHINI, *Poemata Arcana* 84.

⁷⁷¹ ROILOS, *Amphoteroglossia* 27–32.

concern poems which are to be found in the present edition. The first is a distich treating rhetoric from the cycle of epigrams, ‘On virtues and vices’, while the second derives from the poem on *Philia*. I am inclined to think that the verse in question corroborates Roilos’ argument, a reference to the rhetorical skill of the poet.⁷⁷²

149. Καὶ ... ἄκραν: Parnassus is known as the legendary hearth of poetry and music. Indeed, in Byzantine literature it is described as the settlement of the Muses.⁷⁷³ Thus, Theodore calls on the Muses, as do other poets, e.g. *Od.* 1,10 and *Arat. Phaen.* 16–18.

Χρυσολάτρις attested only twice before Prodromos (cf. *TLG*), while it is re-employed in the rather unknown poem ‘Epitaphium on the greedy monk’ – to be found in the margin of fol. 94^v in V – in order for the extreme avaricious nature of a monk to be rendered. Also, in Haploucheir’s *Dramation*, the Muses, offended by the unanticipated response of the wise man, call him ‘χρυσολάτρα’ – a further indication that his work is an imitation of the Prodromic poem.⁷⁷⁴

161. ὀπτῶν ... ἐξεσμένων: in his life of St. Meletios the Younger, the description of Moutalaski in Cappadocia opens as follows: ὁ λίθοις ξεστοῖς καὶ πλίνθαις ὀπταῖς (cf. *Prodr.*, *Melet.* 41).

164–168. Εἶεν ... λέγεις: in the *Dramation* of Haploucheir, the rustic man dissuades the wise man from insulting the goddess *Tyche* by employing similar phraseology.⁷⁷⁵

Σίγα σιώπα σφίγγε τὸ λαῦρον στόμα
Καὶ μὴ θελήσης τὴν θεὰν παροργίσαι·
ἅπασι γὰρ πάρεστι καὶ πάντα βλέπει.

⁷⁷² Cf. *Mich.Psel.*, *Chronogr.* 6.13: ἀγχιστρόφους, εἰ σεμνοὶ εἶεν, ἢ τοὺς εὐστρόφους τὴν γλῶτταν and *Nic.Gregor.*, *Historia Romana* 1059,5: ἀγχιστρόφος δ’ ἡ τῆς γλώττης διάθεσις. Prodromos is compared to a tongue in a poem addressed to his pupil Theodore Styppeiotes (cf. *carmin.hist.* LXXI 96–97).

⁷⁷³ For Parnassus in Byzantine literature see RHOBY, *Reminiszenzen an antiken Stätten* 216.

⁷⁷⁴ Cf. *Haplouch.*, *Dram.* 272, 98.

⁷⁷⁵ *Ibid.* 268, 8–10.

Commentary

(keywords: Gregory of Nazianzus, rhetoric of poverty, self-representation, didactic function)

Christopher Mitylenaios' poem 'On the Inequality of Life', addressed to Christ, constitutes a reproach against the current gap between rich and poor. Similarly, Prodromos' poem, by addressing Divine Providence, treats a related theme, albeit adjusted to the trends of twelfth-century literature, that is, the unconquerable gap between vulgar artisans who enjoy considerable wealth and the genteel intellectuals who suffer dire poverty. Magdalino has, recently, pointed out that certain links can be assumed between these two poems;⁷⁷⁶ the quasi-identical opening verse corroborates his hypothesis.

It is reasonable to suppose that Theodore would draw inspiration from the work of his forerunner. If so, the significance of Prodromos' poem is enhanced even more, as it can be viewed as a bridge between the themes of eleventh- and twelfth-century poetry. Mitylenaios' work seems, after all, to be well-known to some twelfth-century poets. For example, in the pseudo-Psellian poem no. 68 he is listed, along with other Byzantine poets, working before the twelfth century.⁷⁷⁷ Moreover, Hörandner has suggested that Ioannikios, the monk who enjoyed close ties with Prodromos, could be one of the possible candidates for the authorship of this pseudo-Psellian poem.⁷⁷⁸

Nonetheless, although the theme of social inequality is well attested before Prodromos' time, the motif of the rich artisan and the poor intellectual is deeply rooted in the thematic repertoire of twelfth-century Byzantine poetry. Alexiou and Beaton have contributed a great deal to a better understanding of this twelfth-century phenomenon.⁷⁷⁹ Regrettably, though, in limiting their interest to vernacular poetry, and especially to the poems of the 'poor Prodromos', both of them have overlooked the existence of the present poem, as well as its place in the development of this phenomenon. Recently, Roilos retrieved it from the oblivion to which it was consigned by offering a brief analysis with a special focus on Prodromos' delineation of the concept of *Pronoia*.⁷⁸⁰

To start with, the structure of this long poem can be described as follows:

⁷⁷⁶ See MAGDALINO, *Cultural Change* 29. Livanos has, moreover, noted that 'His most famous poem is a jaded meditation on the insurmountable gaps separating the rich from the poor, and in his concern for the lower classes he anticipates such twelfth-century texts as the *Ptochoprodromika*'; see LIVANOS, *Byzantine poetic tradition* 205.

⁷⁷⁷ On the poem, see BERNARD, *Beats of the Pen* 103–104 and HÖRANDNER – PAUL, *Zu Ps.-Psellos* 107–137.

⁷⁷⁸ *Ibid.* 109.

⁷⁷⁹ ALEXIOU, *Poverty and BEATON, The Rhetoric of Poverty*.

⁷⁸⁰ See ROILLOS, *Amphoteroglossia* 298.

vv. 1–7 Theodore, in an attempt to demonstrate that he is not able to understand the depth of Providence's will, quotes the Old and New Testaments twice (*Ps.35,7* and *Hab.2,1*) and once (*Rom.11.33*) respectively. Accordingly, these quotations signify a transition from the Old to the New Testaments.

vv. 8–40 There follows a very thorough description of the features of Divine Providence. In vv. 8–20, we are told that the universe is governed by *Pronoia*. The sun which rises and sets, bringing about the succession of the four seasons and counting time on earth. In vv. 24–31, a subtle reference to the biblical creation of the world is included. Theodore then cites some further examples indicating Providence's sublime control over the laws of nature.

vv. 41–50 The poet brings to the fore the following question: who steers wisely multifaceted nature? Immediately thereafter, he attempts to deconstruct the main principle of Epicureanism, namely, the absence of divine intervention. Two examples are employed in support of this rebuttal: first, the case of a horse without a rider breaking down; and second, a ship wrecked due to the absence of a steersman.

vv. 51–56 The two opening verses of the poem are repeated, albeit slightly altered. We are told that the poet is aware of the hidden depths of God's will, and yet he is not able to endure the manner in which lives are endowed upon mortals.

vv. 57–86 An extensive description of the group of rich vulgar artisans of humble origin and hideous countenance. The description takes on an extremely negative image: (a) they are totally deprived of anything good; (b) they cannot scratch themselves; (c) they have an insatiable appetite for food and drink; (d) they cut their beards with their teeth; and, (e) when they speak, they produce jars filled of saliva.

vv. 87–96 He proceeds to a description of a second group of people which includes men who are modest, noble, genteel and gifted with superior learning. However, in sharp contrast to the vulgar craftsmen, misfortune and poverty have been fallen upon the second group.

vv. 97–102 After a diligent description of these two classes, the poet expresses his intense distress for this mob of uneducated men. Unlike the poor intellectuals, they are able to buy books and orations.

vv. 103–112 A comparison between Socrates and Meletos is included. The rich artisans are compared to the foolish Meletos who accused innocent Socrates, while the poor intellectuals are likened to Socrates who was unjustly condemned to death.

vv. 113–114 The poor intellectuals, who talk fairly, are usually called impious. The rich artisans, by contrast, are called pious, although they speak unfairly.

vv. 115–127 The poet asserts that the most prominent Greek philosophers were ignorant of wise Providence. Moreover, he claims that because of *Tyche*, the blood-related nature of people was split into parts, leading up to the creation of two classes (free men and enslaved).

vv. 128–140 Prodromos argues that blame should not be placed upon the gold, but the foolishness and voraciousness of human nature. Towards the end, a rhetorical question is posed: how can the world function if it is based on evil?

vv. 141–146 The well-known motif of weeping Heraclitus and laughing Democritus is embedded in this part of the poem.

vv. 147–153 The poet wishes to be turned into a trumpet in order to evince overt injustice.

vv. 154–163 He dwells upon the theme of the transience of material riches by offering certain examples.

vv. 164–167 The voice of the poet calls on him to be quiet, for not even Paul was able to shed light on the inexplicable will of God.

As noted in the commentary of the previous poem, the twelfth-century authors liked to play with a series of versatile poetic personae, at the same time reflecting features of self-representation. Since the present poem does not seem to overturn such a practice, it is worth dwelling briefly on this aspect. The first part of the poem (vv. 1–56) is dedicated to the exploration of Providence. I would like to suggest that this part displays some characteristics of an *ekphrasis*. This particular rhetorical discourse thrives in various literary works of the time, the corpus of Constantine Manasses certainly holding the most prominent place.⁷⁸¹ Upon the quasi-ekphrastic description of Providence, the poet continues with a delineation *in extenso* of two very different groups of people, the vulgar artisans and the genteel intellectuals. Despite the absence of any explicit mention, there is no doubt that he places himself in the second group. In demonstrating emphatically the immense gulf – in terms of wealth – between these two classes, he (i.e. Theodore) emerges as a pursuer of justice, and as a righteous author. Irrespective of whether Prodromos' complaints are real or not, he tries to project himself as a guardian of his contemporary intellectuals. A very effective medium employed to cultivate an image of the virtuous man is the comparison of vulgar artisans with the slanderers Meletos and Anytos and the genteel intellectuals with Socrates (vv. 107–111). The latter is always viewed as a pure symbol of true virtuousness and wisdom. As one of the

⁷⁸¹ See NILSSON, *The Ekphrasis of Konstantinos Manasses* 121–143.

genteel intellectuals, Prodromos, an excellent virtuoso, subtly equates himself to Socrates. The significance of this persona is further enhanced when one considers, as I do below, that this text was directed to his students; Prodromos seeks to come across as a teacher of philosophy.

The persona of Socrates is troped further by the very strong philosophical tone that permeates the whole poem. For instance, a dislike of Epicureans and, in general, classical Greek philosophy, is evident throughout the poem yet justified through a series of examples. In addition, the long and ekphrastic proem which precedes the detailed description of the two groups, as well as the intense polemic against the group of the parvenu craftsmen and tradesmen, take the form of a philosophical contemplation on Providence. As to Prodromos' constant complaints against God's Providence, it must be emphasized that they should in no account be viewed as blasphemy. On the contrary, they must be construed in light of the concept of religious *Parrhesia*.⁷⁸² This might constitute further evidence in favour of the argument that Prodromos was familiar with the poem of Christopher Mitylenaios, who also makes extensive use of this concept in his poem.⁷⁸³ Although Theodore speaks candidly with God in the greatest part of the poem, towards the end his striking boldness is somehow moderated by stating that he accepts unobjectionably the unfathomable nature of God's will.

Turning to the compositional technique, of special interest to the modern reader might be Prodromos' ingenious use of sources. One can observe a blending of three sources of inspiration, all of which display, in one way or another, similarities with the theme of Prodromos' poem. To begin with, the subject-matter of his poem strongly likens, as shown, Mitylenaios' poem 'On the Inequality of Life'. The recurrence of the opening verse is, arguably, convincing evidence pointing in this direction.

The intertextual relation goes, however, beyond the boundaries of eleventh-century poetry. Prodromos' knowledge of the poetic corpus of Gregory of Nazianzus is obvious, for the poem under consideration was modelled, to a significant degree, on Gregory's poem 'On Providence'. In this particular poem, Gregory meditates on the role of Providence in creation and in sustaining of the Universe. Although Gregory does not address the Epicureans directly, it is clear that by dismissing automatic activity for both the creation and the operation of the universe, he insinuates, in effect, the fundamental theory of the

⁷⁸² For the term see *ODB* III 1591.

⁷⁸³ On this aspect see LIVANOS, Christopher of Mytilene 56–57.

Epicureans.⁷⁸⁴ Thus, Prodromos successfully managed to recognize that Gregory referred to Epicureanism, while he decided to include an outright attack against that philosophy. Further evidence for the close connection between these two poems is the resemblance between vv. 45–50 of Prodromos’ and vv. 10–13 of Gregory’s poem: Gregory cites examples in order to strengthen his argument that the self-generation and the self-operation of the universe are completely impossible, while Prodromos’ examples focus exclusively on the refutation of the self-operation of the Universe. Moreover, the title appears to be a combination of Gregory’s poems ‘Σχετλιαστικὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτοῦ παθῶν’ and ‘Περὶ Προνοίας’ (‘On Providence’). Hence, a paratextual link between Prodromos and Gregory can be established. A third source of inspiration is Aristophanes. No one has noticed that the poem engages ingeniously with *Plutus* of Aristophanes for the paradigm of the financial self-sufficiency of tradesmen or artisans, indicating that our knowledge of begging poetry, although much better documented than it had been thirty years ago, continues to be deprived of certain pivotal aspects.

Equally interesting is the reception of the poem: at least two subsequent authors read and imitated Prodromos’ poem. The first was Euthymios Tornikes, whose poem ‘On a senseless bishop of Seleukia who seized the episcopal see contrary to the canon laws of the monasteries of Euboia’, preserved only in the manuscript *Bucurestensis Academiae Române* gr. 508,⁷⁸⁵ draws on the present work in two cases: first, for the *synkrisis* of the bishop in question to the bird Seleucis; second, when Tornikes borrows an entire verse in order to maintain that edible things were not sufficient to extinguish the gluttony of the bishop, and, as a result, he also pilfered the books from the monastery libraries.

The second author was Michael Haploucheir, who wrote the so-called *Dramation* and functioned as member of the senate and *orphanotrophos* during the second half of the twelfth century.⁷⁸⁶ Hörandner has pointed out that Haploucheir’s iambic *Dramation* borrowed thirteen verses – virtually verbatim – from Prodromos’ poem.⁷⁸⁷ Aside from these thirteen verses, there are two other verses whose formation was affected by Prodromos’ poem.⁷⁸⁸

⁷⁸⁴ See SYKES – MORESCHINI, *Poemata Arcana* 178–179.

⁷⁸⁵ HÖRANDNER, Euthymios Tornikes (forthcoming).

⁷⁸⁶ For an updated list of bibliography on Haploucheir see MARCINIAK, *Greek Drama* 101. His function as *orphanotrophos* is documented in a letter of Balsamon; see TREU, *Michael Italikos* 3.

⁷⁸⁷ HÖRANDNER, *Prodromos-Reminiszenzen* 101–103 and more recently IDEM, *Musterautoren und ihre Nachahmer* 211.

⁷⁸⁸ See above “Notes on the Text”. Haploucheir seems to be very familiar with Prodromos’ work in general. For example, the opening verse of his *Dramation* is identical with that of Prodromos’ poem entitled, ‘Against a lustful old Woman’; see KRUMBACHER, *Litteratur* 767.

Imitation is limited to these fifteen verses. Haploucheir's *Dramation* is also based on the motif of the wealthy uneducated man and the poor wise man. Furthermore, Fortune, which in Prodomos appears very briefly (in vv. 117–127), in the *Dramation* is transformed into an almighty goddess who controls the laws of nature, thereby bearing resemblance to Divine Providence.

In connection with the *Dramation*, a digression is necessary concerning the complaints expressed by many twelfth-century poets about the absence of social self-sufficiency. As is well known, Kazhdan and Epstein have imposed socio-economic origins upon these complaints.⁷⁸⁹ Michael Haploucheir, expressing the same woes in his *Dramation*, displays, however, one conspicuous peculiarity: he is not a professional intellectual trying to ascend the Constantinopolitan social ladder as is Prodomos. By contrast, he is a member of the senate and the *orphanotrophos*. Why, then, did he write a work filled with such woes? The view of Bourbouhakis about the unceasing complaints of the twelfth-century poets might shed some light on this question:

But rather than look to socio-economic circumstances, is it not just as likely that once in circulation within a genre, it became a topos, a literary motif at the disposal of writers quick to exploit a theme closely associated with certain forms? In effect, I am suggesting that we are sometimes too quick to look for social or other external factors which shaped the contents of Byzantine literature, without acknowledging the autonomy of the Byzantine imagination. A popular topos need not reflect genuine circumstances in order to achieve widespread currency; its origins and growth are more often a matter of the history of literature than the history of society. Of course, the former is an intrinsic part of the latter and can be read with a view to the sort of meaning Byzantine audiences found credible. Still, we should be wary about drawing direct correspondences between literature and actual circumstances. Literature depends, to a significant extent, on imaginative 'distortion'.

I am inclined to believe that it had been established as a literary *topos* by the time Haploucheir set his pen to write his *Dramation* (see below pp. 324–325).

Returning now to Prodomos – the most talented of virtuosos when it comes to texts expressing the futility of letters – in our attempt to elucidate this challenging question. First of all, it should be emphasized that the poem in question differentiates significantly from his poems which display the traditional features of what we call 'rhetoric of poverty'.⁷⁹⁰ Here, Theodore does not address a lofty patron beseeching him or her for financial succour in order to be able to carry on his literary activity, whose ultimate and sole purpose is the singing of their praise. In this sense, the poem departs significantly from, for example, the hexametric

⁷⁸⁹ KAZHDAN – EPSTEIN, *Change in Byzantine Culture* 130–133 and 220–230. Most of the modern scholars follow this view. See, for instance, LAUXTERMANN, *Byzantine Poetry* 36.

⁷⁹⁰ The same has been argued for the poem entitled 'Verses of lamentation on the devaluation of the learning.'

poem addressed to Anna Komnene, where the poet claims that he is close to Hades and makes demands for an equal recompense to his dazzling speech:⁷⁹¹

ἀγχοῦ γὰρ θανάτοιο κατήλυθον, αὐτὸν ἐς Ἄδην.
ἢ φάθι καὶ τι τέλεσσον ἐπάξιον οἷο λόγοιο
ἢ με κύνεσσιν ἔα καὶ γύπεσι κύρμα γενέσθαι

For I am now close to death, to Hades himself. | Either grant and bestow unto me a gift that matches this speech | or let me become a prey to dogs and vultures.

It is also different from the poem addressed to Theodore Styppaiotes, in which the poet implores his former student to report to the emperor his critical situation. Otherwise, he will be snatched away by Hades and no one will be able to write stunning eulogies for his beloved emperor (the high self-assertiveness of Prodrornos should not be overlooked):⁷⁹²

εἴτα φθαρείσης, ἄνθρωπε, τῆς γλώττης τοῦ Προδρόμου
ἐτέραν εὖροι τίς ἐν γῇ ταύτῃ παρισυμένην
καὶ σχετικῶς κηρύσσοντα τὸν αὐτοκράτορά μου;
οὐκ οἶμαι, κἂν παραφρονῶν τοῦτον λαλῶ τὸν λόγον.

Accordingly, mortal, if the tongue of Prodrornos perishes, | who could find on earth another equal (tongue) | to proclaim firmly my emperor? | No one I think. I dare to utter these words even though I speak deliriously.

Be that as it may, save for the poem in question, there are quite a number of works treating the close connection between poverty and learning/wisdom, e.g. the poem, ‘Verses of lamentation on the devaluation of learning’, which has been thoroughly examined above. Nevertheless, a prose treatise entitled, ‘On those who blaspheme against Providence on account of poverty’ (H 151), claims a very close relation to the present poem, signified by the use of common motifs and phraseology,⁷⁹³ as well as of a common theme, as it, like the poem, treats inequality in terms of wealth between uneducated artisans and educated men, and the pivotal role of Providence and Fortune in the formation of these two groups. An essential distinction should though be made between these two texts. Whereas the poem is a complaint against the inequality of these two groups directed in a rather bold manner to Providence, the prose work is a refutation of the argument that Providence is to be blamed for the inequality between these two groups.

In this connection, Paul Magdalino has recently noted about the composition of the prose work that ‘Prodrornos did, however, balance this with a more benign, prose treatise on

⁷⁹¹ *Carm.hist.* XVIII 116-118, transl. in CULLHED, The blind Bard 58.

⁷⁹² *Carm.hist.* LXXI 96-99.

⁷⁹³ All common features are indicated in ‘notes on the text’.

Providence'.⁷⁹⁴ I think that the question of their relation can be further elucidated if they are regarded as a pair of rhetorical exercises on the same topic. As rightly observed,⁷⁹⁵ the prose work is a sort of *anaskeuē*, rebutting the statement that Providence is to be blamed for this inequality, while the poem is a *kataskeuē* offering confirmation to the statement that this inequality is directed by the Providence.⁷⁹⁶ Hence, the context of their production might be reconstructed as follows: they were used together by Prodromos as exemplary models for teaching his students these two rhetorical exercises. Practical reasons may necessitate the employment of prose and meter, the most obvious springing to mind is the teaching of verse and prose composition. This is not an uncommon practice in Byzantium. Aside from the innumerable Schede which combine prose and verse, we may, indicatively, mention the case of a recently-edited poem and prose work on the structure of iambic trimeter whose function is closely associated with a school milieu.⁷⁹⁷ It is clear that both of them were penned by the same author, almost certainly Prodromos' close associate, monk Ioannikios.⁷⁹⁸

Returning to Prodromos' prose work, it is interesting to note that it is highly self-referential:⁷⁹⁹

Ἐγωγε, ὃ παρόντες (ἀλλ' ἀπειν Ἀδράστεια), γένους μὲν οὐ παντάπασι γέγονα χαμαιζήλου· ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἂν καὶ ζηλωτοῦ τοῖς πολλοῖς. Τὰ δὲ μοι κατὰ τὸ σῶμα, κἂν εἰ μὴ τῆς ἄγαν ἀρίστης τετυχήκασιν κράσεως, τέως γε μὴν οὐθὲν εἰλήχουσιν (sic) κολοβόν. Διδασκάλων προσεφοίτησα τοῖς ἀρίστοις· γραμματικὴν προὔτελέσθην· ῥητορείαν ἐξεμύθηθην, οὐχ ἦν οἱ ψυχροὶ Σιμόκατοι καὶ οἱ κατ' αὐτοὺς, εἰπεῖν οἰκειότερον, ἀποπέρδουσιν, ἀλλ' ἦν Ἀριστεῖδαι καὶ Πλάτωνες ἀναπνέουσι. Τῆς Ἀριστοτέλους φιλοσοφίας, τῆς Πλάτωνος ὑψηλογίας,⁸⁰⁰ τῆς ἐν γραμμαῖς καὶ ἀριθμοῖς θεωρίας, ἔχω μὲν λέγειν ὡς οὐδὲν ἀφῆκα κατόπιν·

I, O present fellows (let Adrasteia keep clear!), do not stem from an entirely humble family; on the contrary, it would be envied by many. As far as my body goes, even though I do not happen to have an excellent physical constitution, at least I was not lame in any way until then. I was associated with the most excellent teachers; I was first initiated in grammar; I was instructed in rhetoric, not that of ineffectual people like Simocates and their similar [people], to say it more naturally, they fart, but the rhetoric of people like Aristides and Plato. I can claim not to have lagged behind in Aristotle's philosophy, Plato's lofty ideas, or in geometry.

A few features are to be noted here. First of all, the phrase 'ἔγωγε, ὃ παρόντες...' suggests an oral delivery, almost certainly before his students. The prose work is further invested by similar word combinations, e.g. 'ὃ φίλ' ἑταῖρε'⁸⁰¹, while the v. 51 of the poem (Οὐκ ἄγνοῶ

⁷⁹⁴ MAGDALINO, Cultural Change 29.

⁷⁹⁵ See ROILLOS, Amphoteroglossia 297.

⁷⁹⁶ The same function can be claimed for his work 'Refutation of the adage that poverty begets wisdom' (H 150), although the confirmation – if ever penned – does not survive.

⁷⁹⁷ DELLE DONNE, Sedici giambi sul giambo 37–56.

⁷⁹⁸ See HÖRANDNER, Didactic Tool (forthcoming).

⁷⁹⁹ Cf. PG 133 1297A–B.

⁸⁰⁰ This is the reading of V, the edition reads ὑψηλολογίας.

⁸⁰¹ *Ibid.* 1296B.

γούν, ὡς προείρηκα φθάσας) points in the same direction.⁸⁰² Furthermore, it contains some customary evidence about Prodromos' education and life. Indeed, Prodromos makes a subtle mention of his disease. On the basis of this mention it can be argued that these two works may be safely dated after 1143, and that contrary to what has previously been suggested he carried on his edificatory work even after being infected by smallpox.

More importantly for our purposes, however, is the embellishment of a text of a potential didactic function with biographical data of the teacher. Perhaps it is an effective medium to arouse the interest of his students or to enhance the teaching authority of Prodromos over them. In either case, it sets the ground to go back to the question of why did twelfth-century poets include such complaints in their works. I do not mean to put in dispute that a social-economic origin induced poets to write poems full of complaints about their critical situation, but it seems that this topic was also an established literary *topos*. How else should we then interpret its integration into texts that were purported to be used in a school milieu?

⁸⁰² Tzetzes makes use of similar phrases in his Homeric *Allegories* dedicated to Bertha-Irene of Sulzbach; cf. RHOBY, Tzetzes als Auftragsdichter 162

No. 14 (H 153)

Ἐπὶ ἀποδήμῳ τῇ Φιλίᾳ

- Ξ. ὦ Φιλία δέσποινα, πάντιμον κάρα,
 ποῦ καὶ πόθεν; καὶ ταῦτα μεστή δακρύων,
 στυγνὴ, κατηφής, τὴν κόμην ἐσकुλμένη,
 κύπτουσα πρὸς γῆν, ὠχρίῳσα τὴν χροάν,
 5 χιτώνιον πενθῆρες ἡμφιεσμένη,
 ἀτημελὴς τὸ ζῶσμά καὶ τὸ βλαυτίον,
 καὶ τὴν κακίστην ἀλλαγὴν ἡλλαγμένη·
 ὁ δὲ στολισμὸς ὁ πρὶν, ἡ δὲ πορφύρα,
 ἡ δ' εὐπρέπεια καὶ τὸ τοῦ χείλους ῥόδον,
 10 ὁ δὲ πλόκαμος, ἡ δὲ τῆς ζώνης χάρις,
 αἱ δ' ἄρβυλίδες, ἡ δὲ λοιπὴ σεμνότης,
 ὄχοντο πάντα πρὸς τὸ μηδὲν ἀθρόα.
 Καὶ νῦν γυναιξὶν ἐμφορῆς θρηνητρίαις
 στυγνὴ βαδίζεις. Ἀλλὰ ποῦ δὴ καὶ πόθεν;
 15 Φ. Γῆθεν πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν Θεὸν καὶ Πατέρα.
 Ξ. Ἐρημος οὖν ὁ Κόσμος ἐστὶ φιλίας;
 Φ. Ἐρημος, ὅς τοσοῦτον ἐξύβριζέ με.
 Ξ. Ὑβριζε; Φ. Καὶ θύραθεν ἐξέρριπτέ με.
 Ξ. Θύραθεν; Φ. Ὡστε καὶ νομισθῆναι θανεῖν.
 20 Ξ. Εἴτ' ἐξέκεισο; Φ. Καὶ μεμαστιγωμένη.
 Ξ. Μελαγχολᾷν τὸν Κόσμον ἄντικρυς λέγεις,
 οὕτω μανικῶς ἐμπαροινήσαντά σοι.
 Φ. Τί δ' ἂν τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ἐμῶν παθῶν μάθης;
 Ὅσους παρ' αὐτοῦ κονδύλους ἐνετρίβην,
 25 ὕβρεις ὅσας ὑπεῖχον <καὶ χλεύας> ὅσας.
 Νῦν μὲν κατ' ἀμφοῖν πυγμαχοῦντος ταῖν γνάθοιν,
 νῦν δ' ἐνθοροῦντος λάξ κατ' αὐτῆς γαστέρος.
 Ἐὼ τὰ λοιπὰ καὶ τὰ μείζονα, Ξένε·
 ἢ γὰρ μαθὼν, ἡλγησας ἂν τὴν καρδίαν.
 30 Ξ. Μὴ μὴ πρὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ πατρός σου, Φιλία,
 μηδὲν σιγῆσης, ἀλλὰ μοι τὸ πᾶν φάθι.
 Φ. Οὐκοῦν καθιζήσαντες ἀμφὶ τὴν πίτυν,
 – ὁρᾷς τὸ δένδρον ὥς καλὸν τε καὶ μέγα; –
 Τὸ πᾶν ἐπεξέλθωμεν ἤδη τοῦ λόγου.

V f. 94^v–97^v N f. 98^v–99^r | Gu. μ³⁻¹² Dū. 83–90 Ge. 622–628 Ky. 103–107 Mi. 1321B–1332B

tit. τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ ἀποδήμῳ τῇ φιλίᾳ V N : τοῦ κύρου Θεοδώρου Προδρόμου ἐπὶ ἀποδήμῳ τῇ φιλίᾳ. Ξένος καὶ Φιλία Gu.: κύρου Θεοδώρου τοῦ Προδρόμου ἐπὶ ἀποδήμῳ τῇ φιλίᾳ. Περιοχή. Φιλία ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς τοῦ κόσμου ἥτοι βίου ἀνθρωπίνου ἐκβέβληται· συνεζεύχθη δ' αὐτῷ ἡ μαγλὰς ἔχθρα, συμβουλευσάσης Μωρίας τῆς θεραπαίνιδος αὐτοῦ. Ξένος καὶ Φιλία. Dū. Ge. || 2 ποῦ] ποῖ Dū. Ge. : ποῦ καὶ legi non potest in N || 5 χιτώνιον Gu. (sed χιτώνιον corr. Ky.) || 14 ποῦ] ποῖ Dū. Ge. || 21 ἀντικρὺς Gu. Dū. || 23 ab Τί δ' ἂν text. om. N || 24-25 vers. om. Gu. Dū. Ge. Ky. || 25 ὑπεῖχον scripsi : ὑπῆρχον V | <καὶ χλεύας> supplevi || 29 ἢ Dū. || 30 Μὴ] μὰ Gu. Ge. (sed μὴ corr. Dū.) Ky.

- 35 **Ξ.** Ἴδου καθιζήκαμεν· ἄρξαι τοῦ λέγειν.
Φ. Ἐγὼ τὰ πρῶτα τῷ Θεῷ, τῇ Τριάδι
 ἀεὶ σύνειμι καθαρῶς ἡνωμένη·
 ἐν τοῖς ἄσωμάτοις δε δευτέρως νόοις,
 καὶ ταῖς τρισὶ τριάσι ταῖς ἄνω μένω,
 40 οἶον Χερουβὶμ καὶ Σεραφὶμ καὶ Θρόνοις,
 καὶ ταῖς προλοίοις ἀύλοις στραταρχίαις.
 Ἐγὼ γὰρ αὐταῖς, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὰς τὴν σχέσιν,
 καὶ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον, καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλας νέμω·
 καὶ τὰς τοσαύτας τῶν ἄνω μυριάδας
 45 εἰς ἓν συνάπτω, καὶ μίαν σειρὰν πλέκω.
 Ἐωσφόρος μόνος με πρὶν ἀπεστράφη,
 κακ τῶν ἀφ' ὕψους ἀντύγων κατεστράφη.
 Οὕτως μέν, οὕτως ἡ νοουμένη κτίσις
 ἐμοὶ κρατεῖται, καὶ μένει φρουρουμένη.
 50 Τὴν γὰρ θεατὴν καὶ κατ' αἴσθησιν φύσιν,
 τὸ κοσμικὸν πλήρωμα, τὴν κάτω κτίσιν,
 τίς ἀμφιβάλλει μὴ κρατεῖσθαι Φιλία;
 Ὁ φλήναφος γὰρ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ἐρρέτω,
 τὸ νεῖκος, εἰπὼν, δημιουργὸν τῶν κάτω.
 55 Τί γὰρ νοήσει, καὶ συναίσθεται τίνος
 ἄνθρωπος οὐ γνοὺς ὥς τὸ πῦρ καίει φύσει,
 ἀλλ' εἰς πυρὸς κρατῆρας ἐμπεσὼν μέσους;
 Ἥ τίς τὸν εὐρὺν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὸν μέγαν,
 ἄκαμπτον ὄντα τὸ πρὶν εὐθυωρίαν,
 60 εἰ χρηὴ πιθέσθαι τοῖς λόγοις τοῦ φαμένου,
 ἔκαμψεν εἰς τὴν σφαῖραν, εἰ μὴ Φιλία;
 Οἶον γὰρ εἰπεῖν, ὥς καλοῦ καὶ κοσμίου
 ἐρῶν ἑαυτοῦ πρὸς κύκλον συνεστράφη,
 ἑαυτὸν αὐτῷ φιλιῶν πανταχόθεν,
 65 καὶ πάντα πᾶσι συμπερισφίγγων μέρη.
 Ἐγὼ τὰ κύκλα τῶν ἀπείρων ἀστέρων,
 ἀπλῶς ἀπάντων, ἀπλανῶν, πλανωμένων
 ἔταξα δεσμῷ καὶ συναφῇ πανσόφω.
 Ἐγὼ φιλιῷ τῷ σεληναίῳ κύκλῳ
 70 τὸν ἡλιακὸν δίσκον, ὃς τὸ φῶς βρύει,
 καὶ φιλιῷ τοσοῦτον ὥς καὶ λαμπάδας
 κιχρᾶν ἐκείνῳ τοῦτον εἰς νυκτῶν σέλας.
 Ἐγὼ τὸ πᾶν πλήρωμα τοῦ παντὸς βίου
 πλοκῇ ξυνεστὼς φύσεων ἐναντίων
 75 καινῶς ἐνίζω, κἂν διίστηται φύσει.

|| 38 ἄσωμάτως Gu. | δευτέροις Gu. Ge. || 40 οἶον Gu. | θρόνις Gu. (sed θρόνοις corr. Ky.) || 41 ἀύλαις Gu. Ge. || 42 γὰρ] μὲν Gu. Ge. || 47 κακτῶν Gu. : κακτῶν Ky. || 56 φύσει καίει Gu. Dū. Ge. || 59 εὐθυωρία Dū. || 60 εἰ χρη] χρη γὰρ Dū. : ἀρχῇ Gu. Ge. || 61 εἰμὴ Gu. || 70 δύσκον V || 72 κιχρᾶν Gu. || 74 ξυνεστὸς Ge. (sed ξυνεστὼς corr. Dū.) Ky. || 75 καινῶς] κοινῶς Dū. Ge. | διίσταται Gu. Dū. Ge.

- Ξηρόν τὸ πῦρ, ὑγρόν δὲ χύσις ἀέρος
καὶ γειτονοῦσι ταῦτα καὶ μέσον μάχη·
ἀλλ' ἐμβαλοῦσα τοῖν δυοῖν ἐναντίοις
κοινὸν τὸ θερμόν, τὴν μάχην ἀνατρέπω.
- 80** Θερμόν μὲν ἀήρ, ἀλλ' ὕδωρ ψυχρόν φύσει,
ἀγχιθυρεῖ δὲ καὶ κατ' ἀλλήλων πνέει,
ἀλλ' ἢ μεσιτεύουσα τούτοις ὑγρότης
ἄμφω ξυνάπτει, καὶ πρὸς εἰρήνην φέρει.
Ὑδωρ μὲν ὑγρόν, ἢ δὲ γῆ τοῦναντίον,
85 μέση δ' ἐν ἀμφοῖν ἐμπεσοῦσα ψυχρότης,
φίλιον αὐτοῖς ἐμβραβεύει τὸν βίον.
Τοιαῦτα τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ παντὸς βίου.
Τὰς τέτταρας δὲ τοῦ γίγαντος ἡλίου
τροπὰς τίνας φαίμεν; Οὐχὶ Φιλίας;
90 Χειμῶν γὰρ εὐθύς οὐ τέτραπται πρὸς θέρος,
τῶν ποιότητων σφῶν ἐναντιουμένων,
ἀλλ' εἰς ἕαρ μετῆλθεν, εἶτα πρὸς θέρος.
Καὶ τοῦ θέρους ἢ κρᾶσις, οὐκ εἰς τὸ κρύος,
ἀλλ' εἰς μέσον τὲ τῶν ὀπωρῶν τὴν φθίσιν.
- 95** Κάντεῦθεν ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀπαλῶν παρθένων
συνεμπλεκουσῶν τὰς κρόκας καὶ τοὺς μίτους,
— ὥρας δὲ ταύτας γνῶθί μοι τὰς παρθένους —
καλὴ τελεῖται τῶν ἐτῶν ἰστουργία,
ἐγὼ συνιστῶ τὸν βροτήσιον βίον·
- 100** εὐρωστία καὶ κάλλος ἄμφω Φιλίας,
ἄμφω Φιλίας ἔργα· πῶς ζητεῖς; Μάθε·
ἂν ἢ τετρακτὺς τῶν χυμῶν σχῇ φιλίαν,
καλῶς ἔχει τὸ σῶμα, καὶ μακρὰν νόσοι.
Εἰ τῶν μελῶν δ' εὐρυθμος ἐστὶν ἡ σχέσις,
105 ἔχει δὲ καὶ σύστοιχον ἀλληλουχίαν,
ἐνδύεται δὲ καὶ χροῖαν εὐχρυστέραν·
κάλλος καλεῖται τοῦτο τοῖς παλαιτέροις.
Ἦ γοῦν ὑγεία καὶ τὸ κάλλος Φιλίας.
Ἐγὼ πολίζω τὰς πόλεις, ἢ Φιλία,
- 110** κἂν εἰ πόλεις λέγοι τις αὐτὰς τὰς πόλεις,
κἂν αὐτὸ μᾶλλον τῶν πολιτῶν τὸ στίφος.
Πλίνθοι γὰρ ὅπται καὶ λίθων ξεστῶν βάρη
ἐμοὶ ξυνῆλθον εἰς ἐνὸς τοίχου κτίσιν·
δυὰς δὲ τοίχων ἀμφὶ γωνίαν μίαν,

|| **79** κοινόν] καινόν Gu. : καινῶς Ky. || **82** ἢ μεσιτεύουσα] ὑμέσι τένουσα Gu. (sed ἢ μεσιτεύουσα corr. Ky.) Ge. (sed ὑμέσι ἐνοῦσα corr. Dü.) | ὑγρότην Gu. (sed ὑγρότης corr. Ky.) Ge. (sed ὑγρότης corr. Dü.) || **83** ξυνάπτου Ge. (sed ξυνάπτει corr. Dü.) || **94** τὲ] τί Gu. Dü. Ge. Ky. || **96** συνεμπλεκουσῶν scripsi : συνεμπλοκουσῶν V : τῶν συμπλεκουσῶν Gu. Dü. Ge. Ky. || **112** γὰρ] γοῦν Gu. Ge. (sed γὰρ corr. Dü.) Ky.

- 115 καὶ γωνίαι τέσσαρες εἰς πλήρη δόμον.
 Ἐγὼ συνιστῶ τὰς παρ' ἀνθρώποις τέχνας,
 καὶ τῷ σκυτεῖ μὲν φιλιῶ τὸν κναφέα,
 τῷ χαλινεργάτῃ δὲ τὸν στρατηλάτην,
 καὶ τῷ γεωργῷ τὸν βάνανυσον συνδέω,
 120 καὶ τεχνίτην ἅπαντα παντὶ τεχνίτῃ·
 χρήζει γὰρ ὄντως ἄλιεύς πᾶς γηπόνου,
 διδοὺς γὰρ ἰχθύν, ἄρτον ἀντιλαμβάνει·
 καὶ γηπόνος πᾶς αὖθις ἀσπαλιέως·
 καὶ παντὸς ἅπας ἐνδεής ὁ τεχνίτης·
 125 κάντεῦθεν εὖ πάσχουσιν αἱ πᾶσαι πόλεις.
 Ἐγὼ γάμου σύμπαντος ἢ νυμφοστόλος.
 Ἐγὼ τὸ θῆλυ πρὸς τὸν ἄρρενα τρέπω.
 Ἐγὼ τὸν ἄνδρα πρὸς τὸ θῆλυ συντρέπω.
 Τίς γὰρ μύραιναι τὴν θαλασσίαν ὄφιν,
 130 τὸ πόντιον πέπεικεν ἐκλιπεῖν βάθος,
 ἀναδραμεῖν δὲ τῆς θαλάσσης τὴν ῥάχιν,
 ἐπιδραμεῖν δὲ καὶ τὸ χερσαῖον πέδον,
 ὥς ἂν συναφθῇ καὶ συνέλθῃ πρὸς γάμον,
 ἢ ποντικὴ θῆρ τῷ γεηρῷ <θηρίῳ>;
 135 Τίς τοῦ σιδήρου τὴν ἅπασαν οὐσίαν
 δούλην καθιστᾷ τῆς μαγνήτιδος λίθου;
 Οὐδέν τι πάντως ἄλλο Φιλίας δίχα.
 Ἐμοὶ τὸ πᾶν ζῆ, καὶ κρατεῖται, καὶ μένει.
 Εἵπω τὸ μείζον, καὶ σιγάτω πᾶς λόγος.
 140 Ἐγὼ Θεὸν τὸν ὄντα, τὸν παντεργάτην,
 τὸ Πατὴρ ἐκσφράγισμα, τὸν μέγαν Λόγον,
 τὸ παμφαῆς φῶς, τὴν ὑπέρθεον φύσιν,
 τὸν ἄχρονον νοῦν, τὴν χρονουργὸν οὐσίαν,
 ἐλθεῖν ἔπεισα μέχρι γῆς καὶ τῶν κάτω,
 145 καὶ τὴν παθητὴν προσλαβεῖν ὅλην φύσιν,
 καὶ σωματικὴν ἐνδυθῆναι πορφύραν
 ἐκ παρθενικῶν αἱμάτων ὑφασμένην·
 παθεῖν, θανεῖν, φεῦ, τῆς τοσαύτης ἀγάπης,
 δι' ἧς τοσοῦτον ἔργον – ὃ φίλτρου ξένου–.
 150 Δι' ὃ χρονικῶς μείγνυται τῷ σαρκίῳ,
 ὁ κυριεύων καὶ χρόνου καὶ σαρκίου,
 καὶ συνανιστᾷ τὴν πεσοῦσαν εἰκόνα
 ἐν τῷ καθ' αὐτὸν ἀναχωνεύσας πάθει.
 Τοιαῦτα τὰμὰ πρὸς βροτοὺς ἔργα, Ξένε·
 155 τοιαῦτά μου τὰ δῶρα τὰ πρὸς τὸν βίον·

|| 124 καὶ παντὸς ἅπας ἐνδεής ὁ τεχνίτης vers. om. V | post 124 hab. διδοὺς γὰρ ἄρτον, ἰχθύν ἀντιλαμβάνει Dū. Gu. Ge.
 || 125 πόλεις πᾶσαι Gu. Dū. Ge. Ky. || 129 Τί γὰρ Gu. Dū. Ge. Ky. || 130 τὸ καὶ Gu. Ky. || 133-134 vers. om. Gu. Dū. Ge.
 || 134 <θηρίῳ> supplevi || 137 τι τοὶ Gu. Ge. || 138 κρατεῖται] κατατεῖται Gu. (sed κρατεῖται corr. Ky.) || 150 μίγνυται Gu.
 Dū. Ge.

- ἄλλ' εἰς νεκροὺς τὰ μῦρα τῆς παροιμίας,
 ἄλλ' εἰς ὄνους ἢ λύρα τοὺς κανθηλίους.
 Ἐλάνθανον γὰρ ἀχαρίστῳ δραπέτῃ,
 ὅλην ἑμαυτὴν ἐκδιδούσα τῷ Βίῳ,
160 ὃς τὴν ἑμὴν μὲν ἀθετεῖ συνουσίαν,
 δειλαιοὺς ἀνδρῶν εἰς δ' ἀγεννῆ μαχλάδα,
 Ἐχθραν καλοῦσι, τὴν ἀτάσθαλον ῥέπει.
 Τῆς δουλίδος γὰρ Μωρίας ξυνεργία
 αὐτὴν μὲν ἐντὸς εἰσάγει τῆς οἰκίας,
165 ἡμᾶς δὲ τύπτων ἐξάγει. Νόμοι, νόμοι·
 καὶ τοὺς ἀθέσμους οὐδὲ κἂν κλέπτη γάμους,
 ἄλλ' ἀναφανδὸν ἐκτελεῖ τὴν αἰσχύνην,
 καίτοι πρὸ πάντων ἀγνοῶ νῆ τὴν θέμιν.
 Τί φλαῦρον ἡμῖν, ὥστε λῦσαι τὸν γάμον;
170 Τί δ' ἀγαθὸν πρόσεστι τῇ μοιχαλίδι,
 ὥστε πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀντενέγκαι τὸν πόθον;
 Εἰ γὰρ με ταύτῃ συγκρίνειν βούλοιτό τις,
 ὀκνῶ τὰ κομπᾶ μέμπιν εὐλαβουμένη.
 Ἐγὼ μὲν εἰμὶ χαροπός, χρηστὰ βλέπω,
175 καὶ μειδιῶ τὰ πλεῖστα, καὶ χάριν πνέω·
 κἂν δεῖ λαλεῖν, ἐνταῦθα γλυκύτης ὄση·
 κἂν δεῖ γελᾶν, ἐνταῦθα σεμνότης ὄση.
 Ἐν συμπλοκαῖς σὺ μανθάνεις τοὺς δακτύλους,
 ἐν τοῖς βαδισμοῖς τοὺς πόδας δ' οὐκ ἂν μάθης;
180 Κἂν νῦν πλακοῦντες, νῦν δ' ἄλλες τρέφωσί με,
 οὐ τοὺς πλακοῦντας προκρίνω τῶν ἀλάτων.
 Ἐν τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς τῶν πέλας γοργὸν βλέπω,
 πάσχω δὲ πρὸς τὸ φαῦλον ἀμβλυωπίαν.
 Ἐναντίας πέφευγα κακίας δύο,
185 τὴν ὑπόκρισιν, τὸν τε ἐέρπερον τρόπον.
 Ἐμοῦ μὲν οὖν τοσαῦτα, τῆς δ' Ἐχθρας τίνα;
 Φόνιον ὄμμα, χεῖρες ἡματωμέναι,
 ὕπωχρος ὄψις, ἐκτετηγμέναι γνάθοι,
 φωνὴ τραχεῖα, βάρβαρος δὲ τὸ πλέον,
190 ἄσεμνος ὕβρις, ἄλμα, κραυγὴ, θροῦς ὅσος.
 Τίς οὖν φρονῶν ἄνθρωπος, εἶπέ μοι, Ξένε,
 τοιάνδ' ἀφείξ, ἔλοιτο τοιάνδε βλέπειν
 βάκκην ἀτεχνῶς ἀγρίαν καὶ μαχλάδα;
 Ἀλλ' ὁ τρισανόητος ἄθλιος Βίος

|| 156 in marg. παροιμίας scrib. V || 158 δραπέτην Mi. || 161 δ' om. Gu. || 165 ἡμᾶς τύπτων ἐξάγει. Ὡ νόμοι, νόμοι Gu. Ge. (sed Ἡμᾶς (δὲ) τύπτων ἐξάγει. (Ὡ) νόμοι, νόμοι corr. Dü.) Ky. || 168 ἀγνοῶν καὶ τὴν θέμιν Gu. Dü. Ge. Ky. || 179 μάθοις Dü. || 180 ἄλλες] ἄλλος V || 182 τῶν] τὸν Gu. Dü. Ge. Ky. || 183 πάσχω δὲ πρὸς φαῦλον τε ἀμβλυωπίαν Gu. Ge. (sed πάσχω δὲ πρὸς φαῦλον τιν' ἀμβλυωπίαν φαῦλον corr. Dü.) Ky. || 184 Ἐναντίας Ge. || 187 ὄμμα] αἶμα Gu. Dü. Ge. Ky. || 190 κραυγὴ] κραγὴ Gu. (sed κραυγὴ corr. Ky.) || 194 ἄλλ' ὁ τρισάνοικτος καὶ ἄθλιος βίος Gu. (sed ἄλλ' ὁ τρισανόητος ἄθλιος βίος corr. Ky.) Ge. (sed Ἀλλ' [οὖν] ὁ τρισάνοικτος ἄθλιος βίος corr. Dü.)

- 195 τοιαῦτα τολμᾷ, καὶ τόσῃν ἀδικίαν.
 Ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τοσαῦτα παθοῦσα, Ξένε,
 ὅμως φιλῶ μου τὸν ξυνευνέτην πάλιν.
 Πῶς γὰρ δυναίμην μὴ φιλεῖν ἢ Φιλίαν;
 Ἀλλ' ἐν κενοῖς, εἴποι τις ἴσως, ὧ γύναι,
 200 κακηγορεῖς τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ πόρρω λόγου.
 Δέον κακῶς γὰρ τὴν θεράπαιναν λέγειν,
 ἢ τίς ποτ' ἐστίν, ἣν ἔφης σὺ Μωρίαν,
 αὕτη γὰρ αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ μῖσος ἐλκύει·
 σύ δ' ἄλλ' ἐκείνην ἐξάγεις τῆς εὐθύνης,
 205 πνέεις δὲ πῦρ ἀντικρυς ἀμφὶ τὸν Βίον.
 Εἰ ταῦτά τις πρόθοιτο πιθανῶς τάχα,
 ἀντιπροθοίμην ταῦτα πιθανωτέρως·
 ἐφ' ᾧ γὰρ ἡμῶν μὴ κλύων τῶν γνησίων
 ὅλας παρέσχευ ἀκοὰς τῇ δουλίδι,
 210 καίτοι μαθὼν τὸ δοῦλον ἐχθρὸν δεσπόταις;
 Πλὴν ἄλλὰ καὶ πῶς τῆς λυσιγάμου γάμος;
 Ἦ πῶς Φιλίας μὴ παρούσης τῷ γάμῳ
 ἔσται τὸ κοινώνημα τῆς συνουσίας;
 Βλέπεις φρενίτιν ἣν νοσεῖ, βλέπεις μέθην,
 215 ὀρᾷς μανικὴν ἐκτροπὴν, ὀρᾷς νόσον;
 Οὐδ' αὐτὸ γοῦν ἔγνωκεν ὥς Ἐχθρας φύσις
 οὐκ οἶδε δεσμεῖν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς δεσμοὺς λύειν.
 Ὅπως δὲ σαφῶς τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐντύχης,
 κακ' τῶν θύραθεν τὸν λόγον πιστωτέον.
 220 Ἦ μὲν γὰρ ἐμπίπτουσα καὶ πρὸς τὴν φύσιν,
 αὐτὴν ἑαυτῇ φιλονεικεῖν κορθῦει.
 Τὸν Ἑτεοκλῆ καὶ Πολυνείκη βλέπε·
 Ἐχθρας γὰρ ἀμφοῖν ἐγχορευσάσης μέσον,
 ἐκάτερος τέθνηκεν ἐξ ἐκατέρου.
 225 Ἐγὼ δὲ συνδέουσα τοὺς ἀλλοτρίους,
 κρείττους καθιστῶ συγγενῶν ὁμογνίων.
 Ὁ γὰρ Ὀρέστης καὶ Πυλάδης οἱ φίλοι
 ἐμοὶ κατεπράξαντο τοὺς τόσους ἄθλους.
 Ἀκήκοας, βέλτιστε, τῆς τραγωδίας,
 230 ἐντεῦθεν ἀντάκουε τῆς ῥαψωδίας.
 Ἔως μὲν Ἐχθρα τὴν σπάθην Ἀχιλλέως
 θήγει κατ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Μυκηναίου ξίφους,
 ὁ Πριάμου παῖς πυρφόρος πρὸς τὸν στόλον
 τῆς θετταλικῆς ἡρεμούσης ἀσπίδος·
 235 κόλον δὲ τὸ πρὶν μακρὸν εἰς χεῖρας δόρυ
 Αἴαντι τῷ γίγαντι τῷ πελωρίῳ.

|| 202 ἦ τις Dū. Ge. || 203 μῦσος V Dū. || 213 κοινόνημα Gu. (sed κοινώνημα corr. Ky.) || 231 σπάτην Gu. (sed σπάθην corr. Ky.)

- Ἐπὶ δ' ἐγὼ λάβοιμι τὸν τοῦ Πηλέως,
 ἄλλως ῥιφέντος τοῦ κύβου τοῦ τῆς μάχης,
 ὁ χθὲς διώκων εἰς φυγὴν νῶτα κλίνει,
240 καὶ νεκρὸς Ἑκτώρ ὁ στροβῶν τὴν Ἑλλάδα,
 τὴν μήτραν οἰκτρῶς ἐν ποδοῖν ἐζωσμένος,
 ἱππηλατῶν δείλαιον ἱππηλασίαν,
 χαίτας ἐκείνας τὰς καλὰς καὶ κοσμίας
 καὶ τὸν καλὸν βόστρυχον εἰς κόνιν σύρων,
245 καὶ τὸ τρόπαιον τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ὡς μέγα.
 Οὕτω διεστήκαμεν ἀλλήλων, Ξένε,
 καὶ βελτίων τίς; Σοὶ δίδωμι τὴν κρίσιν.
 Ἀλλ' οὐχ' ὁ Βίος ταῦτα, τὴν δ' Ἑχθραν λαβών,
 ἐμὲ ξένην ἔδειξε καὶ τῆς ἐστίας.
250 Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ἄνειμι πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα,
 ἢ δ' Ἑχθρα λοιπὸν ἐγχορευέτω κάτω,
 καὶ παιζέτω τὰ τέκνα ταύτης εἰς μέσον.
 Βούλῃ μαθεῖν τὰ τέκνα τῆς Ἑχθρας τίνα;
 Υἱοὶ Φθόνοιο, Λόχος τε καὶ τρίτος Φόνος,
255 θυγατέρες δὲ Κακία, Μῆνις, Μάχη.
 Αὕτη μὲν οὖν, ὡς εἶπον, αὐτοῖς τοῖς τέκνοις
 παρρησιαζέσθωσαν ἀμφὶ τὸν Βίον.
 Ἐγὼ δὲ λοιπὸν πρὸς τὸν αἰθέρα τρέχω·
 οἶκτος δὲ πᾶς, καὶ πᾶσα φιλανθρωπία,
260 καὶ ζῆλος ἔμφρων, καὶ καλῶν πάντων ἔρως,
 ὁρᾷς ὅπως ἅπαντα συμφεύγουσί μοι;
 Ξ. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν, δέσποινα Φιλία, βλέπω·
 συνεννοῶ δὲ καὶ τὸ μέλλον οὗ δράμη,
 καὶ δακρύω μὲν τῆς ἀβουλίας χάριν,
265 τὸν οἰκτρὸν ὄντως καὶ ταλαίπωρον Βίον,
 σέ δ' ἄξια δρᾶν, ὥνπερ ἀνέτλης, κρίνω.
 Πλὴν ἄλλ' ἰδοὺ σε ποτνιῶμαι δακρύων,
 πρὸς τοῦ τεκόντος ἀπαθῶς πρὸ τῶν χρόνων,
 πρὸς τῶν αὐλῶν οὐσιῶν σύνελθέ μοι,
270 τὴν καλύβην εἰσελθε, τὴν στέγην μάθε,
 ἀπορρόφησον φιάλης νηφαλίου,
 καὶ τοῦ τρύφους γεύθητι τοῦ πιτυρίου,
 καὶ τῆς ἰδῆς μέτασχε καὶ τῶν ἀλάτων.
 Φ. Μὴ τοῦτο μὴ, μὴ τοῦτο, μὴ τοῦτο, Ξένε.
275 Ἄλῃς γάρ, ὧν πέπονθα τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ.
 Τί πλειόνων δεῖ; Τῶν παρελθόντων ἄλῃς.

|| 241 μήτραν Ge. (sed μήτραν corr. Dū.) Gu. (sed μήτραν corr. Ky.) | ἐκ ποδοῖν Gu. Dū. Ge. Ky. || 256 αὐτῆς τοῖς τέκνοις Gu. (sed αὐτῆς τοῖς τέκνοις corr. Ky.) Ge. (sed αὐτῆς τοῖς τέκνοις corr. Dū.) || 266 ἀνέτλης] ἄν ἔτλης Ge. (sed ἀνέτλης corr. Dū.) || 268 ἀπαθῶν πρὸς Gu. : ἀπαιτῶν, πρὸς Dū. Ge. | χρόνων] θρόνων Dū. || 272 πιτυρίου] ποτηρίου Gu. Dū. Ge. Ky. || 273 τῆς ἰδῆς] τοῦ ἡδους Gu. Ge. (sed τοῦ γ' ἔδους corr. Dū.) Ky. | μέτασχε] μετάσχε Dū. || 274 μὴ] μοῖ Gu. Dū. Ge. Ky.

- Ξ. Δίκαια φῆς, δέσποινα, καὶ καλῶς λέγεις·
οἷς γὰρ πέπονθας καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα κρίνεις.
Ὅρκῳ δ' ἐγὼ σοι πιστοποιῶ τὸν λόγον.
- 280 Οὐδέν γὰρ ἂν δράσω σε τῶν ἐναντίων,
οὐκ αἰσχυνῶ τὸ φίλτρον, οὐ τὴν ἀγάπην,
οὐχί, πρὸς αὐτῶν, ὧν ἔφης, φρικτῶν λόγων.
Φ. Δύναιο δ' ἂν μοι ταῦτα προσφέρειν ἔδνα,
εἴ σοι παράσχῃ τοῦ γάμου τὰς ἐγγύας;
- 285 Ξ. Τὰ ποῖα; Λέξον ὥς ἐγὼ παράσχομαι.
Φ. Χαίρειν ἐπ' ἄλλων ἀγαθοῖς ἐξεστὶ σοι;
Ξ. Ἐξεστίν. Φ. Ἐν λύπαις δὲ λυπεῖσθαι νόθοις;
Ξ. Μάλιστα. Φ. Τὰς στρεβλὰς δὲ φεύγειν διπλόας;
Λαλεῖν δὲ ταῦτα, καὶ φρονεῖν ἐν καρδίᾳ;
- 290 Ξ. Καὶ τοῦτο πάντως. Ἄλλο λοιπὸν πυνθάνου.
Φ. Ἔχειν τὰ σαυτοῦ τῶν φίλων ἐν δευτέρῳ;
Ξ. Ἔχειν. Φ. Δι' αὐτοὺς καὶ θανατᾶν πολλάκις;
Ξ. Ναὶ καὶ θανατᾶν. Φ. Καὶ φθονοῦσι μὴ φθονεῖν;
Ξ. Ναί. Φ. Τοὺς δὲ βασκαίνοντας ἀγαπᾶν; Ξ. Πάνυ.
- 295 Φ. Δέδοικα ταῦτα μὴ λόγῳ μὲν προσδέχηι,
ἔργῳ δ' ἀπαρνήσαιο. Ξ. Καὶ μὴν ὥμοσα.
Φ. Ἄθρει τὸν ὄρκον, ὥς ἐμὲ ξυλλαμβάνεις.

|| 284 εἴ σοι] εἴσι Gu. (sed εἴ σοι corr. Ky.) || 289 λαλεῖν] λαχεῖν Gu. (sed λαλεῖν corr. Ky.)

On the exiled *Philia*

X. O most honourable lady, *Philia*, whither and whence? And indeed tearfull, gloomy, dejected, with disheveled hair, bent to the ground, of pale skin, [5] clad in a mourning tunic, with neglected girdle and slippers, and changed in the grimmest possible way. The former clothing, the purple, the beauty and the rose [colour] of your lips, [10] the locks, the graceful girdle, the boots, the remaining chastity, all of them perished to naught all at once. And now you resemble mourning women; you walk gloomily. But whither and whence?

[15] **Ph.** [I am going] from the earth to the God and Father.

X. *Cosmos* is not in need of *Philia*?

Ph. Let him miss me, he who once treated me with so much insolence.

S. Did he (i.e. *Cosmos*) insult you?

Ph. He even threw me out of the door!

X. Out of the door?

Ph. As to believe that I perished.

[20] **Ph.** And then you were left out?

Ph. And indeed scourged!

X. Are you saying that you are angry with *Cosmos* for his having drunkenly insulted you?

Ph. What if you learn the rest of my torments? How many beatings was I given by him, [25] how many insults and mockeries I suffered. He boxed my both jaws, he kicked my belly. I omit the rest and most serious things, *Xenos*; for if you hear, you would be pained (in your heart).

[30] **X.** No, no *Philia*, do not keep silent but tell me everything, in the name of your father.

Ph. Well, if we sit by this pine tree – do you see how beautiful and tall it is? – I will proceed with the whole story.

[35] **X.** Behold, we sat! Begin to speak!

F. First, I am always purely united to God, the Holy Trinity. Second, I remain in the incorporeal intellects and the three heavenly Triads; [40] these are the Cherubim and Seraphim and Thrones, and the rest of the bodiless orders [of angels]. For I define their disposition towards themselves, towards their own order, towards the Godhead, and towards the other [orders of angels]. And I unite the innumerable myriads of celestial beings, [45] and weave a chain. Formerly, only Lucifer rejected me, and he was destroyed from the vault of heaven. The spiritual creation is ruled and guarded by me in this way. [50] Who doubts that the visible and perceptible nature, the entire creation, the earthly creation, is not ruled by

Philia? Let the babbler Empedocles hang himself for saying that strife is the creator of the world. [55] What does he know? And what does perceive a man who does not know that fire burns naturally, but fell into the midst of fiery craters? Who curved the wide and great heaven into a sphere that before was an unbending straight course, [60] if not *Philia*? – If we should believe the person who spoke these words. For it is possible to say, that being in love with its good and well-ordered self, it was contorted into a sphere, reconciling with itself on all sides, [65] squeezing simultaneously all the parts with everything. I arranged with the most skilled and coherent chain the vault of innumerable stars, unequivocally of every star, both of the fixed and the wandering. I reconcile the solar plate [i.e. the sun], which pours forth light [70] with the lunar circle, and I reconcile [them] so much that it [i.e. the sun] lends fiery torches to it (i.e. the moon) during the gleam of nights. I unite afresh all creation of entire life, by setting it together through the union of opposite natures, [75] even if it stands apart naturally. The fire [is] dry, the stream of air [is] moist; these are standing side by side and in the midst a battle. However, by putting mutual warmth between the two opposing [elements], I refute the battle. [80] Air [is] hot, but water naturally cold; they stand close and blow each other, but the moisture that mediates for these two unites, both [of them], and brings peace to them. Water is moist, earth the opposite; [85] the moderate coldness that fell upon both, endows them with a reconciled life. Such are the elements of the whole life. Whose should we say are the four alterations of the giant sun, if not of *Philia*? [90] Winter is not turned straightforwardly into summer, due to their opposite qualities, but it turns into spring, [and] then into summer. The temperature of summer does not turn into icy cold, but into the middle [season] and the decay of fruits (i.e. autumn). [95] And hence, as from tender maidens interweaving their flocks with threads, a comely weaving of the years is performed – learn that these are for me the chaste seasons. I bring about the human life; [100] both stoutness and beauty [exist] because of *Philia*. Do you wonder how both are deeds of *Philia*? You may learn that if the *tetraktys* has harmony, the body will be healthy, and sicknesses will be far off. If the relation of the limbs is well-proportioned [105] and has congruent consistency, and is clothed with a well-coloured skin. This is called beauty by the elders! So well-being and beauty [exist] because of *Philia*. I, *Philia*, establish the cities, [110] even if someone calls ‘cities’ these very buildings, and even if someone rather calls ‘cities’ this throng of citizens. For the fire-baked bricks and the loads of hewn stones were put together by me for the construction of a single wall. A pair of walls form an angle, [115] and four angles a complete house. I establish the crafts among mankind, and I reconcile the fuller with the cobbler, the commander with the bridle-maker

and I unite the artisan with the peasant [120] and every craftsman with every craftsman. For every fishmonger is truly in need of the peasant, for he gives fish and he receives bread in return; and every peasant in turn [is in need of] the fishmonger, and every craftsman is in need of every craftsman. [125] And hence, all cities bloom. I am the sponsor of the entire marriage. I direct the female to the male. I also direct the man to the female. For who persuaded the eel, the sea snake [130] to abandon the sea's depth, to traverse the sea's ridge, and to run over the dry land in order [the sea beast] to be united to and take part in a marriage with the creature of earth? [135] Who makes the whole essence of iron a slave to magnetic stone? Certainly, nothing [is feasible] without *Philia*. Everything lives, is governed and continues to live because of me. I will say the greatest thing so that every speech may keep silent. [140] I persuaded the true God, the workman of it all, image of the father, great Word of God, brightest of lights, supremely divine nature, timeless mind, essence that creates time to come even to earth, [145] and obtain entire passible nature, and put on the corporal purple weaved from virginal bloods. To suffer, to perish, alas, so much love; so great a deed due to love. O what extraordinary love! [150] For temporarily is He mixed with the flesh. He who controls the time and flesh and brings about the rise of the falling image, [and] through the passion he recast them [i.e. the mortals] according to his image. Such are my deeds for mortals, *Xenos*; [155] such are my gifts to *Cosmos*. But in accord with the maxim: scents are for the dead, but the lyre is for the pack-asses. For I escaped the notion of the ungracious fugitive; I abandoned myself to *Cosmos*, [160] who rejects my company. The most wretched among men inclines to a wicked low-born whore whom the men call *Animosity*. He brings her into the house assisted with the slave girl, *Folly*, [165] and throws me out with kicks and punches. O laws, laws! and he does not even conceal the unlawful marriage but performs the shame before the eyes of all; and yet, before everything, I ignore the law. What did I do wrong that he dissolved the marriage? [170] What good is attributed to the adulteress that he shifted his desire to her? For if anyone wants to compare me with her, I hesitate to say good [things] because I am wary of the reproach. I have flashing eyes, I see well [175] and I mostly smile, and I exhale grace; if I have to talk, then I do this with much sweetness; and if I have to laugh, then I do this with so much prudence. In the fighting you come to know your fingers, in the gait would you not learn your feet? [180] And if sesame cakes and salts now nurture me, I do not value sesame cakes above the salts. I discern at once the good which is close, but I suffer from dim-sightedness towards meanness. I escaped from the two hostile evils: [185] hypocrisy, and an arrogant way of life. Such are [the things] about me, but how

are the things about *Animosity*? The murderous eye, the blood-stained hands, the pale-yellow visage, the wasted jaws, the rough voice, most barbarian; [190] how much improper insult, bitterness, screaming, [and] noise. Tell me *Xenos*, which man – who thinks prudently – would truly prefer to see the most savage Bacchante and whore by overlooking all the aforesaid things? And yet the thrice-unreasonable and wretched *Cosmos* [195] ventures such things and so much injustice. *Xenos*, although I endured such torments, I will always love my spouse. For how could I, *Philia*, not love? But, O woman, – perhaps one says – [200] you [i.e. *Philia*] abuse unavailingly [your] spouse and without reason. For you must abuse the handmaiden – or whoever this is! – whom you call *Folly*, for she drags him towards hatred. However, you absolve her from blame [205] and exhale fire against *Cosmos*. If perhaps anyone set forth these words persuasively, I would oppose them more persuasively in this way: Why did not he listen to me, the genuine one, but gave his full attention to the slave-maiden? [210] and indeed, despite the fact that he knew that the slave-maiden was hostile against her lords? But above all, how is marriage possible with this one, who dissolves the marriage tie? How is the common enterprise of cohabitation possible without *Philia*'s presence in the marriage? Do you see the inflammation of the brain he suffers from? Do you see the drunkenness? [215] Do you see mental aberration? Do you see the disease? He does not even know that is in the nature of *Animosity* not to know to create bonds but to loosen them. As you clearly know from our Christian wisdom, and this will be proved to be true with examples drawn from pagan literature. [220] For when she [i.e. *Animosity*] becomes involved with nature, she raises the wrath high, as a result, nature quarrels with herself. Observe Eteocles and Polynices! When *Animosity* fluttered around between the two of them, each was put to death by the other. [225] But I unite those who are alien, I bring them closer than kinsmen in the same family. For the friends Orestes and Pylades executed so many labours due to me. O best of men, you heard of the tragedy? [230] From that point you may hear of epic poetry. While *Animosity* whets the blade of Achilles against the Mycenaean sword, the son of Priam sets the fleet of the unmoving Thessalian shield on fire, [235] while the once long spear is pointless in the hands of the huge giant Aias. When I received the son of Peleus, the dice of the battle was rolled in another way. He who the day before was pursuing, turned his back and fled, [240] and Hector who tormented Greece is dead, girded pitilessly with a belt around his feet, a wretched chariot race of charioteers. He [i.e. Achilles] dragged that beautiful and well-ordered crest of the helmet and the beautiful lock of hair in the dust [245] like a great trophy for the Achaeans. *Xenos*, we [i.e. *Philia* and *Animosity*] differ from one another in this way.

And who is better? I let you judge! But *Cosmos* [did not take in account] these examples; he [i.e. *Cosmos*] received *Animosity* and threw me out of the house. [250] I am rising to the father, while *Animosity* may flutter around on the earth, and her offspring may play in the midst. Do you want to learn who are the children of *Animosity*? The sons are *Envy*, *Ambush* and the third *Murder* [*Phthonus*, *Lochus*, *Phonus*] [255] The daughters are *Vice*, *Wrath*, *Battle* [*Kakia*, *Menis*, *Mache*]. She (i.e. *Animosity*), as I said, together with her children, may speak and act boldly around *Cosmos*. So I fly high in the air. Do you see that everything fled along with me? All the pity, all the benevolence, [260] the prudent glory, and the affection for everything good!

X. Of course I see these [things] lady *Philia*! And I understand where the future lies! And I lament with tears the truly miserable and wretched *Cosmos* on account of [his] lack of will; [265] therefore, I think that you act again properly on account of [the torments] you endured. But look, I beseech you loudly, with tears, in the name of the father who is unaffected by time, in the name of the immaterial essences, unite with me, [270] enter the hut, become familiar with my abode, swallow from the goblet without wine, taste chunks of coarse bread, and partake of wood and salts.

Ph. May this not happen – indeed may it not – *Xenos*! [275] For I endured enough [torments] earlier. What need have I of further torments? The torments of the past are enough!

X. You talk justly and rightly, O lady! And you make judgement on the future on account of the torments you endured. I assure you about my words by oath. [280] I would do nothing against you, neither would I dishonour the affection, nor the love, never, because of the terrible tales you told.

Ph. Would you be able to offer me these wedding-gifts, if I grant you the pledges of the marriage?

[285] **X.** What wedding-gifts do you prefer? Please tell me so I can offer them to you.

Ph. Can you feel joy about other's welfare?

X. I can!

Ph. Can you grieve in other's grim grieves?

X. Absolutely yes!

Ph. Can you shun the twisted and ambiguous [sense]? Can you utter these [words] and mean them wholeheartedly?

[290] **X.** And this indeed. Ask something else!

Ph. Can you put your fate in second place as compared with that of your friends?

X. I can put myself in second place!

Ph. And you would die for them repeatedly?

X. Yes, I can indeed die!

Ph. And can you feel no envy about those that envy [you]?

X. Yes!

Ph. Can you love those that malign [you]?

X. Much!

[295] Ph. I dread the possibility that you accept these [things] in theory, but you deny to exercise them in practice.

X. But I did take an oath!

Ph. Take the oath so you can receive me.

Notes on the text:

lemma: the edition of Gesner, which is the second oldest, displays the following peculiarity: a brief but very comprehensive summary intercedes between the title and the main text of the poem. In addition to this note, the names of the two ‘protagonists’ (i.e. *Philia* and *Xenos*) are also indicated.⁸⁰³ The title might have been added by Gesner himself since his edition does not derive from a manuscript but from the *editio princeps* of Guntius, whose title includes also a reference to the names of the ‘protagonists’.⁸⁰⁴

1. ὦ ... κάρα: the way that *Xenos* addresses *Philia* echoes strongly the opening of classical Greek dramas (cf. *LSJ*, s.v. κάρα). As for the word combination ‘πάντιμον κάρα’, it is also used at *Christ.Mityl.*, *Cal.iamb. Nov.* 28, I 364 and *Christus patiens* 851.

2. ποῦ καὶ πόθεν: this formula is cherished in Prodromos’ work,⁸⁰⁵ cf. *R&D* II 156 and *Catomyom.* 327. However, I am inclined to believe that the poet on this occasion draws inspiration from *Pl.Phdr.* 227a, for the following two reasons: it occurs at the very beginning of the poem as in the case of Phaedros; and more importantly, the poem, as I will demonstrate below, displays a series of strong intertextual links with Plato’s Phaedros.

2-14. at *R&D* VI 291-304 Dosicles is lamenting over the fate of his beloved Rhodanthe after their separation and describes her in a very similar manner:⁸⁰⁶

ὦμοι Ῥοδάνθη, ποῦ τὸ τῆς ἡβῆς ἔαρ.
 ἢ κυπάριττος τῆς καλῆς ἡλικίας,
 τὸ τῆς παρειᾶς καὶ τὸ τοῦ χεῖλους ῥόδον,
 ὁ τῶν πλοκάμων κιττός (ἢ ξένη χάρις),
 ὁ τὴν κορυφὴν ὡς πλατάνιστον πλέκων;
 ποῦ σοι τὰ κρίνα τῶν καλῶν φιλημάτων,
 τοῦ σώματος τὰ μύρτα σαρκὸς ἢ χλόη,
 τὸ τῶν βλεφάρων ἄνθος; ὦμοι, παρθένε,
 μαραίνεται τὸ μῆλον, ἢ ῥοῖα φθίνει,
 φυλλορροεῖ τὰ δένδρα, πίπτει τὰ κρίνα
 εἰς γῆν ὁ καρπός, ἢ χάρις παρερρή,
 τοῦ φθινοπώρου προφθάσαντος τὸν χρόνον.
 ὦμοι, τὸ σὸν δὲ σῶμα δεῖπνος ἰχθύων,
 ἢ σὴ δὲ σὰρξ τράπεζα τῶν ἐναλίων;

Alas, Rhodanthe, where is the springtime of your youth, | The cypress of your figure, The roses of your cheeks and your lips, | The ivy of your locks (that strange adornment) | Which weaves around your head as if round a plane tree? | Where are the lillies of your kisses, the myrtle of your body, the verdure of your flesh, | the flowers of your eyelids? Alas, maiden, | The apple has shrivelled, the pomegranate

⁸⁰³ The note and the reference to the two ‘protagonists’ was also copied by Dübner in his edition.

⁸⁰⁴ It was rather a common practice for sixteenth-century editors to add such titles to Byzantine texts. For example, the word *Dramation* was given to Haploucheir’s work by its editor F. MORELLO; see *Poematum dramaticum... E Graecis Plochiri Michaelis... a Fed. Morello, Parisii*¹ 1598².

⁸⁰⁵ Note that Gesner emendates the reading of Gu. into ‘ποῦ καὶ πόθεν’.

⁸⁰⁶ Transl. in JEFFREYS, *Four Byzantine Novels* 105.

has withered, | The trees have lost their leaves, the lilies have drooped; | The fruit lies on the ground, the charm has perished, | autumn has come too soon upon the year. | Alas, your body is food for fishes, | Your flesh is a banquet for the denizens of the deep.

3–4. τὴν κόμην ἐσκυλμένη: cf. *AP* V,259.3: ἔσκυλται δὲ κόμη, ῥοδέης δ' ἀμάρυγμα παρειῆς. For ὠχρίῳσα τὴν χροάν, cf. *AP* V,259.4: ὠχρος ἔχει λευκός καὶ δέμας ἐκλέλυται. The specific poem, penned by Paul the Silentiary, encompasses a similar description of a certain Charicla who, as the poet himself puts it, 'spent the night in Love's arena'.

κύπτουσα πρὸς γῆν: cf. *R&D* VII 340: ὁ μὲν γάρ, ὁ Κράτανδρος, εἰς γῆν κυπτάσας.

5. χιτώνιον πενθῆρες: variations of this phrase occur in patristic literature, e.g. 'πενθηρὴ καὶ σκοτεινὴν πορφύρα' (*Gr.Nyss., Thdr.* M.46.744D) or 'πενθηρὴ στολὴ' (*Chrys., Pan. Melet.* M.50.519.15-16). Yet, it is encountered verbatim for first time in hymnographical texts, cf. *Rom.Melod., Cant.* II 17.12.1; *Rom.Melod., Cant. dubia* 70 κβ' 4; *AHG*, January 14,4 (line 10), while from the eleventh century onwards, it is also used extensively in prose texts, e.g. *Nic.Steth., Orat.* 1.61.6-7; *Io.Zonar., Epitome historiarum* II 445,1.

6. βλαυτίον: by focusing on the deterioration of Philias' shoes and girdle, Prodromos seeks to convey the hardship of her long wanderings. In the poem, 'Verses of Farewell to Byzantium' Prodromos makes use of the image of his ruined shoes in order to highlight the long distances that he has covered; always of course, as a poet in the service of the Palace.⁸⁰⁷

7. καὶ ... ἡλλαγμένη: this verse displays a very interesting case of intertextuality, as the opening verse of the dodecasyllabic monody of Niketas Eugenianos for his master Theodore Prodromos reads as follows: Νῦν τὴν κακίστην ἀλλαγὴν ἡλλαγμένος.⁸⁰⁸ Eugenianos visualizes, thus, his emotional devastation after the death of his master with a verse from his work.

9. καὶ τὸ τοῦ χείλους ῥόδον: the formerly red freshness of Philias' lips is rendered with phraseology that is encountered at *R&D* VI 293: τὸ τῆς παρειᾶς καὶ τὸ τοῦ χείλους ῥόδον and *D&C* VI 357: ἀνχεῖς ἀπαλώτερον ῥόδου.

11. ἄρβυλίδες: Theodore's adherence to shoes as a symbol of financial self-efficiency has been discussed in poem no. 13.

⁸⁰⁷ Cf. *carm.hist.* LXXIX 19–20: οἷς ἐπὶ πόλλ' ἐμόγησα καὶ ἄρβυλα πλεῖστα δάμαξα | πολλῆς ἡματίῃσι καὶ ἐννυχίοισι κελεύθοις; cf. also HÖRANDNER, Prodromos and the City 57.

⁸⁰⁸ *Nic.Eugen., Epit. in Theod. Prodr.* 222.1.

13. **καὶ ... θρηνητρίαις** was probably copied from *Chrys., Fr.in Jer.* M.64.856D): *Θρηνητρίας* κελεύει πανταχόθεν γυναῖκας. With the assistance of the *TLG*, I was able to detect two interesting parallels: *Const.Manass., Synopsis Chronike* 5259 ἦσαν ἐκεῖ θρηνητρίαι καὶ μονωδοὶ γυναῖκες and *Philes, carm.* [Martini] 92.87 τῆς πρὶν γυναικός, ἀλλὰ νῦν θρηνητρίας.

14. **Ἀλλὰ ποῦ δὴ καὶ πόθεν**: *Xenos* concludes his address to *Philia* with a question that he has already posed in v. 2. To my mind, this repetition is due to practical reasons for a long description of *Philia* is inserted between the first time that *Xenos* posed the question and the reply of *Philia*.

24–25. **Ὅσους ... ὅσας**: none of the previous editions includes these two verses. The conjecture ὕβρεις ὅσας ὑπεῖχον <καὶ χλεύας> ὅσας is very possible (cf. *Phot., Epist.* 73.23: καὶ ὕβρεις καὶ χλεύην).

24. **Ὅσους ... ἐνεντρίβην** is encountered verbatim or slightly altered in numerous authors: e.g. *Plu., Alc.* 8.1.3; *Plu., Brut.* 9.3.1; *Diog. Laert.* 6.41; *Lucian., Prom.* 10.9 etc. It is hardly likely that Prodrōmos draws from one of these authors for it is a rather proverbial expression; it is exemplified, for example, in the lexicon of Photius.⁸⁰⁹ As to twelfth-century literature, it is used a second time in Prodrōmos,⁸¹⁰ it is to be found slightly changed in an epitaph of Gregorios Antiochos on his father, delivered around 1180⁸¹¹ and in a yet unpublished poem of Euthymios Tornikes entitled ‘On a senseless bishop of Seleukia who seized the episcopal see contrary to the canon laws of the monasteries of Euboia’.⁸¹²

27. **νῦν ... γαστέρος**: cf. *Il.* 17.233: ὥς φάτο, καὶ παριὼν λάξ ἐνθορεν ἀφραδίησιν.

29. **ἤλγησας ἂν τὴν καρδίαν**: cf. *Catomyom.* 364: ἤλγησεν οὗτος τῷ πάθει τὴν καρδίαν.

32–34. **Οὐκοῦν ... λόγου**: In order to relate him her torments, *Philia* summons *Xenos* to come and sit together with her next to a pine tree. It should be emphasized that the specific setting was not chosen by chance. Phaedrus in the homonymous work of Plato asks from Socrates to sit next to a plane tree in order to recite to him the speech of Lysias which he had

⁸⁰⁹ Ed. Ch.THEODORIDIS lemma 1049, p. 105.

⁸¹⁰ It recurs also in the satirical work *The Plato-lover, or The Tanner*; cf. MIGLIORINI, Teodoro Prodrōmo 71, 131: κατὰ κόρρης κονδύλους ἐντρίβεται.

⁸¹¹ SIDERAS, 25 ἀνέκδοτοι βυζαντινοὶ ἐπιτάφιοι 177, 24.

⁸¹² See HÖRANDNER, Euthymios Tornikes (forthcoming).

just heard.⁸¹³ Thereupon, Clitophon, in Achilles Tatios' novel, asks of the anonymous narrator the same thing (cf. *L&K* 1.2.3.4).⁸¹⁴ Irrespective of whether this motif is the result of direct knowledge of Plato or through Tatios' mediating influence, a further intertextual link to ancient patterns can be claimed. The pine is encountered for a second time in his novel. In particular, at the opening of the fourth book the two heroes, who were set to become temple attendants, are garlanded with pine and laurel.

33. ὄρῳς ... μέγα: cf. *Pl., Phdr.* 229a 8: Ὀρῳς οὖν ἐκείνην τὴν ὑψηλοτάτην πλάτανον;

34. Τὸ ... λόγου can be a reminiscence of. *A.Pr.* 870: μακροῦ λόγου δεῖ ταῦτ' ἐπεξελεθεῖν τορῳς.

36–39. *Philia* is purely united with the Holy Trinity and the incorporeal intellects which, in terms of status, are placed second only to the Trinity. As mentioned above, a similar image is conveyed for Chastity in the epigram dedicated to Gregory of Nazianzus, as she is united with the Holy Trinity, angels, and men possessing an unalloyed soul.

39–41: Prodromos derives from *Ps.–Dionysius Areop., De caelesti hierarchia* (chapter VI) 26,1–27,2 for the hierarchical status of the celestial beings, in particular as when *Ps.–Dionysios* distinguishes the triad of the Cherubim,⁸¹⁵ Seraphim,⁸¹⁶ and Thrones from the other celestial beings. These three classes of celestial beings are juxtaposed also at *carm.hist.* XIX 74: οὐ Σεραφίμ οὐ Χερουβίμ οὐ θρόνους οὐ δυνάμεις. Here, Prodromos maintains that God, in the stead of these four supreme celestial creatures, sent to John his son Manuel in the struggle against the Persians. The juxtaposition of these celestial beings is encountered in a yet unpublished poem of Bartholomaios Megalomytes; *Carm.* I. V. 80: θρόνους χερουβίμ καὶ σεραφίμ καὶ νόας (KALTSOGIANNI – ZAGKLAS, Bartholomaios Megalomytes [in preparation]).

41. στραταρχίαις: a very infrequent word before Prodromos' time (the *TLG* records only two occurrences). On the other hand, in the twelfth century, it is employed in Prodromos (five times), Eugenianos (four times), and Manasses (four times).

⁸¹³ Cf. *Pl., Phdr.* 229a.

⁸¹⁴ For the choice of the plane tree and its implication see PLEPELITIS, Eustathios Makrembolites 7–8. For the use of the imitation of Plato in works of the Second Sophistic see NILSSON, Hysmine & Hysminias 181 (with bibliography).

⁸¹⁵ See *ODB* III 1870.

⁸¹⁶ *Ibid.* I 419.

45. καὶ μίαν σειρὰν πλέκω *Philia* is a chain that holds together all celestial beings. Here, Prodromos echoes *Il.* 8.19 (cf. also 23.15: *σειράς τ' εὐπλέκτους*), while at the same time bestows a Neoplatonic tone on *Philia* in alluding to the Proclan chain of *Philia* and Love. Prodromos seems to know Proklos' work. He refers once in his oration to the Orphanotrophos Alexios Aristenos⁸¹⁷ and three more times in his satirical work 'The Executioner, or the Doctor',⁸¹⁸ 'The Plato-lover, or The Tanner',⁸¹⁹ and 'Sale of poetical and political lives'.⁸²⁰ The 'Prokleian chain' culminates in twelfth-century Byzantium (for a very detailed discussion see ROÏLOS, *Amphoteroglossia* 176 ff.).

47. κάκ ... κατεστράφη: the Prodromic work shows similar phraseology in two other points, *R&D* I 279: *καὶ τῶν ἀφ' ὕψους ἀντύγων ἀντισπάσει* and *carm.hist.* LXXIV 92: *καὶ τῶν ἀφ' ὕψους ἐκ ... ῥυχθεὶς ἀντύγων*.

51. τὸ κοσμικὸν ... κτίσιν bears resemblance to verse no. 50 (*τὸ κοσμικὸν πλήρωμα, τὴν πᾶσαν κτίσιν*) of the poem 'Verses of Lamentation on Providence'.

53–57. Ὁ φλήναφος ... μέσους: the Empedoclean cosmogony is here lambasted on the grounds that it claims the world was fashioned by strife.⁸²¹ Though there exist many references to Empedocles in the Prodromic work,⁸²² in none of them is the philosopher criticized. Quite the contrary, his writings are praised immensely (see for instance his poem 'Verses of lamentation on the devaluation of learning'). At all events, criticism of philosophical theories seems to be a common place in the Prodromic work, e.g. in poem no. 13 Prodromos reproaches Epicureanism. It is notable that the reference to Empedocles' philosophical theories seems to be fashionable in twelfth-century literature and particularly in Theodore's milieu: a letter of Michael Italikos to an unknown addressee deals with Empedocles' philosophical poem on strife and love at the request of this unknown addressee.⁸²³

⁸¹⁷ See *Prodr., Orat.* 32.187.90.

⁸¹⁸ MIGLIORINI, Teodoro *Prodromo* 51 (line 16).

⁸¹⁹ *Ibid.* 70 (line 54).

⁸²⁰ *Ibid.* 133 (327).

⁸²¹ Similarly, the cosmological theory of Empedocles is criticized in an oration of Michael Choniates (cf. *Or.* 112.183.90–92).

⁸²² E.g. 'Against an old man with a long beard who believes himself to be wise for this reason' (H 141, v. 39); 'The executioner, or the Doctor' (H 148, line 163); *R&D* IX.425. For a detailed commentary about the reference to Empedocles in Rhodanthe and Dosicles see AGAPITOS, *Writing, reading and reciting (in) Byzantine erotic fiction* 145–147.

⁸²³ *Mich.Italic., Op.* 29.193–197; cf. also ROÏLOS, *Amphoteroglossia* 187 (note no. 285).

53. φλήναφος: the derivative form ‘φληναφία’, certainly not a word of common use (cf. *TLG*), occurs in *Ptochoprodr.* I 121.⁸²⁴

55–57. Τί ... μέσους: Philia censures the credence of Empedocles’ theory by referring to the well-known story of being perished by hurling himself forth into the flames of Mount Etna in an attempt to prove his godlike nature.⁸²⁵ A second reference to this story is encountered in the poem ‘Against an old man with a long beard who believes himself to be wise for this reason’.⁸²⁶ Niketas Eugenianos, in his prose epitaph, and in order to praise the rhetorical skills of his master, claims the following:⁸²⁷

μόλις ἐγὼ καὶ τὴν Αἰτναίαν φλόγα ποτὲ παραβαλεῖν τολμήσω τῇ γλώττῃ σου, εἰς ἣν ἐθελοντῆς Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ὁ τάλας ἐμπέτωκεν [...]

In fact, the story seems to be particularly fashionable in twelfth-century literature, as it is also to be found in Stilbes’ poem describing the catastrophic fire of 1197⁸²⁸ and in a Southern Italian poem of exile.⁸²⁹

58–61: a reference to theory that the world was formed into a sphere by Philia [*Emped. fr.* 27,28,29 (p. 237–238 Diels-Kranz)].⁸³⁰ It is not unlikely that Prodrornos had direct knowledge of Empedocles’ work, although a standard theory from Plato onwards, e.g. *Pl.*, *Ti.* 33b; *Arist.*, *Cael.* 290b/I 2 – *Arist. D C* 280A; *Aristoph. Metaph.* 985a 1–29. The same applies to the Byzantine sources, e.g. *Mich.Psel.*, *Theol.* I 50,68–73:

Εἰ μὲν οὖν, φησί, τὸ πέμπτον οἶονται, ἔστω, φησί, κατ’ ἐκείνους ἄυλόν τε καὶ πέμπτον· ‘κατὰ τί δὲ τῶν κινουμένων ἔσται καὶ φερομένων; ὁ γὰρ Ἀριστοτέλης πέμπτον σῶμα καὶ αἰθέριον οὐ τὴν ἀπλανῆ μόνον σφαῖραν ἐτίθετο, ἀλλ’ αὐτόν τε τὸν ξύμπαντα οὐρανὸν καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ ἀστέρας’ τοὺς τε ἐνδεδεμένους καὶ τοὺς κινουμένους τοὺς τε ἀπλανεῖς καὶ τοὺς πλάνητας, ὥς εἶναι τέλος αὐτῷ τοῦ πέμπτου σώματος τὴν κοίλην ἐπιφάνειαν τῆς σεληνιακῆς σφαίρας.

69–73 contain a description of the phenomenon of the full moon. A similar depiction of the phenomenon is encountered in the astrological poem of Manasses:⁸³¹

⁸²⁴ Note that the word occurs also in the apparatus of the second poem of Ptochoprodrornos; see EIDENEIER, *Πτωχοπρόδρομος* 164.

⁸²⁵ The story is attested in the work of Diogenes Laertius (*Diog. Laert. Vit. phil.* VIII 69 4–9 and *AP* VII,123) and *Strabo, Geographica* 6.2.8. Thereupon, it appears at *Greg.Naz., Carm.* II.2.7 [1573] 281–284 and in the Pseudo-Nonnian scholia on Gregory of Nazianzus; see *Or. Iv. Contra Julianum imp.* I 59.1–9 (ed. J. BERNARDI, p. 164–166 = PG 35, col. 581.25–34). The author of the Greek life of St. Leo, Bishop of Catania, based on the Pseudo-Nonnian scholia on Gregory of Nazianzus also treats the story; see ALEXAKIS, St. Leo bishop of Catania 142 and the notes one pp. 201–202.

⁸²⁶ See also MIGLIORINI, Teodoro Prodrorno 25, v. 39: καὶ τὸν πυρὸς πάρεργον Ἐμπεδοκλέα.

⁸²⁷ *Nic.Eugen., Mon. in Theod. Prodr.* 460.22–23.

⁸²⁸ *Const. Stilb., Carm. De Inced.* 683–687.

⁸²⁹ *Tristia ex Melitogaudio* 74–75.

⁸³⁰ This is a standard theory from Plato onwards, e.g. *Pl.*, *Ti.* 33b; *Arist.*, *Cael.* 290b/I 2; *Arist.*, *D C* 280A; *Aristoph. Metaph.* 985a 1–29.

⁸³¹ *Const.Manass., Astrol.carm.* 354.

διηνεκῶς δ' ἀλλάττεται τὸ φῶς δανειζομένη.

69–70. for the fabrication of verses, Prodromos is snipping and pasting metrical patches from other works by him, as the word combinations ‘τῷ σεληναίῳ κύκλῳ’ and ‘τὸν ἡλιακὸν δίσκον’ are accommodated in the same *sedes* of verses at ‘Verses of lamentation on Providence’ H 143 (v. 22) and *tetrast.* 5a2, respectively.

73–87. Ἐγὼ ... φύσει: an allusion to the Empedoclean theory of the ‘four elements’, cited in numerable classical authors [e.g. *Pl.*, *Ti.* 31b 4– 32b 8; *Arist.*, *GC* II 3,330a 30; *Ocell.* 37,33–38,5], as well as by Byzantines, e.g., *Mich.Psell.*, *Theol.* I 59.105–111:

ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν πῦρ θερμὸν καὶ ξηρόν, τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ ψυχρὸν καὶ ὑγρόν, ἐναντία δ' αὐταὶ ποιότητες, τὰ δ' ἐναντία τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἄμικτα. πῶς οὖν, τῶν ἐν τοῖς στοιχείοις ποιότητων ἐναντιουμένων, ἢ πρὸς ἀλλήλα τούτων μίξις ἐγένετο; διὰ τοῦτο μέσον αὐτοῖν τὸν ἀέρα τιθέασι, θερμὸν τυγχάνοντα καὶ ὑγρόν, καὶ τῇ μὲν ὑγρότητι τὸ ὕδωρ οἰκειούμενον, τῇ δὲ θερμότητι τῷ πυρὶ συγκεραννύμενον, καὶ οὕτως διὰ μέσου τούτων ἢ τῶν διεστώτων συνάφεια γίνεται.

The motif of union of opposite elements is also employed in a yet unpublished poem of Manganeios Prodromos.⁸³²

95–96. κάντεῦθεν ... μίτους: the four seasons are envisaged as four weaving maidens.⁸³³ It is worth noting that at *carm.hist.* I 81–83 the Graces are depicted as tender maidens weaving a dance around the Empress Piroska-Irene of Hungary, wife of John II:

αἱ σε περιχορεύουσιν ὡς ἀπαλαὶ παρθένοι
ὕμνουσαι καὶ συνάδουσαι καὶ συνεπικροτοῦσαι,
εὐρυθμον πλέξασαι χορὸν ἐν ἀπαλοῖς δακτύλοις

102. τετρακτὺς: for the word see VASSIS, *Chiliostichos Theologia* 181.

104–105. Εἰ τῶν ... ἀλληλουχίαν: the same phraseology is employed at *R&D* I 43: παντὸς μέλους σύστοιχος ἀλληλουχία in order for the immense beauty of Rhodanthe to be rendered in a due manner.

112. Πλίνθοι ... βάρη: very similar wording to his work ‘To the ceasar or the color green’ [...] οἰκίαν γάρ, πλίνθος ὀπτῇ, καὶ λίθος ξεστῇ, [...].⁸³⁴ The combination ‘Πλίνθοι ὀπτὰι’ is used for the building of well-fortified walls, especially those of Babylon (cf. *Ar.*, *Av.* 552; *Cassius Dio.*, *Historiae Romanae* 68.27.1.2: τοσαύτην γὰρ ἀσφάλειαν πλίνθοις ὀπταῖς ἢ καὶ λίθοις λεπτοῖς). In the same vein, Psellos writes⁸³⁵ οὐ πλίνθοις ὀπταῖς ὥσπερ ἡ Περσις Κτησιφῶν τὸ θρυλλούμενον φρούριον [...]

⁸³² Through this image Manganeios attempts to describe sophrosyne; see ROILLOS, *Amphoteroglossia* 187.

⁸³³ For the personifications of the four seasons see *ODB* III 1861.

⁸³⁴ See CRAMER, *Bibliothecarum Oxoniensium* III 217 (line 25).

⁸³⁵ *Mich.Psell.*, *Orat.Paneg.* IV.417–419.

Prodromos' stress on the city walls is not surprising. The poem 'Verses of Farewell to Byzantium', which contains an encomiastic *ekphrasis* of Constantinople, opens with a special reference to the walls of the city.⁸³⁶

118. χαλινεργάτη: 'maker of reins', a *hapax* not recorded in any lexicon.

120-125. echo *Arist., Pol.* 1291a1:

ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο τὸ περὶ τὰς τέχνας ὧν ἄνευ πόλιν ἀδύνατον οἰκεῖσθαι· τούτων δὲ τῶν τεχνῶν τὰς μὲν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ὑπάρχειν δεῖ, τὰς δὲ εἰς τρυφήν ἢ τὸ καλῶς ζῆν [...]

126. Ἐγὼ ... νυμφοστόλος: *Philia* is depicted as bridal attendant of the marriage. Similarly, at *R&D* IX 310-311, the gods are depicted as bridal attendants of the marriage of Rhodanthe and Dosicles.

127-136. in order to visualize the erotic notion of *Philia*, Prodromos juxtaposes a number of traditional motifs, all of which were drawn from Tatius' novel.

- (I) vv. 127-128 are clearly reminiscent of *L&K* I 17.2-3, despite the fact that Prodromos does not employ the motif of the date-palms. A recurrent motif in twelfth century, e.g. *carm.hist.* XLIIIc 16, *H&H* 10.3, *A&K* 21a, *D&C* 4.139-142 and much later *L&R* (vv. 173-174), as well as in the allegorical poem of Theodore Meliteniotes 'On Temperance' (ed. Miller vv. 388-389).
- (II) The vv. 129-134 include the *topos* of the eel which leaves the sea and comes to shore to mate with the viper (cf. *L&K* I 18.3-5). In addition to Prodromos, it can be found at *A&K* 21a, in a yet unpublished poem of Manganeios,⁸³⁷ and in the Palaeologan romance *L&R* (vv. 179-181).⁸³⁸
- (III) Thirdly, in vv. 135-136, the *topos* of the iron and the magnet is employed (cf. *L&K* I 17.2). This motif is used extensively in the twelfth-century erotic discourse, e.g. *carm.hist.* XLIIIc 17, *D&C* IV 137-138, *A&K* M 21a and in the Manganeios Prodromos' poem 'To the Lady Who is above Physical Pleasure, Who is Chaste, to the Rhetorical Turtledove: A Speech of Exhortation to

⁸³⁶ See HÖRANDNER, Prodromos and the City 52-53. Similar vocabulary is used for the well-fortified walls of Nicaea; see Rhoby, Die byzantinischen Epitheta Nikaias 210 ff.

⁸³⁷ See ROILLOS, Amphoteroglossia 187.

⁸³⁸ The story of the murena, albeit not in the context of erotic discourse, is also encountered in many Byzantine authors: e.g. *Mich.Glyc.*, *Annales* 74.9-13; *Nic.Chon.,Orat.* 3.18.5: οὐχ οὕτω συριγμὸς ὄφεως εἰς εὐνήν ἐξεκαλέσατο μύραιναι καὶ χερσαίαν τὴν πόντον ἔθετο. Noteworthy enough, in his lengthy poem 'On the Characteristics of Animals' Manuel Philes deals with the mating of the eel and the viper, ascribing all the while an erotic implication; see Phile de animalibus, elephante, plantis etc. (ed. Dübner 36-37).

Marital Union'.⁸³⁹ A poem of Manganeios entitled 'On Eros' displays great interest, as its content is based, to a great degree, on this *topos*.⁸⁴⁰

It is, therefore, clear that the above three motifs are particularly popular from the twelfth-century onwards. Also, it is highly likely that Prodromos was the first author to re-introduce them, since the poem celebrating the marriage of Alexios,⁸⁴¹ son of Nikephoros Katakalon Euphorbenos and Maria Komnene (one of the daughters of the emperor Alexios I Komnenos), is datable to around 1122.⁸⁴² If this dating is correct, the use of novelistic *topoi* may stipulate that Prodromos had begun with the composition of his novel around the same time.⁸⁴³

131. ἀναδραμεῖν ... ῥάχιν: cf. *R&D* V 450: ἀλλ' ὑπερέπλει τῆς θαλάσσης τὴν ῥάχιν.

141. τὸ Πατρὸς ἐκσφράγισμα: cf. *carm.hist.* L 19 τὸ τῶν πατρικῶν ἐκσφράγισμα χαρίτων, an epitaph on Stephanos Kontostephanos on commission of his wife Anna (daughter of John II Komnenos).

142. τὸ παμφαές φῶς: cf. *carm.hist.* LXIII 1 Ὡ τριάς, ὦ φῶς παμφαές, ὦ νοῦς μέγας. It echoes, for example, *Jo.* 8. 12, where Jesus presents himself as being τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου, who is sent to Earth by his Father to destroy evil and sin.

145. παθητήν is used very often in order to describe the human nature of Christ (cf. *PGL*).

146–147. καὶ ... ὑφασμένην: a reference to the immaculate birth of Christ.

Cf. *Philes, Carm.* [BRAOUNOU-PIETSCH] 23.15-16:

ἢ σαρκὸς ἱστούργησας αὐτὴ πορφύραν,
βαφεῖσαν ἐκ σῶν παρθενικῶν αἱμάτων

For a detailed discussion see BRAOUNOU-PIETSCH, *Beseelte Bilder* 87.

152. καὶ ... εἰκόνα: cf. *AHG* July 25, can. 35,8: ἵνα τὴν πεσοῦσαν εἰκόνα ἀναστήσῃ.

⁸³⁹ ROILLOS, *Amphotereglossia* 187.

⁸⁴⁰ The specific poem was first edited by Petta; see PETTA, 'Άγνωστο βυζαντινὸ ἐρωτικὸ ποίημα 77–88. Thereupon, it was edited more carefully by Polemis; see POLEMIS, *Κριτικὲς καὶ ἐρμηνευτικὲς παρατηρήσεις* 357–367; however, see JEFFREYS, *Manganeios Poem* 45 357–359. For annotations on the poem see CUPANE, *Metamorphosen des Eros* 34–39. The motif of the magnet is also used in later texts, as in Livistros and Rodamne (vv. 176–177) and in Meliteniotes' poem (vv. 382–384).

⁸⁴¹ For the dating see VARZOS, *Γενεαλογία*, I, 330.

⁸⁴² *Ibid.* 331.

⁸⁴³ See also note no. 868.

153. ἐν ... πάθει is a subtle reference to *Gen.* 1.26, where it is related that humankind was created according to God's likeness.

156–157. ἀλλ' ... κανθηλίους: the scribe V notes in the margins of both verses that they are maxims. It is interesting to note that they recur together in two works which draw extensively upon Prodromos' work, namely, in the anonymous pamphlet 'Anacharsis or Ananias',⁸⁴⁴ as well as in the poem of Euthymios Tornikes 'On a senseless bishop of Seleukia who seized the episcopal see contrary to the canon laws of the monasteries of Euboia'.⁸⁴⁵ Whereas these three occurrences appear to be the only testimonies to the first maxim, the second one is attested quite frequently on its own.⁸⁴⁶

158. Ἐλάνθανον ... δραπέτη: the exact meaning of this verse is not clear to me.

161. εἰς δ' ἀγεννῇ μαχλάδα: verse no. 89 of Prodromos' poem 'Against a lustful old woman' (H 140) reads: Δεῦτε κρινοῦντες τὴν παλαιὰν μαχλάδα.⁸⁴⁷

178–181. Ἐν συμπλοκαῖς ... ἀλάτων: the meaning of these four verses is not clear to me.

193. βάκχην ... μαχλάδα: cf. *Nonn.*, *Dion.* 46.124: ἄγρια κομάζουσιν ἰδεῖν λυσσώδεα Βάκχην. For Prodromos' imitation of Nonnus see now SPANOUDAKIS, Nonnus and Theodorus Prodromus 241–250.

194. τρισανόητος: I translate 'three times unreasonable'; it is not exemplified in any lexicon. According to the *TLG*, it recurs only at *D&C* VI 334. It might be interesting to note that the similar compound word 'τρिसάποτος' is used twice in Prodromos (cf. *carm.hist.* LXXVII 37 and LXXIX 48).

205. πνέεις δὲ πῦρ: a standard expression in the Prodromic work. For example, in the cycle of epigrams under the title 'On virtues and Vices', the personified Rhetoric states Ἐγὼ πνέω πῦρ κατὰ τῶν ἀντιθέτων (see p. 374). Cf. also *tetrast.* 134a1, 267a4 and *R&D* V 154).

⁸⁴⁴ *Anacharsis* 776–777: ἀλλ' εἰς νεκροὺς τὰ μύρα, κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν, καὶ πρὸς ὄνους κανθηλίους τὸ λύρισμα [...].

⁸⁴⁵ HÖRANDNER, Euthymios Tornikes (forthcoming).

⁸⁴⁶ See KARATHANASIS, Sprichwörter 105–106 and LEUTSCH – SCHNEIDEWIN, *Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum* II 563 XII 82 [ἐπὶ τῶν ἀπαιδευτῶν· ἢ ἐπὶ τῶν συγκαταθεμένων μηδὲ ἐπαινούμενων...].

⁸⁴⁷ For further notes on this word and for its use in the Prodromic work see MIGLIORINI, Teodoro Prodromo 17–18.

207. Αντιπροθοίμην: a very rare word otherwise attested only in the work of Dio Cassius and in the Epitome of Dio Cassius by John Xiphilinos and in Zonaras' Epitome historiarum (cf. *TLG*). It is very likely that it was copied directly from Dio Cassius, as Prodromos was quite familiar with his work. For example, in his prose works, 'On those who blaspheme against Providence on account of poverty' (H 151), he quotes verbatim an extract from Dio Cassius,⁸⁴⁸ while in an oration addressed to Alexios Orphanotrophos he claims:⁸⁴⁹

...Καὶ πάλαι μὲν ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἔφη σοφὸς ἐν ἐπιστολῇ τὴν οἰκουμένην ὅλην εἰς μόνον ἀποβλέπειν τὸν Δίωνα. Ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ Δίωνα μὲν θαυμάζω τοῖς ἱστορικοῖς βιβλίοις ἐντυχάνων·

...The wise man of Athens said once in a letter that the world kept his gaze on Dion and no other. I also admire Dion when I am reading his history books.

211. λυσιγάμου is a very infrequent word attested only twice before Prodromos: *Greg.Naz., Carm.* I.2.29 [898] 186⁸⁵⁰ and *AP* V,302.14.

214. Βλέπεις ... μέθην: cf. *D&C* IV 217 Νοσῶ φρενῖτιν καὶ μεμηνυῖαν νόσον V 97 Βλέπεις ἀνάγκην ἣν φέρει, βλέπεις νόσον.

225–228. the strong friendship between Orestes and Pylades becomes a *topos* in twelfth-century literature. In a poem dedicated to friendship, Manuel Karantenos claims that a loyal friend is willing to travel to the underworld, as did Pylades,⁸⁵¹ while in Nicetas Choniates' prose oration on friendship, Orestes and Pylades are also used as paradigms of an unyielding friendship.⁸⁵²

229–230. Ἀκήκοας, ... ῥαψωδίας: there follows a well-elaborated transition from Greek drama to epic poetry.

234. τῆς ... ὀσπίδος is a reference to the Shield of Achilles (cf. *Il.*18.478–608); for a recent study on the reception of the Shield in Ancient and Byzantine texts see CULLHED, Shield of Achilles 192–219.

235–236. κόλον ... πελωρίω: cf. *Il.*16.116–117: τὸ μὲν Τελαμώνιος Αἴας πῆλ' αὐτῶς ἐν χειρὶ κόλον δόρυ.

⁸⁴⁸ PG 133 1292B.

⁸⁴⁹ *Prodr., Orat.* 31.177.99–101.

⁸⁵⁰ The word is also exemplified in the lexicon to the poems of Gregory of Nazianzenus. See KALAMAKIS, Λεξικά τῶν ἐπῶν Γρηγορίου τοῦ Θεολόγου 133.

⁸⁵¹ CRISCUOLO, Manuele Karanteno 161 (ἄλλος Πυλάδης Ὀρέστη φιλουμένῳ | ῥάστως θελήσας συγκατελθεῖν 'εἰς Ἀΐδου').

⁸⁵² *Nic.Chon., Orat.* 18.196.13.

τῷ πελωρίῳ is used of Aias from Homer onwards (*Il.* 17.174); the same applies to the twelfth century, e.g. in the commentaries of Eustathios of Thessalonike and in the poem of Euthymios Tornikes, ‘On a senseless bishop of Seleukia who seized the episcopal see contrary to the canon laws of the monasteries of Euboia’.⁸⁵³

244. καὶ ... σύρων: cf. *Nonn.*, *Dion.* 46.276: βόστρυχον αἰσχύνουσα χυτῇ κεκύλιστο κονίη.

254–255. Υἱοὶ ... μάχη enclose the personification of three vices, as we are told that Animosity has six children, three sons (Phthonos, Ambush, Murder) and three daughters (Vice, Wrath, Battle). As far as I know, there is no mythological background in support of these words. It should be viewed rather as a invention in order for Theodore to demonstrate the critical situation of the world after the banishment of *Philia*. The personification of *Phthonos* is particularly interesting since it plays an instrumental role in Prodromos’ work.⁸⁵⁴

258. πρὸς τὸν αἰθέρα τρέχω appears in the same *sedes* of the verse in the Greek Anthology (*AP* XVI,380. 2), as well as in Philes (*Philes.*, *Carm.* II 107.3).

270. τὴν καλύβην εἰσελθε: according to Hesychios, the word transmits a twofold meaning: ‘hut’ and ‘marriage chamber’ (κ 523 [LATTE 1953-2009]) – both of them fit this verse. Jeffreys has already pointed out that the word is employed with the same ambivalence in Prodromos’ novel.⁸⁵⁵

271. φιάλης νηφαλίου: a drink offered to the Muses and Nymphs (cf. *LSJ*).

272. τρύφους τοῦ πιτυρίου: for annotations on this phrase see p. 312.

273. καὶ ... ἁλάτων: salt is used as a mark of hospitality. Note that this expression is used extensively in Prodromos’ novel with the same connotation (cf. *R&D* II 51, II 92, and IX 62).

279–297. A number of oaths till the end of the poem.⁸⁵⁶ It reminds us of Rhodanthe’s oath of everlasting love to Dosicles (*R&D* VII 111-112):⁸⁵⁷

συνέγομαί σοι κὰν βυθῷ κὰν πυθμένι.
οὐ ψεύσομαι τὸν ὄρκον, οὐ τὴν ἐγγύην;

⁸⁵³ HÖRANDNER, Euthymios Tornikes (forthcoming).

⁸⁵⁴ See HINTERBERGER, Phthonos als treibende Kraft in Prodromos, Manasses und Bryennios 83–91 and more recently IDEM, Phthonos 425–441. Despite the excellent work of Hinterberger, the present verse has gone unnoticed.

⁸⁵⁵ See JEFFREYS, Four Byzantine Novels 143.

⁸⁵⁶ For oath-taking in Byzantium see KOUKOULES, Βυζαντινὸν βίος καὶ πολιτισμός, III, 346–375.

⁸⁵⁷ Transl. in JEFFREYS, Four Byzantine Novels 114.

I will be your companion even in the abyss and the ocean deeps. | I will not be false to my oath, nor to my pledge;

288. διπλόας is also used in the poem ‘On Virtues and Vices’ (25) in order for Theodore to describe the ambivalent notion of the rhetoric.⁸⁵⁸ The word is also used with the same meaning by Gregory of Nazianzus in his poem “To his own verse” which functions as preface to his collection of poems “To himself” (cf. *Greg.Naz., Carm. II,1,79*; transl. in WHITE, Gregory of Nazianzus 7).

⁸⁵⁸ See ROILLOS, *Amphotereglossia* 30–31.

Commentary

(keywords: friendship, eros, novel-writing, didactic purpose)

The longest poem of the group, a verse dialogue between *Philia* and *Xenos* with a very strong allegorical tone, is transmitted in its entirety in a single Byzantine manuscript (V). In the post-Byzantine period, by contrast, it attracted much more attention, reflected in the numerous manuscripts,⁸⁵⁹ editions, translations,⁸⁶⁰ but more importantly in a number of *exegeseis*.⁸⁶¹ Regrettably enough, the poem has never been discussed properly. Indeed, the contemporary reader has at his/her disposal a completely outdated study published over 120 years ago,⁸⁶² some brief remarks by Hunger⁸⁶³ and Hörandner,⁸⁶⁴ and approximately a page in the recent study of the Komnenian novels by Roilos.⁸⁶⁵

As far as its structure is concerned, it falls into the following divisions:

- vv. 1–35** The poem opens with *Xenos* being bewildered by the hideous appearance of *Philia*. Thereupon, she recounts to him her sufferings, how she was beaten and thrown out from her home by her own husband (i.e. *Cosmos*). *Xenos* then implores her to relate him the whole story in detail. After an initial hesitation, *Philia* agrees to unfold a full account of her story.
- vv. 36–261** The second part of the poem includes *Philia's* long monologue. In effect, it is an evident manifestation of *Philia's* power over the Universe. This part contains the following subdivisions:
- vv. 36–49** In employing a strong allusion to Ps.-Dionysius the Areopagite's work, 'Celestial Hierarchy', Prodrōmos highlights *Philia's* close association with God and all celestial beings. *Philia* establishes bonds of harmony between the numerous celestial creatures. Only Lucifer questioned her authority and was therefore cast out of heaven.

⁸⁵⁹ Some of them (e.g. a and b) were used as an education tool for Greek students during the Ottoman period; on the so-called *Mathemataria* see SKARVELI-NIKOLOPOULOU, *Tà μαθηματάρια τῶν ἐλληνικῶν σχολείων τῆς Τουρκοκρατίας*.

⁸⁶⁰ Cf. HÖRANDNER, *Historische Gedichte* 53; in addition, there seems to be a Polish translation; see St. WITKOWSKI, *Zgoda Tułaiąca się Cyrusa Theodora z Greckiego na polskie przetłomaczona*. Krakow 1605 (I owe this reference to Przemek Marciniak).

⁸⁶¹ E.g. Meteora, Mone Hagiau Stephanou 110 fol. 135^r–141^r. «Ἐξήγησις τῶν ἐπὶ ἀποδήμῳ τῇ φιλίᾳ ποιηθὲν παρὰ Θεοδώρου τοῦ Πτωχοῦ Προδρόμου, ξένος καὶ φιλία»; for more examples see the chapter on the manuscript tradition of the poems.

⁸⁶² PASSAMONTI, *Dell'Apodēmos philia di Teodoro Prodrōmo* 361–370.

⁸⁶³ HUNGER, *Literatur*, II, 145.

⁸⁶⁴ HÖRANDNER, *Historische Gedichte* 53.

⁸⁶⁵ Roilos too emphasizes that it is a neglected Prodrōmic work; see ROILLOS, *Amphoteroglossia* 187.

- vv. 50–87** Philia utters a strict reprimand against the Empedoclean cosmogony. There follows a series of allusions to Empedocles' work, 'On Nature', in order for the poet to underline that the universe was fashioned and is still regulated by *Philia*: she formed the heaven into a sphere, she establishes harmony between sun and moon and mixes the 'four elements'.
- vv. 88–108** The gentle rotation of the four seasons is also regulated by *Philia* for the benefit of human well-being.
- vv. 109–125** Both the urban centres themselves, as well as the professional trades functioning within them, are established and regulated by *Philia*.
- vv. 126–138** Marriage and the erotic affection is another aspect of *Philia*. Three *topoi* are employed: firstly, the palm trees (yet in a subtle way). Secondly, the eel which leaves the sea and comes to shore to mate with the snake, and, thirdly, the iron's essence which is slave of the magnet.
- vv. 139–153** *Philia* convinced Christ to become a mortal and redeem mankind from sin and slavery.
- vv. 154–193** From this verse onwards we are told that *Philia* was thrown out of the house by *Cosmos* and replaced by *Animosity* with the assistance of *Folly*. Thereupon, a detailed comparison between *Philia* and *Animosity* follows by which *Philia*'s superiority over the latter is demonstrated.
- vv. 194–198** *Philia* does not display feelings of hatred against her husband, in spite of the fact that he chose to be united with *Animosity*.
- vv. 199–210** She firmly maintains that the accusations against *Cosmos* are not unfounded and absurd.
- vv. 211–221** *Animosity* does not lead to harmony but to the exact opposite.
- vv. 222–228** The prominent role that *Philia* plays is highlighted by means of two examples from Greek drama: her absence, which led the two brothers, Eteocles and Polynices, to kill each other. On the contrary, Orestes and Pylades, though not connected by bonds of kinship, accomplished many great deeds on account of their loyal and reciprocal friendship.
- vv. 231–245.** *Philia* also played an instrumental role in the Trojan war, as she was the one who reconciled the Greeks and summoned Achilles to fight against Hector, thereby causing the death of the latter.

- vv. 246–261** *Philia* repeats that she was sent to exile. Along with her expulsion, everything good vanished and Animosity together with her six evil children dominated the world.
- vv. 262–297** The poem concludes as it opened, with a dialogue between *Philia* and *Xenos*. The latter tells *Philia* that he feels pity and sympathy for her torments and expresses his admiration for her fortitude. He then implores her to enter his hut, drink of his wine, and eat his bread. This should be viewed as a clear summons to her to share her life with him. At the beginning, she appears to be particularly reluctant, reminding him of her previous sufferings. However, *Xenos* dissuades her from her initial decision. A number of oath-takings follows and the poem concludes with *Philia* asking from *Xenos* to take the oath that he will remain eternally faithful to her.

What can be inferred from this brief outline? First of all, Prodnomos devotes the greatest part of the poem to the description of *Philia*. Nevertheless, as the description progresses the attempt to understand *Philia* becomes more and more complex. It suffices to go back to previous references to the poem by modern scholars in order for us to grasp the ambivalence of *Philia*. For instance, Hörandner translates the work as ‘Die Freundschaft in der Verbannung’.⁸⁶⁶ In the same vein, Mullett in her study on Byzantine letter friendship interpretes it as ‘Friendship in Exile’.⁸⁶⁷ On the other hand, Roilos, more recently, has translated the work as ‘Love in Exile’.⁸⁶⁸ There is no reason to argue that these readings are wrong. However, it is clear that in the present poem *Philia* is an amalgam of the notion of friendship as well as love/*ēros* (of course, along with the Christian concept *agāpe*).⁸⁶⁹

Furthermore, the intense allegorical and philosophical nature of the poem perplexes even more every attempt to define the notion of *Philia* precisely. Features deriving from the Aristotelian concept of *philia* (as expressed in the ‘Nicomachean Ethics’),⁸⁷⁰ Empedocles’ cosmological theory about the role of *Philia* in the creation of the world,⁸⁷¹ interwoven with Neoplatonic and Christian ideas – always in an ingenious and original manner – fabricate the

⁸⁶⁶ HÖRANDNER, *Historische Gedichte* 53.

⁸⁶⁷ MULLETT, *A friendly society* 118.

⁸⁶⁸ ROILOS, *Amphoteroglossia* 31 and 187.

⁸⁶⁹ In his poetic work ‘On Virtues and Vices’ Prodnomos labels the virtue of love with the Greek word *agapē* without including the meaning of friendship.

⁸⁷⁰ Aristotle already in ‘Nicomachean Ethics’ maintains that *Philia* comprises both the notion of friendship and love (*Arist., EN* 1155a); for the complexity of the notion of *Philia* in Aristotle see e.g. COOPER, *Aristotle on the Forms of Friendship* 619–648; ADKINS, ‘Friendship’ and ‘Self-Sufficiency’ in *Homer and Aristotle* 30–45; DZIOB, *Aristotelian Friendship* 781–801.

⁸⁷¹ See SOLMSEN, *Love and Strife in Empedocles’ Cosmology* 109–148.

image of the Prodromic *Philia*. Indeed, as the poem progresses this pastiche of Christian and non-Christian reflections becomes more evident, while friendship acquires a very broad range of meanings and is depicted as an omnipotent godhead.

But let us begin with a description of the diverse dimensions of the Prodromic *Philia*. She is united with God and brings about unity and harmony in the celestial world.⁸⁷² She then turns into cosmic love by regulating the whole universe, the sun and the moon, the four elements,⁸⁷³ the four seasons, and human well-being. She also takes the form of civic friendship (cf. *Arist.*, *EN* 1155a21-22) by establishing cities and setting in order all the professional trades functioning within them. She also takes on an erotic dimension as she unites the male with the female always, of course, consummated within the consecrated institution of marriage. She appears also to be the bond between God and humans, for the divine affection towards humans exists because of her, as indicated explicitly with the incarnation of God's son, his unconditional self-giving passion and death for the atonement of mankind's sins. She also develops unbreakable ties of friendship between men without bonds of kinship (e.g. Orestes and Pylades). Finally, yet importantly, she ignites the feeling of unity between comrades during a war.

This poetic work is remarkable for many reasons, and not the least because it offers an invaluable twelfth-century insight into the manifold notions of friendship and *ēros*/love. It is, therefore, a unique account of how the Byzantines, or, to put it even better, a dominant twelfth-century intellectual perceives complicated concepts of this kind. It should be emphasized, however, that these two notions are treated extensively in works composed around the same time.

As far as the concept of friendship is concerned, this is undoubtedly a dear notion to the hearts of many Byzantine authors. It is, consequently, treated by various texts representing diverse genres. The first stems from the practice of letter-writing. In particular, Michael Italikos at the opening of a letter addressed to Theodore Prodromos – dating sometime roughly around 1145 – contemplates extensively the nature of friendship by a series of, as Papaioannou puts it, 'sophisticated, theological and philosophical, arguments'.⁸⁷⁴ Although Italikos restricts himself to his friendship with Prodromos, his account bears certain

⁸⁷² Of course, it is not a coincidence that the description of *Philia* begins within a purely Christian context.

⁸⁷³ It is worth mentioning that the theory of the four elements and Ps. Dionysios Areopagites' treatise on the hierarchy of the celestial creatures are juxtaposed in an oration of a theological treatise by Psellos entitled, 'Ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ λόγου, εἰς τὸ «οὗτος ὁ νῦν καταφρονούμενος ἦν ὅτε καὶ ὑπὲρ σὲ ἦν»'; cf. *Mich. Psell.*, *Theol.* I 59 232.104–123.

⁸⁷⁴ PAPAIOANNOU, Michael Italikos 218–233.

affinities with the present description of *Philia*. Turning to poetry, we may note that two short – rather neglected – poems on friendship were penned by Manuel Karantenos.⁸⁷⁵ As noted above, the first poem is, moreover, built upon the *topos* of Orestes and Pylades' friendship.⁸⁷⁶

Ὁ φίλος ἡδύς· ἂν δὲ καὶ φίλα λέγῃ
 Σίμβλον μέλιτος, ἂν δὲ καὶ πράττῃ πάλιν
 ῥοὺς ἀμβρόσιος, ἂν δὲ δεινὰ καὶ φέρῃ
 'Θεοῦ' τὸ 'δῶρον'. ἂν δὲ σὺν φίλῳ θάνῃ
 ἄλλος Πυλάδης Ὀρέστη φιλουμένῳ
 ῥᾶστωσ' θελήσας συγκατελθεῖν 'εἰς Ἅιδου'.

A friend is pleasant, if he speaks in a friendly spirit; | a beehive full of honey, if he also acts as friend; | a divine stream, if he supports you in difficulties; | a divine gift, if he perishes together with a friend; | another Pylades as friend of Orestes | wants at once to descent with him to Hades.

Even novelists contemplate the concept of friendship. Perhaps the most representative example is Constantine Manasses who speaks about the concept of friendship in four fragments of his novel (nos. 56, 72, 73, and 151), surviving only as collections of excerpts.⁸⁷⁷

The first, as the most thorough, deserves to be quoted at length:⁸⁷⁸

Τῆς γὰρ φιλίας τὸ πιστὸν ὁ πειρασμὸς ἐλέγχει,
 ὡς πῦρ δοκιμαστήριον τὸ καθαρὸν τῆς ὕλης,
 ὡς λίθος ἄλλη τὸν χρυσὸν ἢ βασανιστηρία·
 κάκεῖνος φίλος ἀκραιφνῆς ὁ πάσχοντος τοῦ φίλου
 μὴ φεύγων μὴδὲ προδιδούς μὴδὲ τὰ νῶτα στρέφων.
 ὁ φίλος φίλος ἐν κακοῖς· ἐν γὰρ εὐημερίᾳ
 ἄρκεῖ καὶ μόνος ὁ θεός· τίς τότε φίλου χρεῖα;
 ἂν δὲ τις βλέπων δυστυχῶς ποντούμενον τὸν φίλον
 ἔρημον οἶχοιτο φυγὼν ὡς σκάφος θαλασσόπλου
 οὐκ ἔχον τοὺς ἰθύνοντας, οὐ κάλῳας, οὐ λαίφη,
 δελφῖνος ἔργον καὶ φθειρός, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀνθρώπου πράττει·
 ἔπεται γὰρ τοι καὶ δελφίς μέχρι τῆς γῆς τῇ σκάφῃ,
 ἂν δ' ἴδῃ προσπελάζουσιν τῇ παρακτίῳ χέρσῳ,
 λειπόνεως γενόμενος καὶ λειπονάυτης φεύγει·
 καὶ φθεῖρες αἱματόθρεπτοι τοῖς αἵμασι συζῶσιν,
 ἕως αἱμάτων ὀχετοὺς εὐρίσκοιεν πλουτοῦντας·
 ἂν δ' ἤδη λειψαίμῃσαιεν, ἂν δ' αἰσθωνται ψυγέντων
 καὶ κρεῦλλίων καὶ σαρκῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπιδερμίδων,
 πόδα δραπετήν αἵρουσι καὶ σύνεισιν οὐκέτι.

Tribulation tests the reliability of friendship, | As fire tries the purity of matter, | As a touchstone proves gold; | He is a true friend who, when his friend suffers, | does not flee nor betray him nor turn his back. | A friend is a friend in misfortune; for in time of prosperity | God alone is sufficient – who has (then)⁸⁷⁹ need of a friend? | But if someone sees a friend being submerged in disaster | And makes his escape, leaving him deserted like some sea-going ship | That has no navigators, no cables, no sails, | He is acting like a dolphin or a flea but not like a man. | For a dolphin follows a ship to land, | And if he realizes it is approaching the shore, | he turns deserter and abandons the crew; | And blood-sucking fleas live with the source of blood | For as long as they can find channels rich in blood; | But if they

⁸⁷⁵ See CRISCUOLO, Manuele Karanteno 161–162.

⁸⁷⁶ It might be interesting to note that in one of the two manuscripts transmitting the poem, Prodromos is credited with its authorship *ibid.* 161.

⁸⁷⁷ Cf. A&K 56 and 151.

⁸⁷⁸ Transl. in JEFFREYS, Four Byzantine Novels 298–299.

⁸⁷⁹ The word 'then' is omitted in the translation of Jeffreys.

lack blood, if they realize that | The flesh and the tissue and the skin have grown cold, | They make their gateway and keep company no longer.

In addition to these examples, Niketas Choniates, towards the end of the twelfth century, also treats the theme of friendship in a prose oration.⁸⁸⁰ But in Choniates, as Kazhdan and Mullett have already pointed out, friendship is rather in accordance with the ideology of feudalism.⁸⁸¹

Turning to love/*ēros*, it should be emphasized that it is hardly surprising for the Prodroomic *Philia* to be closely associated with this concept. The poem was penned at a time when the revival of *eros* in Byzantine literature had taken place.⁸⁸² Four novelists (Theodore Prodromos, Eumathios Makrembolites, Constantine Manasses, and Niketas Eugenianos) along with other prominent twelfth-century authors, such as Manganeios Prodromos⁸⁸³ and Basilakes,⁸⁸⁴ set their pens to writing both prose and verse works in order to extol love and *eros*. Thus, Prodromos himself, one of the four Komnenian novelists – if not the first one who induced the resurgence of this particular genre⁸⁸⁵ – could not have failed to bestow an erotic connotation upon his *Philia*.⁸⁸⁶ To be sure, the depiction of *Philia* does not deviate significantly from the pattern of *Eros* as described in certain contemporary works. For example, the depiction of *Philia* as a godhead next to God and the other celestial creatures, and, at the same time, as lord of the natural *taxis*, is akin to that of *Eros* in Makrembolites' novel, where he is depicted as a king who 'makes the world go around'.⁸⁸⁷

Other important aspects of the poem are the extensive references to Empedocles' work 'On Nature'. In order to depict *Philia* as supreme lady of the natural *taxis*, Prodromos includes a detailed summary of Empedocles' philosophical treatise (vv. 60–87). It is not clear whether Prodromos had direct knowledge of the philosophical poem by Empedocles, for allusions to latter's theory are scattered in works of innumerable authors, from Plato to

⁸⁸⁰ Nic. Chon., *Orat.* 19.

⁸⁸¹ KAZHDAN – CONSTABLE, *People and Power in Byzantium* 28 and MULLETT, *A friendly society* 15.

⁸⁸² For the twelfth-century revival of *Eros* see CUPANE, 'Ερως βασιλεύς 243–297; CUPANE, *Metamorphosen des Eros* 25–54; MAGDALINO, *Eros the King* 197–204; and more recently CHRISTOFORATOU, *Figuring Eros in Byzantine Fiction* 321–359.

⁸⁸³ MAGDALINO, *Eros the King* 200–202.

⁸⁸⁴ PAPAIOANNOU, *On the Stage of Eros* 355–374.

⁸⁸⁵ The sequence of composition of the Komnenian novels is still under debate. On the one hand, Jeffreys claims that Prodromos' novel is the first Komnenian novel; see JEFFREYS, *A Date for Rhodanthe and Dosikles* 109–126 and more recently JEFFREYS, *Four Byzantine Novels* 7–10, 161–165 (with bibliography). On the other hand, Agapitos argues that Makrembolites' work is the earliest Komnenian novel; see AGAPITOS, *Poets and Painters* 173–185 and AGAPITOS, *Writing, reading and reciting (in) Byzantine erotic fiction* 135 (note no. 39); on this issue see also NILSSON, *Raconter Byzance: la littérature au XIIe siècle* 58ff. I find Jeffreys' proposal more attractive, given that Prodromos rediscovered many ancient genres (e.g. satire).

⁸⁸⁶ Besides, Prodromos is probably the author of seven short vernacular poems dealing with the theme of *eros*; see LEGRAND, *Théodore Prodrome* 70–73.

⁸⁸⁷ *H&H* 2.10 and 4.20–22 see also CHRISTOFORATOU, *Figuring Eros in Byzantine Fiction* 332.

Psellos, all of which could have been available to him.⁸⁸⁸ Besides, the *Suda* comprises three lemmata on Empedocles.⁸⁸⁹ Nevertheless, direct knowledge of Empedocles' work, without mediation from any other author, is equally likely, especially if we take at face value his claims in other parts of his poetic work, e.g. H 142 'Verses of lamentation on the devaluation of learning' v. 6 or *R&D* IX 425. In either case, the detailed preoccupation with the work of Empedocles should be viewed as a mirror of Prodromos' self-representation.⁸⁹⁰ In many Byzantine texts, Empedocles is usually regarded as the philosopher who succeeded in writing a philosophical treatise in verse. For example, Psellos constantly emphasizes that in his work, for example:⁸⁹¹

“εἴτε τῶν πολυθρυλλήτων τεσσάρων μετὰ τοῦ νείκους καὶ τῆς φιλίας, ὡς Ἐμπεδοκλῆς δοξάζει ἐν ἔπεσιν”

“Or of the well-known four [elements] along with strife and love which Empedocles praises in verses”

In all likelihood, Prodromos tries to represent himself as a new Empedocles who employs the medium of poetry to express his philosophical reflections on *Philia*. At the same time, in that he does not accept slavishly the views of Empedocles – for example he discards the involvement of strife in the creation of the Universe – it should be interpreted as an attempt to project a superior image of his own philosophical reflections compared to that of the Greek philosopher. Self-representation of Prodromos is enhanced even more if we imagine that this poem was composed for his students (see further below).

The poem is predicated, to a large degree, on the mechanism of personification.⁸⁹² *Philia* is here personified in order to function as protagonist of the poem. The practice of personifying virtues is well attested not only in Byzantine literature and art,⁸⁹³ but also in Prodromos' poetic corpus. As we shall see, the no. 15 of the present edition concerns the personification of twenty-six virtues and vices; interestingly enough, however, *Philia* is not to be found among the personified virtues. One should turn to the fourteenth-century

⁸⁸⁸ Concerning Empedocles' influence on other classical authors, many studies have been produced, e.g. HERSHBELL, *Empedoclean Influences on the Timaeus* 145–166; KYRIAKOU, *Empedoclean Echoes in Apollonius Rhodius' 'Argonautica'* 309–319. There even exist studies for the reception of Empedocles' theory in the English Renaissance; see BERCOVITCH, *Empedocles in the English Renaissance* 67–80. On the other hand, no study for the reception of Empedocles exists in Byzantine literature.

⁸⁸⁹ See *Suda* II, 258–259.

⁸⁹⁰ For the self-representation of Prodromos see ALEXIOU, *The Poverty of Écriture* 4 and CULLHED, *The blind Bard* 50–58.

⁸⁹¹ KARPOZILOS, *Δύο ανέκδοτες ἐπιστολὲς τοῦ Μιχαὴλ Ψελλοῦ* 299–310, esp. 309, lines 57–58.

⁸⁹² For the device of personification in Byzantine literature see *ODB* III 1634–1635; see also JEFFREYS, *The Labours of the Twelve Months* 309–323.

⁸⁹³ CUPANE, *Das erfundene Epigramm* 19–28.

anonymous romance *Libistros* and *Rhodomne*, which includes an *ekphrasis* of the erotic virtues, in order to find a personification of *Philia*.⁸⁹⁴ Texts that include personifications of virtues are usually very short – in most of the cases epigrams – with correspondent virtue to describe its main characteristics in an encased first-person narrative. On the other hand, *Philia* takes on here the role of a heroine who, having met *Xenos*, recounts to him all her sufferings, namely, how she was mishandled and expelled by her own spouse, while towards the end of the poem she is united with *Xenos* who clearly exemplifies hospitality.

It is, therefore, obvious that there is a story-line that progresses within the setting of a pine tree.⁸⁹⁵ Moreover, in the poem there are two groups of heroes: those who either assume an active role (i.e. *Philia* and *Xenos*) or a rather passive one (i.e. *Cosmos*, *Animosity*, the young slave-girl *Folly*, and *Animosity*'s six children) signified through their participation or lack in the dialogue. The structure of the poem is very carefully designed. It sets out with a proem in the form of dialogue between the two protagonists. There follows an extensive monologue by *Philia*, where narrative and description are mingled together in a very elaborate manner, assuming an appropriate balance between the temporal and spatial organization of the poem.⁸⁹⁶ To my mind, the long description of *Philia*'s features should be understood as an attempt by Prodromos to slow down the linear development of the story. The poem concludes with a vivid dialogue between the heroes. Concerning its genre, the poem is, as Hunger has rightly stated, a Byzantine drama.⁸⁹⁷ It is far from surprising that *Philia* is a twelfth-century literary piece. The Prodromic *Katomyomachia* and the *Dramation* of Michael Haploucheir, written around the same time and slightly later, stand very close in terms of form (further discussion below).⁸⁹⁸

On the other hand, the sentiments of *Philia* appear to be in accord with contemporary and ancient novel-writing practice together with a series of other genres. I have already mentioned that it displays a number of motifs and *topoi* which are somewhat commonplace in Komnenian novels, as well as in other works of erotic discourse, such as the eel which leaves the sea and comes to shore to mate with the snake, or the magnet and the iron. Furthermore, although the adaptation of the Platonic (plane) tree as a setting for advancing the plot has no

⁸⁹⁴ Lib. α 979^a (ed. Lendari) with no comments on the personification of *Philia*.

⁸⁹⁵ The poem, as *R&D*, opens in *medias res* with constant flashbacks.

⁸⁹⁶ On these concepts see AGAPITOS, Narrative Structure in the Byzantine Vernacular Romances 273–274. See also NILSSON, Hysmine & Hysminias 40–43, 141–145 and 242. Nilsson was the first who used this concept for Manasses' Ekphraseis; see NILSSON, The Ekphraseis of Konstantinos Manasses 121–143.

⁸⁹⁷ See HUNGER, Literatur II 145; see also ROILLOS, Amphoteroglossia 187.

⁸⁹⁸ See MARCINIAK, Greek Drama in Byzantine times 101–105.

comparable examples in contemporary novels, it can, as I said earlier, be tracked down to the novel of Tatius.⁸⁹⁹ Moreover, the closure of the poem is similar to that of the novels, for it concludes with a ‘happy ending’ through the union of the two heroes, though in the case of *Philia* and *Xenos* we cannot be certain whether it is consummated in the context of the marriage. A philosophical tone dominates throughout the short dramatic poem thereby making a further link with twelfth-century novels.⁹⁰⁰ What is more, Roilos has pointed out that the image of Makrembolites’ Erōs is comparable to that of Prodnomos’ *Philia*:⁹⁰¹

‘*Philia* in Prodnomos and Eros in Makrembolites are ascribed parallel ethical and cosmic attributes. They both rule over time and universe, and, thanks to their ultimate reconciliatory function, unite the opposites’

Yet, the image of powerful *Philia*, who manifests her strength in every possible way and ‘rules over time and universe/space’, co-exists with that of a weak and powerless *Philia*, beaten and expelled by her own husband. Obviously, her passive reaction towards the hardships caused by her spouse *Cosmos* should be construed as an attempt to enhance her benevolence and to ascribe to her a Christian disguise – not to mention that the same image is usually foregrounded for the heroines of novels.⁹⁰² On the other hand, one could argue that *Philia* takes on the role of both Eros and of a heroine of a novel. On the narrative level she is both lord and tormented heroine.

Of equal interest is the use of the concept of exile. It could be argued that this concept, which – as Mullett has shown – becomes a ubiquitous *topos* in twelfth-century letter writing,⁹⁰³ is ‘foreshadowed’ by poem no. 47 of John Mauropous where the poet’s wanderings in the territory of *xenos* are recounted.⁹⁰⁴ The specific motif, albeit slightly altered, plays a pivotal role not only in the ancient Greek novels⁹⁰⁵ but also those in the Komnenian period. For instance, in Prodnomos’ novel the protagonists are forced to flee to Rhodes after Rhodanthe’s abduction by Dosikles due to the failure of the nuptial negotiations between their families. Nevertheless, in the case of both Mauropous and *R&D*, exile is accompanied by restoration in their homes.⁹⁰⁶

⁸⁹⁹ There are a number of Byzantine texts which borrow the Phaedran setting; see NILSSON, Hysmine & Hysminias 182.

⁹⁰⁰ *Ibid.* 181–183.

⁹⁰¹ ROILOS, *Amphotereglossia* 188.

⁹⁰² BEATON, *The Medieval Greek Romance* 63–64 and NILSSON, Hysmine & Hysminias 250–256.

⁹⁰³ MULLETT, *Exile* 39–58.

⁹⁰⁴ For a detailed discussion of the poem see LIVANOS, *Exile and return in John Mauropous* 38–49.

⁹⁰⁵ COMITO, *Exile and Return in the Greek Romances* 58–80.

⁹⁰⁶ Mauropous celebrates the return to his house in poem no. 48, while Rhodanthe and Dosikles return to their hometown, Abydos, in order to be united in marriage.

A modulated form of the concept of exile can be found in the poem ‘Verses of Farewell to Byzantium’. Here, we encounter the poet’s intention to leave Constantinople, together with his close friend and teacher Stephanos Skylitzes, after the appointment of the latter as Metropolitan of Trebizond.⁹⁰⁷ This should be viewed as the intention of a self-exile on account of his growing disappointment with the way he was treated in the city. At all events, the list of affinities that *Philia* bears to other works could be expanded considerably, but I think that my point has been made. Clearly, it is a typical twelfth-century work which does not adhere to the rules, devices, motifs and literary *tropes* of a single genre, but rather crosses very skilfully any easily discernible boundaries.

The original function of the poem is the last question that should be elucidated. This is difficult, to be sure, but I am inclined to think that, as in the previous poem, it was written primarily for Prodhomos’ own students. It is a repository replete with quotes and adages, and with a very strong philosophical, rhetorical, and theological orientation. But it should be underscored that all of this material is not juxtaposed in an uninspiring manner. On the contrary, Theodore staged all of his versatile data as a drama in miniature. This is not the first time he does so, for the *Katomyomachia*, which has been described as ‘eine griechische Tragödie *en miniature*’⁹⁰⁸ was also used as a didactic tool.⁹⁰⁹ The present poem illustrates Prodhomos’ poetic virtuosity and his matchless proficiency in arousing the interest of his students.

⁹⁰⁷ For a detailed study of the poem see HÖRANDNER, Prodhomos and the City 49–62.

⁹⁰⁸ HUNGER, Der byzantinische Katz–Mäuse–Krieg 52.

⁹⁰⁹ MARCINIAK, Bion Prasis 227.

No. 15 (H 154)

Εἰς τὰς ἀρετὰς καὶ τὰς κακίας

1. Ἀγάπη

Ἔγωγε πηγὴ καὶ περιρρέω κύκλῳ,
τὰς γὰρ ἀπάσας ἀρετὰς σφίγγω κύκλῳ.

R f. 228^v X ff. 1^r–1^v Lc ff. 292^r–292^v Ls f. 1^r Pa ff. 36^r–37^v Vc f. 79^v Vo ff. 2^v–3^r | Ar. 17^r–19^r Ge. 622–628 Fe. 569–576 More. 4–11 Pi. 220–224

tit. εἰς τὰς ἀρετὰς καὶ τὰς κακίας R : τοῦ Προδρόμου στίχοι εἰς τὰς ἀρετὰς καὶ εἰς τὰς κακίας X : τοῦ Προδρόμου Lc : τοῦ Πανιώτου εἰς τὰς ἀρετὰς καὶ εἰς τὰς ἀντιθέτους αὐταῖς κακίας Ls : τοῦ αὐτοῦ σοφωτάτου Ψελλοῦ ἱαμβοὶ εἰς ἀρετὰς καὶ κακίας Pa : τοῦ Πανιώτου Vc : om. Vo : ἀνωνύμου ἔπος ἱαμβικόν, εἰς τὰς ἀρετὰς καὶ τὰς κακίας More. || **1a** πηγὴ] τὴν γῆν Vo | περιρρέω Lc || **1b** γ' post ἀπάσας add. More. | σφίγγω κύκλῳ] ὁμοῦ φέρω Vo

On Virtues and Vices

1. Love

I am like spring and flow in a circle, I enfold all the graces everywhere around.

Notes on the text:

lemma: the twenty-five manuscripts transmitting this cycle of epigrams do not exhibit consensus with regard to its authorship. Save for Prodromos, two other figures claim authorship; doubtlessly, the most interesting case is that of Paniotes.⁹¹⁰ Nicola Festa, the last editor of the poem, maintained that the word ‘Paniotes’ does not stand for a real person but is merely a corrupt transcription of τοῦ πανι(ερ)ω(τά)του.⁹¹¹ On the contrary, Rhoby and I have demonstrated that Paniotes was indeed a real twelfth-century author, who could, on good grounds, be the same person as Prodromos’ contemporary writer, Constantine Manasses.⁹¹²

A second group of manuscripts, dating from the sixteenth century onwards, suggests that the author of these twenty-six iambic couplets was Michael Psellos. The earliest codex that presents Psellos as author of these epigrams appears to be Pa.⁹¹³ This manuscript was copied by Arsenios of Monemvasia, also known as Aristoboulos Apostoles, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and certainly before the year 1519, when a printed version of the manuscript appeared with the poem under discussion. To my mind, it is hardly likely for Psellos to have written this poem, especially on account of the long time span –

⁹¹⁰ In favour of his authorship speak the thirteenth-century manuscript Vc and the fourteenth-century manuscript Ls.

⁹¹¹ FESTA, *Nota sui versiculi in vitia et virtutes* 572.

⁹¹² RHOBY – ZAGKLAS, Πανιώτης 171–177.

⁹¹³ The same goes for all later manuscripts preserving the poem (seventeen manuscripts up to the nineteenth century), as they are mere apographs of this manuscript.

approximately four centuries – between Psellos’ death and the oldest manuscript bearing his name as author of the poem. It seems much more reasonable to suggest that Arsenios copied the epigrams from a manuscript in which they were ascribed to Paniotes. It is even possible that he considered the label ‘Paniotes’ as a nickname for Michael Psellos. Such a hypothesis cannot be discarded since Apostoles’ manuscript contains a number of binding errors with the scribes Vc and Ls,⁹¹⁴ both of which bear the name of Paniotes.⁹¹⁵ One should also bear in mind that the attribution of spurious works to Psellos is not without parallels. For instance, in manuscript Berol. Phil. 214 one encounters on fol. 198^v a title which reads as follows: τοῦ σοφωτάτου Ψελλοῦ περὶ ἀρετῶν καὶ κακιῶν.⁹¹⁶ This is, in fact, a prose work from the anthology of Stobaeus. Another indicative example is the case of the numerous pseudo-Psellian poems.⁹¹⁷

Be that as it may, there must be no doubt that the real author of these twenty-six epigrams is Theodore Prodromos. More specifically, the Prodromic authorship is guaranteed by two manuscripts, X and Lc, dated to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries respectively. In addition to these two, one should not overlook ms. R, in which, though labelled anonymous, the poem is transmitted with ten other authentic poems by Prodromos.⁹¹⁸

1a-b. Ἐγωγε ... κύκλω: for the image of the graces flowing forth like a stream see also *Const.Manass.*, *Synopsis Chronike* 2323 where a description of Constantinople’s graces is encountered.

περιρρέω κύκλω is also used at *D&C.* III 78 in order to describe the flowing of the fictitious river Melirrhoe.

⁹¹⁴ Both of these manuscripts were copied in southern Italy and in the same scriptorium, as the main scribe is identical in both. Thus, scribes functioning in southern Italy should most likely be considered responsible for the attribution of the poem to Paniotes.

⁹¹⁵ See p. 363.

⁹¹⁶ STUEMUND – COHN, *Bibliothek zu Berlin* I 93.

⁹¹⁷ Westerink’s edition lists forty spurious poems (nos. 53–92). However, Hörandner has pointed out that no. 14 should also be considered as spurious, as it appears to be the work of monk Ioannikios. See HÖRANDNER, *The Byzantine didactic poem* 62.

⁹¹⁸ These arguments have already been noted in RHOBY – ZAGKLAS, *Πανιώτης* 172.

2. Μῖσος

Μηνιθμόν, ὀργήν, συμπλοκὴν δόλου, φθόνον,
καὶ χαλεπὸν πᾶν συλλαβὸν φέρω πάθος.

R f. 228^v X ff. I^r–I^v Lc ff. 292^r–292^v Ls f. 1^r Pa ff. 36^r–37^v Vc f. 79^v Vo ff. 2^v–3^r | Ar. 17^r–19^r Ge. 622–628 Fe. 569–576 More. 4–11 Pi. 220–224

|| **2a** μηνιθμόν Vc | δόλον Ls Fe. More. | φθόνον] φόνον Ls | θεσμούςς διαιρῶ καὶ φύσιν τοὺς νόμους Vo || **2b** συλλαβὸν Lc Pa Vc Pi. | καὶ τοὺς ἀδριφοὺς ἐγείρω καταλήλους Vo

2. Hatred

I carry wrath, anger, the interweaving of treachery, envy, and every cruel passion that I can articulate.

2a. Μηνιθμόν: note that the delineation ‘Hatred’ opens with a Homeric word (cf. *LSJ*).

Φθόνον: for the notion of envy in Prodrornos’ work see p. 351.

3. Ἐξουσία

Ὑπηρετεῖ μου τῷ κράτει χαλκοῦν ὄπλον,
καὶ κυριεύω τοῦ λόγου χωρὶς λόγου.

R f. 228^v X ff. I^r–I^v Lc ff. 292^r–292^v Ls f. 1^r Pa ff. 36^r–37^v Vc f. 79^v Vo f. 2^v | Ar. 17^r–19^r Ge. 622–628 Fe. 569–576 More. 4–11 Pi. 220–224

|| **3a** κράτει] κάλλει Vc | χαλκοῦν ὄπλον] χοῦς ἐν βίῳ Pa || **3b** χωρὶς] ἄτερ Pa | Φθόνος οὐδὲν λυπῶ ἢ τοὺς ἔχοντας μόνους καὶ κατεσθίω τούτων τὴν ψυχ(.....) post 3b add. Vo

3. Authority

The brazen arm [is] in service of my might, and I dominate over speech without [using] words.

3a. χαλκοῦν ὄπλον recurs at *carm.hist.* XVII 124.

4. Φρόνησις

Συνάγομαι μὲν ἐκ μακρᾶς ἐμπειρίας,
τιθῶ δὲ σεπτοὺς τοὺς ἐμὲ κτησαμένους.

R f. 228^v X ff. I^r–I^v Lc ff. 292^r–292^v Ls f. 1^r Pa ff. 36^r–37^v Vc f. 79^v Vo f. 2^v | Ar. 17^r–19^r Ge. 622–628 Fe. 569–576 More. 4–11 Pi. 220–224

|| 4a συνάπτομαι Vo : συνηγόμην More. || 4b κекτημένους Pa Vc | κекτημένους ἐμὲ More.

4 Prudence

I am acquired after long experience, and I make those who have procured me august.

5. Ἀφροσύνη

ἽΕοικα τυφλοῖς ἢ διύργοις ἐμβρύοις,
ἐκ σπαργάνων στέρξασα τὴν ἀγνωσίαν.

R f. 228^v X ff. I^r–I^v Lc ff. 292^r–292^v Ls f. 1^r Pa ff. 36^r–37^v Vc f. 79^v Vo ff. 2^v–3^r | Ar. 17^r–19^r Ge. 622–628 Fe. 569–576 More. 4–11 Pi. 220–224

|| 5b στέρξασα] δ' ἔστερξα Ls : στέργουσα Vo

5. Foolishness

I look like the blind or moist embryos, for I am fond of the knowledge-beyond-knowing from infancy.

2b. ἐκ ... ἀγνωσίαν: the opening verse of an eleventh-century gnomic epigram inscribed on a marble slab attached to the so-called “Throne of Archbishop of Elias” in the cathedral of Bari reads as follows:⁹¹⁹ [Ἐκο]υσίως στέρξασα τὴν ἀγνωσίαν

6. Δικαιοσύνη

Ἐγὼ συνιστῶ τῷ ζυγῷ μου τὰς πόλεις,
καὶ πύργος αὐταῖς χρηματίζω καὶ τάφος.

R f. 228^v X ff. I^r–I^v Lc ff. 292^r–292^v Ls f. 1^r Pa ff. 36^r–37^v Vc f. 79^v Vo f. 2^v | More. 4–11 | Ar. 17^r–19^r Ge. 622–628 Fe. 569–576 More. 4–11 Pi. 220–224

|| 6b αὐτοῖς R | τάφος] τεῖχος Vo

⁹¹⁹ For the text of the poem see GUILLOU, Recueil des inscriptions grecques médiévales d’Italie 160–161 (no. 144); for an English translation and annotations on the inscription see LAUXTERMANN, Byzantine Poetry 245–246; cf. also RHOBY, Byzantinische Epigramme, III, no. IT1 (forthcoming).

6. Justice

I establish cities through my scale, and I serve as tower and trench for them.

6a. τῷ ζυγῷ μου: for the association of justice with scales (*zygos*) in Byzantine literature and illustrations see ROILS, *Amphoteroglossia* 153-154. Prodomos, however, fabricates diverse images of justice in his novel, e.g. *R&D* IV 69: ‘for the eye of all-seeing justice’⁹²⁰ and V 228 ‘the dagger of justice’.⁹²¹ The image of ‘Justice’ establishing cities is in accordance with the image of *Philia* (see poem no. 13, vv. 109–110).

7. Ἀδικία

Ἀρχὴ μάχης ἔγωγε, καὶ μήτηρ φόνου,
καὶ τεῖχος εὐρὸν τῷ κριῶ καταστρέφω.

R f. 229^r X ff. I^r–I^v Lc ff. 292^r–292^v Ls f. 1^r Pa ff. 36^r–37^v Vc f. 79^v Vo f. 2^v | Ar. 17^r–19^r Ge. 622–628 Fe. 569–576 More. 4–11 Pi. 220–224

|| **7a** φόνου] φθόνου Lc R || **7b** κριῶ] κρημνῶ Lc : ψεύδει Pa | τεῖχος ἐρύττω καὶ καταστρέφω πόλεις Vo

7. Injustice

I [am] the first cause of battle and mother of murder, and I destroy the broad wall with the ram.

7a. μήτηρ φθόνου: it is difficult to choose between ‘μήτηρ φθόνου’ and ‘μήτηρ φόνου’, since both readings seem to fit the meaning of the verse. However, I have elected the latter, as it is transmitted by most of the manuscripts.

8. Ἀνδρεία

Ἐγὼ διδάσκω τοὺς ἀρηϊμανίους,
πότε, πρὸς οὓς, πῶς, καὶ δι’ οὓς μαχητέον.

R f. 229^r X ff. I^r–I^v Lc ff. 292^r–292^v Ls f. 1^r Pa ff. 36^r–37^v Vc f. 79^v Vo f. 2^v | Ar. 17^r–19^r Ge. 622–628 Fe. 569–576 More. 4–11 Pi. 220–224

|| **8** ἀνδρεία] Αφοβία Lc || **8a** ἀρηϊμανίας R : ἀρειομανίας Vo : ἀρηϊμανέας More. | ἐχθροὺς ἀναρῶ καὶ κατασφάττω ξίφει in marg. Ls || **8b** πῶς, καὶ δι’ οὓς μαχητέον] τε καὶ διαμαχητέον Vo | πλούτου τε βάρος καὶ στεφάνους πα[ρέ]χω in marg. Ls

⁹²⁰ ‘τὸ τῆς Δίκης γὰρ ὄμμα τῆς πανοπτρίας’; transl. in JEFFREYS, *Four Byzantine Novels* 68.

⁹²¹ [...] ἡ μάχαιρα τῆς Δίκης. Transl. in JEFFREYS, *Four Byzantine Novels* 88.

8. Fortitude

I instruct the bellicose when, against whom, how, and for whom they must combat.

8. **Ἀνδρεία**: Marcianus gr. 524 includes a couplet on ‘Fortitude’ running as follows:⁹²²

Ἐπὶ τῇ εἰκόνι τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀνδρείας
Ψυχὴν ἔγωγε κρατύνω καὶ σαρκίον
πρὸς τὰς ὁρατὰς καὶ νοουμένας μάχας.

On the depiction of the virtue ‘Fortitude’

I strengthen soul and body before the visible and invisible battles.

In comparison to the epigram from the Marcian anthology, the Prodromic epigram bears a rather negative connotation, especially in light of the *hapax* ‘ἀρηϊμανίους’ (cf. *LBG* ‘kriegslüstern, kriegswütig’).

9. Δειλία

Στερῶ στεφάνων καὶ σκύλων καὶ λαφύρων,
ὅσοι μένειν στέργουσιν ἐντὸς ἐρκίων.

R f. 229^r X ff. I^r–I^v Lc ff. 292^r–292^v Ls f. 1^r Pa ff. 36^r–37^v Vc f. 79^v Vo f. 2^v | Ar. 17^r–19^r Ge. 622–628 Fe. 569–576 More. 4–11 Pi. 220–224

|| 9b στέρουσιν Lc | ἐρκίων R Vc : ἐρκέων Ls Fe. : οἰκίσκων Pa

9. Cowardice

I deprive those, who favour to stay within the walls, of crowns and plundering and booty.

10. Σωφροσύνη

Τὸν σώφρονα ζῆν ἡρετισάμην βίον,
φεύγουσα τὴν ἄθεσμον ἀκολασίαν.

Ls ff. 1^r–1^v Pa ff. 36^r–37^v R f. 229^r Vc f. 79^v Vo f. 2^v X ff. I^r–I^v | Ar. 17^r–19^r Ge. 622–628 Fe. 569–576 More. 4–11 Pi. 220–224

10. Chastity

I chose to lead a prudent life by avoiding unlawful wantonness.

⁹²² LAMBROS, Μαρκιανὸς κῶδιξ 26 no. 60.

11. Ἀκολασία

Αἰσχρῶν γυναικῶν συμπλοκαί, μέθης κάρος,
ἐμοὶ προεκρίθησαν ἐκ βρεφουργίας.

R f. 229^r X ff. I^r–I^v Lc ff. 292^r–292^v Ls f. 1^r Pa ff. 36^r–37^v Vc f. 79^v Vo f. 2^v | Ar. 17^r–19^r Ge. 622–628 Fe. 569–576 More. 4–11 Pi. 220–224

11. Wantonness

I have preferred to embrace disgraceful women [and] unconscious inebriation since infancy.

12. Ἀλήθεια

Φῶς χρηματίζω καὶ λύχνος τοῖς χρωμένοις,
πρώτη τελοῦσα τῶν Θεοῦ θυγατέρων.

R f. 229^r X ff. I^r–I^v Lc ff. 292^r–292^v Ls f. 1^r Pa ff. 36^r–37^v Vc f. 79^v Vo f. 2^v | Ar. 17^r–19^r Ge. 622–628 Fe. 569–576 More. 4–11 Pi. 220–224

|| 12a λύχνον Fe. || 12b τελοῦσα] πέλουσα Pa Fe. : τέ εἰμι Vo | τῶν θεοῦ legi non potest in Ls

12. Truth

I am light and lantern for those who make use of me; I am the first of God's daughters.

12b. πρώτη ... θυγατέρων: Truth appears as daughter of Zeus at *Pi.*, *O.* 10,4. It is not easy to determine whether Prodrornos had Pindar in mind. Theodore alludes to Pindar's fragments at *carm.hist.* LXXII 4–5. According to *ODB*, 'The most widely read of the Pindaric poems were the *Olympian Odes*'.⁹²³ In addition, a keen interest in Pindar emerges around the time. For instance, a contemporary of Prodrornos, Isaac Tzetzes, composed a commentary on the Pindaric meter in political verse.⁹²⁴

⁹²³ *ODB* III 1678–1679.

⁹²⁴ For the text see A.B. DRACHMANN (ed.), *Isaac Tzetzae de metris pindaricis commentarius*. Kobenhavn 1925.

13. Ψεῦδος

Ὑπόστασιν σχεῖν ἀδυνατοῦν ἰδίαν,
καὶ τὴν ἐνυπόστατον ἥττω πολλάκις.

R f. 229^r X ff. I^r–I^v Lc ff. 292^r–292^v Ls f. 1^r Pa ff. 36^r–37^v Vc f. 79^v Vo f. 3^r | Ar. 17^r–19^r Ge. 622–628 Fe. 569–576 More. 4–11 Pi. 220–224

|| **13a** ἀδυνατῶν Pa : ἀδυνάτων Lc || **13b** ἥττω] νικῶ Vo | post 13b τελῶ δ' ὀλέθρου τοῖς ἐρασταῖς μου βόθρος add. R X

13. Falsehood

I am not able to possess my own essence, so I often destroy the existing essence.

14. Ἐλπίς

Ἄναρθρον ἀρθρῶ καὶ παραλελυμένον,
καὶ τοὺς ῥαθύμους ἐξεγείρω πρὸς πόνους.

R f. 229^r X ff. I^r–I^v Lc ff. 292^r–292^v Ls f. 1^r Pa ff. 36^r–37^v Vc f. 79^v Vo f. 3^r | Ar. 17^r–19^r Ge. 622–628 Fe. 569–576 More. 4–11 Pi. 220–224

|| **14a** Τὰ νεῦρ' ἀνορθῶ, τὰ παραλελυμένα Pa || **14b** καὶ ῥαθύμους δὲ διεγείρω πρὸς πόνους Vo

14. Hope

I join together the unjointed and paralyzed, and make the idle man to work hard.

14a. Ἄναρθρον ... παραλελυμένον: the phraseology bears resemblance to *R&D* VIII 525: ἄρθρων ἀνάρθρων καὶ μελῶν παρειμένων where the heroine's revivification from Myrilla's paralytic venom is described.

15. Ἀνελπιστία

Ἐκλεισα πολλοῖς τὰς παραδείσου πύλας,
ὅσοι φρονοῦντες ἀφελῶς εἴλοντό με.

R f. 229^r X ff. I^r–I^v Lc ff. 292^r–292^v Ls f. 1^r Pa ff. 36^r–37^v Vc f. 79^v Vo f. 3^r | Ge. 622–628 Fe. 569–576 More. 4–11 Pi. 220–224

|| **15a** πολλοὶ Vo | τὰς] τοῦ Ls || **15b** ὅσοι φρονοῦντες ἀφελῶς] ὅσοι ῥαθύμοι ἀφελῶς Pa : ὅσοι φρονοῦσιν ἀφελῶς Lc : ὅσοι φρονοῦντες τοὺς ἐν κρίσει Vo : ὅσοι φρονοῦντες γ' ἀφελῶς More. : corr. οἱ σαθρὰν οὔσαν Pi.

15. Hopelessness

I closed the heavenly gates to many, especially to those who naively chose me.

16. Προσευχή

Ἐγὼ μόνη δίδωμι τοῖς στέργουσί με
τῷ δημιουργῷ προσλαλεῖν καταμόνας.

R f. 229^r X ff. 1^r–1^v Lc ff. 292^r–292^v Ls f. 1^r Pa ff. 36^r–37^v Vc f. 79^v Vo ff. 2^v–3^r | Ar. 17^r–19^r Ge. 622–628 Fe. 569–576 More. 4–11 Pi. 220–224

|| 16a μόνη δίδωμι] βεβαιῶ μόνη Vo | με] μοι Lc || 16b καὶ ante τῷ add. Vo | καταμόνας] κατὰ μόνας Pa Vo Fe. Ge.: κ(α)τ(ᾶ) μόνου More.

16. Prayer

I alone enable those who adore me to address alone the Creator.

16b. τῷ ... καταμόνας: cf. *Philes, Carm.* II 211.114: Τῷ δημιουργῷ προσλαλῶν μόνος μόνῳ.

17. Ῥαθυμία

Οὐπόποτε τρόπαιον ἀνεστησάμην,
ἀεὶ γὰρ ὑπνῶ καὶ φιλῶ ῥέγγειν μέγα.

R f. 229^r X ff. 1^r–1^v Lc ff. 292^r–292^v Ls f. 1^r Pa ff. 36^r–37^v Vc f. 79^v Vo f. 3^r | Ar. 17^r–19^r Ge. 622–628 Fe. 569–576 More. 4–11 Pi. 220–224

|| 17a Οὐ πόποτε] οὐπόποτε Pa || 17b ῥέγγειν] χάσμη Pa : ῥέγκειν Lc | φιλῶ ῥέγγειν] ῥέγγειν φιλῶ Vo | μέγα] μόνην Pa

17. Idleness

I have never yet raised a trophy, for I always sleep and love to snore loudly.

18. Ταπεινοφροσύνη

Εἰς οἶον ὕψος τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἄγω φίλους,
τρανῶς τελώνης μαρτυρεῖ μου τὸ κράτος.

R f. 229^r X ff. 1^r–1^v Lc ff. 292^r–292^v Ls f. 1^r Pa ff. 36^r–37^v Vc f. 79^v Vo f. 3^r | Ar. 17^r–19^r Ge. 622–628 Fe. 569–576 More. 4–11 Pi. 220–224

|| 18 ταπίνωσις Vo || 18a φίλους ἄγω R : φέρω φίλους X || 18b μου τὸ κράτος legi non potest in Ls

18. Modesty

I elevate my friends to such heights, the tax-collector conspicuously testifies to my power.

18b. τρανωδς ... κράτος: it is not clear whether this verse is associated with the Parable of the tax Collector and the Pharisee (cf. *Luc.* 18,9-14) or the Evangelist Matthew who was a former tax Collector (cf. *Matt.* 9,9-13; *Marc.* 2,14 and *Luc.* 5,27), or even the meeting of Jesus and Zacchaeus (*Luc.* 19,1-10). Perhaps Prodrornos insinuates all three stories, for all of them are recorded in his tetrastichs (see *tetrast.* 248, 197, and 249 respectively). A reference to all three stories is to be found in *Greg.Naz., Carm.* [ed. Simelidis] II.1.19.91-93 as well *Carm.* II, 1.92.91-93 (cf. also WHITE, Gregory of Nazianzus 161).

19. Ὑψηλοφροσύνη

Ἀεὶ κατασπῶ καὶ κάτω ποιῶ ῥέπειν,
καὶ μαρτυρεῖ νοῦς ὁ σκότος χρηματίσας.

R f. 229^r X ff. I^r–I^v Lc ff. 292^r–292^v Ls f. 1^r Pa ff. 36^r–37^v Vc f. 79^v Vo f. 3^r | Ar. 17^r–19^r Ge. 622–628 Fe. 569–576 More. 4–11 Pi. 220–224

|| **19b** σκότος] σκότῳ Pa (sed Ar. Fe. Ge. σκότος corr.) | post σκότος add. δὴ Vo

19. Arrogance

I always pull down and make [everybody] go down, even the dark Mind testifies to this.

19b. νοῦς ὁ σκότος: this is Satan. Numerous Byzantine authors signify him through this pair of words (cf. *TLG*).

20. Ἐλεημοσύνη

Ὁ σχών με πιστὴν τῷ βίῳ τούτῳ φίλην,
ἑαυτὸν ἰσοῖ τῷ Θεοῦ θείῳ λόγῳ.

R f. 229^r X ff. I^r–I^v Lc ff. 292^r–292^v Ls f. 1^r Pa ff. 36^r–37^v Vc f. 79^v | Ar. 17^r–19^r Ge. 622–628 Fe. 569–576 More. 4–11 Pi. 220–224

|| **20a** πιστὸν X | τῷ βίῳ τούτῳ] τοῦ βίου τούτου Lc Pi | φίλον X || **20b** ἑαυτὸν] εἰς αὐτὸν More. | θεῷ R Lc

20. Mercifulness

He who had me as a loyal friend in this life will make himself equal to the divine Word of God.

21. Ὠμότης

Ὅσων κακῶν αἴτιος ὁ σκνιφὸς τρόπος,
ὁ πλούσιος πρόχειρος εἰς μαρτυρίαν.

R f. 229^r X ff. I^r–I^v Lc ff. 292^r–292^v Ls f. 1^r Pa ff. 36^r–37^v Vc f. 79^v Vo f. 3^r | Ar. 17^r–19^r Ge. 622–628 Fe. 569–576 More. 4–11 Pi. 220–224

|| **21a** ὅσον Pa | κακὸν Pa | σκιφὸς Pa : σκνηφὸς Lc : κρυφὸς Vo : σκνιπὸς More. | τρόπος] βίος Pa || **21b** μαρτυρίαν] ἀμαρτίαν Pa

21. Mercilessness

Parsimony is responsible for many bad things, the rich are prone to testify.

21b. ὁ ... μαρτυρίαν: in all likelihood, an allusion to the story of the rich man and Lazarus (cf. *Luc.* 16,19–31). Prodromos also touches on this story in *tetrast.* 246.

22. Χαρά

Τείνω τὰ νεῦρα καὶ κρατύνω τὸν τόνον,
ὀρμηῆς δὲ πιμπλῶ τοὺς παραλελυμένους.

R f. 229^r X ff. I^r–I^v Lc ff. 292^r–292^v Ls f. 1^r Pa ff. 36^r–37^v Vc f. 79^v Vo f. 3^r | Ar. 17^r–19^r Ge. 622–628 Fe. 569–576 More. 4–11 Pi. 220–224

|| **22a** Τείνω] Τέγγω X || **22b** δὲ πιμπλῶ] δ' ἐμπιπλῶ Pa : ἐπιμπλῶ Lc | ἐργάζομαι δε καὶ λογισμῶν ἐκστάσεις Vo

22. Joy

I make taut the nerves and strengthen the tension, while I fill the paralysed with impulse.

23. Λύπη

Καὶ νεῦρα συνθλῶ καὶ παραλύω τόνον·
ἐργάζομαι δὲ καὶ λογισμῶν ἐκστάσεις.

R f. 229^r X ff. I^r–I^v Lc ff. 292^r–292^v Ls f. 1^r Pa ff. 36^r–37^v Vc f. 79^v | Ar. 17^r–19^r Ge. 622–628 Fe. 569–576 More. 4–11 Pi. 220–224

|| **23a** καὶ¹] τὰ Pa | συνθλῶ R | τόνον] μέλη R More. || **23b** ἐκσταθεῖς More.

23. Grief

I both compress the nerves and loosen tension; I also cause the distractions of thoughts.

22–23: note that in Vo these two couplets are combined into one. The scribe keeps only ‘Χαρά’ but its second verse is replaced by the second verse of ‘Λύπη’.

24. Φιλοσοφία

Ἴσον Θεῷ τίθημι τὸν στέργοντά με,
τὴν γνῶσιν αὐτῷ τῶν ὅλων δωρουμένη.

R f. 229^r X ff. I^r–I^v Lc ff. 292^r–292^v Ls f. 1^r Pa ff. 36^r–37^v Vc f. 79^v | Ar. 17^r–19^f Ge. 622–628 Fe. 569–576 More. 4–11 Pi. 220–224

24. Philosophy

I make the one who yearns for me equal to God, as I offer him the knowledge of everything.

25. Ῥητορικὴ

Ἐγὼ πνέω πῦρ κατὰ τῶν ἀντιθέτων,
στομῷ δὲ γλῶσσαν, ὡς ξυρόν, τῇ διπλῳ.

R f. 229^r X ff. I^r–I^v Lc ff. 292^r–292^v Ls f. 1^r Pa ff. 36^r–37^v Vc f. 79^v | Ar. 17^r–19^f Ge. 622–628 Fe. 569–576 More. 4–11 Pi. 220–224

|| **25a** ἀντιπάλων Pa : ἀντιδίκων More. || **25b** ξυρόν] ψυχρῷ X Pa Ar. Fe. Ge. : ξηρῷ Lc : ψυχρὴν Ls : ξυρῷ R | ὡς ξυρόν] καὶ ξυρῷ Morellus

25. Rhetoric

I exhale fire against opponents, and I sharpen the tongue in a double-edged sword.

25: In a brief discussion of this epigram, Roilos suggests that Rhetoric is considered to be a virtue.⁹²⁵ To my mind, it is indisputable that Prodromos renders a positive connotation to this couplet. It would otherwise be quite peculiar to judge negatively the basis of his learning. Additionally, in an oration directed to Isaac Komnenos, Prodromos imagines the brother of John II Komnenos upon a throne surrounded by Rhetoric and other virtues (for further annotations see the “commentary”).

25b. διπλόη: for annotations see ROILos, Amphoteroglossia 30. The word is invested with rather the same implication in Prodromos’ work ‘Xenedemos’.⁹²⁶

Γλῶσσαν δὲ πλουτήσας Ἀττικοῦ πυρὸς μένος πνεύουσιν, πολὺ πλέον ἢ ἦν οἱ μῦθοι πλάττουσι
χίμαιραν, κἄν⁹²⁷ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀνεδίπλου ἐνίστε συλλαβὴν καὶ φωνήν· οὐ μὰ τόν· ὡς ἐκεῖνος

⁹²⁵ ROILos, Amphoteroglossia 30.

⁹²⁶ Xenedemos 205.25–30.

ἐπικεινόμενος ἔλεγε διὰ πλημμέλειαν φύσεως· ἀλλ' ἵνα τῇ διπλῇ τῆς ἀπηγήσεως διπλασιάζοι τὴν ἐκεῖθεν ἀπορρέουσιν⁹²⁸ ἡδονήν.

In the above-mentioned passage, Prodromos describes a certain Theokles. His image seems to be a fusion of Michael Psellos and John Italos (see also p. 100).

26. Γραμματικὴ

Τῶν ἱστοριῶν συναγωγὸς τυγχάνω,
καὶ λέξιν ὀρθῶ, καὶ μέτροις ἐφιστάνω.

R f. 229^r X ff. I^r–I^v Lc ff. 292^r–292^v Ls f. 1^r Pa ff. 36^r–37^v Vc f. 79^v | Ar. 17^r–19^f Ge. 622–628 Fe. 569–576 More. 4–11 Pi. 220–224

|| **26a** συναγωγὸς] ἀγωγή Ls : συναγωγὰς More. || **26b** μέτροις] λόγοις R | ἐφιστάνω] μετανιστάνω Ls

26. Grammar

I am she who brings discourses together, and forms words correctly, and puts them into verses.

26a-b. The delineation of grammar is extremely interesting since it is presented as closely associated with the production of poetry. For additional notes on this issue see the section 1.3, as well as BERNARD, *Beats of the Pen* 109 and 167–169.

⁹²⁷ This is the reading in V, the edition has κ' ἄν.

⁹²⁸ This is the reading in V, the edition has ἀπορρέουσιν.

Commentary⁹²⁹

(keywords: epigram cycle, painter's guide, personification)

These twenty-six iambic couplets do not form a single poem, but rather a cycle of twenty-six epigrams transmitted in the manuscripts usually under the generic title, 'On virtues and vices'. Their arrangement in the manuscripts is usually shaped with a careful symmetry, as there is a side-by-side position of a virtue and a vice, with the latter normally being the opposite of the former.⁹³⁰ A couple of deviations from this norm can be discerned. First, the cycle opens with the epigram describing personified 'Love', after which two vices (i.e. 'Hatred' and 'Power') follow. Second, it concludes with a series of three skills/technes: 'Philosophy', 'Rhetoric' and 'Grammar'.

Before proceeding to the discussion of these twenty-six epigrams, it is worthy of note that Theodore in an oration directed to Isaac Komnenos, visualizes the brother of the emperor John II Komnenos, sitting upon a throne surrounded by Prudence, Justice, Temperance along with Grammar, Rhetoric, and Philosophy:⁹³¹

ἐκεῖθεν δέ σοι περὶ τὸ οὗς ἡ φρόνησις ἐπικύψασα ὑποτίθεσθαι δοκεῖ τὸ δέον ἐν συμβουλίαις· καὶ τῇ μὲν ἡ δικαιοσύνη μετὰ τῆς τρυτάνης καὶ τοῦ ζυγοῦ καὶ τῆς φίλης ἰσορροπίας παρίσταται, τῇ δὲ ἡ σωφροσύνη μετὰ τῆς ὥχρας καὶ τῆς σεμνότητος θαυμαστῶ τινι ζωστῆρι τὴν ὀσφὺν περιζώννυσι· καὶ ὧδε μὲν ἡ γραμματικὴ μετὰ τῶν διαλέκτων αὐτῆς καὶ τῶν ἐτυμολογιῶν καὶ τῶν ἀναλογιῶν καὶ τῆς κρίσεώς γε τῶν ποιημάτων, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἡ ῥητορικὴ μένος ὅλον ἄττικοῦ πυρὸς ἀναπνέουσα, χρυσεῖοις περιδεραίοις καὶ ἐνωτίοις καὶ τῷ λοιπῷ κόσμῳ τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας γοητεύουσα· ἐπὶ πᾶσι καὶ πρὸ τῶν πάντων ἡ τιθηνὸς σοι φιλοσοφία τῷ τραχήλῳ γνησίως μητρικῶς περιπλέκεται·

And from the other side Prudence, stooping to your ear, seems to consult you what is fair. And Justice with the scale and the yoke and her dear balance stands beside you; Temperance with her paleness and chastity girds your waist with a beautiful belt. And here is Grammar with her discourse, the etymologies, the analogies and the art of judging poems, and there Rhetoric exhaling the full force of attic fire, [and] beguiling those who attend with her gold necklaces and earrings and [her] remaining ornamentation. Above all and before all, Philosophy as handmaiden in your service embraces your neck like a true mother.

Remarkably, the description of these virtues in the above passages is akin to the epigrams under consideration.

Focusing again at the epigrams it should be emphasized that although composed in a highbrow language, the manuscript tradition displays, up to a certain extent, some features of

⁹²⁹ Slightly before the completion of the thesis it came to my attention that the poem is also preserved in a post-Byzantine manuscript from the public library of Larissa; cf. KARANASIOS, *Κατάλογος* 266.

⁹³⁰ One exception should be mentioned. 'Idleness' cannot be deemed strictly speaking as the counterpart of 'prayer'.

⁹³¹ *Prodr., Orat.* 34.212.94–102. For this passage see also MAGDALINO, Manuel I Komnenos 194; a similar image is encountered in his poem no. XLII, vv. 10–11: γραμματικὴν τ' ἰδὲ μέτρα πολύτροπα θεσμά τε ῥήτρης | καὶ λογικὴν φυσικὴν τε μαθηματικὴν τ' ἐπὶ τῇσι and vv. 38–39: Καλλιόπης τε μέτροιο πολύτροπον ὑπαγορίην· | τοῖς δ' ἐπὶ καὶ πολέμοιο δημοσύνην πόρε κεδνήν; cf. also PONTANI, The first Byzantine Commentary on the Iliad 552, note 552.

an “open” text tradition, following the example of texts written in the vernacular. This may be expounded on account of the strong gnomic nature of these epigrams.⁹³² Some telling examples will illustrate this view: first of all, the structure of the epigrams in the present edition, based on that of the earlier manuscripts (i.e. R and X), is not followed faithfully by some later manuscripts.⁹³³ What is more, the various scribes add or omit verses, or even whole couplets. For instance, two of the oldest manuscripts (R and X) transmit an extra verse after the couplet dedicated to ‘Ψεῦδος’: τελῶ δ’ ὀλέθρου τοῖς ἐρασταῖς μου βόθρος. In Vo entire couplets are omitted (e.g. ἐλεημοσύνη, λύπη, φιλοσοφία, ῥητορική), while a new vice, φθόνος, is introduced. Particularly interesting is the case of Pa. The scribe of this manuscript is, as mentioned earlier, Arsenios of Monemvasia who erroneously ascribes the epigrams to Psellos. More importantly, in addition to the twenty-six couplets, Arsenios added four new couplets:

Γεωμετρία

Ἐγὼ πολλοὺς ἀγνώστους, γνωστὰς δεικνύω,
διὰ μετρικῶν σημείων σχοινισμάτων.

Ἀστρονομία

Ἐγὼ τὸν νοῦν λεπτύνω τῶν μουμένων,
τοῦ προθεωρεῖν τὸ συμφέρον τοῦ χρόνου.

Ἰατρική

Ἐν ὑγιείᾳ ὄντας αὐξάνω τάχος,
εἰ δὲ πρὸς τέλος, θάπτον πέμπω τῷ τάφῳ.

Τεκτονική

Ὑλὴν τὴν ἀνείδεν εἰς εἶδος φέρω,
καὶ εἰδοποιῶ τοῖς ὀποσοῦν χρωμένοις.

Pa f. 37^v

The Prodromic authorship of these four couplets must be discarded, mainly, on prosodic grounds. The most conspicuous deviation from the standard metrical rules is that in five out of the eight verses the seventh syllable is measured as long instead of short, a mistake that Prodromos would never have committed. If I had to guess about their authorship, I would say that the most probable scenario is that they were penned by Arsenios himself.⁹³⁴

⁹³² On this matter see LAUXTERMANN, *Byzantine Poetry* 254.

⁹³³ For example, in Lc the order runs as follows: Ἀγάπη, Μῖσος, Φρόνησις, Ἀφροσύνη, Δικαιοσύνη, Ἀδικία, Ἀνδρεία, Δειλία, Ἀλήθεια, Ψεῦδος, Ἐλπίς, Ἀνελπιστία, Προσευχή, Ῥαθυμία, Ταπεινοφροσύνη, Ὑψηλοφροσύνη, Ἐλεημοσύνη, Ὠμότης, Χαρά, Λύπη, Ἀκολασία, Φιλοσοφία, Ῥητορική, Γραμματική, Ἐξουσία, while in Pa as follows: Ἀγάπη, Μῖσος, Ἐξουσία, Φρόνησις, Ἀφροσύνη, Δικαιοσύνη, Ἀδικία, Ἀνδρεία, Δειλία, Σωφροσύνη, Ἀκολασία, Ἀλήθεια, Ψεῦδος, Ἐλπίς, Ἀνελπιστία, Προσευχή, Ῥαθυμία, Ταπεινοφροσύνη, Ὑψηλοφροσύνη, Ἐλεημοσύνη, Ὠμότης, Χαρά, Λύπη, Γραμματική, Ῥητορική, Φιλοσοφία, Γεωμετρία, Ἀστρονομία, Ἰατρική, Τεκτονική.

⁹³⁴ The intervention in Byzantine texts seems to be a common practice; the most telling parallel example is that of Vergikios in Philes’ poem on the nature of animals; see PEERS, *Forging Byzantine Animals* 79–103.

The pattern of personified virtues and vices is also treated in other Byzantine poetic works. Two are of particular interest here. The first is associated with Prodhromos' contemporary author, Constantine Manasses. Among his prolific work, there is a series of poems on moral topics composed in political verse.⁹³⁵ Indeed, many verses from these ninety poems are also used verbatim in Aristandros and Kallithea. In addition to Manasses, Andronikos Komnenos Branas Dukas Angelos Palaiologos,⁹³⁶ who is considered to be a candidate for the authorship of the novel *Kallimachos & Chrysorrhoe*, wrote a rather unknown cycle of fifty-three iambic tetrastichs on Virtues and Vices.⁹³⁷ Despite the fact that no direct or indirect dependence between Manasses' and Andronikos' cycles and that of Prodhromos can be established, it must be stressed that it has remained somewhat unnoticed that all three Byzantine novelists were preoccupied with the composition of poems on virtues and vices. What is more, this overlooked correlation might contribute to the lasting problem of the authorship of the poems by Manasses and the novel *Kallimachos and Chrysorrhoe* by Andronikos, respectively.⁹³⁸

Furthermore, *ekphraseis* of personified virtues were introduced into Byzantine novels. This issue has been discussed extensively by modern scholars. Roilos, for instance, analyzes at length the renowned paintings of the personified cardinal virtues along with Eros and the personified twelve months upon the walls of the garden of Sosthenes in Aulikomis in the Komnenian novel *Hysmine and Hysminias*.⁹³⁹ By drawing material from the present epigrams, as well as from Prodhromos' poem on the twelve months, he provides us with some invaluable insights into the practice of personification in twelfth-century literary works. At the same time, he manages to build a convincing hypothesis about the instrumental function of these *ekphraseis* within the narrative of Makrembolites' novel. In addition to Roilos, Cupane, by going beyond the Komnenian novels, points out that parallel depictions of personified virtues and months are also to be found in the Palaeologan novel *L&R*.⁹⁴⁰

⁹³⁵ MILLER, Poème morale de Constantin Manassès 23–75.

⁹³⁶ See *PLP* 21439.

⁹³⁷ OZBIC, Κεφάλαια di Andronico Paleologo 406–422.

⁹³⁸ The authorship of these poems by Manasses has been questioned mainly by Mazal; see MAZAL, Der Roman des Konstantinos Manasses 62–69 and IDEM, Das moralische Lehrgedicht 249–268. For bibliography on the authorship of the novel *Kallimachos and Chrysorrhoe* see OZBIC, Κεφάλαια di Andronico Paleologo 410.

⁹³⁹ See ROILLOS, Amphoteroglossia 45–68; cf. also CHATTERJEE, Viewing and Description in *Hysmine and Hysminias* 209–225.

⁹⁴⁰ CUPANE, Das erfundene Epigramm 19–28, esp. 24ff.

It is, therefore, the case of Eumathios Makrembolites, an author who undoubtedly draws inspiration from contemporary art,⁹⁴¹ that sets the ground in order for the modern reader to be able to retrieve the original function of these epigrams. The veracious witness of Makrembolites' account is corroborated by an epigram from the *Anthologia Marciana*. In particular, the title of epigram no. 60, which reads as follows: 'On the depiction of the virtue 'Fortitude'', speaks for the use of the epigram as a verse inscription next to a depiction of a virtue. The same, therefore, can be deduced for these twenty-six epigrams.

Focusing on the nature of the depiction which could accommodate such an inscription, I will refrain, for the sake of brevity, from discussing in full that the account of Makrembolites and the above epigram should be viewed in connection with the seminal discussion by Magdalino and Nelson about the representation of the emperor along with virtues in Byzantine art of the twelfth century.⁹⁴² Once more, their conclusions were drawn, to a great extent, from the *Anthologia Marciana*. For example, epigram no. 247 [SPINGOU no. 271] concerns a depiction of Manuel Komnenos on the *koubouklion*⁹⁴³ in the Blachernae palace flanked by the four cardinal virtues,⁹⁴⁴ while epigram no. 61 records explicitly that a certain Leo Sikoundenos adorned the wall of his newly built house in Thessalonike with a depiction of Manuel Komnenos along with Virtues, and some prominent figures from the Old Testament, such as Moses and Joshua.⁹⁴⁵ It can, therefore, be inferred from these two epigrams that depictions of virtues are to be found in twelfth-century monumental art in and beyond Constantinople.

At the same time, depictions of the personified virtues can be found on smaller objects of art. For instance, the virtues of Wisdom and Fortitude in the form of maidens on a brazier.⁹⁴⁶ Additionally, four anonymous epigrams could have been used as verse inscriptions on a drinking cup bearing depictions of the virtues.⁹⁴⁷ As far as illuminated manuscript art is concerned, one should mention the case of the Gospel book of John II Komnenos which depicts the coronation of the emperor and his son by Christ. Christ is flanked by Ἐλεημοσύνη and Δικαιοσύνη (Vatic. Urb. gr. 2 fol. 19v).⁹⁴⁸ But most importantly, two Gospel manuscripts

⁹⁴¹ ROILLOS, *Amphoteroglossia* 168.

⁹⁴² See MAGDALINO – NELSON, *The emperor in Byzantine art of the twelfth century* 123–183.

⁹⁴³ For the unambiguity of the word see LBG s.v. Magdalino states that it is a dome. The notes of Spingou have saved me from making the same mistake; see SPINGOU, *Marcianus* 194.

⁹⁴⁴ See MAGDALINO – NELSON, *The emperor in Byzantine art of the twelfth century* 142 ff.

⁹⁴⁵ For a recent discussion and a partly translation in English of the epigram see SPINGOU, *Marcianus* 125–126.

⁹⁴⁶ Cf. SPINGOU, *Marcianus* 126.

⁹⁴⁷ LAMBROS 153 No. 236. On these epigrams see SPINGOU, *Marcianus* 131–132.

⁹⁴⁸ STORNAJOLO, *Miniature* 83.

(i.e. Marc. gr. Z 540 and Felton 710/5), dating to the first half of the twelfth century, contain canon tables decorated with personified Months and Virtues.⁹⁴⁹ In connection with these two Gospel book, we may note that Elizabeth Jeffreys maintains:⁹⁵⁰

The painters and scribes of these Gospel books [and Pentateuchs] can be associated with the most accomplished nexus of painters functioning at that time, that involving Kokkinobaphos Master. The patrons who commissioned manuscripts from this group of painters – like Isaac Komnenos, who commissioned one of the Octoteuchs, or the sevastokratorissa Eirene, who was also closely involved with painters associated with the Kokkinobaphos Master – were also those who commissioned encomia, verse for family celebration or substantial works of near scholarship from the lively pool of writers from which this discussion began. Theodore Prodromos was certainly one of that group, and so must have been Eumathios Makrembolitis. So it is highly likely that there is here an example of close interaction between the writers and the painters who were jostling for a patron's attention, exchanging ideas, finding new approaches. The circle of patrons, writers and painters was small and closely knit.

Jeffreys' hypothesis can be strengthened as we now know for certain that Prodromos himself was closely connected with the Kokkinobaphos Master. His Grammar dedicated to Irene the Sevastokratorissa, preserved in the twelfth-century illustrated manuscript Panagiotou Taphou 52, was decorated copiously by painters associated with the Kokkinobaphos master.⁹⁵¹ On this basis, certain links can be drawn between Prodromos (the poet) and the painter. It is reasonable to assume that a donor would choose one or more of the epigrams of Prodromos and commission the object from the artist/painter.

But this argument can be extended even further. Carolina Cupane, based on Jeffreys' hypothesis that Prodromos' epigrams on months were inscribed upon the walls of a monastery refectory, suggested the same for his poem on Virtues and Vices.⁹⁵² Such an argument cannot be discarded; but since tactile evidence is lacking, it cannot be proved beyond any reasonable doubt. On the other hand, there is tangible evidence of the use of epigrams on the months in an illustrated manuscript, – totally overlooked by modern scholars. More specifically, a fifteenth century Graeco-Georgian manuscript in the Russian National Library in St. Petersburg (Miscel. O.I.58),⁹⁵³ which is a painter's guide produced at the Iviron Monastery on Mount Athos, includes on folios 48^v-52^r personified months along with Prodromos' epigrams on the twelve months (figures nos. 2–5). The same function can be postulated for the epigrams on the twelve months in the twelfth century for two reasons. First,

⁹⁴⁹ See ROILLOS, *Amphoteroglossia* 166 and JEFFREYS, *The labours of the twelve months* 318–319.

⁹⁵⁰ JEFFREYS, *The labours of the twelve months* 319.

⁹⁵¹ VOKOTOPOULOS, *Byzantine illuminated manuscripts of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem 186–188*; on the illustrations of the manuscript see also SPATHARAKIS, *An Illuminated Greek Grammar Manuscript in Jerusalem* 231–244.

⁹⁵² CUPANE, *Das erfundene Epigramm* 27.

⁹⁵³ On the manuscript see EVSEEVA, *Afokskaja kniga obrazcov XV*; for a detailed English summary see 365–381.

the same function has been proposed for the abridged version of the tetrastichs;⁹⁵⁴ and secondly, as Marc Lauxtermann has put it, ‘Painter’s guides, such as the famous one by Dionysios of Phourna, are not a post-Byzantine invention, but go back to a centuries-old tradition, which, unfortunately, cannot be traced in detail due to lack of evidence’.⁹⁵⁵ It can, therefore, be conceivable that the epigrams on virtues and vices could have been used in a twelfth-century painter’s guide; thereupon, the donor could select the epigram and the depiction of the correspondent virtue or vice for the walls either of a monastery refectory, or for the private walls – as did the fictitious Sosthenes or the real Sikoundenos –, or a drinking cup, or a brazier, or even for the illustration of another manuscript which could have been produced by the scriptorium of the Kokkinobaphos Master.

⁹⁵⁴ LAUXTERMANN, *Byzantine Poetry* 78–79.

⁹⁵⁵ *Ibid.* 80.

No. 16 (H 155)
Εἰς εἰκονισμένον τὸν βίον

- Ἐμέ, τὸν βίον, ἄνθρωπε, δέξαι σου παραινέτην·
 ἔτυχες, εὗρες, ἔλαβες, κατέσχες μου τὰς τρίχας;
 Μὴ πρὸς ῥαστώνην ἐκδοθῇς, μὴ πρὸς τρυφήν χωρήσης,
 μὴ δὲ φρονήσης ὑψηλὰ καὶ πέρα τοῦ μετρίου.
- 5** Γυμνὸν με βλέπεις· νόησον γυμνὸν μου καὶ τὸ τέλος.
 Ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας μου τροχοί· φρίττε μὴ κυλισθῶσι.
 Περὶ τὰς κνήμας μου πτερά· φεύγω, παρίπταμαί σε,
 ζυγὰ κατέχω τῇ χειρί· φοβοῦ τὰς μετακλίσεις.
 – Τί με κρατεῖς; – Σκιὰν κρατεῖς· πνοὴν κρατεῖς ἀνέμου.
- 10** – Τί με κρατεῖς; – Καπνὸν κρατεῖς, ὄνειρον, ἵχνος πλοίου.
 Ἐμέ, τὸν βίον, ἄνθρωπε, δέξαι σου παραινέτην.
 Οὐκ ἔτυχες, οὐκ ἔλαβες, οὐκ ἔσχες μου τὰς τρίχας;
 Μὴ σκυθρωπάσης τοῦ λοιποῦ, μὴ δὲ δυσελπιστήσης.
 Γυμνὸς εἰμί, καὶ τῶν χειρῶν ἐξολισθήσας τούτων,
- 15** ἴσως μεταρρηήσομαι πρὸς σὲ καὶ μεταπέσω·
 ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας μου τροχοί· τάχα σοι κυλισθῶσι.
 Περὶ τὰς κνήμας μου πτερά· τρέχω, προσίπταμαί σοι.
 Ζυγὰ κατέχω· τάχα σοι τὴν πλάστιγγα χαλάσω.
 Μὴ τοίνυν ἀποπροσποιοῦ τὰς ἀγαθὰς ἐλπίδας.

V ff. 109^r–109^v Be ff. 141^v–144^v H ff. 90^{r-v} He f. 168^r I f. 2^v L ff. 110^{r-v} Mo ff. 61^{r-v} N f. 91 Pa ff. 35^{r-v} Ro 119^v Vr f. 1^v Z f. 4^v | Gu. ξ 2^r

tit. εἰς εἰκονισμένον βίον πολιτικοὶ Be : τοῦ αὐτοῦ (i.e. Θεοδώρου Προδρόμου) εἰς εἰκονισμένον τὸν βίον V H I N: om. He Z: τοῦ αὐτοῦ (i.e. Θεοδώρου Προδρόμου) εἰς τὸν βίον L : εἰς τὸν βίον εἰκονισμένον Pa : περὶ τοῦ χρόνου Mo : εἰς εἰκονισμένον τὸν βίον Ro : legi non potest in Vr (Προδρόμου κυροῦ Θεοδώρου εἰς τὸν βίον εἰκονισμένον apud MERCATI, Codices Vaticani 1–329) : τοῦ αὐτοῦ (i.e. Θεοδώρου Προδρόμου) εἰς εἰκονισμένον τῷ βίῳ Gu. || **2** τρίχας] τρίβους Gu. || **3** ἐκδοθεῖς He Mo || χωρήσης om. Vr || **4** vers. om. I || **5** μου] σου Be || **6** τροχὸς Mo || φρίττε] βλέπε N || **7** Περὶ τὰς κνήμας] ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας μου Mo || κνήμας He || μου] om. I || πτέρυγας I || φεύγε N : φεύγων Ro || περίπταμαί H Mo N Vr Z Gu. | φεύγων Ro || σε] σου Pa || **9** πνοὴν κρατεῖς ἀνέμου] om. L || **10** τί με κρατεῖς] om. L || εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ in marg. L || **11** ab Ἐμέ, τὸν βίον textum om. Pa || **12** τρίχας] τρίβους Gu. || **13** δυσελπιστήσης N : δυσελπιστήσας Mo || **14** κυλισθῶσι N || **14** σὲ] δὲ Gu. || **16** μετωρρηήσομαι Mo || versus bis in Vr || post v. **19** Ἐμέ, τὸν βίον, ἄνθρωπε, δέξαι σου παραινέτην add. Be

On a depiction of *Bios*

O mortal, receive me, *Bios*, as your exhorter! Did you attain, did you find, did you obtain, did you seize my hair? Do not give over to idleness, do not retreat to self-indulgence, do not be conceited beyond a moderate degree! [5] You see me naked; bear in mind that my end is naked as well. Wheels beneath my feet. You may shudder if they roll along! Wings around my knees. I flee, I fly away from you. I hold the beam of balance in my hand. Be afraid of [its] volatility!

– Why do you hold on to me?

– You are holding on to a shadow; you are holding on to a blast of wind.

– [10] Why do you hold on to me?

– You are holding on to a smoke, a dream, the track of a ship. O mortal one, receive me, *Bios*, as your exhorter. Did not you attain, did not you obtain, did not you seize my hairs? Do not look grimly for the remains of life, do not lose your hope. I am naked, I slipped away from these hands, [15] perhaps I will change from one side to the other and verge in favour of you. Wheels beneath my feet; I probably roll along for you. Wings around my knees; I run, I fly towards you. I am holding the balance; I probably loosen the scale of balance. Hence, do not discard pure hopes!

Notes on the text:

1–4: the same phrasing can found at *Philes*, *Carm* III 168.6: Ἐμὲ βλέπων, ἄνθρωπε, μὴ φρόνει μέγα which concerns a ring epigram composed on the spot.

2. Ἔτυχες, ... τρίχας cf. *carm.hist.* I 59: ἔτυχες εὖρες ἔλαβες, ἥρθης ἐκ γῆς, ἐπήρθης. In terms of rhythm, there is a very close connection between the present poem and *carm.hist.* IV 143: ἔμαθες οἷσπερ ἔπαθες, ἔγνως ἐκ τῶν οἰκείων.

4. μὴ ... μετρίου: cf. *Rom.* 11.20: μὴ ὑψηλὰ φρόνει, ἀλλὰ φοβοῦ.

5. Γυμνόν ... τέλος: for the concept of nudity in Byzantium see *ODB* III 1500-1501 and ZEITLER, Displays of nudity in Byzantium 185-191. Nudity seems to be closely linked to death in Prodhomos' work, cf. *R&D* VI 494 where Dosicles envisages Rhodanthe naked after her alleged death during a sea storm.⁹⁵⁶

⁹⁵⁶ In connection with this verse, Jeffreys has noted 'The possibility of nudity (about which Byzantines were ambivalent) has added to the horror of the situation'; see JEFFREYS, *Four Byzantine Novels* 111. But as is well

9-10. Σκιὰν κρατεῖς- Καπνὸν κρατεῖς: the same idea appears at A&K 160:⁹⁵⁷

Nothing is certain, nothing is stable for mankind | But mortal's affairs are like smoke, all is a shadow

10. ἴχνος πλοίου: Prodromos seems to have borrowed this word combination from 'Sacra Parallela' (PG 95 1124.43), a work ascribed to John of Damascus. It is notable that John describes mundane life as follows:

Πάντα μόχθος τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὰ ἐνταῦθα, πάντα ἐμπαιγμὸς, ῥιπιζόμενος χνοῦς, σκιὰ, καὶ φαντασία·
δρόσος, ἄνεμος, πτερόν, ἀτμίς, σπινθήρ, ἐνύπνιον, χύμα ρεύματος, πλοίου ἴχνος, τέφρα, τροχὸς αἰ
στρεφόμενος, ὅμοια πάντα κυλίνδροις, ἐστὼς τε καὶ τρέχων, λυόμενος, πεπηγὼς, ὥραις, ἡμέραις, νυξί,
μόχθοις, θανάτοις, λύπαις, τέρψεσιν, ἀρρώστιας, πτώσεσι, κακοπραγίαις. Τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων δὲ οὐδὲν
ἐστὶν ἀδρανέστερον

known, nudity in novels is also erotically charged (sex – death); Hysmine is thrown naked into the sea; Eros, just like *Bios*, is naked with wings.

⁹⁵⁷ Ὡς ἄρα βέβαιον οὐδέν, οὐ στάσιμον ἀνθρώποις, | ἀλλὰ καπνὸς τὰ τῶν θνητῶν, ἀλλὰ σκιὰ τὰ πάντα. Transl. in JEFFREYS, *Four Byzantine Novels* 330 (see also the note which reads as follows: 'the variation on theme that mankind's life is the shadow of smoke'; cf. Sophocles, *Antigone* 1170, *Philoktetes* 946').

Commentary

(keywords: John Tzetzes, pagan art, post-Byzantine reception)

Although Krumbacher argued that ‘nach diesen seltsamen Attributen bleibt es zweifelhaft, ob Prodromos hier ein wirkliches Bildwerk vor Augen hatte’,⁹⁵⁸ the connection between the depiction of *Kairos* by Lysippos and the description of *Bios* in Prodromos’ poem has been established on good grounds for a long time.⁹⁵⁹ A number of Byzantine as well as post-Byzantine depictions of *Bios*, which are still extant, corroborate this identification.⁹⁶⁰ The fact that the epigram is associated with a classical personification should not be considered alien to Byzantine society, especially of the twelfth century, when a strong appreciation of pagan art emerges.⁹⁶¹

What is particularly interesting, however, is that Prodromos’ contemporary author, John Tzetzes, maintained that Lysippos’ *Kairos* should not be identified with *Bios* but rather with *Chronos*.⁹⁶² Tzetzes adhered firmly to his view by including numerous references in his works. For instance, his letter no. 70, datable to 1148,⁹⁶³ addressed to Joseph, the Kathegoumenos of the Pantokrator Monastery of Constantinople,⁹⁶⁴ gives a full description of Lysippos’ statue by reprimanding many of his contemporaries for identifying wrongly *Kairos* with *Bios*. Tzetzes repeats his allegations in the so-called Chiliades, which functioned as a verse commentary to his copious corpus of letters.⁹⁶⁵ In terms of representation, further discrepancies can be observed between the descriptions of Prodromos’ *Bios* and Tzetzes’ *Chronos*. Whereas in both of them *Chronos-Bios* is portrayed with winged feet,⁹⁶⁶ in Prodromos *Bios* has wheels and holds a balance, while, in Tzetzes, *Chronos* is standing upon a globe, he is deaf and is holding a dagger.

⁹⁵⁸ KRUMBACHER, *Litteratur* 753.

⁹⁵⁹ MUÑOZ, *Le rappresentazioni allegoriche* 130–145. On Kairos see also GRECU, *Die Darstellung des Kairos bei den Byzantinern* 147–154; for this matter see also. CUPANE, *Tyche Bios e Thanatos in Teodoro Meliteniotes* 109–120.

⁹⁶⁰ For a detailed list see BOURAS, *Αλληγορική παράσταση του βίου-καιρού* 26–34, esp. 29–30.

⁹⁶¹ See NILSSON, *On Byzantine Appreciation of Pagan Art in the Twelfth Century* 123–136.

⁹⁶² Tzetzes’ view has already been noted by Roilos. See ROILLOS, *Amphoteroglossia* 154.

⁹⁶³ GRÜNBART, *Ioannes Tzetzes* 206–207.

⁹⁶⁴ See *Io.Tzetz., Epist.* 70. The same addressee of letters nos. 53, 54, and 79. Tzetzes refers to this personification in his letter no. 95 as well. See *Io.Tzetz., Epist.* 95.140.13–15. This Joseph is to be identified with Joseph Hagioglykerites who is the first known abbot of the Pantokrator Monastery; see *BMFD II* 726.

⁹⁶⁵ See *Io.Tzetz., Chiliad.* VIII.200 (Περὶ Λυσίππου); X.322 (Περὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου παραδραμόντος καιρὸν καὶ τῆς τοῦ χρόνου παρὰ Λυσίππου ἀναστήλωσεως), and more importantly, X.323 (Περὶ τῶν παραληρούντων τὴν τοῦ χρόνου ἀναστήλωσιν βίου εἶναι ἀναστήλωσιν καὶ οὐ χρόνον). Moreover, it is interesting to note that one of the manuscripts transmitting the poem of Prodromos reads: *περὶ τοῦ χρόνου*.

⁹⁶⁶ On this basis Roilos draws a connection between the personification of Eros in Makrembolites and Kairos; see ROILLOS, *Amphoteroglossia* 154.

Whether Tzetzes had in mind Prodnromos' *Bios* when writing 'κὰν ἀκαιρηγοροῦντες δοκητῖαι τινὲς ἀκρίτως εἶναι βίου ταύτην παραληρῶσιν εἰκόνισμα'⁹⁶⁷ or 'Ἀνθρωποι δοκησίσοφοι τινὲς ἐκ φιλοσόφων'⁹⁶⁸ is difficult to say. In any case, it would not come as a great surprise; both of them belong to the same milieu, since they wrote works on commission for Irene the Sevastokratorissa. These authors should not necessarily be viewed as fellow-members of the guild of literati placed harmoniously around a strong patroness, but rather as rival authors seeking to exploit his/her love for literature by struggling to gain as many commissions as possible or by pursuing a promotion in the social ladder dominated by the members of the Komnenian family. Two representative examples from Tzetzes' epistolographic corpus may illustrate this: Tzetzes in a letter sent to Isaac Komnenos, one of the greatest lovers of literature, before 1138⁹⁶⁹ inveighs vehemently against a certain *grammatikos* named Lepreos who was in the service of the former. He, indeed, induces Isaac to debase Lepreos publicly and release him from his post.⁹⁷⁰ We cannot, of course, determine whether Tzetzes' intention was to acquire the post of Lepreos; however, I think I have shown this is an intriguing option. This argument can be supplemented further by a second example, once more from the corpus of Tzetzes. In his letter no. 97 we are told that Emperor Manuel I Komnenos purports to honour 'the learned Philosopher from Panion', who probably can be identified with Constantine Manasses,⁹⁷¹ with a triumph. Tzetzes, indeed, prompts the emperor to honour him with a triumph as described in Dio Cassius.⁹⁷² The words of Tzetzes, replete with irony, constitute a scorn directed toward 'the learned Philosopher of Panion'; this is also highlighted by the anonymous annotations on this letter.⁹⁷³ Regardless of whether these two letters are fictitious or not, I think that both of them reflect Tzetzes' sentiments towards other literati functioning at his time.

Focusing again on the Byzantine personification of *Kairos*, it should be stressed that Prodnromos' view was embraced by most of the subsequent authors. For example, Euthymios Tornikes in a hexametric poem on *Bios* sketches him with wheels but without wings.⁹⁷⁴ Manuel Philes also composed an epigram entitled, 'On a naked lad representing the image of

⁹⁶⁷ Io. Tzetzes, *Epist.* 70 14–15.

⁹⁶⁸ Io. Tzetzes, *Chil.* X 323.

⁹⁶⁹ For the dating of the letter see GRÜNBART, Ioannes Tzetzes 179–180.

⁹⁷⁰ Cf. Io. Tzetzes, *Epist.* 6.

⁹⁷¹ On this issue, see RHOBY – ZAGKLAS, Πανιώτης 171–177.

⁹⁷² Io. Tzetzes, *epist.* 97.

⁹⁷³ LEONE, Ioannis Tzetzae epistulae 173, 2–8; see also RHOBY – ZAGKLAS, Πανιώτης 175.

⁹⁷⁴ PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, *Noctes Petropolitanae* 200–201, v. 9: ἄκουον σε, Βίε, τροχὸν ἔμμεναι καὶ ἐτέρους περ.

Bios'.⁹⁷⁵ The description of *Bios* in Philes' epigram is actually a duplication of that of Prodromos. The only deviation to be noticed is that Philes does not describe *Bios* with wheels underneath his feet. In addition to these two examples, manuscript Monacensis gr. 306 transmits, along with Prodromos' poem on *Bios*, a yet unpublished anonymous poem on the same subject (ff.62^{r-v}). The text of this epigram deserves to be quoted at length:

Ἐπίγραμμα εἰς τὸν μέλλοντα βίον

Ἦν ἄνθρωπος γυμνὸς ἔχων ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ ξυρόν, ἔχων ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀριστερᾷ πλάστιγγα τοῖς δὲ ποσὶν πτέρυγας καὶ κάτωθεν τροχὸν καὶ τρίχας ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ τις περιεπτόμενος.

Τίς οὗτος εἴ βέλτιστε πρὸς θεὸν φράσον;
 Ὁ πανδαμάτωρ τυγχάνω χρόνος, ξένε.
 Τί δὴ περωτός, ὡς ταχύδρομος φύσει,
 καὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ τί πρόσω κομὰς φέρων;
 5 Ὡς ληπτὸς εἰμὶ τοῖς βροτοῖς παρ' ὀλίγον.
 Ξυρόν δὲ τι σὺ χειρὶ δεξιᾷ κατέχω.
 Τμητικὸς εἰμὶ πραγμάτων τῶν ἐν βίῳ,
 καὶ τί σοι τῇ πλάστιγγι τῇ λαιᾷ φέρων
 ζυγοστατῶ σύμπαντα εὐστάθμῳ μέτρῳ·
 10 σφαῖραν δὲ τί τοῖς δακτύλοις πατεῖς ἄκροις,
 ἅει σφύζω πτηνῶ <δὲ> τῷ ταχυδρόμῳ
 ὁ δημιουργὸς τίς Χρῦσιπος, ὦ ξένε;
 Ὁ σικυονεὺς ναὶ σοφὸς λίαν μέγας.

Cf. H 130, v.2: ὁ πανδαμάτωρ οὗτος ἠδέσθη χρόνος

11 πτηνῶ] πτόνω | <δὲ> supplevi

The image of *Bios* here is identical with that of Prodromos, with the exception that *Bios* here is holding a dagger (like *Chronos* in the letters of Tzetzes).

As is well known, political verse is rarely used for epigrams.⁹⁷⁶ Prodromos' poetic corpus is representative of this Byzantine trend, as it appears to be the only epigram of Prodromos in political verse. Despite the fact that it was not preserved *in situ*, we are fortunate enough to know that it was inscribed in the post-Byzantine period onto the facade next to the main entrance door (interior side) between the narthex and the main building of the Byzantine church of Panagia Krina at Chios (figure no. 5).⁹⁷⁷ The re-using of Byzantine verses as inscriptions in the post-Byzantine period is not without parallels. A telling example

⁹⁷⁵ Philes I no. LXVII; cf. also KLEMENTA, Die Personifikation des Bios 209–214. *Bios* appears also in the work of Thodore Melitiniotes.

⁹⁷⁶ LAUXTERMANN, Byzantine Poetry 31.

⁹⁷⁷ BOURAS, Ἀλληγορική παράσταση τοῦ βίου-καιροῦ 26–34.

is an inscription in the church of Hagios Ioannes Theologos (a. 1552) in Kastoria, copied from the metrical calendar of Christophoros Mitylenaios.⁹⁷⁸

The post-Byzantine inscription at Chios is brimming with mistakes and variants (approximately thirty-five).⁹⁷⁹ These contagions can be justified if the artist inscribed the Prodromic epigram from memory, not having a manuscript with Prodromos' epigram before his eyes. In case this supposition were true, Hörandner determined an 'inscriptional and partly oral tradition' for the poem, whilst he suggested that the eighteenth-century artist could have copied the depiction along with the inscription from an earlier monument.⁹⁸⁰

However, another deviation of the post-Byzantine inscription from the Prodromic epigram is that the last nine verses are missing. In this connection, Bouras maintained that it was done on purpose, for the second part of the epigram is not in accord with the conceit of the depiction of Panagia Krina.⁹⁸¹ That is not unlikely, but I think it is much more appealing to conjecture that the artist of the inscription of the church Panagia Krina had consulted Arsenios' text before inscribing the Prodromic verses. There are two reasons for this: first, Arsenios' edition, like the inscription, consists only of the first ten verses of the poem; second, neither the inscription nor Arsenios' edition credit Prodromos with the authorship of this epigram.

⁹⁷⁸ As rightly observed by Rhoby, in the case of Mitylenaios the artist does not draw directly from the collection of Mitylenaios' works but from *Menaia*, which includes his calendar from the twelfth century onwards; see RHOBY, Christophoros Mitylenaios 148. In addition to Mitylenaios' epigram, one can also mention other Byzantine poets, e.g. John of Damascus, Symeon the Metaphrast, and John Geometres; see PAUL, Dichtung auf Objekten 237–238, 241–242, and 244.

⁹⁷⁹ What follows is a list of these errors/variants: v. 1 παραινέτην] παρενέτην v. 2 ἔτυχε] ἔδραμες; εὔρες] ἔσχε; τρίχας] τρύχας; v. 3 ῥαστώνην] ραστόν νῦν; μὴ] μί; μὴ²] μί || χωρήσης] χορήσης : μηδὲ] μί δι || φρονήσης] φροντήσις || ὑψηλὰ] ὑψυλὰ || πέρα] παρὰ || 5 νόησον] νόεισον || 6 Ὑπὸ] περὶ || τροχοί] τρωχοὺς || φρίττε] βλέπε || κυλισθῶσι] κυλισθόσι || 7 Περὶ] περὶ || κνήμας μου] κνείμας || παρίπταμαι σε] μὴ πετα(...) || 8 Ζυγὰ] ζυγὸν || τῇ χειρὶ] χείρας μου || μετακλίσεις] μετακλίσις 9 κρατῆς] κρατεῖς || σκιὰν] καπνὸν Buras || κρατεῖς²] κρατῆς.

⁹⁸⁰ HÖRANDNER, Customs and Beliefs 238.

⁹⁸¹ BOURAS, Αλληγορική παράσταση τοῦ βίου-καιροῦ 31.

No. 17 (H 156)

Εἰς δακτύλιον ἔχοντα σφραγίδα ἐρῶντας δύο, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν στέρνων αὐτῶν δύο δένδρα
ἐκπεφυέντα καὶ εἰς ἓνα συγκορυφούμενα κόρυμβον

Ἐκ τῶν ποθούντων δένδρα, τοῖς δένδροις γάμος·
αὐτοῖς δὲ τοῖς ποθοῦσιν οὐδαμοῦ γάμος.

V f.117^v B f. 450^v P f. 122^r Po ff. 180–181 Pz ff. 170–180 X fol. II^r | Th. 194

tit. εἰς δακτύλιον ἔχοντα σφραγίδα ἐρῶντας δύο, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν στέρνων αὐτῶν δύο δένδρα ἐκπεφυέντα καὶ εἰς ἓνα συγκορυφούμενα κόρυμβον V : εἰς δακτύλιον ἔχοντα σφραγίδα ἐρῶντας δύο, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν στέρνων αὐτῶν δύο δένδρα ἐκπεφυκότα, καὶ εἰς ἓνα συγκορυφούμενον κόρυμβον B : legi non potest in P : εἰς δακτύλιον ἔχοντα σφραγίδα ἐρῶντας δύο, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν στέρνων αὐτῶν δύο δένδρα ἐκπεφυκότα καὶ εἰς ἓνα συγκορυφούμενα κόρυμβον Po : τοῦ Προδρόμου κυρίου Θεοδώρου τοῦ φιλοσόφου εἰς δακτύλιον ἔχοντα σφραγίδα ἐρῶντας δύο, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν στέρνων αὐτῶν δύο δένδρα ἐκπεφυέντα καὶ εἰς ἓνα συγκορυφούμενα κόρυμβον Pz : τοῦ αὐτοῦ (i.e. Θεοδώρου Προδρόμου) εἰς δακτυλίδιν ἔχον σφραγίδας ἐρῶντας δύο, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν στέρνων αὐτῶν δύο δένδρα ἐκπεφυκότα καὶ εἰς ἓνα συγκορυφούμενα κόρυμβον X

On a ring having as a seal two lovers, and from their breasts two trees spring and join in one crown

From those who desire, tree-marriage for the trees; but for those who desire no marriage.

Εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ

Ἐκ καρδιῶν τὰ δένδρα καὶ ξυνεπλάκη·
ἔρωσ, ἔρωσ, σύναπτε καὶ τὰς καρδίας.

V f.117^v B f. 450^v P f. 122^r Po ff. 180–181 Pz ff. 170–180 X fol. II^r | Th. 194

tit. om. Po X || **2a** ἐκ om. P || συνεπλάκη Th.

On the same

From hearts [grow] trees and intertwined; Eros, Eros, unite also their hearts!

Εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ

Ἐρᾷ τὰ δένδρα, καὶ φιλεῖ, καὶ μίγνυται·
ἐρῶμεν, οὐ φιλοῦμεν, οὐ μιγνύμεθα.

V f.117^v B f. 450^v P f. 122^r Po ff. 180–181 Pz ff. 170–180 X fol. II^r | Th. 194

tit. om. Po X

On the same

The trees desire and kiss and mingle; we desire, but do not kiss, do not mingle.

Εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ

Ἔρω, τὰ δένδρα καὶ φύεις καὶ μιγνύεις·
τὰ στέρνα δ' ἐξέρρηξας, οὐχὶ μιγνύεις.

V f.117^v B f. 450^v P f. 122^r Po ff. 180–181 Pz ff. 170–180 X fol. II^r | Th. 194

tit. om. Po X || **4b** ἐξέρραξας X : ἐξέρρηξας Th.

On the same

Eros, you make trees grown and mingle; but you broke their hearts, do not mingle.

Εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ

Εἰς δένδρον ἔν τὰ δένδρα συμπεφυκότα·
δοίητε καρπὸν τῶν ἐρώντων, τὸν γάμον.

V f.117^v B f. 450^v P f. 122^r Po ff. 180–181 Pz ff. 170–180 X fol. II^r | Th. 194

tit. om. Po X || **5a** ἐν] μὲν P

On the same

The trees have grown into one; if only you had granted those who desire the marriage as fruit of their desires.

Commentary

(keywords: eros, “shuffling around the same words and conceit”, ring epigrams)

Although the main text of the five epigrams does not convey essential information concerning their original function, the lengthy title informs the reader that these five epigrams were purported to be inscribed on a ring.⁹⁸² Moreover, we are told that the bezel of the ring bears the following depiction: a pair of lovers from whose breasts two intertwined trees spring forth. So far as I know, no such Byzantine depiction is extant. Moreover, neither the name of the donor – if there ever was one – nor the original occasion of the commission is indicated in the title or in the main text.

At first sight, one might think that all five epigrams dwell on the well-known motif of male and female palm trees first attested at *L&K* 1.17. As shown above, Prodrornos and other renowned twelfth-century authors of erotic discourse make extensive use of this motif (see above p. 344). But it is more likely that the five couplets are related to the theme of the intertwined trees, also attested for first time at *L&K* 1.15:⁹⁸³

ἔθαλλον οἱ κλάδοι, συνέπιπτον ἀλλήλοις ἄλλος ἐπ’ ἄλλω, αἱ γείτονες τῶν πετάλων περιπλοκαί, τῶν φύλλων περιβολαί, τῶν καρπῶν συμπλοκαί.

In all likelihood, Theodore borrowed the motif directly from Tatius’ novel.⁹⁸⁴ At the same time, it is worth mentioning that some of Prodrornos’ couplets display very close ties – in terms of phrasing – to the second treatise on *Epideictic* oratory of Menander the Rhetor. Menander touches twice on Tatius’ motif: firstly, within the section treating the Epithalamium:⁹⁸⁵

Περὶ δὲ δένδρων ἐρεῖς, ὅτι κάκεῖνα οὐκ ἄμοιρα γάμων· οἱ γὰρ ἐπὶ ταῖς κόμαις σύνδεσμοι φιλοτεχνήματα γαμούντων δένδρων εἰσὶ, καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ ταῦτά ἐστιν εὐρήματα.

As to trees, you should point out that they too are not without their part in marriage, for the tendrils on leaves are devices of trees for mating, and these too are inventions of the god.

And secondly, in his discussion on the ‘bedroom speech’, the so-called *kateunastikos*:⁹⁸⁶

...καὶ δένδρα δένδρεσιν ἐπιμίγνυται, ἵνα τοῦτο γένηται τελετὴ καὶ γάμος.

...Trees mingle with trees, so that this becomes their initiation and marriage

⁹⁸² For similar examples from the Marcan Anthology see SPINGOU, Marcanus 123–125.

⁹⁸³ This motif is also used in the Palaeologan novel *Livistros&Rhodamne*; see CUPANE, *Jenseits des Schattens der Alten* 97–99.

⁹⁸⁴ There are many reflections of *L&K* in Prodrornos’ novel; See HUNGER, *Literatur I* 128–132 and MACALISTER, *Byzantine twelfth-century romances* 185–186.

⁹⁸⁵ RUSSELL – WILSON, *Menander Rhetor* 140 lines 7–10 and their notes on p. 314.

⁹⁸⁶ *Ibid.* 152 15–16.

It is, arguably, very interesting that an ancient literary motif is used for the needs of a potentially utilitarian text. But it is even more interesting that this literary motif seems to be particularly fashionable in twelfth-century erotic discourse and not only. A telling example is to be found at *D&C* VIII 87-88:⁹⁸⁷

Παστάς τὸ δένδρον ἐστί, νυμφῶν ὁ κλάδος,
κλίνην ἔχει δὲ τὰς ἑαυτοῦ φυλλάδας·

The tree is a bridal bower, the branch the bridal chamber, | Which has its leaves as the bridal couch;

And also in different types of discourse, such as the *Synopsis Chronike*. In this connection, Nilsson has pointed out that Manasses, by making use of this particular motif, attempts to bestow an erotic connotation on his description of Eden:⁹⁸⁸

τὰ πέταλα συνέπιπτον ἀλλήλοις τῶν δένδρεων
οἱ κλῶνες προσεπέλαζον, συνήεσαν οἱ πτόρθοι
ἐώκεσαν αὐτόχρημα τῶν δένδρων αἱ φυλλάδες
ἀλλήλας ἀγκαλίζεσθαι περιπλοκαῖς φιλτέραις

The trees approached each other and with eager leaves they touched, | the branches reached across and met, the twigs each other clasped; | it was indeed as if the trees converged in love's embrace, | were clasping one another tight and shared a fond caress

The fact that the preoccupation of twelfth-century literati with the theme of Eros was also channelled into the writing of epigrams should not be considered strange, especially in view of the advanced literary experiments often encountered. In fact, Prodhomos' venture is not unique at this time. His disciple, Niketas Eugenianos, penned a ring epigram depicting Chastity and Eros. The content of Eugenianos' epigram is based on the well-known story of Euripides about Phaedra's impetuous love for her stepson Hippolytos, the adherence of the latter to chastity, and how both of them, as paradigms of intemperance and temperance respectively, were driven to death:⁹⁸⁹

Εἰς δακτύλιον ἔχοντα καὶ Σωφροσύνην καὶ Ἔρωτα

Ἔρως φονουργεῖ, Σωφροσύνη κτιννύει.
Ζυγοστατοῦμαι τοῖν δυοῖν τούτοις μέσον.
Ἔρως γὰρ αὐτὴν Φαῖδραν ὀλλύει πάλαι·
ναί· καὶ τὸν Ἰππόλυτον ἐξάγει βίου
ὁ στερκτὸς αὐτῷ σωφρονέστατος τρόπος.

On a ring bearing Chastity and Eros

⁹⁸⁷ Transl. in JEFFREYS, *Four Byzantine Novels* 401. Makrembolites makes also use of this motif; see NILSSON, *Hysmine & Hysminias* 209–210.

⁹⁸⁸ *Const. Manas., Synopsis Chronike* 194–197; this passage has been discussed and translated in NILSSON, *Narrating Images in Byzantine Literature* 136.

⁹⁸⁹ Text in LAMBROS, *Ἐπιγράμματα Ἀνέκδοτα* 355.

Eros murders, Chastity slays. | I balance between these two. | For Eros previously ruined Phaedra; | indeed, and Hippolytus was removed from this life | [by] his amiable and most prudent mode of life.

In addition to Eugenianos' epigram, the fourteenth-century manuscript Athos Panteleimonos 174, a copious *sylloge* of poetry, contains two neglected ring epigrams under the title [...η] κυροῦ Θεοδώ[ρου] στίχοι εἰς δακτυλίδιν.⁹⁹⁰

Κάλυξ ὁ χρυσός, δάκτυλοι λευκὰ ρόδα
Καὶ μὴ ροδοδάκτυλος ἔστιν ἡ κόρη;

Gold is the halyx of rose, fingers are white roses, | and is the girl not rosy-fingered?

Ὡς τόξον ἔστιν ὧδε χρυσῇ σφενδόνη
οἱ δάκτυλοι βέλεμνα, τοξότης Ἔρως.

The golden ring like a bow, | the fingers [are] darts, Eros the archer!

To my knowledge, no attempt has been made hitherto to settle the authorship of these two epigrams. The *lemma* maintains that the author is a certain Theodore. The first guess that springs to mind is Theodore Prodromos and there are good reasons in support of Prodromos' authorship. The manuscript contains a considerable amount of Prodromic poetry,⁹⁹¹ while these two epigrams are to be found on fol. 169^v, directly following some tetrastichs on the Old and New Testaments.⁹⁹² More importantly, the second epigram, as in the poems of Prodromos and Eugenianos, plays with the motif of Eros, thereby suggesting that they belong to the twelfth century. Moreover, the word combination 'τοξότης ἔρως' occurs numerous times in twelfth-century literature (e.g. *D&C* IV 399, V 135 and *H&H* II 11.6). Thus, it is reasonable to conjecture that they were written by a twelfth-century poet, if not by Prodromos himself.

Turning back to the present series of Prodromic epigrams on Eros, it should be noted that the sentiment of unachieved desire prevails in all five of them: whereas the branches of the trees mingle with each other, the depicted couple is not credited with the same lot. Although the poetic voice beseeches emphatically for Eros to unite the two lovers, in none of the above couplets is erotic longing consummated. Thus, on these grounds, one must cast away the assumption that these epigrams could have functioned as inscriptions on a betrothal ring. Were we not dealing with this paradox, we might suggest that the epigrams were

⁹⁹⁰ See KOTZABASSI – PARASKEUOPOULOU, Panteleemonos 220.

⁹⁹¹ For a list see *ibid.* 205–212.

⁹⁹² See *ibid.* 206.

purported to be used for the marriage ring of a member of the Komnenian dynasty, for a number of his poems celebrate such occasions.

On the other hand, one passage from his novel is particularly reminiscent of these five epigrams. In particular, at the beginning of the third book, when everyone else is resting after a party, we are told that Dosicles left the room where the specified festivities were held. The setting of the narration is thereupon described as follows:⁹⁹³

ὥς δὲ προῆλθον ἐς μέσας τὰς ἀμπέλους
(συνηηρεφεῖς δὴ παντάπασιν οἱ κλάδοι
τῇ καταπύκνῳ συνοχῇ τῶν φυλλάδων,
ὥς καὶ τὸν ἐγγὺς σφαλερῶς δεδορκέναι)
When I reached the middle of the vines | for the branches were everywhere intertwined | In a dense
canopy of leaves | So that a bystander could see it only with difficulty

At this point, Dosicles seeks to entice the maiden, but Rhodanthe in turn utters the following words:⁹⁹⁴

‘ἐπίσχες ἄρτι καὶ μόνων φιλημάτων | ἡμᾶς γινώσκεις’ ...
‘Hold back now and know me | from kisses alone’ ...

Even if the pattern of the epigram reflects the above episode from *R&D*, I think we should probably not put in question the potential use of these epigrams as inscriptions. Ring epigrams were produced by renowned writers before and after Prodromos. The corpus of Geometres’ poetry contains two such epigrams.⁹⁹⁵ However, the most prolific writer of ring epigrams is by far Manuel Philes, as his poetic work includes at least thirty-two epigrams which could potentially function as inscriptions.⁹⁹⁶ One of Philes’ ring epigrams – consisting of two verses – survives, in fact, as an inscription in abbreviated form on three rings,⁹⁹⁷ suggesting therefore the same function for Prodromos’ couplets.

Finally, it should also be noted that these five epigrams may also bear witness to the common practice of writing a series of trial epigrams from which the patron could choose the most fitting to be inscribed on his/her object.⁹⁹⁸ This is why each of Prodromos’ couplets employs similar wording and eventually communicates the same conceit. Again, Philes’ corpus includes six epigrams presented to the statesman Michael Senachereim Monomachos in order for him to choose the most fitting to be inscribed on his ring.⁹⁹⁹

⁹⁹³ *R&D* III 53–56, transl. in JEFFREYS, *Four Byzantine Novels* 52.

⁹⁹⁴ *R&D* III 66–67, transl. in JEFFREYS, *Four Byzantine Novels* 53.

⁹⁹⁵ CRAMER, *Bibliothecae Regiae Parisiensis* 332.

⁹⁹⁶ Cf. *ICB*.

⁹⁹⁷ See SPIER, *Late Byzantine Rings* 39.

⁹⁹⁸ For secondary bibliography on this issue see note no. 149.

⁹⁹⁹ On these epigrams see DRPIĆ, *Kosmos of Verse* 37–38.

No. 18 (H 158)

I

Ἐπὶ κήπῳ

- Ὅρᾱς, θεατά, τοῦ φυτῶνος τὴν χάριν,
 Πρόκυπον, ἄψαι τῶν φυτῶν, οὐδεις φθόνος.
 Ἴδου κρίνον, τρύγησον, ἀλλὰ σωφρόνως·
 ἰδοὺ χλόη, τρύφησον, ἀλλὰ μετρίως·
 5 ὕδωρ ἰδοὺ ρόφησον, ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰς κόρον·
 ὥς ἐν τύποις δὲ καὶ σεαυτὸν μοι βλέπε.
 Ἀνθεῖς, ἀπανθεῖς, τοῦτο δὴ καὶ τοῦ κρίνου·
 θάλλεις, μαραίνει, τοῦτο δὴ καὶ τῆς χλόης·
 ῥέεις, παρέρχη, τοῦτο καὶ τῶν ὑδάτων.
 10 Ἄν, ὥς ἔφην, ἄνθρωπε, τὸν κήπον βλέπης,
 πλήσεις μέν, οἶδα, καὶ χαρᾶς τὴν καρδίαν,
 καὶ ψυχικὴν δὲ κερδανεῖς σωτηρίαν.

V f. 121^v Ac f. 258^v Be ff. 142^v–143^r H f. 90^v He f. 167^v L f. 108^v Mt ff. 80^v–81^r N f. 91^r Nd f. 315 P f. 146^r Pf f. 206^{r-v} R f. 230^r Vb f. 123^v Vr f. 1^v X f. II^r Z f. 4^{r-v} | Gu. ξ 3^r Ky. La. 100–101 We. 314

tit. τοῦ αὐτοῦ (i.e. Θεοδώρου Προδρόμου) ἐπὶ κήπῳ V Be H L N P R Vr Z : Θεοδώρου τοῦ Προδρόμου, εἰς κήπον Ac Mt: om. He : στίχοι τοῦ Φιλοστράτου Pf : εἰς κήπον Vb : σοφωτάτου κύρου Θεοδώρου τοῦ Προδρόμου X : ἀνεπίγραφα Gu. || **1** φυτῶνος Mt | τοῦ φυτῶνος τὴν χάριν] ἁρμονίαν φυτῶνος Ky. || **2** ἄψε Pf | τοῦ φυτοῦ Nd | φόνος Mt || **3** κρίνον Mt | τρύφησον Pf || **7** Ανθεῖς Mt | ἀπανθεῖς Mt || **8** θάλλεις, μαραίνει τοῦτο καὶ τὸ τῆς χλόης Ac Mt : θάλλη, μαραίνει τοῦτο καὶ τῶν ὑδάτων Z || **9** vers. om. Z || **10** βλέπεις Ac Mt Vb We. || **11** χαρὰ P || **12** σωτηρίας Mt

I

On the Garden

You see, O beholder, the grace of this plot; lean down, touch the fruits – no reproach! Come, reap the lilies, but with caution! Come, enjoy the grass, but with restraint! [5] Come drink the water, but without insolence! As in a painting, behold also yourself: you flourish and wither – so does the lily, you thrive and die – so does the grass, you flow and vanish – so does the stream. [10] If you, O mortal, look at the garden as I told you, you will fill, I am sure, your heart with joy and earn spiritual salvation.¹⁰⁰⁰

Notes on the text:

1. Ὅρᾱς, θεατά: many Byzantine epigrams address the beholder in this way (cf. ICB).

¹⁰⁰⁰ Transl. in NILSSON, Byzantine Garden 22, very slightly modified.

2. Πρόκυπον ... φθόνος: the versatile work of the fourteenth-century author Joseph Bryennios includes a verse work entitled, “Ἐκφρασις παραδείσου Νάξου”. The sentiment and the phrasing of this neglected work suggests that Bryennios consulted Prodromos’ epigrams ‘on the garden’ before composing his own. The present verse was modulated in Bryennios’ work as follows:¹⁰⁰¹ Ἄπας παρὼν χόρτασον, οὐκ ἔστι φθόνος

3–5. the structure and the conceit of moderation is repeated in these three verses. Note the sophisticated word play between the words τρύγησον (v. 3), τρύφησον (v. 4), and ρόφησον (v. 5), always at the same *sedes* of the verses.

7–8. Ἀνθεῖς, ... γλῶης: Bryennios draws once more from Prodromos’ work:¹⁰⁰²

Θάλλη μαραίνει; ὡς χόρτος τοῦτο πάσχεις.
Ἀνθεῖς; ἀπανθεῖς ἄνθους καὶ τοῦτο φύσις

Prodromos, in turn, is likely to have seen the word combination in Gregory’s poetry, cf. *Greg.Naz., Carm.* II.1.89 [1442] 3: Ἀνθεῖν, ἀπανθεῖν, ἄλλο οὐκ ἄλλος δ’ ἐγώ.

12. ψυχικὴν σωτηρίαν: this standard phrase is to be found at the same *sedes* of verse at *carm.hist.* XXI 21.

¹⁰⁰¹ TOMADAKIS, Ἰωσήφ μοναχοῦ τοῦ Βρυεννίου ἐπιστολαὶ λ 339 (line 62) and 340 (lines 98–99).

¹⁰⁰² *Ibid.* 340 lines 98–99.

II Εἰς αὐτὸ

5 Ὅρων σε, κῆπε, καὶ τὰ δένδρα σου βλέπων,
ἐκπλήττομαι μὲν τῇ θεᾷ τὴν καρδίαν,
φαντάζομαι δὲ τῆς Ἐδέμ τὸ χωρίον,
καὶ βούλομαι μὲν τοῖς φυτοῖς προσεγγίσει.
Πλὴν τοῦ φυτοῦ τὴν γεῦσιν εἰς νοῦν λαμβάνω,
ἐξ οὗ φαγὼν ὤλισθον εἰς ἁμαρτίαν·
θέλω τρυγῆσαι καὶ φαγεῖν, ἀλλὰ τρέμω,
μὴ γνώσεως τὸ ξύλον ἐκφαγὼν θάνω.

V f. 121^v Ac f. 258^v Be f. 143^r H f. 90^v He f. 167^v L ff. 108^v–109^r Mt ff. 80^v–81^r N f. 91^{r-v} P f. 146^r R f. 230^r Vb f. 123^v Vr f. 1^v X f. II^r Z f. 4^{r-v} | Gu. ξ 3^r Ky. La. 100–101 We. 314

tit. εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν V L Vr : εἰς αὐτὸ Ac H Vb X Z : om. Be He P Gu. : εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ N R : ἕτερον Mt || 1 καὶ τὴν Ac | 2 ἐκπλήττομαι ἀγάλλομαι V Ac Be He L Mt P Vb Vr Z : ἐκπλήττομαι supra [ἀ]γάλλομαι scribe. H || 4 τοῖς τῆς Mt | καὶ βούλομαι μὲν legi non potest in Vr || 5 λαμβάνων La. || 6 ὤλισθα Mt : ὤλισθον Vr

II On the same

Seeing you, O garden, and looking at your trees I am overwhelmed in my heart over the sight, I imagine you to be the place of Eden, and I want to approach the plants. [5] But the tasting of the fruit comes to my mind, the fruit from which I ate and fell into sin; I wish to reap and eat, but I tremble and fear that I will die eating from the Tree of Knowledge.¹⁰⁰³

Notes on the text:

2. ἀγάλλομαι: it is difficult to choose between ἀγάλλομαι and ἐκπλήττομαι; I think the latter fits better in terms of content, although the former reading is offered by most of the manuscripts.

¹⁰⁰³ Transl. in NILSSON, Byzantine Garden 22, slightly modified.

III Εἰς αὐτὸ

5 Ἄνθρωπε, δεῦρο καὶ τρύγησον καὶ φάγε·
ἀκινδύνως γὰρ καὶ τρυγήσεις καὶ φάγῃς,
μόνον τὸ λίχνον ἐκδιώξας μακρόθεν
τὸν ὑάκινθον κεῖρε, τοῦ κρίνου δρέπου,
τρύγα τὸ μύρτον, λαμβάνου τοῦ βαλσάμου,
οὐχ' ὥς δι' αὐτῶν θηλυνεῖς τὴν καρδίαν,
ἀλλ' ὥς τρυγήσης μυστικὴν εὐωδίαν,
τοῖς κτίσμασι γνοὺς τὸν κτίσαντα δεσπότην.

V f. 121^v Be f. 143^r H f. 90^v L f. 109^r He f. 167^v Mt ff. 80^v–81^r N f. 91^v P f. 146^r R f. 230^r Vb f. 123^v Vr f. 1^v X f. II^r Z f. 4^{r-v}
| Gu. ξ 3^r Ky. La. 100–101 We. 314

tit. εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν V L Vr : εἰς αὐτὸ Ap H Vb X Z : om. Be He P Gu. : ἕτερον Mt : εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ N R || **2** τρυγήσης S V |
φάγοις L : φάγεις N P Vb Z We. || **3** ἐκδιώξον R || **4** δρέπη L Vb || **5** μύρτον] μύλτον Gu. : μύλτον Mt | λάμβανε R X || **7**
τρυγήσεις We. || **8** τοῖς κτίσει H (sed ταῖς κτίσεσιν corr. We.)

III On the same

Come here, O mortal, reap the fruits and eat! For without fear you may reap and eat, once you have driven gluttony far away. Cut off the hyacinth, pluck the lily, **[5]** reap the myrtle, partake of the balsamon, not because of them to become soft in your heart, but to reap their mystical fragrance, knowing by his creations the Lord Creator.¹⁰⁰⁴

¹⁰⁰⁴ *Ibid.* 22.

IV
Εἰς αὐτὸ

5 Βαβαί, πόσαις ὁ κῆπος ἡδοναῖς βρίθεις·
κρινωνιάς ἐκεῖθεν εὐθαλεῖς φύεις,
ρόδωνιάς ἐντεῦθεν ἀνθούσας φέρεις,
ἰωνιαῖς τέθηλας, ἄνθεσι βρύεις,
ὔδωρ ἀναρρεῖς ἐκ φλεβὸς τεραστίας,
ἀνατρέχον μὲν ὑπὸ λεπτῷ τῷ ψόφῳ,
ἰδεῖν δὲ λαμπρὸν καὶ πιεῖν ὑπὲρ μέλι,
καὶ τοὺς ὀρῶντας ἡδύνεις πολυτρόπως.

V f. 121^v Be ff. 143r^v H f. 90^v He f. 167^v L f. 109^r Mt ff. 80^v–81^r N f. 91^v Nd f. 315 P f. 146^v R f. 230^r Vr f. 1^v X f. II^r Z f. 4^{r-v} | Gu. ξ 3^r Ky. La. 100–101 We. 314

tit. εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν V L Vr : εἰς αὐτὸ H P X Z : om. Be He Gu. : εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ N R || **1** πόσον He | ἡδονὸν He || **2** φύεις] φύσεις La. : φέρεις Mt || **3** φέρεις] φύεις Mt || **4** ἰωνιῶς Mt | τέθηλλας Vb || **5** ἐκφλεβὸν We. || **6** ἀνατρέχων He Nd | ψόφῳ] ζόφῳ R : λόφῳ Ky. || **7** πιεῖν] ποιεῖν N

IV
On the same

Oh, with how many pleasures, you, the garden, are teeming! You bloom in lilies over here, you flourish in roses over there, you blossom in violets, you burst with flowers, **[5]** you flow marvelously in streams of water which run with a light murmur and are shining to behold and sweeter than honey to drink, and you delight your spectators with many devices.¹⁰⁰⁵

Notes on the text:

8. πολυτρόπως: the word entails a Homeric connotation, as it often describes the brilliant rhetoric skills of Odysseus.¹⁰⁰⁶

¹⁰⁰⁵ *Ibid.* 22.

¹⁰⁰⁶ *Ibid.* 23.

V
Εἰς αὐτὸ

Τὴν καλλονὴν, ἄνθρωπε, τοῦ ῥόδου βλέπων
καὶ τὰς ἀκάνθας εὐφυῶς περισκόπει,
κάντεῦθεν εἰς ἔννοιαν ἔλθῃ τοῦ βίου.
Ὡς ὁ τρυγῶν γὰρ τὸ γλυκύπνοον ῥόδον,
5 ἐκ τῶν ἀκανθῶν αἵματοι τοῦς δακτύλους,
οὕτως ἀπάντων ἀγαθῶν κοινωνία
ἀλίσκεται μέν, ἀλλὰ μυρίοις πόνοις·
οὐκ ἔστι γὰρ ἄμοχθον οὐδὲν ἐν βίῳ.

V f. 121^v Be f. 143^v H f. 90^v He f. 167^v L f. 109^r Mt ff. 80^v–81^r N f. 91^v P f. 146^v R f. 230^r Vr f. 1^v X f. II^r Z f. 4^{r-v} | Gu. ξ 3^r Ky. La. 100–101 We. 314

tit. εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν V L Vr : εἰς αὐτὸ Ap H P X Z : om. Be He Gu.: ἕτερον Mt : εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ N R || **1** καλλονὴν N || **2** ἐμφυῶς L : εὐφυεῖς in app. cr. We. || **3** ἔννοιαν] εἶδησιν R X || **5** αἵματεῖν R Vr || **7** ἀλίσκεται] εὐρίσκεται La.

V
On the same

Beholding, O mortal, the beauty of the rose, observe carefully also its thorns, and take this chance to reflect on life. Just as he who picks the sweet-smelling rose [5] will have blood on his fingers from the thorns, so a share in all that is good must be seized, but with thousandfold pains; for nothing in life is free from toil and trouble.¹⁰⁰⁷

Notes on the text:

4. Γλυκύπνοον: ‘sweet-smelling’ coined by Prodromos (cf. *LBG* ‘süß duftend’).

4-8: the same conceit is repeated in *Synopsis Chronike* by Constantine Manasses (see NILSSON, *Byzantine Gardens* 24).

¹⁰⁰⁷ *Ibid.* 23.

Commentary¹⁰⁰⁸

(keywords: garden motif, allegory, book epigram)

It must be made clear, at the outset, that the title ‘ἐπὶ κήπῳ’ does not signify the inscriptional function of these five epigrams/stanzas, but rather their subject matter.¹⁰⁰⁹ More importantly, they should not be read as five separate epigrams/stanzas on the same subject-matter, but as five parts of a stimulating dialogue conducted between the poetic voice and the beholder of a garden with the rotation of the dialogue running as follows: poetic voice/beholder/poetic voice/beholder/poetic voice; at least that should have been Prodhromos’ intention at the time of their composition, although in the subsequent centuries the five epigrams are not always found together. On the contrary, some were transmitted separately, indicating a deprivation of the original context.¹⁰¹⁰

Furthermore, all five epigrams/stanzas contain very strong allegorical connotations based on the concept of garden (hence, they should not be viewed as *ekphraseis* of a real garden). However, each epigram signifies a slight modulation of the garden’s allegorical connotations. First of all, the dialogue is initiated by a poetic voice which induces the beholder to partake of the garden’s beauty, but in a moderated manner. The garden in the first epigram assumes the role of a mirror of the mortal life, for the mortals, as the garden, come to being, blossom, and demise. In the second epigram, the beholder likens the garden to Eden. However, the fear of the mortal culminates in this epigrams, for this simile brought to his remembrance the Tree of Knowledge which led to his expulsion from Paradise. The third epigram/stanza resembles the first one as the poetic voice induces – once more – the beholder to partake of the garden’s gifts, but with moderation. In the fourth epigram, the beholder has succumbed to the invitation of the beholder, and the sentiment of pleasure is brought to the foreground. The poetic voice in the last epigram/stanza reminds the beholder that everything good in life is always accompanied by toil.

It should be emphasized that the garden motif seems to be “Protean” in Komnenian literature.¹⁰¹¹ In Niketas Eugenianos’ monody for Prodhromos, the latter is compared to a garden. But unlike previously, when he was a friendly garden supplying spiritual feed to his

¹⁰⁰⁸ My annotations for these five epigrams/stanzas are based, to a great extent, on that of Ingela Nilsson; see NILSSON, *Byzantine Gardens* 20–24.

¹⁰⁰⁹ For a brief discussion of this type of lemma with some parallel examples see the discussion in SPINGOU, Marcianus 173–174.

¹⁰¹⁰ See the chapter treating the manuscript tradition of the poems.

¹⁰¹¹ See NILSSON, *Byzantine Gardens* 15–29.

students, he has been turned into a dangerous and hostile garden full of prickles and nettles:¹⁰¹²

ὦ κήπος ἀνθῶν, ἄνθος εὐπνουν τοῦ λόγου,
 νῦν ὡς ἰδρῶτας ὡς ἐκεῖνος ἐκρέω
 πρὸς γῆν κλίνων ἄροτρα καὶ βοῦν ἐργάτην;
 ὀρμῶμεν ἐντὸς εἰσδραμεῖν τοῦ κηπίου,
 κατατρυφήσαι τῶν ὀπωρῶν ὡς πάλαι,
 ἄλλως δὲ ῥομφαίας με πῦρ καταφλέγει
 καὶ γίνεται φεῦ τοῦ σκοποῦ μοι κωλύμη
 καὶ δύσβατόν μοι κυκλόθεν τὸ θριγγίον,
 βάτοι γὰρ αὐτὸ ζωννύουσι καὶ κνίδαι.

Returning to the epigrams, the allegorical element that permeates all five epigrams/stanzas, along with the absence of any evidence whatsoever, do not allow contemporary readers to retrieve the original function of these five epigrams. Nonetheless, Ingela Nilsson, in highlighting the metapoetic function of the fourth epigram/stanza – indicated by the use of the word *polytropōs* (“with many devices”) – has noted ‘but it is also an implicit – or in this case perhaps rather explicit – invitation to pick the fragrant flowers of literature and create a garland or a garden of your own. The beholder – the implied reader of the poem? – is thus represented as an avid admirer not only of the garden itself, but also the literary-rhetorical skills of the poet’.¹⁰¹³

Based on Ingela Nilsson’s aforementioned argument and assuming these five epigrams/stanzas are *Gebrauchstexte* (hence, they were purported to serve a certain practical purpose), I would be inclined to say that they could potentially have functioned as book epigrams, perhaps for an anthology. In other words, the garden may stand for an anthology. After all, Prodromos penned an epigram (i.e. no. LXI) which was used to preface a book with Ioannikios’ *schede*. In addition, we may note that the concept of moderation pervading the first and the third epigrams/stanzas reminds us of epigram no. 11, a metrical preface purported to introduce the reading of a homily.

¹⁰¹² Nic.Eugen., *Epit. In Theod. Prodr.* 227.210–219.

¹⁰¹³ See NILSSON, *Byzantine Gardens* 23–24.

No. 19 (H 160)
Αἴνιγμα εἰς τὴν νεφέλην

Υἱὸς ἡμετέρου με φιλύσσατο διὰ θυγάτηρ·
 ἡέρι δ' ἄμπελάω τῷ περιγειοτέρῳ.
 Ὑῖν ἐμὸν λαγόνεσσι φορευμένη εἰμὶ καὶ αὐτή·
 τὸν δέ τε γειναμένη, ὄλλυμαι· ὅς δὲ βροτοῖς
 5 λοιμοῦ ἀργαλέοιο δυσαλθέος ἔστιν ἀκέστωρ·
 τὸν γενεὴ μερόπων ἢ δυσαρρεστοτάτη
 καὶ τε μάλιστα φιλεῖ, καὶ ἀπεχθαίρησι μάλιστα.
 Γινῶθι με τίς τελέθω, ὃν τέκον, ὅς με τέκεν.

V f. 104^r H f. 90^v N f. 91^v Pz f. 138^r | Th. 185

tit. τοῦ αὐτοῦ (i.e. Θεοδώρου Προδρόμου) αἴνιγμα εἰς τὴν νεφέλην V H N : ἕτεροι εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦ Προδρόμου Pz || 1 ἡμετέρου] ὑμετέρου H N | θυγάτηρ] νεφέλην N || 2 ἡέρι] ἔριδ Pz | ἄμπελάω H || 4 γειναμένην V N | βροτοῖσι Pz || 5 λιμοῦ H N : in marg. Pz || 6 δυσαρρεστοτάτη H : δυσαρρεστοτάτην N || 7 ἀπεχθαίρουσι N || 8 τεκεῖν Th.

Riddle on the cloud

The divine daughter of my own son gave birth to me. I wander around with the earthly breeze. I too carry my son in my womb; I bring him forth and I perish. He is the healer of [5] the dire and deadly pestilence for mortals. The unappeased race of mortals both cherishes and loathes him exceedingly at the same time. Know me! How I come to being, whom I brought forth, who begot me.

Notes on the text:

1. Φιλύσσατο: metrical considerations may be thought to have produced the double σ – not to mention that Theodore is likely to have in mind *Greg.Naz., Carm.* II.1 [559] 490: Οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰ φίλον υἷα **φιλύσσεται** ἢ ἐθύγατρα. Simelidis has, moreover, suggested the same for the word φαρισσαῖος at *tetrast.* 248a 4 and 272b 4.¹⁰¹⁴

2. ἄμπελάω: I translate ‘wander around’; it is not recorded in any lexicon but derives, in all probability, from the verb ἀμπελαύνω (perhaps a compound form of the words ἀμφί and ἐλαύνω).

3. Ὑῖν ... αὐτή: perhaps a reminiscence of *AP* I,44.2: υἷα Θεοῦ λαγόνεσσιν ἄτερ πατρὸς ἔμβρυον ἔξεις.

¹⁰¹⁴ See SIMELIDIS, Gregory of Nazianzus 140–141.

Φορευμένη: the choice of this verb is by no means accidental, as it is used frequently in Homer with regard to the wind (cf. *LSJ*). It is also employed at *carm.hist.* III 114: φύλλα, τά μιν προλέλοιπε φορεύμενα ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα.

5. λοιμοῦ ... ἀκέστωρ: although the reading λοιμοῦ offered by the scribes H and N fits the verse in terms of content, λοιμοῦ should be considered as the original reading: cf. *carm.hist.* XLVI 45: [ὁ φίλος] μου ἀνάργυρος ἀκέστωρ νοσημάτων. Moreover, the words δυσαλθῆς and ἀργαλέος¹⁰¹⁵ usually define the word νόσος in the poetic corpus of Prodrōmos (cf. *tetrast.Greg.Naz.* 10b4: Γρηγόρι', ὥς καὶ ἐμεῖο δυσαλθέας ἵκεο νόσους; *tetrast.* 68b2: νοῦσε μέγ' ἀργαλέη; 175b2: νούσῳ ἐν ἀργαλέῃ; VI,190: ἀργαλέων δὲ νόσων; and 250b4: σῖνος ἐς ἀργαλέον).

8. ὄν τέκον, ὅς με τέκεν: the son seems to be the rain (ὕετός), while the divine daughter of her son who gives birth to the cloud seems to be the sea (θάλασσα).

¹⁰¹⁵ For the word cf. D'AMBROSI, Gregorio Nazianzeno 220 (s.v. δυσαλθῆς, ἐς).

Commentary

(keywords: riddle, didactic purpose)

Despite the fact that Prodhomos' work does not teem with riddles (in fact, the riddle under consideration appears to be the only one penned by him), the genre is well attested throughout the Byzantine centuries:¹⁰¹⁶ a great number of them are transmitted anonymously, yet both renowned and less renowned poets were preoccupied with the composition of riddles. The turning point in the middle Byzantine period seems to be the tenth century; to my knowledge, John Geometres' riddle 'On salt' is the first example attributed to a well-known poet.¹⁰¹⁷ In the eleventh century, the three most distinguished poets – Mitylenaios, Mauropous and Psellos – wrote six, one and three riddles respectively.¹⁰¹⁸ But the most prolific writer of riddles functioning within this century is by far the less known writer Basil Megalomytes, whose work includes thirty-nine riddles.¹⁰¹⁹ The popularity of the genre saw substantial growth in the Komnenian period, since a great number of riddles were produced by authors, such as Eumathios Makrembolites, Theodore Aulikalamos, Manuel Karantenos, and Euthymios Tornikes.

The solution to Prodhomos' riddle – as in the case for most riddles – can be inferred from the *lemma*, yet no other metrical riddle survives on the same subject-matter. But why did Prodhomos write this elegiac riddle? What purpose did it serve – not only in comparison with his own poetic output, but also with the poetic context of the twelfth century and his contemporary poets? Floris Bernard maintains that the eleventh-century poets wrote riddles pursuant to demonstrating their "virtuosity", as these poetic pieces could form the appropriate environment for a kind of competition both for the poets themselves and for the other members of the intellectual elite to which they belonged.¹⁰²⁰ I consider that the twelfth-century example of Theodore Aulikalamos and Nikephoros Prosouch is such a case in point. The former is credited with a rich collection of riddles, while the latter, apart from some poems, composed metrical solutions for two of Aulikalamos' riddles. Thereupon, Aulikalamos responds to Prosouch's replies, while the latter responds once more to one of the replies of Aulikalamos. Thus, the riddle is used as medium for interaction between two

¹⁰¹⁶ On riddles see *LBA* s.v. Rätsel by W. HÖRANDNER (forthcoming); HUNGER, *Literatur* II 119; *ODB* III 1795.

¹⁰¹⁷ The first, written in pentameters, is entitled: "On the Salt" (cf. VAN OPSTALL, John Géomètre 392–394 no. 239 see LAUXTERMANN, *Byzantine Didactic Poetry* 42–43), while the second one is dubious and still unsolved (inc. Εἰς οὐρανὸς ἄνειμι καὶ θεὸν οἶδα); cf. SAJDAK, *Spicilegium Geometreum* 533.

¹⁰¹⁸ Cf. BERNARD, *Beats of the Pen* 136.

¹⁰¹⁹ Cf. *ICB*.

¹⁰²⁰ BERNARD, *Beats of the Pen* 136.

literati. Whether Prodromos' riddle was read and challenged by a contemporary intellectual is difficult to say. The only other author who worked in the first half of the twelfth century and produced a number of riddles was Eumathios Makrembolites, the author of *H&H*. But it is hardly likely that a connection between Prodromos and Makrembolites can be established on this basis.¹⁰²¹ On the other hand, it is also likely that this riddle is closer to a school milieu, perhaps as an appropriate tool to sharpen the intellect of the students. In this connection, one should bear in mind that the three riddles ascribed to Psellos did serve as an educational technique, since they were written for his disciple, the emperor Michael VII Doukas.¹⁰²²

¹⁰²¹ Although Agapitos has argued – rather tentatively, I would say – that Prodromos in the introductory epigram to his novel the vv. 13–14 Ζωγράφοις δὲ νέοισιν ἐμὴν ἐπισύγκρινε τέχνην | καὶ τάχ' ἂν οὐ πολλῷ χειρίων ἐπὶ τοῖσδε φαάνθ[η] (but compare my skill with recent painters | and it might seem to be not much worse than those (transl. in JEFFREYS, *Four Byzantine Novels* 19) refers to Makrembolites; see AGAPITOS, *Poets and Painters* 182 ff.

¹⁰²² WESTERINK, *Michaelis Pselli Poemata* 299.

No. 20 (H 161)

Ὑποθετικοὶ ἐπὶ τινὶ ἐκβρασθέντι τῆς θαλάσσης ἄχειρι νεκρῷ

Ξεῖνε, τί νῦν με δέδορκας, ἐὼν περὶ ὄμμα πετάσσας;

Οὐ πολέμοιο βίη, οὐ φονόεσσα μάχη,

οὐδέ τ' Ἄρης βροτολοιγὸς ἐμὰς ἀπενόσφισε χεῖρας,

οἶδμα δέ μ' ἀτρυγέτου πέφνεν ἄλως μέλεον·

5 κύμασι γὰρ μαχόμεν ἐϋσέλμου ἐνδοθὶ νηὸς,

νηὸς ὑγροσκελέος, νηὸς ἀελλομάχου·

ὕγρόβιον δὲ γένος καὶ εἰναλινήχυτος ἰχθὺς

ἀμετέρων χερῶν ζεῦγος ἐθoinίσαστο.

Ἰχθὺς δαίνυται ἄνδρα, ἀνὴρ δ' ἀναδαίνυται ἰχθύν·

10 ἄμφω δαιτυμόνες, ὦ πόποι, ἀμφοτέρων.

Ξεῖνε, σὺ δ' ἄρ' γενέταισιν ἐμοῖς ἐμὰ ῥήματ' ἐνίσπε

γουνόμην καὶ ἄχειρ· λίσσομ' ἄναυδος ἐών·

δυστυχεῖς, παύσασθε τραπέζης ἰχθυοέσσης,

λείψαθ' ἀλιτρέφεια ζῶα θαλασσοπόρα·

15 μή ποτ' ἐμοὺς ἀπροόπτως θoinίζεσθε φονῆας,

καὶ με λάθητε τόκον δαινύμενοι σφέτερον·

μήτηρ θ', ἥ μ' ἐλόχευσας, ἔλοις πάλιν ἐνδοθὶ γαστρός,

ζῶν γειναμένη, δεχνυμένη δὲ νέκυν.

V ff. 103^v–104^r L ff. 100^v–101^r Pz f. 138^r | Mi. 1416C–1417B

tit. τοῦ αὐτοῦ (i. e. Θεοδώρου Προδρόμου) ὑποθετικοὶ ἐπὶ τινὶ ἐκβρασθέντι τῆς θαλάσσης ἄχειρι νεκρῷ V L : τοῦ Προδρόμου Θεοδώρου φιλοσόφου στίχοι ὑποθετικοὶ ἐπὶ τινὶ ἐκβρασθέντι τῆς θαλάσσης ἄχειρι νεκρῷ Pz || 3 οὐδέ π' Ἄρης L || 4 μέλεον] βέλει Pz || 5 ἐϋσέλμου] εὐσήμου Pz || 7 εἰναλινήχυτος L || 8 ἐθoinίσαστο L || 9 δαίνυται V L Pz | δαίνυν τ' post δαίνυται add. L | ἀναδαίνυται V L Pz || 11 γενέτησιν Pz | ἐνείσπε L || 12 λίσσομ' Pz || 14 λείψαθ' Pz || 15 θoinίζισθε L : θoinίζισθε Pz || 16 δαινύμενοι V L (sed δαινύμενοι corr. Mi.) ant. Cor. Mi. δαινύμιοι Pz

Hypothetical verses on a corpse without hands tossed by the sea

O Stranger, why are you looking at me with your wide-eyed gaze? Neither the violence of the war nor a murderous battle, nor the destroyer Ares, the bane to mortals, snatched away my hands. The billow of the waste sea slew me in vain, [5] for I was fighting against the waves inside a well-decked vessel, a supple-legged vessel, a vessel fighting the storm. The race dwelling in the sea, the fish of the full-flowing sea devoured my pair of hands. The fish consumes man, man in turn consumes the fish. [10] Lo now, both of them partake of both [species]. But Stranger, you may declare my words unto my parents. I implore you, although without hands. I beseech you, although speechless. Wretched [mortals], you may keep away from the banquet full of fish! Leave alone the sea-faring and sea-bred animals! [15] Do not eat my own murderers without warning, so that you do not happen to eat your offspring. O mother, you who brought me forth, you snatched me again within your womb. You brought me forth alive, you receive me dead.

Notes on the text:

1. ὄμμα πετάσας recurs at the same *sedes* of verse at *carm.hist.* VI 53 and LXI 12.

3–5. the Homeric expression Ἄρης βροτολογὸς (cf. *LSJ* s.v. βροτολογός) becomes proverbial over the Byzantine time, as it is recorded in *Suda* (3852.6 and 553.2). On the other hand, the Homeric expression ἐυσέλμου νηὸς (cf. *LSJ*) is not used that often in Byzantine poetry. According to the *TLG*, Prodrōmos seems to be the only twelfth-century poet making use of it; after him, it recurs only at *Theod. Metoch.*, *Carm.* XV.144.

4. Οἶδμα ... μέλεον: cf. *Hes., Th.* 131: ἡδὲ καὶ ἀτρύγετον πέλαγος τέκεν οἶδματι θυῖον. An increasing interest for Hesiod is observed at that time. For example, the Allegories on the Theogonia, composed by the deacon John Galenos, can be dated to the first half of the twelfth century.¹⁰²³ Prodrōmos refers to Hesiod quite often, especially in his satirical works.¹⁰²⁴ Yet, it is not easy to determine whether Prodrōmos draws directly from Hesiod, since a number of parallel sources are shared by the two authors, e.g. *Q.S.7.181*: ἦλθετ' ἔχοντες ἐμεῖο δι' οἶδματος ἀτρυγέτοιο or *Nonn., Dion.* 1, 112: οὐχ ἔλος, οὐ λειμῶνες ἐν οἶδμασιν, ἀλλὰ θαλάσση | ἀτρυγέτω πλώοντες ἀνήροτα ναύλοχον ὕδωρ.

6. νηὸς ... ἀελλομάχου is re-used verbally in Prodrōmos' poem on St Nicholas (see the notes on p. 212).

7. εἰναλινήχυτος: a well-wrought *hapax* coined with the combination of the words ἐνάλιος ('of the sea') and νήχυτος ('full-flowing') not recorded in any lexicon (not even in *LBG*).

8. ἐθoinίσατο: the scribes V and PZ read ἐθoinίσατο, but L offers ἐθoinήσατο. The latter reading is much better in terms of orthography (see *TLG*), but I have preferred to keep the former because it is faithful to the rules of prosody.¹⁰²⁵

14. ἀλιτρέφεια is quite rare, as it occurs once in *Quint. Smyrn., Posthom.* 3,272, as an epithet of a dolphin and five times in Nonnos (cf. *TLG*). Prodrōmos' poem, however, is not the only late testimony to this word, as it also occurs in *Eust. Thess., Comm. in Hom. Od.* I 175,29 as

¹⁰²³ HUNGER, *Literatur*, II, 61.

¹⁰²⁴ For example, in his works 'the unlearned, or The grammarian according to himself' (MIGLIORINI, Teodoro Prodrōmo 32 lines 97–98); 'The Plato-lover, or The Tanner' (MIGLIORINI, Teodoro Prodrōmo 69 line 75) 'Amarantos, or The erotic desire of an old man' (MIGLIORINI, Teodoro Prodrōmo 89 lines 297–298) and his Monody for Gregorios Kamateros; see *Prodr., Orat.* 36.240.55.

¹⁰²⁵ The same form is also attested in Michael Apostoles; cf. LEUTSCH – SCHNEIDEWIN, *Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum* II 506 (X no. 71).

an epithet of seals (φωκάων ἀλιτρεφέων). On the other hand, Θαλασσοπόρα occurs in *tetrast.* 205b3: οἱ τόδε λέμβος ἔθεσθε θαλασσοπόρον, καλίγομφον, at *AP* IX,376.2 as an epithet of a ship, and in various other texts (cf. *TLG*). However, as far as I know, this is the only place where the word is used as an epithet for the word ζῷον.

μὴ ... φονῆας echoes *Non.Dion.*5.443: πένθος ἔχων φιλότεκνον ἐμοὺς μὴ κτεῖνε φονῆας.

17. μήτηρ θ', ἢ μ' ἐλόχευσας cf. *AP.App.* II 522: Ἀγνή μὲν μήτηρ μ' ἐλοχεύσατο.

Commentary

(keywords: *ethopoiia*, didactic purpose, *R&D*)

The poem's *lemma*, which gives a succinct foretaste of the peculiarity of the theme, is, arguably, what attracts at once the attention of the reader. However, if one reads afresh the *lemma*, the word ὑποθετικοί also catches his/her attention. Save for the poem under consideration and the three Prodromic poems to follow (grouped under the number 161), no other poetic work in the corpus of Prodromos or in the poetic output of the Byzantines, at least as far as I know, contains this word in its *lemma*. Although impossible to determine whether it was shaped by Prodromos himself or added by a later lemmatist, it should be stressed that it is closely linked to titles introducing rhetorical exercises which employ the device of *ethopoiia*.¹⁰²⁶ It is, therefore, a variant form of a title which in our case would read as follows: Τίνας ἂν εἴπη λόγους ὁ ἄχειρ νεκρὸς ἐκβρασθεὶς τῆς θαλάσσης.

The *Ethopoiia* is one of the most instrumental features of Rodanthe and Dosicles, appearing at several instances in Prodromos' novel.¹⁰²⁷ What is more, it has gone unnoticed that the content of the present poem displays close ties with a passage from Prodromos' novel (VI 480-491). There, Dosikles, in a crescendo of sorrowfulness, laments the alleged death of his beloved Rhodanthe after a turbulent storm wrecked their ship. Dosikles envisages Rhodanthe's corpse as follows:¹⁰²⁸

ἐντὸς παρ' αὐτὸν σὺ μένεις τὸν πυθμένα,
ἢ πόντος ἐλθὼν νεκρὰν ἐξέβρασέ σε
καὶ σῶμα γυμνὸν ἐκτὸς ἐξέρριψέ σε,
καὶ τις παρελθὼν ἢ κατὰ ψάμμον μέσσην,
ἢ πρὸς τὸ χεῖλος τῆς θαλάσσης ἐμπλέων
ἀσυγκάλυπτον, ὦ θεοί, δέδορκέ σε;
Ἰχθὺς διεῖλον καὶ διεσπᾶσαντό σε,
ἢ κύμα τοῖς κάχληξιν ἐξέθρυψέ σε
καὶ ταῖς ὑφάλοις τῶν πετρῶν ἥραξέ σε;
πνέεις τι μικρὸν καὶ παρασπαίρεις ἔτι,
ἢ κῆτος ἀρτίπνικτον ἐρρόφησέ σε;

Do you remain within the deep itself, | Or has the ocean found you and tossed you aside, a corpse, | And thrown you out, a naked body? | And who either passing by along the sandy shore | Or sailing on the edge of the sea | Has seen you, O gods, unveiled? | Have fishes torn you apart and ravaged you | Or have the waves battered you with their pebbles | And dashed you onto submerged rocks? | Or are you breathing a little and still gasping, | or are you recently drowned and swallowed by a sea-monster?

¹⁰²⁶ On *Ethopoiia* see HAGEN, Ἠθοποιία and *Ethopoiia*; *ODB* II, 734–735; HUNGER, *Literatur*, I, 108–116. ROILLOS, *Amphoteroglossia* 61–65. For *Ethopoiia* in Hymnography see ZERVOUDAKI, *Hymnography in a Form of Rhetoric* 49–79.

¹⁰²⁷ JEFFREYS, *Four Byzantine Novels* 14.

¹⁰²⁸ Transl. in JEFFREYS, *Four Byzantine Novels* 110–111.

The above *threnos* of Dosikles must be viewed as a pathetic *ethopoiia*. Following Roilos' classification for the laments in the Komnenian novels, it should be grouped under the second type which includes laments 'for a dead person whose death, however, is not real but apparent, assumed, or anticipated'.¹⁰²⁹ In any case, it is interesting that Prodromos uses the same theme in two different places of his works. I think that it is not possible to determine whether Prodromos reverts to this theme consciously or not (even if the latter is the case, this does not annul its significance).

It is hardly surprising that Prodromos makes extensive use of the rhetorical device of *ethopoiia*. As is well known, its use culminates in Byzantine literature around the 1140's. Undoubtedly, special credit should be given to Nikephoros Basilakes, whose work brims with innumerable rhetorical exercises based exclusively on *ethopoiia*, yet all of them were penned in prose.¹⁰³⁰ In addition to Basilakes, many *schede* assume the form of an *ethopoiia*. Some of them are preserved in the yet unexplored invaluable source for twelfth-century *schedographia*, Vat. Pal. gr. 92. Indeed, most of them were produced by authors closely associated with Prodromos: a *schedos-ethopoiia* entitled 'τίνας ἂν εἴποι λόγους υἱὸς πρὸς τὸν αὐτοῦ πατέρα' is ascribed to the grammatikos monk Ioannikios.¹⁰³¹ A second one bearing the title 'τίνας ἂν εἴποι λόγους Πρίαμος ἐπὶ Ἑκτορι νεκρῷ προκειμένῳ' was written by his disciple Niketas Eugenianos,¹⁰³² while a third, under the title 'τίνας ἂν εἴποι λόγους Φοῖνιξ ὁ παιδαγωγὸς τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ', is a work of Nicholas Kallikles.¹⁰³³ Moreover, Prodromos' close friend, Michael Italikos, is the author of another *ethopoiia* (ποιῖους ἂν εἴποι λόγους ὁ ἅγιος Στέφανος ὁ πρωτόμαρτυς, παρὰ τοῦ νεωκόρου τοῖς Βενετικοῖς πωλούμενος).¹⁰³⁴

However, the subject of Prodromos' poetic *ethopoiia* is markedly different from that of the *ethopoiiae* mentioned above. Perhaps Prodromos' poem should be regarded in connection with Browning's view, according to which many twelfth-century *schede* written in verse correspond to actual events; thereby, the teachers/schoolmasters seek to capture and sustain the interest of their disciples.¹⁰³⁵ Many rhetorical exercises seem equally to follow this rule.¹⁰³⁶ Two comparable examples are the verse *ethopoiiae* from the Marcian Anthology.¹⁰³⁷

¹⁰²⁹ ROILLOS, *Amphoteroglossia* 83. However, the present lament is not treated by Roilos.

¹⁰³⁰ PIGNANI, *Niceforo Basilace* 139–232.

¹⁰³¹ VASSIS, *Τὸν νέων Φιλολόγων Παλαίσματα* 48.

¹⁰³² *Ibid.* 54.

¹⁰³³ *Ibid.* 54.

¹⁰³⁴ *Mich.Italic., Op.* 41. 235–236.

¹⁰³⁵ BROWNING, *Il codice Marciano Gr. XI.* 31 22.

¹⁰³⁶ HUNGER, *Literatur*, I, 114–116.

In a similar vein, I think it can be conjectured that Theodore invented this peculiar subject in order to arouse the interest of his students. The fact that it was composed in elegiac distichs and that he makes repeated use of many Homeric expressions is a further indicator that it belongs in his educational programme.¹⁰³⁸

¹⁰³⁷ “Ἡθοποιία τίνας ἄν εἴπῃ λόγους ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ κανικλείου ἀβλαβῆς διαφυλαχθεὶς” was produced in the late 1150’s for an event related to Theodore Styppaiotes’ son Manuel. On the poem see ΚΟΥΦΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, Δύο ἀνέκδοτα ποιήματα τοῦ Θεοδώρου Στυππειώτη 351–367. “Ἡθοποιία τίνας ἄν εἴπῃ λόγους ἡ σεβαστὴ κυρᾷ Εἰρήνῃ ἡ θυγάτηρ τῆς σεβαστῆς κυρᾷ Σοφίας τῆς τοῦ σεβαστοκράτορος περὶ τῶν εἰς αὐτὴν συμβεβηκότων”; See LAMBROS, Μαρκιανὸς κώδιξ 524, 146–152. An earlier example is a poem by John Geometres; see VAN OPSTALL, Jean Géomètre no. 80; see also VAN OPSTALL, Poésies, Rhétorique et mémoire littéraire chez Jean Géomètre 236.

¹⁰³⁸ For more annotations on this issue see note no. 699.

No. 21 (H 162)

Ὑποθετικοὶ εἰς Πausανίαν ἀπολιθωθέντα διὰ τὸν θάνατον τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ Πέτρου

I

Πέτρος ἔχω Πέτρον. Ἦρετο τίς τίνα; Οὐκ ἐπικεύσω
 υἱέα Πausανίου, ξεῖν', ἑκατοντάλιθος.
 Πausανίας δὲ πατήρ, τρίτος πέτρος, οὔνεκα Πέτρου,
 οὐ γὰρ ἔπαυσ' ἀνίην, υἱὲν ὑποστενάχων.

V f. 103^v L f. 100^v | Mi. 1415C–1416C Th. 183–184

tit. τοῦ αὐτοῦ (i. e. Θεοδώρου Προδρόμου) ὑποθετικοὶ εἰς Πausανίαν ἀπολιθωθέντα διὰ τὸν θάνατον τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ Πέτρου L : τοῦ αὐτοῦ (i. e. Θεοδώρου Προδρόμου) στίχοι ὑποθετικοὶ εἰς Πausανίαν ἀπολιθωθέντα διὰ τὸν θάνατον τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ Πέτρου V || 3 οὔνεκα L V || 4 ἀνίαν L || υἱὲν] υἱὸν Mi. | ὑποστεναχέων L

I

Hypothetical verses on Pausanias who was petrified due to the death of his son, Peter

I, the burial stone, contain Peter. Someone asked: who has hold of whom? O Stranger, I, the burial stone of one hundred stones, will not hide Pausanias' son! While [his] father, Pausanias, [becomes] a third stone due to Peter, for he did not put an end to his grief but sighs quietly for his son.

Notes on the text:

1. Πέτρος ἔχω Πέτρον: a very clever word play involving the proper noun Πέτρος and the substantive πέτρος.

Οὐκ ἐπικεύσω is a very common Homeric formula (e.g. *Il.* 3.332 or 5.816) used in the subsequent epic poetry (e.g. Apollonius of Rhodes, Gregory Nazianzus, and Eudocia Augusta), always at the end of the verse.¹⁰³⁹

2. ἑκατοντάλιθος: the *LBG* ['aus hundert (= vielen) Steinen bestehend'] records four occurrences (twice in *De ceremoniis*, along with that of Prodrornos), whilst the *TLG* has two more (*Patria Constantinopoleos* 644,20 and 647,2). It is tempting to think that Prodrornos had read treatises, such as the *De Ceremoniis* or the *Patria of Constantinople*.

4. ἔπαυσ' ἀνίην: this refined combination serves a twofold function. First, it functions as a reference to the given name Pausanias; and secondly, a reference to the meaning of the word παυσανίας 'allayer of sorrow' (cf. *LSJ*).

¹⁰³⁹ It is also used at the end of the verse in *carm.hist.* VI 149 and XXXVIII 23.

II

Εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ

- Ὅς Νιόβην πολὺδακρυν, ἀμειψαμένην ἐπὶ πέτρην
 φύσιος ἐκ μερόπων, λάϊνον οὐ δέχεται·
 πέτρην, τάνον δακρυχεύμονα μέγας αἰθέριος Ζεὺς,
 ἀθανάτῳ γλυφίδι στήσατο γλυψάμενος·
 5 δέρκεο Πausανίην πολυπενθέα, οὔνεκα παιδὸς
 πέτρον· ἀτὰρ πετρίνην δέχνησο καὶ Νιόβην.

V f. 103^v L f. 100^v | Mi. 1415C–1416C Th. 183–184

tit. εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ V L || 1 ὅς] ὡς L || 2 λάϊνον L || 3 πέτρην, τάνον δακρυχεύμονα μέγας αἰθέριος Ζεὺς, scripsi : πέτρην, τάνον, δακρυχεύμονα τάνον μέγας αἰθέριος Ζεὺς V Mi. Th. : πέτρην τὰν δακρυχεύμονα τὰν μέγας αἰθέριος Ζεὺς L || 5 πολυπονθέα L | οὔνεκα L V

II

On the same

Do not regard the much-weeping Niobe, whose human nature was turned into stone, as stony-hearted. The great ethereal Zeus, once carving the stone with [his] eternal chisel set up the tears-shedding gem. [5] Behold the much-mourning Pausanias [who was turned into] stone due to [his] son, but receive also the stony Niobe.

Notes on the text:

1. **Νιόβην πολὺδακρυν**: For Niobe as a paradigm of pain and lament in the novel of Eugenianos and other Byzantine texts see ROILLOS, *Amphoteroglossia* 72–73 (cf. also PAPAIOANNOU, *Byzantine Mirrors* 99–100 and JEFFREYS, *Four Byzantine Novels* 256, esp. note no. 290). The motif is also used in the second historical poem which is an oration of consolation directed to Irene Doukaina after the death of her son Sevastokrator Andronikos (cf. *carm.hist.* II 70). Prodromos maintains that Doukaina's grief surpassed that of Niobe (along with other well-known ancient examples, such as Iokaste and Hekabe).

3. **πέτρην ... Ζεὺς**: the scribe V reads: πέτρην, τάνον, δακρυχεύμονα τάνον μέγας αἰθέριος Ζεὺς. Nevertheless, the above-mentioned reading is incorrect because the repetition of the word τάνον not only makes no sense, but also violates the metrical structure of the verse owing to the surplus number of syllables. The scribe L attempts to settle this problem in the following way: πέτρην τὰν δακρυχεύμονα τὰν μέγας αἰθέριος Ζεὺς. Apparently not a highly

learned scribe, L wrote τὰν, for he thought that the extremely rare word τανὸν¹⁰⁴⁰ was but a mistake of the manuscript he was copying from (probably V?).

αἰθέριος Ζεύς: at the same metrical *sedes* at *Non.*, *Dion.* 18.263 and *Mus. Grammat.*, *Hero et Leander* 8.

5. **Παυσανίην πολυπενθέα:** cf. *carm.hist.* II 70: τίς Νιόβην πολυπενθέα καὶ οἰκτρὴν Ἰοκάστην.

¹⁰⁴⁰ A very rare word unattested before Prodrōmos. Thereafter, it recurs in the lengthy allegorical poem of Theodore Meliteniotes ‘On Temperance’ (v. 1182). It is interesting to note that the single manuscript transmitting the text (i.e. Par. gr. 1720) reads τάνην, but Dölger emendated it correctly into τάνον. DÖLGER, *Quellen und Vorbilder* 105. See also the more recent edition of the verses 1107–1247 in SCHÖNAUER, *Meliteniotes* 16. For a detailed description of the world τάνος see p. 144.

III

Εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ

- Πausanίην ἡ λύπη ἀπ’ ἀνέρος ἔκφανε πέτρον,
ἐς τόδε ἀνδρομέην φύσιν ἀμειψαμένη.
- Ἦ καὶ γηθοσύνη ἀπὸ πέτρου τέξεται ἄνδρα;
– Οὐ ξένε. Ῥαυτέρη φύσις ἔγεντο κακοῦ.

V f. 103^v L f. 100^v | Mi. 1415C–1416C Th. 183–184

tit. εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ V L || 2 ἀνδρομέαν L || 4 ἐγένετο L | κακοῦ] κεροῦ L

III

On the same

- Grief changed Pausanias from a human being to stone, by shifting human nature to this [stone].
- Can joy bring forth a man from a stone?
- No Stranger! It is easier to change nature for the worse.

Commentary

(keywords: *ethopoiia*, funerary epigrams, allegory, word-play)

The *lemma* signifies that these three short poems,¹⁰⁴¹ similar to the previous one, are *ethopoiiae*. Indeed, they enhance even more the peculiar nature of the *ethopoiiae* penned by Theodore: whereas the speaker in the previous poem was a corpse without hands tossed by the sea, the narrator here appears to be the burial stone where the corpse of Peter, the son of Pausanias, is laid. Apparently, they display features from two genres, that is, *ethopoiiae* and funerary epigrams. To put it more clearly, Prodrōmos composed three *ethopoiiae* by drawing inspiration from the ancient funerary epigram where the tombstone is very frequently personified and invites the wayfarer who can be a beholder or its potential violator.

In all three of them the speaker is the tombstone itself relating the story of Pausanias and Peter: in the first *ethopoiia* we are told that Pausanias was petrified after the demise of his son. In the second poem a comparison between Pausanias and the well-known paradigm of Niobe is drawn, while in the last the burial stone maintains that grief is to be blamed for Pausanias' petrification.

Although Prodrōmos wrote many tomb epigrams for the imperial family and other individuals, either aristocratic or ecclesiastical,¹⁰⁴² it should be stressed that these three epigrams do not fall into this group nor can they be considered as real tomb epigrams with an ethopoetic character. They must be viewed in concert with the previous poem and thereby be placed in Prodrōmos' teaching arsenal. Their didactic function is also indicated by a number of other features: the meter and the use of epic language; the reference to the story of Niobe; and the overt gnomic nature of the last two poems. Above all, Prodrōmos toys with the Greek words Πέτρος ('Peter'/'stone') and Πανσανίας ('Pausanias'/'allayer of sorrow'); these fictitious names constitute excellent figure of speech, especially designed for his students. Last but not least, these exemplary poems were in all probability meant to teach Prodrōmos' students the composition of tomb epigrams.

¹⁰⁴¹ In both manuscripts, they are presented as separate poems, for the last two poems bear the title 'εἰς τὸ αὐτό'. What is more, in manuscript V they bear different numbers (vδ–vε), while in both manuscripts the initial letter of each poem is emphatically larger, and there are separation marks at the end of each poem.

¹⁰⁴² See Hörandner nos. VII, XXII, XXV, XXVI, XXVIII, XXIX, XLVIII, LVIII, LXXXVI; cf. also VASSIS, Das Pantokratorkloster von Konstantinopel in der byzantinischen Dichtung 228ff.

Figures



Figure no. 1: Vatop. 1161 (16th cent.), fol. 323^v



Figure no. 2: Miscel. O.I.58 (15th cent.), fol. 48^v-52^r



Figure no. 3: Miscel. O.I.58 (15th cent.), fol. 48^v-52^r



Figure no. 4: Miscel. O.I.58 (15th cent.), fol. 48^v-52^r



Figure no. 5: Miscel. O.I.58 (15th cent.), fol. 48^v-52^r



Figure no. 6: Panagia Krina, Chios (18th century)

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ABSTRACT

Theodore Prodromos: The Neglected Poems and Epigrams (Edition, Translation and Commentary)

This thesis provides the first critical edition of a group of poems – conventionally designated as “the neglected poems and Epigrams” – by the most celebrated Komnenian poet, Theodore Prodromos, together with an introduction, translation and commentary. Therefore, its purpose is to present a reliable text of Prodromos’ particular poems and enhance our understanding of his poetic work.

The introductory part consists of four chapters. The first section of the first chapter outlines the current state of research in the field of the Prodromic studies and maps the scope of the present study. The second section is an attempt to examine the dual profession of Prodromos in Komnenian Constantinople as court poet and teacher and to lay emphasis on his latter, hitherto neglected, profession. Moreover, some new evidence and assumptions about Prodromos’ life and background are presented. The third section discusses the place of the “Neglected poems and epigrams” in Prodromos’ output and the potential multiplicity of functions possessed by them and other Prodromic works. The term “communicating vessels” is used in order to show the circulation of the Prodromic works in different settings (court – *theatra* – classroom).

Chapter two deals with the metrics of the “neglected poems and epigrams”. The first section discusses the outer metric of the dodecasyllabic poems. The second section contains an examination of the entire Prodromic corpus written in hexameters. It is argued that the vast production of so many hexametric poems on the part of Prodromos should be seen in conjunction with the popularity of the Homeric epics in the first half of the twelfth century. Thereupon, the verse patterns, the caesuras, and the accentuation before the caesura of the hexameters are analyzed. The third section deals with the prosody of the “neglected poems and epigrams”.

The first section of the third chapter comprises the description of the 83 manuscripts transmitting the poems under consideration. The second section investigates the most

important textual witness not only of these poems, but also of the entire Prodromic work, Vaticanus gr. 305. This manuscript was produced around 1280 and affords us with a precious glimpse into the readership of the Prodromic output in the early Palaeologan period. In addition, the codicology of the manuscript is described. The next section examines the transmission of the “Neglected poems and epigrams” from the thirteenth up to the nineteenth centuries. In the last section the relations between the manuscripts preserving the poems are discussed.

The last chapter of the introduction includes an inventory of all the previous edition of the poems. Furthermore, the principles of the edition, including the presentation of the texts, punctuation, spelling, word division and accentuation, are thoroughly presented.

The second part of the thesis includes the edition of the poems accompanied by an *apparatus codicum et editionum* and an *apparatus criticus*. Each poem is followed by an English translation and two commentaries. The first commentary (i.e. “Notes on the text”) examines issues of sources, language, meter, textual criticism, intertextuality, and motives. The second one offers a comprehensive literary analysis and places each work not only within the Prodromic output, but also in Byzantine poetry at large.

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Keywords: Theodore Prodromos, Byzantine poetry, Komnenian literature, rhetoric, metrics, codicology, textual criticism, intertextuality, reception.

ABSTRACT

Theodoros Prodromos: Die vernachlässigten Gedichte und Epigramme (Edition, Übersetzung und Kommentar)

Die vorliegende Dissertation stellt die erste kritische Edition einer Gruppe von Gedichten – gemeinhin als „Die vernachlässigten Gedichte und Epigramme“ bezeichnet – des bedeutendsten Autors der Komnenenzeit, Theodoros Prodromos, dar. Sie soll dabei einerseits eine zuverlässige Edition samt Einleitung, Übersetzung und Kommentar von ausgewählten Gedichten und Epigrammen des Prodromos bieten und andererseits das Verständnis seines poetischen Werkes erweitern.

Die Einleitung der Dissertation besteht aus vier Kapiteln. Der erste Abschnitt des ersten Kapitels behandelt die Entwicklung der Forschung zum Werk von Theodoros Prodromos und grenzt den Rahmen der Dissertation ab. Der zweite Abschnitt untersucht die zwei Berufe des Prodromos im komnenischen Konstantinopel, jenen des Hofdichters sowie jenen des Lehrers, und legt besonderes Augenmerk auf die letztgenannte, bisher vernachlässigte, Tätigkeit. Darüber hinaus werden neue Erkenntnisse zu Prodromos' Leben und Hintergrund vorgestellt. Im dritten Abschnitt werden der Kontext und die Vielzahl an Funktionen, welche die „vernachlässigten Gedichte und Epigramme“ sowie andere prodromische Gedichte innehaben, behandelt. Der Begriff „kommunizierende Gefäße“ beschreibt deutlich die vielfache Verwendung prodromischer Werke zu verschiedenen Anlässen (am Kaiserhof, in den so genannten *Theatra*, in der Schulklass).

Das zweite Kapitel beschäftigt sich mit den Versmaßen der „vernachlässigten Gedichte und Epigramme“. Der erste Abschnitt dieses Kapitels behandelt die in Zwölfsilbern verfassten Verse. Der zweite Abschnitt widmet sich der Untersuchung des gesamten Corpus der von Prodromos verfassten Hexameter. Insbesondere handelt es sich dabei um den Versuch, die Produktion zahlreicher hexametrischer Gedichte des Prodromos mit der Popularität der homerischen Epen in der ersten Hälfte des 12. Jahrhunderts in Verbindung zu bringen. Des Weiteren werden die Abfolge von Versfüßen, die Zäsuren sowie die Akzentuierung vor den Zäsuren untersucht. Der letzte Abschnitt beschäftigt sich mit der Prosodie der „vernachlässigten Gedichte und Epigramme“.

Das dritte Kapitel gibt Auskunft über die Gliederung der 83 Handschriften der Gedichte. Außerdem wird in diesem Kapitel die Handschrift „Vaticanus gr. 305“ als wichtigster „Zeuge“ des prodromischen Werkes umfassend untersucht. Darüber hinaus enthält das Kapitel eine kodikologische Untersuchung der Handschrift. Während sich ein Abschnitt des dritten Kapitels mit der Rezeption der genannten prodromischen Gedichte vom 13. bis 19. Jahrhundert beschäftigt, stellt ein anderer die Zusammenhänge zwischen den verschiedenen Handschriften, welche die Gedichte überliefern, dar.

Das vierte Kapitel enthält ein Inventar der früheren Editionen der „vernachlässigten Gedichte und Epigramme“, wobei der zweite Abschnitt die Editionsprinzipien, einschließlich der Präsentation des Textes, der Interpunktion, der Worttrennung, der Akzentuierung usw. behandelt.

Der zweite Teil der Dissertation umfasst die durch diese Dissertation neu erstellte Edition der Gedichte, die von einem „Apparatus codicum et editionum“ und einem „Apparatus criticus“ begleitet sind. Jedes Gedicht ist mit einer englischen Übersetzung und zwei Kommentaren versehen. Der erste Kommentar (i.e. "Notes on Text") untersucht Fragen zu Quellen, Sprache, Metrik, Textkritik, Intertextualität und Motiven. Der zweite Kommentar bietet eine umfassende Literaturanalyse und behandelt die ausgewählten Gedichte nicht nur in Hinblick auf das prodromische Œuvre, sondern auch auf die byzantinische Poesie im Allgemeinen.

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Schlagwörter: Theodoros Prodromos, byzantinische Dichtung, Komnenenliteratur, Rhetorik, Metrik und Prosodie, Kodikologie, Textkritik, Intertextualität, Rezeption.

Nikolaos Zagklas

RESEARCH INTERESTS

- The work of Theodore Prodromos
- Byzantine poetry
- Literature of Late Antiquity and Byzantium (especially of the Komnenian and early Palaeologan Period)
- Greek palaeography and textual criticism

ACADEMIC TRAINING

- **PhD in Byzantine Studies**
University of Vienna
Institute for Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies
October 2009 – present: PhD in Byzantine Studies
- **Master in Late Antique and Byzantine Studies**
University of Oxford, St John's College
Faculty of Modern History
September 2008
- **BA in Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies**
University of Patras, Greece
Faculty: Humanities and Social sciences, department of Greek Literature
October 2007
- **2nd lyceum of Patras**
June 2001

RESEARCH & TEACHING EXPERIENCE

- **Austrian Academy of Sciences, Institute for Medieval Studies, Division for Byzantine Studies**
Byzantine inscriptions in manuscripts
November – December 2013
- **Lecturer for Byzantine and Modern Greek studies**
Masaryk University – Brno (Czech Republic)
February 2012 – May 2012, September 2012 – December 2012
- **Humboldt University of Berlin**
Proof reading of the critical edition of Concilium Constantinopolitanum a. 691/2 in Trullo habitum (Concilium Quinisextum)/to be published in Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum ser. II 2,4; Berlin/New York 2013.
January – February 2013
- **Austrian Academy of Sciences, Institute for Medieval Studies, Division for Byzantine Studies**
Lexikon Zur Byzantinischen Gräzität
September – December 2011

FELLOWSHIPS, AWARDS, GRANTS

- **Greek State Scholarship Foundation (I.K.Y.)**
October 2011 – September 2014
- **Dumbarton Oaks (trustees of Harvard)**
Short term pre-Doctoral residency March 2014
- **Thomas College (an institution funded by the Catholic Church of Austria)**
Accommodation (January 2010 – September 2014)
- **Ministry of Research and Higher Education of the Republic of Poland within the scheme of the National Programme for the Development of Humanities**
Participation in the Grant ‘Transformations and Adaptations of Byzantine Heritage in Modern Europe 1500-2010’ (supervised by P. Marciniak/University of Silecia in Katowice)
October 2013
- **Borsa di studio per LI Settimana di Studio Cristianità d’Occidente e Cristianità d’Oriente (Spoleto, Italy)**
28/04–04/05 2011 – Scholarship awarded by Centro Italiano di Studi sull’Alto Medioevo, Spoleto
- **Summer School: ‘The Byzantine Palace’ (Drama, Greece) 05/07-13/07, 2010**
Awarded by the Center for Byzantine Studies, Neo-Hellenic and Southeast European of the *Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales* (EHESS-Paris CRH)

LECTURES, CONFERENCE PAPERS, WORKSHOPS, SEMINARS

- Speaker: International Workshop “Middle and Late Byzantine Poetry: Text and Context”, Austrian Academy of Sciences, Institute for Medieval Studies, Division for Byzantine Studies, Vienna (4 July, 2014) – title: Seeking the ‘Golden Chain’ between Text and Context: the case of the “Neglected Poems” of Theodore Prodromos.
- Invited Speaker: International Conference ‘La poesia tardoantica e medievale’, University of Macerata, Italy (3–5 December, 2013) – title: Theodore Prodromos: Reading, eulogizing, and imitating the poetic work of Gregory of Nazianzus.
- International Doctoral Workshop: Spiritual Guidance in Ninth-Century Byzantium: The Letters of Theodore the Studite to Eirene the Patrician, CEU Budapest (19–20 October, 2012 – English translation of the letters to be published).
- Invited speaker: Uppsala University, Byzantine seminar (27 Septemeber, 2012) – title: ‘Theodore Prodromos as a Poet: The Form and Function of Six Neglected Poems’
- Invited Speaker: Masaryk University/Brno, Czech Republic (25 November, 2011) – title: ‘Theodore Prodromos: a learned twelfth-century poet’ [in Greek]).
- *Literary Crossroads* (International conference on Classical and Byzantine literature) – Masaryk University/Brno, Czech Republic (19–22 September, 2010) – title: ‘A Byzantine Grammar attribute to Theodoros Prodromos’.

PUBLICATIONS

Books (forthcoming)

1. A Companion to Byzantine Poetry (with Wolfram Hörandner and Andreas Rhoby) (Brill/ to be published in 2015)

Published articles and papers

2. Zu einer möglichen Deutung von Πανιώτης (with Andreas Rhoby). *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 61 (2011) 71–77.
3. A Byzantine Grammar attributed to Theodoros Prodromos. *Graeco-Latina Brunensia* 16/1 (2011) 77–86.
4. Theodore Prodromos: A learned twelfth-century Poet. *Neograeca Bohemica* 11 (2011) 31–56 (in Greek/together with a Czech Translation).

Reviews

5. Joseph Busuttil – Stanley Fiorini – Horatio C.R. Vella, *Tristia ex Melitogaudio. Lament in Greek Verse of a XIIth-century Exile on Gozo*. Valetta: Best Print Co. Ltd 2010. *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 62 (2012) 294–297.

Entries in Dictionaries

M. Grünbart – A. Riehle (eds.), *Lexikon der byzantinischen Autoren* (in print): Ioannes Dukas, Ioannikios, Leon ho tou Megistou, Makarios Kaloreites, Manuel Straboromanos, Nikephoros Saponopulos, Petros Monachos, Theodore Phialites, Roger von Otranto, Stephanos Physopalamites, Theodore Prodromos (with Andreas Rhoby), Anonymous highbrow poetry (with Andreas Rhoby)

In Preparation

1. Chapter/case study: The 12th Century: From Nicholas Kallikles and Theodore Prodromos to Constantine Stilbes (for the Companion to Byzantine Poetry/ Eds. W. Hörandner–A. Rhoby–N. Zagklas/Brill/ to be published in 2015).
2. Chapter/case study: Satire in Byzantine Poetry (for the Companion to Byzantine Satire/ Eds. I. Nilsson and P. Marciniak/Brill to be published in 2016).

LANGUAGES

•	Classical and Byzantine Greek	Proficient
•	Latin	Intermediate
•	English	Proficient
•	French	Basic
•	German	Proficient
•	Italian	Basic
•	Modern Greek	Mother tongue

ORGANIZATION OF CONFERENCES AND SEMINARS

- Middle and Late Byzantine Poetry: Text and Context, Austrian Academy of Sciences, Institute for Medieval Studies, Division for Byzantine Studies, 4th July 2014 (together with Andreas Rhoby).