

# *Medioevo greco*

Rivista di storia e filologia bizantina

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*Direzione*: E. V. Maltese, A. M. Taragna

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Università degli studi di Torino  
Dip.to di Studi Umanistici  
via s. Ottavio, 20 – I-10124 Torino  
tel. +39 011 6703615 fax +39 011 6703631  
enrico.maltese@unito.it annamaria.taragna@unito.it

[www.medioevogreco.it](http://www.medioevogreco.it)

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via Rattazzi 47 – I-15121 Alessandria

tel. +39 0131 252349 fax +39 0131 257567

e-mail: edizionidellorso@libero.it

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In copertina: amanti in un giardino (Digenis Akritas e l'amazzone Maximò?). Piatto di ceramica, XII-XIII secolo. Corinto, Museo Archeologico.

## Tzane Koroneos, *Le gesta di Mercurio Bua*: aporie metriche e considerazioni ecdotiche\*

Nell'allestire il testo critico degli *Ἀνδραγαθήματα τοῦ Μερκουρίου Μπούα*,<sup>1</sup> poemetto in pentadecasillabi composto nel 1519 da Tzane Koroneos, non è raro imbattersi in anomalie metriche. Poiché il testimone taurinense (*codex unicus*) che tramanda l'opera è autografo,<sup>2</sup> è evidente che tali anomalie non possono essere addebitate a vicende della trasmissione manoscritta, e come tali essere assoggettate a interventi di normalizzazione.

\* Il presente lavoro rientra nell'ambito del progetto *Greek Books in Turin Libraries. Sources and Documents for a New Inquiry in the Classical Background of the Piedmont Elites, XV-XIX Century* (responsabile scientifico: E. V. Maltese) finanziato dalla Regione Piemonte e afferente alla Scuola di Dottorato in Studi Umanistici dell'Università degli Studi di Torino (dottorato in Culture Classiche e Moderne).

<sup>1</sup> Poema storico composto a Venezia nel 1519 da Tzane Koroneos di Zante, che espone le imprese del capitano di ventura e conte Mercurio Bua, celebre condottiero "stradiotto" che fu, tra gli altri, al servizio di Venezia, Francia, Milano, Sacro Romano Impero, guadagnandosi fama, riconoscimenti e titoli nobiliari. Per notizie sull'autore e sull'opera vd. P. Drandaki, *Μεγάλη ἑλληνική ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία*, XIV, Athine 1930, p. 942, s.v.; B. Knös, *L'histoire de la littérature néogrecque. La période jusqu'en 1821*, Uppsala 1962, p. 314; B. Merry, *Encyclopedia of Modern Greek Literature*, Westport 2004, p. 238; N. Pappas, *Stradiotti: Balkan Mercenaries in Fifteenth and Sixteenth Century Italy*, [http://www.shsu.edu/~his\\_ncp/Stradioti.html](http://www.shsu.edu/~his_ncp/Stradioti.html). Sulla biografia di Mercurio vd. H. J. Kissling, *Bua, Mercurio*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, IV, Roma 1972, pp. 747-748; G. Netto, *Per una biografia di Mercurio Bua, comandante degli stradiotti «veneti»*, «Archivio Veneto» s. 5, 140, 1993, pp. 95-110; D. Sant' Ambrogio, *Un disperso monumento pavese del 1522 nella chiesa di Santa Maria Maggiore di Treviso*, «Archivio Storico Lombardo» s. 3, 8, 1897, pp. 128-188. L'opera, dai toni enfaticamente encomiastici, consta complessivamente di 4403 (ai quali va aggiunto un verso caduto) pentadecasillabi a rima baciata ripartiti in 18 canti effettivi; altri 122 versi costituiscono l'epistola dedicatoria con la quale Koroneos porge il poema al destinatario celebrato. *L'editio princeps* del testo è stata curata da K. Sathas nel 1867 nella serie degli *Ἑλληνικὰ ἀνέκδοτα* (Τζάνε Κορωναίου Μπούα ἀνδραγαθήματα, Athine 1867) e ristampata anastaticamente nel 1982, con una nuova e ampia introduzione a c. di F. Mavroidi. Per ulteriori ragguagli bibliografici e per notizie sullo stato degli studi vd. A. Proiou, *Per un'edizione critica dell'opera: Τζάνε Κορωναίου, Μπούα ἀνδραγαθήματα*, «Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neellenici», n. s. 17-19, 1980-1982, pp. 273-281, e, ora, R. Angiolillo, *Tzane Koroneos, Le gesta di Mercurio Bua: verso una nuova edizione del testo*, in *Vestigia Notitiae. Scritti in memoria di Michelangelo Giusta*, a c. di E. Bona, C. Lévy, G. Magnaldi, Torino 2012, pp. 181-186.

<sup>2</sup> Taurinensis, Bibl. Regia, Var. 101. Si tratta di un esemplare di dedica, caratterizzato da un progredito livello di rifinitura e corredato di numerose miniature, di interesse soprattutto storico-araldico. Per la descrizione del codice vd. E. Mioni, *Catalogo di manoscritti greci esistenti nelle biblioteche italiane*, II, Roma 1964, p. 423.

Fenomeno frequente è quello di versi che si discostano dal numero di sillabe atteso, sia in difetto sia in eccesso. La familiarità con le consuetudini compositive, ortografiche e metriche dell'autore, complessivamente molto elastiche e, ovunque necessario e utile, molto artificiose, permette più di una volta di considerare la situazione anomala come il possibile prodotto di una trascrizione erronea (errore di autografo), che si può facilmente sanare con l'ausilio dell'*usus* interno; in altre circostanze, invece, non sembra possibile indicare una soluzione economica e rispettosa delle abitudini dell'autore ed è preferibile astenersi da proposte di carattere più radicale: l'applicazione di terapie congetturali d'urto è quanto mai sconsigliabile nella fattispecie del testo in questione, tanto più di fronte alla sua natura di autografo.

In linea con un atteggiamento ecdotico difensivo, nell'edizione in corso abbiamo deciso di conservare nel testo la lezione del Taurinense (T), anche quando sia metricamente problematica, riservando all'apparato la segnalazione delle anomalie e delle eventuali proposte di intervento, che intendono semplicemente fornire al lettore un riferimento "diagnostico" per valutare la ridotta gravità del problema in questione. Le soluzioni avanzate sono suggerite esclusivamente dalle peculiarità espressive e ortografiche del testo: i rimedi sono dunque conformi alle caratteristiche linguistiche del poema e del suo filone di appartenenza, all'epoca di composizione del testo, e poggiano sulle consuetudini grafiche, sull'*usus scribendi*, sulla frequenza di casi analoghi, su luoghi paralleli o passi accostabili per strutturazione, forma e contenuto (per via di clausole simili, o per il ricorrere di nessi formulari o episodi, o ancora per fatti grafici sovrapponibili). In particolare, si tiene conto dei peculiari meccanismi di composizione di Koroneos, che attingono largamente alle risorse incrociate dell'ortografia tradizionale e della pronuncia storica, con esiti di alternanza e contaminazione estremamente duttili ai fini della libertà versificatoria.

Per offrire un quadro della situazione complessiva e documentare in concreto la condotta ecdotica tenuta di fronte ad aporie metriche, proponiamo una scelta di esempi (dalla rassegna restano esclusi i pochi casi che si sottraggono all'applicazione di rimedi interni, e presuppongono dunque un'irregolarità più profonda: si tratti di un guasto vero e proprio prodotto dall'autore nelle operazioni di copia, o di versi ai quali Koroneos non è riuscito a dare forma definitiva, o di intenzionali licenze dell'autore). Il testo citato è quello costituito, che conserva la grafia trådita da T. Le zone metricamente "irregolari" sono in corsivo.

#### I 207-208

Καὶ μαζοχθῆκαν ἄρχοντες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιταις  
καὶ ἄλλοι στρατιώτιδες *διαλεκτοὶ Μακεδονίταις*

Il testo trådito è del tutto perspicuo e, quanto al senso, sostenibile, ma in 208 *διαλεκτοὶ Μακεδονίταις* fornisce otto sillabe in luogo delle sette attese. Un rimedio in sé accettabile sarebbe la sostituzione di *διαλεκτοὶ* con *κλεκτοὶ*: l'aggettivo *ἐκλεκτός* nel testo ricorre più volte con aferesi della vocale atona iniziale proprio per meglio adattarsi alle esigenze del verso politico (cfr. IV 26 ἄπαντας τὲ στὸν πόλεμον *κλεκτούς τε καὶ ἀξιούς*; XI 172; XVIII 89). Si tratta di un *lapsus calami* dell'autografo? Va considerato che l'aggettivo *διαλεκτός* in queste circostanze compare di frequente (cfr. per es. X 25; XI 61; XVI 405; XVIII 261).

## III 47-48

Λοιπὸν μετὰ τὸν θάνατον τοῦ ῥίγα ρὲ Ἀλφούλση,  
ὁ ρὲ Φαράντος πάποτε δὲν πόρε νὰ κούση

Il secondo emistichio di 48 presenta sei sillabe in luogo di sette. Per recuperare la sillaba mancante sarebbe sufficiente reintegrare la grafia completa del verbo, ripristinando l'etimo corretto (già il primo editore, Sathas, stampava direttamente nel testo νὰ ἀκούση). L'aplografia è probabilmente indotta dall'omofonia tra la vocale di νὰ e la vocale iniziale di ἀκούω, ragion per cui conserviamo la lezione fallosa, legittima nella dimensione orale (recitativa) del testo, tanto più che casi di aplografia analoghi e riconducibili all'interconnessione tra scrittura e pratica viva della lingua sono assai frequenti (cfr. per es. I 8, 124; IV 94; VI 38; XV 66; XVI 254). Un tratto quale quello documentato da questo caso, dunque, è da conservare in quanto peculiare.

## III 115-116

ἡ βασιλεία σου ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς θέλει ἰδεῖ καὶ μάθοι,  
κεῖ ὡτὼς ἐλπίζω στὸν Θεὸν νὰ κβῆς ἐκ τοῦτα τὰ πάθη

Il secondo emistichio di 116 è ipermetro. Conserviamo nel testo, come sempre, l'anomalía, ma in apparato avanziamo due proposte di intervento, considerando il comune ricorso all'afesi per la preposizione ἐκ o semplicemente riconducendo il fenomeno ad un fatto occasionale di mera dittografia: νὰ κβῆς ἔκ τοῦτα τὰ πάθη oppure νὰ κβῆς ἐκ τοῦτα {τὰ} πάθη. L'autore stesso, ricopiando il proprio testo, può notoriamente incorrere nei consueti errori di trascrizione che contraddistinguono il lavoro di qualunque copista.

## V 53-54

γιὰ νάνε πάντοτε ἐδραῖωμα καὶ στίλος  
στὰ πράγματά μου, ὡς εἰκός, κεῖς τοὺς ἐχθροὺς μου σκύλος

Il primo emistichio di 53 è carente di una sillaba, poiché nemmeno scandendo γιὰ come bisillabo (come occorre fare in più luoghi del poema: I 27, 78; VI 250; XIII 277) si realizzano le otto sillabe attese. In questo caso i problemi sono creati dall'agglomerato grafico νάνε, da intendersi come crasi per νὰ ἔνε / εἶναι, che comporta necessariamente il risparmio, non funzionale in questo caso, di una sillaba. Il rimedio più semplice e conforme al testo consiste nello scioglimento della grafia sintetica: γιὰ νὰ ἔνε πάντοτε. Si osservi allora come l'abitudinario ricorso alla crasi di Koroneos non garantisca un sistema infallibile: benché solitamente risponda con successo a esigenze di funzionalità metrica, talvolta causa la perdita di sillabe necessarie.

## VI 95-96

τὰ περὰ του δῆκβαλε καὶ κατεμάδισέ το,  
καὶ ἀπὸ ἑκεῖ ἐμίσεισε κέπηγε κῆθεσέ το

L'analogo problema del primo emistichio di 95 sarebbe nuovamente risolvibile con lo scioglimento della grafia sintetica, indotta ancora dall'identità fonica della vocale: con δὲ ἔκβαλε si ottengono le otto sillabe attese.

## VI 279-280

ἀλλὰ πάντες τότ' ὁμοῦ ἐκεῖ μέσα πνηγῆκαν,  
κεῖς τὸν βυθὸν τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὅλοι κάτω διαβῆκαν

Nel primo emistichio di 279 compaiono sette sillabe in luogo delle otto attese. Sarebbe sufficiente scrivere τότε ο, in alternativa, ipotizzare una forma ἄπαντες oscurata nella ri-

produzione scritta dalla coincidenza di pronuncia del suono /a/: ἀλλὰ (ᾶ)παντες (cfr. VII 150: ἀλλ' ἅπαντες κτλ.). In questo e in altri casi è lecito chiedersi come mai non sia stato applicato dall'autore un rimedio così semplice in un lavoro che si configura nel complesso come l'esito di una bella copia, un manufatto apparentemente dotato di un livello di rielaborazione tale da permetterne la consegna nelle mani del destinatario e/o committente. L'osservazione vale anche per la prima possibilità (il facile ripristino della grafia integra τότε; casi analoghi con possibile identica soluzione si leggono, per esempio, a VII 292 καὶ τότε ὁ κατάσκοπος ἐσύκωσε τὸ χαίρη, ove la grafia ἐσύκωσε sta per ἐσήκωσε e χαίρη per χέρι, e a IX 25 Τότε εἶς καρδενάλιος, ρητορικὸς καὶ γέρων, dove la metrica si "normalizza" impiegando la grafia completa τότε).

## VII 181-182

Εἶτα τοὺς ἄλλους κάλεσε ὅλους εἰς τὸ παλάτι,  
καὶ ἅπαντας εὐχαρίστησε κεῦθ' ὅσον λόγον ἀλλάττη

Il secondo emistichio di 182 presenta una sillaba in eccesso: espungere (in apparato!) l'articolo τόν?

## VII 229-230

καὶ μ' αὐτοὺς νὰ συμβιβασθῆ νὰ μὴν πολεμήσουν,  
ἀλλὰ τὸν δοῦκα μοναχὸν πάντες νὰ τὸν ἀφήσουν

La mancanza di una sillaba nel secondo emistichio di 230 sarebbe rimediata se in luogo della pur comune negazione μὴν considerassimo μηδέ / μηδέν (per il suo uso in Koroneos, cfr. e.g. VI 231 μηδὲ ἀποτρομάξης; VII 285 νὰ μηδὲν πολεμίσουν; XVIII 273 νὰ μηδὲν ὑποπεύση).

## VII 237-238

γιατὶ τοῦτ' ἔνε φυσικὸν τ' ἀνθρώπου κατέχε το,  
κεῖ ἂν ἄλλω τί εἶπῃ διώκε κει' ἀπεχέ τω

Il primo emistichio di 238 manca di una sillaba. Si può congetturare τί <τις> εἶπῃ («e se «qualcuno» sostiene il contrario etc.»), supponendo un'aplografia? Casi accostabili che inducono a supporre l'integrazione si rinvencono a XIII 194 (καὶ ἂν ἀπὸ φθόνον τις τὸ πῆ / ἐγὼ πολλὰ τὸν ἔθρευω) e a XV 5 (ἐάν τις σφάλῃ). (L'oscillazione nell'uso dell'accentazione, soprattutto in merito al regime delle enclitiche, è diffusa nel poema, anche in dipendenza da esigenze ritmiche).

## VII 287-288

Τοῦτο δ' ἐποίησασιν ὁμόγενοι διατ' ἦσαν,  
καὶ δοῦκαν τὸν ἐλεεινὸν μονότατον ἀφήσαν

Il primo emistichio di 287 presenta una sillaba in meno, agevolmente ripristinabile con la grafia δὲ ἐποίησασιν. Analogamente si può operare in VIII 401: Ἐπειτα δ' ἐμίσεισεν ἐκ τὸν τόπον τῆς Ῥώμης, κτλ.

## VII 345-346

ὅταν ὀμπρὸς ἀπέρασε, τὸν δίωχναν ἕξ ὀπίσω.  
Τότε εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐστράφηκε κείπεν· Οὐδὲν θέλω νὰ φήσω

Nel secondo emistichio di 346 le sillabe ridondanti sono addirittura due. Dal confronto con altri luoghi paralleli (VI 288; XVI 462, 518; XVIII 34) emerge la possibilità di leggere: κείπεν· Οὐ θε νὰ φήσω / θε ν' ἀφήσω.



## VIII 63-64

μετὰ μεγάλης δ' ἔπειτα σπουδῆς εἰς τὸν Φράτζα διέβη,  
 κείς τὸ παλάτη τοῦ ῥηγός, ὡς ἔπρεπεν, ἐσέβη

Il secondo emistichio di 63 consta di otto sillabe (consideriamo διέβη bisillabo) in luogo delle sette attese. In apparato segnaliamo due soluzioni consone agli usi ortografici di Koroneos testimoniati in T: σπουδῆς ἔς τὸν Φράτζα διέβη (con aferesi della preposizione) oppure σπουδῆς στὸν Φράτζα διέβη. La prima possibilità sfrutta le coincidenze di suono nella pronuncia, i cui meccanismi sono spesso piegati da Koroneos alle esigenze della versificazione: coincidono nella pronuncia, infatti, il fonema finale di σπουδῆς e la preposizione ἔς (← εἰς). La seconda soluzione è, a ben vedere, una mera variante grafica della prima (a margine segnaliamo la grafia Φράτζα come frequente in T in luogo di Φράντζα).

## VIII 377-378

ἴν᾿ ἄλθετ' ἐσεῖς νὰ μ' εὔρετε διὰ νὰ πολεμίζω,  
 ὅτι ἔνε μοι συνήθεια σὲ σὰς πρῶτα ν' ἀρμίζω

La ridondanza di una sillaba nel primo emistichio di 377 si può facilmente rimediare ricorrendo alla forma ν᾿ ἄλθετ': cfr., per es., ν᾿ ἄλθουν in VII 269 (διὰ è da scandire bisillabo; in 378 con ogni probabilità è da ritenersi erronea la grafia ἀρμίζω plausibilmente corretta da Sathas in ὀρμίζω, che torna a XIII 150).

## IX 53-54

Ῥήγα χριστιανικώτατε, θρόνε δικαιοσύνης,  
 ἀγαθῶν ἔργων μιμητά, φύλαξ τῆς χριστιανοσύνης

L'ennesimo caso di ipermetria (secondo emistichio di 54) può appianarsi se si espunge l'articolo τῆς, ricalcando la formula del verso precedente, θρόνε δικαιοσύνης.

## IX 77-78

Ἄκουσας δὲ τὰ λόγια του, εὐθύς ἐκεῖθεν ἐξεύη,  
 καὶ εἰς τὴν Ῥώμη διεύηκε, κείς τὸν πάπαν ἐσεύη

Il secondo emistichio di 77 è ipermetro. La possibilità di restaurare un settenario scrivendo εὐθύς κεῖθεν ἐξεύη (= ἐξέβη) è agevolmente offerta, poco oltre, dal verso 92: εὐθύς κεῖθεν μισεύη. Sathas invece opta per un altrettanto funzionale εὐθύς ἐκεῖθεν ἔξβη.

## IX 151-152

γονεῖς σας ἐτιμήσατε, ὁμοίως καὶ τὴν πατρίδα,  
 ὅτι πολλάκις εἰς πόλεμον ἐφάγετε καὶ ἀκρίδα

La sillaba di troppo nel primo emistichio di 152 può essere dovuta all'esito dittografico di un segmento invece regolare nell'esecuzione orale: ὅτι πολλάκ' εἰς πόλεμον ovvero ὅτι πολλάκις ἔς πόλεμον (cfr. *supra*, ad VIII 63-64 σπουδῆς εἰς).

## X 89-90

διὰτὶ με λογισμὸν ἦτονε τελείως νὰ τὸν σκοτώση,  
 καὶ εἰς τὴν γῆν τὴν κρυερὰν τότε νὰ τὸν ἐχώση

Per "regolarizzare" il primo emistichio di 89 è sufficiente adottare la grafia ἦτον, con eliminazione della pur usuale ε di appoggio, epitesi che tendenzialmente (altrove nel poema) concorre al raggiungimento delle sillabe necessarie, mentre nel verso in esame crea un eccesso sillabico. Nel poema l'uso dell'epitesi risponde per lo più a fini metrici, non eufonici: cfr. e.g. ἦτον νὰ (IX 180), ἦτον τόπος (XVI 520), etc.

## X 197-198

Ἦς οὖν οἱ λύκοι που καιρὸν πολλὰ εἶναι πεινασμένοι,  
 κτὴν ἀφαγίαν δὲ καὶ ἀ(πο)ποσίαν γίνονται ἴοχαμένοι  
 La rimozione della dittografia restaura l'ottonario occorrente.

## X 213-214

ἐκ τ' ἄλλο μέρος πόλεμον καὶ οἱ ἐχθροὶ πονοῦσαν,  
 κέκ τὴν λύπη ποῦχασι τὰ μαῦρα ἐφοροῦσαν  
 Il primo emistichio di 214 porge un ulteriore esempio di crasi non funzionale: la grafia ποῦχασι danneggia la struttura metrica, mentre basta adottare la grafia integra per recuperare le otto sillabe attese: κέκ τὴν λύπη που εἶχασι. Funzionale, ma più invasivo, l'intervento di Sathas: καὶ ἐκ τὴν λύπην ὁποῦ ἴχασι.

## XI 19-20

Λοιπὸν ἀφ' οὗ τὰ σύναξαν, στρατηγὸν πρῶτον ἐπήκαν  
 κόντε τὸν Πιτιλιάν καὶ ἐξουσιαστὴν ἀφήκαν  
 Per il secondo emistichio di 19 si prospetta la soluzione στρατηγὸν πρῶτον πῆκαν (in Koroneos l'assenza di aumento è frequentissima: cfr. e.g. IV 73; V 176, 187, 193; VI 117, 300, 313; VII 89; XIII 43, 223; XIV 11, 67; XVI 216; XVIII 111, 123, 159, 299). Nel primo emistichio di 20 è agevole restaurare il nome del personaggio menzionato, desumendolo da XI 38 Πιτιλιανός, e proporre pertanto κόντε τὸν Πιτιλιανόν.

## XI 163-164

Λοιπὸν ἐκεῖθεν μίσευσαν κ' εἰς τὴν Φιλάνδριαν πῆγαν,  
 ἀφ' οὗ δὲ τὸ μάθανον οἱ ἐχθροί, εὐθύς πάντες ἐφύγαν  
 Nel primo emistichio di 164 si torna all'ottonario atteso scrivendo ἀφ' οὗ δὲ τὸ μάθαν οἱ ἐχθροί: cfr. XVIII 215 (τὸ μάθαν).

## XI 183-184

Κ' εὐθύς δὲ τοῦ πακοῦσασι κείς τ' ἄρματα βρεθῆκαν,  
 ἅπαντες εἰς τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὡς λίοντες ὠρμηθῆκαν  
 Una possibilità di intervento per recuperare una sillaba nel primo emistichio di 184 è integrare ἅπαντες <δὲ> εἰς τοὺς ἐχθροὺς, sulla scorta di altri versi che presentano l'attacco ἅπαντες δέ (cfr. VII 166; IX 104).

## XI 209-210

Τότε εὐθύς τὸν ἐπίασεν ἐκ τὸ δεξιόν του χέρι,  
 κέμπρὸς εἰς ἅπαντας τὸν ἐπηκε ἄξιον καβαλιέρην  
 Per il primo emistichio di 210, che presenta addirittura due sillabe in eccesso, sulla base di analoghi interventi finora proposti si può ipotizzare, per es., κέμπρὸς ἔς ἅπαντας τὸν πεκε.

## XI 211-212

Μετέπειτα τὸν φίλησε καὶ βίον πολὺν χάρισε,  
 κ' ὕστερον κείθεν ἐξέβηκε, τὸν βασιλῆαν κί' ἀφήσε  
 La sillaba in eccesso nel primo emistichio di 212 potrebbe essere agevolmente eliminata con il ricorso alla grafia ξέβηκ-, attestata altrove proprio in funzione del metro (IX 45, 169; XII 21; XVI 123; XVIII 45).

## XII 11-12

Φουράτα πολλά σύναξε, πεζούς και καθαλαρίους,

ὡς Ἀχιλλῆαν και Ἴκτορα εἰς πόλεμον ὁμοίως

Il secondo emistichio di 11 può tornare alle sette sillabe attese espungendo και e optando per un asindeto che, in circostanze analoghe, viene spesso praticato da Koroneos: cfr. e.g. I 177 πανεύμορφος, πανέμνοστος, πανευγενής, ὠραῖος.

## XIII 1-2

Ἀφ' οὗ αἱ πόλεις ἅπασαι τὴν αὐθεντία ῥνηθεῖκαν,

κεῖς τὸν βασιλῆαν Μαξιμιανὸν τότε παραδοθήκαν

Anche considerando trisillabo (per sinizesi) βασιλῆαν il primo emistichio di 2 resta ipermetro di una sillaba. Al successivo v. 61 il testo stesso offre una possibile soluzione, che passa attraverso l'espunzione dell'articolo: κεῖς βασιλῆα.

## XIII 35-36

Εἶτα στὸ ἐπήφησαν, ἔποικαν τὴν στρατίαν,

ὡς γὰρ νὰ ποκτήσωσι αὐθις τὴν αὐθεντίαν

Nel primo emistichio di 35 la sillaba mancante è agevolmente recuperabile dall'esempio di attacchi analoghi (e.g. VI 125 ἔπειτα στὴν αὐθεντίαν): dunque, Ἔπειτα στὸ.

## XIII 177-178

Ἔπειτα δ' ἐσυνάχθησαν και εἰς Φέλτρη πῆγαν,

οἱ δὲ ἐχθροὶ ἀπὸ μακρὰ ἀφ' οὗ τοὺς εἶδαν φύγαν

Nel secondo emistichio di 177 la sillaba mancante può essere compensata scrivendo και εἰς τὸ Φέλτρη πῆγαν: cfr. XIII 159 ἔως τὸ Φέλτρη μέσα.

## XV 3-4

ἂν τρίτον τοῦ πιστευθῆς σ' αὐτὸ τὸ ἴδιον πρᾶγμα,

πολλὰ ὑπάρχεις ἄγνωστος και οὐδὲν γινώσκεις γράμμα

Nel primo emistichio di 3 Sathas legge ἐμπιστευθῆς, recuperando la sillaba mancante. La soluzione è in linea con l'uso di Koroneos, che in queste circostanze impiega sia πιστεύω sia ἐμπιστεύω (III 16; IX 150; XIII 108, 284).

## XV 89-90

Δώδεκα μήλια τοὺς ἐδίωξε, κέπιασεν ἔξε κάβους,

και ὀγδοήκοντ' ἄλογα, και ἄλλους πολλοὺς σκλάβους

La ridondanza di una sillaba nel primo emistichio di 89 può essere evitata scrivendo δίωξε (da considerare bisillabo, nonostante la grafia scolastica, come avviene a VII 112 δίωχνε). Per queste forme senza aumento, cfr. e.g. VII 345 δίωχναν, X 175 διώξαις (= διώξεις).

## XV 103-104

Κεῖ ὁ μέγας δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπ' ἐκεῖθεν τε μισεύη,

και μ' ὄλον τὸ στρατόπεδον εἰς τὴν Βερόνα διεύη

La sillaba in eccesso nel secondo emistichio di 103 suggerisce di scrivere ἀπ' ἐκεῖθεν μισεύη. In effetti τε non è indispensabile al senso, e nel poema non ricorre mai in sequenze analoghe. Per il segmento che ne risulta, cfr. e.g. ἀπ' ἐκεῖθε ἐξεύη (= ἐξέβη) a XIV 54, etc.

## XVI 233-234

Μὲ περισσὴν δ' αὐτοὶ μανίαν πάντες στὰ Μέστρ' ὠρμήσαν,  
τὴν δὲ χῶραν ἐκάουσαν καὶ πολλὴν βλάβην ἐπῆκαν

Nel secondo emistichio di 234 la sillaba in eccesso può essere eliminata leggendo πῆκαν (cfr. e.g. XIII 43; XIV 67).

## XVI 427-428

Ἔσω δ' εἰς τὴν Πάδουβαν ὁμοῦ τότ' ἐδιαβῆκαν,  
ἐρχόμενοι δὲ ἅπαντες πολλὴν χαρὰν ἐπῆκαν

Nel primo emistichio di 427 l'ottonario atteso si ottiene adottando (con Sathas) la grafia piena Ἔσω δὲ εἰς.

## XVI 461-462

Αὐθέντης δ' ὁ Μερκούριος εἶπ' ᾧ καπετάνο,  
ἐγὼ στὴν χρεῖαν πάποτε καιρὸν δὲν θὲ να χάνω

Reintegrando la grafia completa εἶπεν – grafia che Koroneos predilige per introdurre un discorso diretto, mentre la forma elisa è molto meno impiegata (cfr. XVI 387) – si riottengono le sette sillabe attese nel secondo emistichio di 461. Cfr. appunto, nella medesima posizione metrica, VIII 143 εἶπεν ᾧ καπετάνοι.

## XVII 71-72

Ἐπειτα δὲ βοήθεια πολλ' ἦλθ' εἰς Βιτζάρους,  
κεῖθὺς ὁ καπετάνιος τῶν μετὰ μεγάλου θάρρους

Il secondo emistichio di 71 ritrova la sillaba mancante se si opta per la grafia integra in una o nell'altra evenienza: πολλὴ ἦλθ' εἰς Βιτζάρους / πολλ' ἦλθεν εἰς Βιτζάρους.

## XVII 87-88

Τὸν δὲ πόλεμον ὀποῦκαμναν ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν,  
εἰς τὸν Σινίωρ Μπαρτολομεῖον τὰ μαντάτα ἐφέραν

Nel primo emistichio di 87 si giunge alle otto sillabe attese leggendo ποῦκαμναν (= που ἔκαμναν). L'oscillazione di Koroneos nella grafia που / ποῦ e ὄπου / (meno frequente) ὀποῦ legittima la possibilità.

## XVII 143-144

Ὁ ρήγας δὲ μετ' ἔπειτα μὲ τὴν πολλὴν παρρησίαν  
εἰς τὴν Μηλᾶνα διέβηκε μὲ περισσὴν ἀξίαν

Per un possibile rimedio all'eccesso di una sillaba nel secondo emistichio di 143 il confronto interno suggerisce l'eliminazione dell'articolo: cfr., nel medesimo canto, v. 133 μὲ πολλὴν προθυμίαν e v. 144 μὲ περισσὴν ἀξίαν.

## XVIII 3-4

Ὁ ρὲ ντὲ Φράντζας δὲ ἀφ' οὔ πεῖρε τὴν Μηλᾶνα  
μετὴν φεντία τῶν Βενετιῶν, κατὰ σταμὸν ποῦ βᾶνα

Per rimediare l'assenza di una sillaba nel secondo emistichio di 3, in apparato è sufficiente proporre la grafia ἐπεῖρε (cfr. e.g. l'imperfetto ἐπέρνε, ovvero ἐπαίρνε, a XIV 1, ἐπεῖρε a VIII 342; X 3; XVIII 245).

## XVIII 159-160

Βλέποντες τότε οἱ ἐχθροὶ ἀφανισμὸν ποῦ πῆκε

μόνος μετοῦς στρατιώτας του, καὶ ποσῶς οὐδὲν ἀφήκε

Il secondo emistichio di 160 è ipermetro. Alle sette sillabe attese si torna agevolmente, per es., ipotizzando una dittografia, e scrivendo, sulla scorta dell'*usus* di Koroneos, καὶ πῶς οὐδὲν ἀφήκε.

#### XVIII 175-176

Εἰ δέ τινας ἀπὸ ἐσᾶς θελήσει νὰ μ' ἀφήσει,  
ἤξεύρετε τὸ κοντάρη μου τὸ αἶμα του νὰ χύσει.

Nel primo emistichio di 176 si può leggere, secondo la diffusa grafia alternativa (poi standardizzata nel greco moderno), ξεύρετε.

Gli esempi raccolti inducono a nutrire seri dubbi sull'effettivo grado di rifinitura del testo documentato in T: nonostante il manoscritto si presenti come un esemplare di dedica, sono ancora molti i casi in cui, come abbiamo visto, una rilettura dell'autore avrebbe permesso di sanare immediatamente una serie di lievi difetti strutturali. Il fatto che tali difetti siano distribuiti in maniera ineguale all'interno del poema – per es., la concentrazione è marcatamente più densa nei canti VII e XVIII, e nel *πιττάκιον* finale – può far pensare anche a un livello di finitezza o revisione differente.

Che questa sia l'effettiva situazione di fronte alla quale ci troviamo, o che si debba invece pensare a uno statuto compositivo intrinsecamente imperfetto (per scarsa vigilanza o sensibilità; per insufficienza o imperizia tecnica; per volontaria catacresi o licenza poetica; per tutte queste e altre ragioni insieme), resta il fatto che sotto i nostri occhi abbiamo un documento “vivo” della magmatica fase culturale e storico-linguistica del greco: una fase in cui cogliamo in pieno svolgimento il decorso dalle antiche strutture canoniche e scolastiche conservate per secoli alle “nuove” strutture demotiche e moderne (anch'esse in gestazione più o meno occulta da lunga data), e il carattere ibrido e combinatorio di numerosi tratti adottati; nonché, ancora, la contaminazione tra usi grafici che riflettono la norma della *scrittura* e usi grafici che riproducono la realtà *aurale* della pronuncia e della recitazione. Sono altrettanti incentivi a non privare lettori e specialisti della realtà storica rappresentata da questo testo nel suo manufatto d'autore, e a proporre dunque un'edizione rispettosamente conservativa, aliena da tentazioni normalizzanti e pretese di coerenza che l'autore non mostra di aver nutrito.

Roberta Angiolillo



## Les listes antilatines à Byzance aux XIV<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècles\*

Le conflit religieux entre Byzantins et Latins revêt des formes d'expression variées durant la période médiévale. Les questions doctrinales peuvent être abordées dans le cadre de rencontres mettant aux prises des théologiens des deux bords : ces discussions, qui culminent avec le concile de Florence en 1438-1439, suscitent du côté orthodoxe une floraison de réfutations de la doctrine latine. Parallèlement à ces échanges interconfessionnels, une abondante littérature de polémique antilatine se développe à Byzance, à destination cette fois d'un public orthodoxe : les nombreux traités rédigés contre les azymes ou contre le *Filioque* sont là pour en témoigner. Il existe enfin un autre type d'écrits polémiques, moins élaborés, que sont les listes d'erreurs des Latins.

Ce type d'écrits a longtemps été négligé, car il apparaît au premier abord comme de peu d'intérêt : les listes énumèrent les points reprochés aux Latins, parfois de façon très sommaire, sans argumentation ni réfutation de l'erreur dénoncée. Elles procèdent par accumulation, allant de quelques griefs dans les premières listes connues jusqu'à soixante-quinze accusations dans une liste du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle rédigée par Constantin Stilbès. Certaines de ces listes circulent isolément, tandis que d'autres sont incluses dans des traités ou des lettres : elles constituent à chaque fois une sorte de récapitulatif des croyances et pratiques répréhensibles imputées aux Latins.

Les listes de la période médiobyzantine ont récemment fait l'objet d'une étude globale systématique et éclairante, qui démontre que ces sources sont susceptibles de fournir des éléments nouveaux d'interprétation tant pour l'analyse du conflit entre Byzantins et Latins que pour l'étude de la religiosité orthodoxe elle-même.<sup>1</sup> L'étude de T. Kolbaba s'arrête à la fin du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, certainement parce que

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<sup>1</sup> Voir T. Kolbaba, *The Byzantine lists. Errors of the Latins*, Urbana (Ill.) 2000 [cité désormais Kolbaba, *Lists*]. Cet ouvrage est fondamental sur le sujet, et la présente étude se fonde sur les résultats obtenus par T. Kolbaba pour la période précédente.

l'échantillon de textes ainsi rassemblés était déjà très riche, peut-être aussi parce que les listes datant des XIV<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècles n'avaient pas été répertoriées.<sup>2</sup> Il en existe pourtant au moins trois, que je présenterai ci-après : la première est due à Matthieu Blastarès, la deuxième à Matthieu Ange Panarétos et la troisième à Syméon de Thessalonique. J'observerai leur contenu par comparaison avec les analyses conduites par T. Kolbaba pour la période antérieure et je m'emploierai à repérer et à interpréter les évolutions en cours à la fin du Moyen-Âge. Si beaucoup de griefs sont communs aux listes médiobyzantines et à celles que j'étudie, certains points nouveaux apparaissent aux XIV<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècles, et la formulation de ces « erreurs latines » tend aussi à se modifier.

### Présentation des listes étudiées

La première liste figure dans un traité de Matthieu Blastarès contre les Latins. Moine à Thessalonique dans la première moitié du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle,<sup>3</sup> Matthieu Blastarès est surtout connu pour son œuvre juridique, puisqu'il est l'auteur en 1335 du *Syntagma*, un manuel de droit composé sous forme alphabétique qui réunit les prescriptions tirées du droit canon orthodoxe et la législation du droit civil.<sup>4</sup> Cet ouvrage laisse déjà transparaître une certaine hostilité à l'égard des Latins, perceptible dans des articles comme celui qui interdit la fréquentation des juifs et étend cette condamnation à la consommation des azymes par les Latins, ainsi accusés de pratique judaïsante.<sup>5</sup> De fait, Blastarès est aussi l'auteur de plusieurs écrits antilatins, notamment une lettre sur le *Filioque* adressée à Gui de Lusignan au tout début des années 1340,<sup>6</sup> et surtout un traité *Contre les Latins*, composé avant 1342, qui demeure son œuvre la plus complète en matière de polémique antilatine. Ce dernier traité n'est publié que très partiellement dans une édition non critique, celle de Dosithée de Jérusalem.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Outre l'ouvrage précédent, voir aussi l'inventaire des listes dressé par A. Argyriou, *Remarques sur quelques listes grecques énumérant les hérésies latines*, « Byzantinische Forschungen » 4, 1972, pp. 9-30. Seul J. Darrouzès mentionne une liste tardive, celle de Matthieu Blastarès, mais il la qualifie d'inédite (voir J. Darrouzès, *Le mémoire de Constantin Stilbès contre les Latins*, « Revue des Études Byzantines » 21, 1963, pp. 50-100 : 100), alors qu'elle est éditée par Dosithée de Jérusalem : voir *infra* n. 8.

<sup>3</sup> Voir *PLP*, nr. 2808 ; A. P. Kazhdan, *Blastares, Matthew*, in *ODB*, I, 1991, p. 295. Voir aussi P. B. Paschos, *Ὁ Ματθαῖος Βλάσταρης καὶ τὸ ὑμνογραφικὸν ἔργον του*, Thessaloniki 1978.

<sup>4</sup> Voir Matthieu Blastarès, *Σύνταγμα κατὰ στοιχείων*, in *Σύνταγμα τῶν θεῶν καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων*, VI, éd. G. A. Rhallès et M. Potlès, Athina 1859. À propos de ce traité, voir récemment D.-I. Mureşan, *De la place du Syntagma de Matthieu Blastarès dans le Méga Nomimon du Patriarcat de Constantinople*, in *Le Patriarcat œcuménique de Constantinople aux XIV<sup>e</sup>-XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles : rupture et continuité, actes du colloque international, Rome 5-6-7 décembre 2005*, Paris 2007, pp. 429-469 ; P. Viscuso, *Sexuality, marriage, and celibacy in Byzantine law : selections from a fourteenth-century encyclopedia of canon law and theology : the "Alphabetical collection" of Matthew Blastares*, Brookline (Mass.) 2008.

<sup>5</sup> Voir Matthieu Blastarès, *Σύνταγμα κατὰ στοιχείων*, cit., pp. 308-309.

<sup>6</sup> Voir Paschos, *Ματθαῖος Βλάσταρης*, cit., pp. 95-99.

<sup>7</sup> Voir Dosithée de Jérusalem, *Τόμος καταλλαγῆς*, Iaşi 1692, pp. 439-441 et 441-447. Selon P. B.



Le début du passage attribué par Dosithée à Matthieu Blastarès se présente comme une liste de griefs antilatins qui comprend 9 points.<sup>8</sup> Dans la mesure où cette liste est incluse dans un traité et vient très clairement compléter des reproches exprimés auparavant à l'encontre des Latins,<sup>9</sup> il m'a paru nécessaire de prendre connaissance de l'ensemble du texte. Comme il est inédit, j'ai consulté à l'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes le microfilm d'un manuscrit contenant ce traité, l'Oxoniensis Bodl. Arch. Seld. B. 49.<sup>10</sup> Ce témoin du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle ne contient que des œuvres de Matthieu Blastarès ; le traité *Contre les Latins* se trouve aux ff. 54<sup>r</sup>-99<sup>v</sup>. Le passage édité par Dosithée commence au f. 85<sup>r</sup>, la liste qui nous intéresse occupant les ff. 85<sup>r</sup>-87<sup>v</sup>, ce qui correspond aux pp. 441-444 de l'édition : une confrontation entre l'Oxoniensis Bodl. Arch. Seld. B. 49 et le texte imprimé m'a permis de constater que l'édition de Dosithée est très fidèle au manuscrit et intégrale pour ce bref passage. Les points traités par Blastarès dans la partie antérieure du traité ne sont qu'au nombre de deux : sont invoqués contre les Latins leur mauvaise doctrine de la procession de l'Esprit (ff. 54<sup>r</sup>-73<sup>v</sup>) et leur usage répréhensible des azymes pour la communion (ff. 73<sup>v</sup>-85<sup>r</sup>). Ces deux chefs d'accusation doivent donc être ajoutés à la liste qui sera commentée ci-après et comprend donc 11 points au total (voir Annexe I).

Le second auteur responsable d'une liste antilatine est Matthieu Ange Panarétos, dont on sait très peu de choses.<sup>11</sup> Ce personnage vivait à Constantinople au milieu du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle et a rédigé dans les années 1350-1360 une abondante œuvre antilatine, notamment des réfutations de Thomas d'Aquin ; en dehors de ces écrits polé-

Paschos, il ne s'agirait pas d'un seul traité contre les Latins, mais de quatre traités, l'un sur le *Filioque*, le deuxième sur les azymes, le troisième sur la Cène – c'est dans celui-là que prendrait place notre liste – et le dernier sur le nombre des Pères qui ont participé aux conciles. Cependant P. B. Paschos signale la disposition continue de ces œuvres dans la plupart des manuscrits et indique que cet ensemble a peut-être été conçu initialement comme une œuvre unitaire, ce qui semble en effet très probable : voir Paschos, *Ματθαῖος Βλάσταρης*, cit., pp. 87-95, en particulier p. 88.

<sup>8</sup> Voir Dosithée de Jérusalem, *Τόμος καταλλαγῆς*, cit., pp. 441-444 [liste désormais citée Blastarès].

<sup>9</sup> Le début du passage édité par Dosithée (Blastarès, p. 441) commence par ces termes : ἀλλά γε τοῖς εἰρημένοις αὐτῶν νεανιεύμασιν, οὕτως ἐπ' ἔσχατα δυσσεβείας ἰουσι, καὶ ἕτερα προσθετέον ἅπτα.

<sup>10</sup> Voir H. Coxe, *Catalogi codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae pars prima recensio-nem codicum Graecorum continens*, Oxford 1853, col. 606. Dans le catalogue, ce manuscrit de la collection de John Selden porte le numéro 44.

<sup>11</sup> La principale étude sur la vie de Panarétos est la suivante : P. Risso, *Matteo Angelo Panareto e cinque suoi opuscoli*, « Roma e l'Oriente » 8, 1914, pp. 91-105, 162-179, 231-237 et 274-290. Ces informations ont été reprises par V. Laurent, *Panarétos, Matthieu Ange*, in *DTC*, XI, 1932, coll. 1841-1849 ; C. Buda, *Influsso del tomismo a Bisanzio nel secolo XIV*, « Byzantinische Zeitschrift » 49, 1956, pp. 318-331 ; *PLP*, nr. 21649. Voir aussi M.-H. Blanchet, *Éliminer Thomas d'Aquin : le projet antithomiste de Matthieu Ange Panarétos*, in *Knotenpunkt Byzanz : Wissensformen und kulturelle Wechselbeziehungen*, 37. *Kölner Mediävistentagung*, à paraître dans la série *Miscellanea Mediaevalia*.

miques, aucun autre texte ne lui est attribué. La liste qui sera examinée ici se place, de même que la précédente, dans la continuité d'un opuscule contre le *Filioque* qu'elle vient compléter.<sup>12</sup> Cette liste a été éditée par P. Risso à partir de trois manuscrits, le Marcianus gr. Cl. II, 108, le Marcianus gr. 153 et le Vindobonensis theol. gr. 102. Elle comporte 24 points de longueur très variable, qui occupent tantôt une seule ligne, tantôt plusieurs pages (voir Annexe II).

La troisième liste est due à Syméon de Thessalonique, d'abord moine dans le monastère des Xanthopouloi à Constantinople au début du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle, puis métropolitain de Thessalonique de 1416/1417 à 1429, date de sa mort.<sup>13</sup> La liste antilatine de Syméon est incluse dans l'une de ses principales œuvres polémiques, le *Dialogue contre les hérésies*.<sup>14</sup> Ce dialogue met en scène un simple clerc et un dignitaire ecclésiastique. À la question du clerc à propos des hérésies postérieures au septième concile œcuménique, Syméon répond en exposant les innovations latines. Il dresse donc une liste des erreurs des Latins qui se trouve incorporée au traité lui-même ; de nombreux points sont à nouveau abordés plus loin, par exemple la fornication,<sup>15</sup> tandis que d'autres apparaissent dans le traité alors qu'ils sont absents de la liste, par exemple le purgatoire.<sup>16</sup> La liste n'est donc pas autonome, elle constitue un résumé de l'essentiel des griefs contre les Latins, mais ne vise pas à l'exhaustivité (voir Annexe III).

Ces trois auteurs sont des lettrés connus pour leur hostilité aux Latins. On reviendra dans un second temps sur la nature de ces trois listes, nullement anonymes et plutôt plus développées dans leur argumentation que la plupart des listes médiobyzantines. Je me propose pour commencer d'en examiner le contenu.

<sup>12</sup> Voir P. Risso, *Matteo Angelo Panareto e cinque suoi opuscoli*, « Roma e l'Oriente » 9, 1915, pp. 117-120 (opuscule sur les absurdités des Latins à propos de la procession de l'Esprit), pp. 202-206 (liste antilatine) ; 10, 1915, pp. 63-77 (fin de la liste antilatine) (liste désormais citée Panaréto). Sur l'enchaînement des deux opuscules dans l'ensemble de la tradition manuscrite, voir P. Risso, *Matteo Angelo Panareto e cinque suoi opuscoli*, « Roma e l'Oriente » 8, 1914, p. 177. Ici, le titre lui-même indique que la liste complète un autre écrit antilatine : « du même, au sujet des autres absurdités des Latins de mauvaise doctrine, lesquelles sont au nombre de 24 » (τοῦ αὐτοῦ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀποπημάτων τῶν κακοδόξων Λατίνων κδ' ὄντων, Panaréto, p. 202).

<sup>13</sup> Sur Syméon de Thessalonique, voir *PLP*, nr. 27057 ; D. Balfour (éd.), *Politico-historical works of Symeon, archbishop of Thessalonica (1416/17 to 1429)*, Wien 1979 ; M.-H. Congourdeau, *Syméon de Thessalonique*, in *DSAM*, XIV, 1988, coll. 1401-1407.

<sup>14</sup> Voir *PG CLV*, coll. 33-176 ; la liste se trouve en *PG CLV*, coll. 101A-108D (désormais citée Syméon). Pour une première présentation de la position de Syméon à l'égard des Latins, voir P. Ioannidès, *Η θεώρηση του αγίου Συμεών Θεσσαλονίκης († 1429) για τη λατινική Εκκλησία και τους Βενετούς*, « Επιστημονική Επετηρίδα Θεολογικής Σχολής, Νέα Σειρά, Τμήμα Θεολογίας » 13, 2003, pp. 67-74.

<sup>15</sup> Voir *PG CLV*, col. 109B-D.

<sup>16</sup> Voir *ibid.*, col. 117A-B.

## Analyse du contenu des listes

### 1. Les points communs avec les listes antérieures

La majorité des « erreurs » dénoncées par ces trois listes réitère des arguments avancés déjà depuis longtemps contre les Latins. Mais il faut tout de suite préciser que l'importance conférée à tel ou tel reproche varie avec le temps, de sorte que la hiérarchie des griefs tend à se modifier. On notera pour l'instant seulement leur présence ou leur absence dans les listes tardives, sans prendre en compte la place où ils se trouvent, ni la manière dont ils sont présentés et éventuellement réfutés. On mentionnera aussi la disparition de certaines accusations, sachant cependant que l'échantillon proposé ici est réduit et qu'il n'est guère possible de tirer des conclusions générales *a silentio*.

Les listes étudiées par T. Kolbaba sont au nombre de treize, et le nombre total de griefs recensés par elle se monte à 79.<sup>17</sup> Si certains points apparaissent de manière récurrente dans tous ou presque tous ces catalogues d'erreurs, beaucoup d'entre eux à l'inverse sont très rares : à titre d'exemple, 26 points ne figurent que dans la liste de Constantin Stilbès.<sup>18</sup> Dans les trois listes tardives étudiées ici, 34 accusations sont émises contre les Latins, à savoir 11 chez Blastarès, 24 chez Panarétos et 18 chez Syméon, en ne comptabilisant dans ce décompte chaque argument qu'une seule fois, même s'il revient à plusieurs reprises avec des formulations différentes.<sup>19</sup> Sur ces 34 points, 26 sont communs aux listes anciennes et nouvelles, et 8 apparaissent avec les listes des XIV<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècles.<sup>20</sup> Ces textes tardifs proposent donc un nombre limité de griefs, bien loin de la profusion de ceux déjà émis auparavant, tandis qu'ils comportent une proportion assez importante de nouveautés, 8 sur 34 c'est-à-dire presque un quart. Ces innovations dans la critique antilatine ne sont dues qu'à Panarétos et Syméon de Thessalonique, ce qui confère à leurs listes respectives une évidente originalité sur laquelle on reviendra. Examinons pour commencer les griefs de l'ensemble des trois listes et le tri effectué par les auteurs tardifs.

Les 6 griefs que T. Kolbaba avait identifiés comme les plus souvent cités sont bien présents dans ces listes des XIV<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècles, et, pour 4 d'entre eux, ils sont

<sup>17</sup> Voir Kolbaba, *Lists*, Appendix 3, pp. 189-202. Voir aussi l'étude antérieure moins détaillée d'A. Argyriou, *Remarques sur quelques listes grecques énumérant les hérésies latines*, « Byzantinische Forschungen » 4, 1972, pp. 9-30.

<sup>18</sup> Sur cette liste, voir Darrouzès, *Le mémoire de Constantin Stilbès*, cit., pp. 50-100. La liste de Constantin Stilbès est en réalité beaucoup plus longue, car elle comprend aussi toute une série de reproches sur les atrocités perpétrées par les Latins en 1204 lors de la prise de Constantinople. T. Kolbaba ne prend en compte que les 75 premiers points de cette liste, à raison car ils portent sur des thèmes similaires à ceux des autres listes et peuvent donc permettre la comparaison. La fin de la liste de Constantin Stilbès nécessiterait une analyse séparée, à rapprocher d'autres textes historiques.

<sup>19</sup> Voir Annexe en fin d'article : le contenu de chaque liste est décrit sous les rubriques I, II et III.

<sup>20</sup> Ce qui ne veut naturellement pas dire qu'ils apparaissent pour la première fois dans l'ensemble de la littérature polémique antilatine : cette question nécessiterait une étude qui dépasse l'objet du présent article.

cités par nos trois auteurs : jeûne le samedi (qui rappelle le sabbat des juifs), utilisation des azymes pour l'eucharistie, addition du *Filioque* au *Credo*, jeûne incorrect pendant le Carême.<sup>21</sup> Les 2 derniers ne sont cités que par deux listes : la consommation d'aliments impurs est invoquée avec insistance par Panarétos et Syméon de Thessalonique, tandis que l'interdiction du mariage des clercs ne figure que chez Blastarès et Panarétos. On peut conclure dès lors à la fidélité évidente des auteurs des XIV<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècles à l'égard de leurs prédécesseurs, et plus largement à la permanence de ces accusations primordiales à l'encontre des Latins. Il faut signaler cependant la place particulière conférée au problème du *Filioque* : traité séparément par Blastarès et par Panarétos en amont de leur liste, il apparaît en premier dans la liste de Syméon, comme si cette question n'était pas de même nature que toutes les autres ; c'est aussi ce que rappelle Panarétos à la fin de sa liste en réaffirmant le poids fondamental de cette doctrine erronée pour justifier le rejet des Latins. Ces remarques viennent donc confirmer l'idée que le *Filioque* acquiert à partir de la fin du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle le statut de cause première du conflit entre orthodoxes et Latins.<sup>22</sup>

Si l'on examine maintenant les éléments que T. Kolbaba retrouvait dans plus de la moitié des listes médiobyzantines, le résultat est plus contrasté. Ils étaient au nombre de 17, or dans les trois listes confondues des XIV<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècles, il n'en réapparaît que 7. Sur ces 7 griefs, 2 se détachent comme particulièrement importants, puisqu'ils figurent dans les trois listes : il s'agit du rituel incorrect par lequel est administré le baptême (sans la triple immersion et sans chrême) et du non-respect de l'autel et du sanctuaire. Ces 2 éléments sont largement développés dans les listes tardives, au point qu'on serait tenté de les assimiler aux griefs de la catégorie précédente.<sup>23</sup> Parmi les 5 autres points, un seul est cité par deux listes : l'autorisation du mariage même dans le cas de degrés d'affinité interdits, citée par Panarétos et Syméon. Enfin Blastarès mentionne le baiser donné par le célébrant aux autres clercs au lieu de la communion ; les 3 derniers articles ne sont cités que par Pana-

<sup>21</sup> Pour une analyse précise de ce qui est reproché aux Latins à travers ces accusations et les suivantes, je renvoie à l'exposé détaillé qu'en fait T. Kolbaba dans le chapitre 3 de son ouvrage : voir Kolbaba, *Lists*, pp. 32-87.

<sup>22</sup> Voir T. Kolbaba, *Byzantine perceptions of Latin religious "Errors": themes and changes from 850 to 1350*, in A. Laiou et R. P. Mottahedeh (éd.), *The crusades from the perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim world*, Washington 2001, pp. 117-143 : 130-132. Dès avant le XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, certains théologiens relativisent la plupart des reproches faits aux Latins et insistent en revanche sur le caractère inacceptable de la doctrine latine du *Filioque*, par exemple Théophylacte de Bulgarie (voir Théophylacte d'Achrida, *Discours, traités, poésies*, éd. P. Gautier, Thessaloniki 1980, pp. 250-251) ; mais cette position n'est pas générale avant la fin du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle.

<sup>23</sup> Pour ce qui est du rituel incorrect du baptême, on pourrait dès l'époque médiobyzantine considérer ce point comme l'un des reproches fondamentaux faits aux Latins : il apparaissait en effet dans douze listes sur treize (voir Kolbaba, *Lists*, Appendix 3, p. 192), ce qui aurait justifié que T. Kolbaba l'ait inclus dans la première catégorie, celle des arguments qui reviennent dans au moins onze listes sur treize. Il n'en va pas du tout de même de l'autre point cité par nos trois listes : il n'était mentionné que par six listes médiobyzantines et semble donc acquérir aux XIV<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècles une importance nouvelle.

rétos, à savoir la consommation de viande par les moines, la célébration de plus d'une eucharistie par jour et le fait que les prêtres se rasent la barbe.

Parmi ces griefs de seconde importance, 10 ont donc totalement disparu des listes étudiées. En essayant de les classer thématiquement, on peut repérer en premier lieu le manque de vénération reproché jadis aux Latins à l'égard de divers aspects du sacré : insuffisante révérence pour la Vierge et absence d'adoration des icônes, qui ne sont plus mentionnées dans nos listes des XIV<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècles.<sup>24</sup> Certains points concernant l'attitude des clercs ne sont plus invoqués non plus, par exemple le fait que les évêques portent des bagues, des vêtements de soie multicolores ou que des évêques et des prêtres participent à des combats. Les pratiques funéraires des Latins ne sont plus incriminées. Enfin plusieurs éléments liés aux gestes accomplis pendant la liturgie échappent désormais à la condamnation : il n'est pas reproché aux Latins de ne pas chanter l'alléluia pendant le Carême ; la coutume selon laquelle ils tracent une croix sur le sol et marchent dessus ensuite n'est pas mise en cause, pas plus que la façon dont ils font le signe de la croix ; enfin on ne stigmatise pas le fait qu'ils restent assis au lieu d'être debout pendant la liturgie et parlent dans les moments les plus sacrés. Toutefois, si certains points ne sont pas présents dans les trois listes étudiées, on les retrouve par ailleurs dans d'autres types de textes, preuve qu'il faut relativiser les disparitions constatées dans nos trois listes.<sup>25</sup>

Parmi les 8 points retrouvés par T. Kolbaba dans quatre listes au moins, seul 1 est devenu essentiel aux XIV<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècles, puisqu'il est cité dans nos trois listes : les Latins ne jeûnent pas en semaine le mercredi, et leur jeûne du vendredi n'est pas assez rigoureux. Ce point est développé en lien avec les autres références au jeûne inadéquat des Latins. 1 seul autre point est repris sur les 8 : le canoniste qu'est Blastarès relève que les Latins célèbrent la liturgie complète durant le Carême au lieu d'accomplir la liturgie des présanctifiés. Les accusations de cette catégorie qui ne sont plus du tout évoquées sont disparates : certaines touchaient directement les orthodoxes, par exemple l'absence de vénération des Pères grecs ou l'idée que le divin ne devrait être loué que dans trois langues, l'hébreu, le grec et le latin (ce qui excluait le slavon) ; les autres reproches portaient sur l'ajout d'une formule liturgique – l'expression « avec le Saint-Esprit » ajoutée au « un seul saint, un seul Seigneur » –, sur l'accomplissement d'ordinations seulement quatre fois par an, sur la pratique judaïque de rites purificateurs et sur les cérémonies inadéquates effectuées durant la semaine sainte.

<sup>24</sup> Signalons aussi que le reproche d'absence de vénération des saints, des Pères grecs, ou des reliques, qui figurait dans quelques listes seulement, a ici totalement disparu.

<sup>25</sup> Par exemple Pachymérès mentionne le fait que les dignitaires ecclésiastiques latins portent des bagues : « le pape reçoit avec joie les ambassadeurs, au point de les gratifier de tiaras, de mitres et d'anneaux, selon l'habitude d'agir de ces gens-là avec les évêques » (Georges Pachymérès, *Relations historiques*, éd. et trad. V. Laurent et A. Failler, II, Paris 1984, pp. 508-509). On trouve aussi, à la fin du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle, dans un traité du dominicain byzantin Manuel Kalékas des réponses aux griefs antilatins les plus couramment avancés dans la polémique ; parmi ceux-ci est invoqué le fait que les Latins ne font pas correctement le signe de la croix : voir Manuel Kalékas, *Libri quatuor adversus errores Graecorum*, in PG CLII, coll. 237-240.

Énumérons pour finir les griefs qui n'apparaissent que dans moins de trois listes médiobyzantines et qui figurent dans les listes des XIV<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècles. Sur 48 articles, 11 griefs sont présents dans nos listes, et 1 seul de ces points mineurs est mentionné par deux listes, à savoir la consommation par les Latins de leur propre urine, citée par Panaréto et Syméon, en lien explicite avec la consommation de nourritures impures. Par ailleurs les clercs latins revêtent leurs mains de gants pour célébrer et mélangent le vin de l'eucharistie à de l'eau froide au lieu d'eau chaude ; ils enseignent la doctrine du feu purificateur du purgatoire et prétendent comme Origène que le châtement aura une fin ; ils accordent l'absolution pour toutes sortes de péchés ; ils attribuent l'épiscopat contre de l'argent et n'hésitent pas à transférer les évêques d'un siège à un autre ; enfin les Latins en général ne connaissent et ne respectent pas les canons, acceptent de manger avec des juifs et forniquent.

## 2. Les points nouveaux

Un nombre significatif de griefs sont présents pour la première fois dans les listes des XIV<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècles. Contrairement aux points précédents, qui avaient déjà été étudiés en détail par T. Kolbaba, on s'attardera un peu plus sur chacun de ces nouveaux reproches en essayant de les expliciter. Ils sont récapitulés dans l'Annexe IV.

Le premier point est le seul à figurer dans deux listes, celle de Panaréto et celle de Syméon : les Latins sont accusés de ne pas distribuer la communion aux laïcs sous les deux espèces. L'argumentation de Panaréto est très longue, citons-en seulement le début : « ils donnent au peuple seulement du pain, sans vin ; seuls les prêtres communient au pain et au vin ». <sup>26</sup> Syméon est beaucoup plus bref, il affirme : « ils font communier les laïcs non au calice lui-même et au pain, comme le fait et l'a appris l'Église, mais selon un autre usage ». <sup>27</sup> En apparence, l'affaire est simple : on sait que les Latins ont effectivement cessé d'administrer la communion sous les deux espèces autour du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, éloignant les laïcs du calice. <sup>28</sup> Cet aménagement du rite tient à des raisons pratiques : alors que les clercs latins incitaient à la communion fréquente des laïcs, la distribution du vin était source de difficultés, en particulier à cause du risque lié au renversement de vin consacré. <sup>29</sup> Ce nouvel usage latin pour la communion, désormais connu des Byzantins, est donc mis en cause à juste titre : il constitue bien une innovation par rapport à la période précédente.

Cependant, sur ce point, l'usage byzantin lui-même a évolué et il n'est pas non plus fidèle à la tradition. Ainsi que l'expose très clairement R. Taft, jusque vers le IX<sup>e</sup> siècle, les laïcs communiaient en Orient comme en Occident selon la tradition

<sup>26</sup> Panaréto, p. 204, γ' : τῷ λαῶ ἄρτον μόνον παρέχουσι χωρὶς οἴνου· μόνοι δὲ οἱ ἱερεῖς μεταλαμβάνουσι τοῦ ἄρτου καὶ τοῦ οἴνου.

<sup>27</sup> Syméon, col. 101D : οὐδὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ποτηρίου καὶ ἄρτου κοινωνοῦσι τοὺς λαϊκοὺς, ὡς ἡ Ἐκκλησία ποιεῖ καὶ παρέλαβεν, ἀλλὰ καθ' ἕτερον ἔθος.

<sup>28</sup> Voir R. Cabié, *La communion des fidèles au sang du Christ. Pourquoi a-t-elle disparu en Occident et persisté en Orient ?*, « Bulletin de Littérature Ecclésiastique » 91, 1990, pp. 175-188.

<sup>29</sup> Voir *ibid.*, p. 184.

ancienne de l'Église : ils recevaient le pain dans la main droite et buvaient le vin au calice.<sup>30</sup> Dans le monde byzantin, une pratique exceptionnelle, sans doute réservée d'abord aux enfants et aux malades, s'est peu à peu généralisée : la communion a commencé à être administrée à l'aide d'une cuillère liturgique contenant un morceau de pain consacré imprégné de vin consacré, selon ce qu'on appelle la communion par intinction.<sup>31</sup> Cette manière de procéder ne correspond pas aux paroles de l'Institution, qui sont pourtant au fondement du sacrement de l'eucharistie : Jésus commande en effet à ses disciples de manger le pain et de boire le vin, soit deux actions distinctes accomplies l'une après l'autre. Cette prescription était très présente à l'esprit des Latins avant le XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, au point que Humbert de Silva Candida, le principal protagoniste latin du schisme de 1054, reprochait précisément aux Byzantins leur façon de distribuer la communion : il dénonçait l'utilisation de la lancette pour rompre le pain consacré, le recours à la cuillère liturgique et le mélange du pain et du vin dans le calice, donné ensuite au communiant.<sup>32</sup> Ainsi l'erreur latine cache ici d'une certaine manière une erreur grecque : lorsque Syméon mentionne le « calice » auquel n'ont pas accès les laïcs latins, il omet de dire que les laïcs orthodoxes ne boivent pas non plus au calice, mais reçoivent le vin dans la cuillère.

Deux autres griefs portent aussi sur la communion : ils sont dus à Syméon de Thessalonique, auteur par ailleurs d'un traité sur les sacrements,<sup>33</sup> ce qui explique sans doute qu'il soit si sensible à ces questions. Dans le prolongement de l'accusation précédente, Syméon reproche aux Latins de ne pas faire communier les petits enfants : « ils ne donnent pas non plus la communion aux nourrissons baptisés, ni à ceux qui ont atteint plusieurs années. Et la plupart de ces nourrissons ne sont pas signés. Et la plupart de ceux d'entre eux qui meurent, tous ceux qui ne peuvent pas parler, sont exclus du viatique de la vie, ils quittent le monde d'ici-bas sans communier aux mystères ». <sup>34</sup> En Occident comme en Orient, il était d'usage de ne pas distribuer le pain consacré aux nourrissons ni aux malades, puisqu'ils ne pouvaient pas l'absorber : ces derniers communiaient donc seulement au vin, ou par-

<sup>30</sup> Voir R. Taft, *A history of the liturgy of St. John Chrysostom*, VI, *The communion, Thanksgiving and concluding rites*, Roma 2008, pp. 204-261, en particulier pp. 260-261 pour les conclusions. Voir aussi B. Caseau, *Sancta sanctis. Normes et gestes de la communion entre Antiquité et haut Moyen-Âge*, in N. Bériou (éd.), *Pratiques de l'eucharistie dans les Églises d'Orient et d'Occident (Antiquité et Moyen-Âge)*, Paris 2009, pp. 371-420 : 413-420.

<sup>31</sup> Voir Taft, *History of the liturgy*, cit., VI, pp. 262-315, en particulier pp. 314-315 pour les conclusions.

<sup>32</sup> Voir Humbert de Silva Candida, *Adversus Graecorum calumnias*, in PL CXLIII, coll. 951-952, extrait cité par Taft, *History of the liturgy*, cit., VI, pp. 289-290.

<sup>33</sup> Voir PG CLV, coll. 175-238. Voir I. Phountoulès, *Tò λειτουργικόν ἔργον Συμεῶν τοῦ Θεσσαλονικῆς*, Thessaloniki 1966.

<sup>34</sup> Syméon, coll. 101D-104A : οὐδὲ κοινωνίας τοῖς βαπτιζομένοις μεταδιδόασι βρέφεσι, καὶ τοῖς ἄχρι πλειόνων ἐτῶν ἐλθοῦσι. Καὶ τὰ πλείω τούτων βρέφη ἀσφράγιστα. Καὶ οἱ πλείστοι αὐτῶν τελευτῶντες ὅσοι μὴ λαλεῖν δύνανται, ἄμοιροι τοῦ ἐφοδίου τῆς ζωῆς, δίχα κοινωνίας τῶν μυστηρίων τῶν ὧδε ἐξερχόμενοι. Cette attaque contre les Latins concernant la communion des enfants est reprise par Syméon dans son traité *Sur les sacrements* : voir PG CLV, coll. 235-236.

fois, comme on l'a dit plus haut, par intinction.<sup>35</sup> Le reproche de Syméon ici ne porte pas sur cette forme incomplète de communion, mais sur le fait d'en priver une catégorie de fidèles : or les deux questions sont en réalité liées. À partir du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, les enfants ont effectivement été écartés de la communion en Occident, non pour des raisons théologiques, mais à cause de l'évolution du rite décrite ci-dessus : les jeunes enfants communiaient seulement au calice, si bien que lorsque la communion sous les deux espèces a disparu en Occident pour les laïcs, les enfants ont été exclus de fait de ce sacrement. À cette transformation des pratiques s'est superposé un discours des autorités ecclésiastiques concernant l'« âge de raison » des enfants : à partir du concile de Latran IV, en 1215, il est dit qu'ils doivent avoir atteint « les années de discrétion » pour recevoir les sacrements de pénitence et de communion, ce qui exclut à coup sûr les jeunes enfants.<sup>36</sup> À Byzance au contraire, le passage à la communion par intinction rendait possible la communion des très jeunes enfants, cette tradition n'étant jamais remise en cause.<sup>37</sup>

En appendice à la question de la communion des enfants, Syméon aborde celle de leur baptême qui, dans l'orthodoxie, est intrinsèquement liée : il suggère que le sacrement est administré tardivement par les Latins et que beaucoup de nouveaux meurent sans être baptisés, et donc sans recevoir la communion. Cette question a beaucoup préoccupé les théologiens chrétiens dès l'époque patristique, dans la mesure où les enfants qui naissaient n'avaient guère plus d'une chance sur deux de survivre : qu'advient-il de leur âme s'ils décèdent avant d'avoir été baptisés ? Selon Augustin, les nouveaux sont entachés du péché originel et doivent recevoir le baptême pour être purifiés et rachetés ; en Orient aussi, les théologiens enseignent que seul l'enfant baptisé peut accéder à la vie éternelle.<sup>38</sup> À Byzance, même si un enfant né dans une famille chrétienne est de fait considéré d'emblée comme chrétien, le baptême est administré rapidement, en particulier lorsque la vie de l'enfant est en danger : il a lieu théoriquement le 40<sup>e</sup> jour après la naissance, mais peut être anticipé en cas de nécessité et être accompli dès la naissance.<sup>39</sup> En

<sup>35</sup> Voir Cabié, *Communion des fidèles*, cit., pp. 180, 182.

<sup>36</sup> Voir le canon 21 du concile de Latran IV dans G. Alberigo (éd.), *Les conciles œcuméniques. Les décrets*, II 1, *Nicée I à Latran V*, Paris 1994, pp. 524-525 : « postquam ad annos discretionis pervenerit ». Voir aussi R. Taft, *On the Question of Infant Communion in the Byzantine Catholic Churches of the U.S.A.*, « *Diakonia* » 17, 1982, pp. 201-214 : 208-210 ; G. Jacquemet, *Communion eucharistique. 5. Âge de la première communion*, in *Catholicisme : hier, aujourd'hui, demain*, dir. G. Jacquemet, II, Paris 1949, coll. 1383-1385 : la définition de « l'âge de raison » varie à la fin du Moyen-Âge entre sept et quatorze ans. Syméon connaît l'argument invoqué par les Latins, à savoir que « les très jeunes enfants, à ce qu'ils prétendent, ne savent pas à quoi ils communient » (ὄτι οὐκ ἴσασι τὰ βρέφη, φασί, τίνοσ κοινωνοῦσι, PG CLV, col. 236C).

<sup>37</sup> Voir la défense de la communion des très jeunes enfants par Jean d'Antioche au X<sup>e</sup> siècle : V. Kontouma, *Baptême et communion des jeunes enfants : la lettre de Jean d'Antioche à Théodore d'Éphèse (998/999)*, « *Revue des Études Byzantines* » 69, 2011, pp. 185-204 : 200-203.

<sup>38</sup> Voir J. Gélis, *Les enfants des limbes. Mort-nés et parents dans l'Europe chrétienne*, Paris 2006, pp. 170-172 ; M.-H. Congourdeau, *Regards sur l'enfant nouveau-né à Byzance*, « *Revue des Études Byzantines* » 51, 1993, pp. 161-176 : 167-169.

<sup>39</sup> Voir *ibid.*, p. 168. Voir aussi les recommandations de Jean d'Antioche : « il existe une longue



outre, les prières contenues dans l'Euchologe montrent qu'avant le baptême proprement dit, l'enfant est signé dès le 8<sup>e</sup> jour.<sup>40</sup> En Occident aussi, l'Église recommande que le baptême soit administré très rapidement, en général dans les trois jours après la naissance. En cas de danger de mort, les parents, le médecin ou la sage-femme peuvent ondoyer le nouveau-né, ainsi que l'institue le concile de Latran IV.<sup>41</sup> Mais même si beaucoup de précautions sont prises, nombreux restent les nouveau-nés non-baptisés, en particulier les enfants mort-nés. L'injustice de leur sort spirituel a incité les théologiens occidentaux à partir du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle à concevoir un lieu intermédiaire, le limbe des enfants, dans lequel il est établi que les innocents sont seulement privés de la vision de Dieu, mais non pas soumis aux châtiments de l'Enfer.<sup>42</sup> Paradoxalement, c'est peut-être cette réflexion des théologiens latins, en particulier de Thomas d'Aquin,<sup>43</sup> sur la question des enfants non-baptisés qui a suscité une réaction de la part de Syméon : la pratique du baptême précoce des nouveau-nés semble en effet assez comparable en Occident et en Orient, mais le souci du sort des enfants non-baptisés est beaucoup plus prégnant dans le monde latin.

Revenant aux questions eucharistiques, Syméon accuse les clercs latins de ne jamais concélébrer, en particulier lorsqu'ils procèdent à des ordinations : même si plusieurs prêtres ou évêques sont présents, « il ne leur est pas possible de concélébrer les uns avec les autres, parce qu'il n'est pas possible de rompre l'azyme consacré et de le donner à plusieurs ».<sup>44</sup> Le thème évoqué, à savoir l'absence de concélé-

tradition selon laquelle les jeunes enfants doivent au plus vite recevoir le divin baptême et la communion, en raison de l'incertitude de la vie » (Kontouma, *Baptême et communion*, cit., p. 202). Voir aussi Syméon lui-même : PG CLV, col. 212C.

<sup>40</sup> Voir M. Arranz, *Évolution des rites d'incorporation et de réadmission dans l'Église selon l'Euchologe byzantin*, in *Gestes et paroles dans les diverses familles liturgiques*, Roma 1978, pp. 31-75 : 52 ; S. Parenti et E. Velkovska (éd.), *L'Euclologio Barberini gr. 336*, Roma 1995, nr. 112, pp. 96-97 ; Syméon aborde aussi cette question dans son traité *Sur les sacrements* : voir PG CLV, coll. 207-212. À sa naissance, l'enfant est béni et peut dès ce moment être signé par un prêtre, comme l'atteste Syméon (*ibid.*, pp. 207-208) ; mais c'est traditionnellement le 8<sup>e</sup> jour après sa naissance que l'enfant est signé et reçoit son nom ; ensuite il est amené à l'église le 40<sup>e</sup> jour et généralement baptisé ; en même temps que le sacrement du baptême, il reçoit aussi ceux de la communion et de la confirmation. Sur le sens théologique que Syméon donne au baptême et à la chrismation, ou confirmation, voir J. Getcha, *Christology and pneumatology in Symeon of Thessalonica's commentary on baptism*, « Studia Patristica » 48, 2010, pp. 253-258.

<sup>41</sup> Sur la pratique de l'ondulement en cas de nécessité, pourvu qu'il soit accompli par quelqu'un qui a l'intention de baptiser, voir A. Bride, *Baptême. 2, Droit canon et liturgie*, in *Catholicisme : hier, aujourd'hui, demain*, cit., I, Paris 1948, coll. 1220-1227, en particulier coll. 1220-1221 et 1224-1225.

<sup>42</sup> Voir J. Gélis, *Enfants des limbes*, cit., pp. 175-179 et la bibliographie citée. La définition du limbe des enfants s'élabore aux XII<sup>e</sup>-XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles parallèlement à celle du purgatoire.

<sup>43</sup> Voir Thomas d'Aquin, *Somme théologique*, Tertia pars, Quaestio 69, articulus 6. Par l'intermédiaire des traductions de Thomas d'Aquin en grec, cette question a nécessairement été connue à Byzance.

<sup>44</sup> Syméon, col. 104B : ἀλλ' οὐδὲ δυνατόν αὐτοῖς ἐστὶν ἀλλήλοις συλλειτουργεῖν, ὅτι οὐδὲ δυνατόν τὸ ἱεουργοῦμενον ἄζυμον κλάσθαι καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς μεταδίδοσθαι.

bration des prêtres, n'est pas complètement absent des listes plus anciennes, mais il n'est jamais présenté sous cet angle ni avec cette argumentation. Dans six listes médiobyzantines ainsi que dans la liste de Blastarès, un reproche assez voisin est fait aux Latins, celui d'embrasser les autres célébrants au lieu de leur donner la communion :<sup>45</sup> il y a là une confusion entre le baiser de paix, qui dans le cérémonial latin fait partie des rites de précommunion, et l'eucharistie elle-même, mais les Latins n'ont jamais confondu les deux en considérant le baiser de paix comme un substitut à la communion.<sup>46</sup> La concélébration des clercs ne se réduit pas au partage de l'eucharistie, et Syméon soulève en réalité une question nouvelle en affirmant que les clercs latins ne célèbrent pas conjointement la liturgie : de fait, cette pratique devient beaucoup plus rare en Occident à partir du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, au profit des messes privées, alors qu'elle demeure très courante dans le monde byzantin.<sup>47</sup> Mais en Occident, c'est précisément pour les ordinations qu'elle réapparaît à partir du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle : l'ordinand concélébre désormais avec l'évêque qui l'ordonne.<sup>48</sup> Ainsi l'accusation de Syméon n'est que partiellement fondée, puisqu'il est désormais très fréquent qu'un seul clerc célèbre la liturgie, mais non dans les circonstances invoquées, à savoir l'ordination. En outre, le métropolitain de Thessalonique est le seul à lier cette question de la concélébration à celle des azymes. Il prétend en effet que les azymes, par nature, ne peuvent être fractionnés. Il est vrai que, dans le rituel orthodoxe, le pain doit être divisé en quatre parts à l'aide d'une lancette, ce qui est à l'évidence impossible à réaliser avec du pain azyme.<sup>49</sup> Néanmoins cet argument est tout à fait exceptionnel dans la très ancienne polémique concernant les azymes : Syméon semble être le seul à le mettre en avant.<sup>50</sup>

Syméon critique ensuite le rituel de l'ordination dans le monde latin, en s'indignant qu'il soit souvent accompli par un seul évêque au lieu de trois, et surtout qu'il comprenne une onction : « ce n'est pas dans le sanctuaire par imposition des mains qu'ils réalisent les ordinations de leurs propres évêques, selon la tradition qui remonte au Christ notre Dieu et à ses apôtres. [...] Mais chez eux un seul évêque en ordonne souvent un autre, avec aussi une onction de chrême, contrairement à la tradition des apôtres ».<sup>51</sup> Contrairement à ce qu'affirme Syméon, l'ordi-

<sup>45</sup> Voir Kolbaba, *Lists*, pp. 54-55 et Appendix 3, p. 195. Dans les listes, le baiser de paix est donné à la place de la communion tantôt aux autres célébrants, tantôt même aux laïcs.

<sup>46</sup> Voir Taft, *History of the liturgy*, cit., VI, pp. 110-114.

<sup>47</sup> Voir R. Taft, *Eucharistic concelebration revisited : problems of history, practice, and theology in East and West. Part I*, « *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* » 76, 2010, pp. 277-313, en particulier pp. 311-313 ; *Part II, ibid.*, 77, 2011, pp. 25-80.

<sup>48</sup> Voir A. Michel, *Ordre*, in *DTC*, XI, 1932, coll. 1193-1405 : 1273-1274.

<sup>49</sup> Voir Taft, *History of the liturgy*, cit., VI, pp. 252-255. Syméon revient sur cette question dans son traité *Sur la liturgie* en insistant aussi sur la forme ronde de l'hostie latine : voir PG CLV, col. 265C.

<sup>50</sup> Voir M. H. Smith, *And taking bread... : Cerularius and the azyme Controversy of 1054*, Paris 1978 : parmi les griefs liés aux azymes répertoriés par l'auteur, celui de l'impossibilité de rompre l'hostie ne figure pas.

<sup>51</sup> Syméon, col. 104A-B : ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐν τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ τῇ ἐπιθέσει τῶν χειρῶν τὰς χειροτονίας

nation se fait par imposition des mains en Occident comme en Orient, en référence à la tradition apostolique qui veut que la grâce de l'Esprit saint soit ainsi transmise au nouveau clerc. Mais à partir du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle, il s'y est ajouté dans le rituel gallican une onction des mains pour les ordres majeurs les plus élevés (prêtres et évêques). Vers le XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, l'usage gallican de l'onction a été incorporé au rituel romain et s'est étendu à l'ensemble de la chrétienté latine.<sup>52</sup> En Orient au contraire, le rituel traditionnel s'est perpétué sans changement notable. Syméon réitère et développe sa critique du mode d'ordination latin dans son traité *Sur le saint chrême*.<sup>53</sup> Il affirme à nouveau que l'onction de l'ordinand n'est pas nécessaire dans le cadre de l'ordination, mais ceci ne veut pas dire que le chrême soit absent de la cérémonie : tout au contraire, puisque « le sacerdoce se fait dans le chrême ». Il résout ce paradoxe en expliquant que le sanctuaire est déjà consacré par le chrême, tout comme l'ordinand, qui est déjà baptisé, si bien que le charisme que ce dernier doit recevoir est seulement celui de l'Esprit.<sup>54</sup>

En dehors de ces cinq griefs portant sur les sacrements, la question de l'orientation des églises suscite aussi le reproche. Selon Panaréto, les Latins ne respectent pas l'orientation traditionnelle des églises vers l'est : « ils disposent indifféremment les sanctuaires des églises les uns vers l'est, les autres vers le sud, les autres vers le nord, abolissant ainsi en cette matière l'usage non-écrit transmis par l'Église qui remonte aux apôtres, comme nous le confirment les anciennes églises, celles qui ont été édifiées au temps des bienheureux apôtres et du grand Constantin en différents lieux et villes et dans celle-là même de Byzance ». <sup>55</sup> L'apparition de cette thématique au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle semble assez étonnante, car à l'exception de quelques basiliques paléochrétiennes occidentées, en particulier à Rome, les églises chrétiennes sont traditionnellement orientées vers l'est. L'explication tient aux changements introduits dans l'architecture religieuse par les ordres mendiants : amenés à construire leurs églises en ville, alors que la place disponible était souvent réduite, les franciscains et les dominicains ont eu tendance à tenir peu de compte de la règle de l'orientation, tandis que les contraintes topographiques dictaient le plan de l'édifice.<sup>56</sup> De façon plus générale, on remarque que les membres des ordres

ἐνεργούσι τῶν οἰκείων ἐπισκόπων, κατὰ τὴν ἄνωθεν τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων αὐτοῦ παράδοσιν· [...] ἀλλ' εἷς ἐπίσκοπος παρ' αὐτοῖς πολλακίς ἐπίσκοπον χειροτονεῖ, καὶ χρίσματος μύρου τινός, παρὰ τὴν τῶν ἀποστόλων παράδοσιν.

<sup>52</sup> Voir A. Michel, *Ordre*, in *DTC*, XI, 1932, coll. 1193-1405 : 1265-1270 ; pour l'apparition du rituel de l'onction dans le rite gallican, voir P. Bradshaw, *Ordination rites of the Ancient Churches of East and West*, New York 1990, en particulier p. 227.

<sup>53</sup> Voir *PG* CLV, col. 249C.

<sup>54</sup> Voir *ibid.*, col. 249 ; voir en particulier la phrase : διὸ καὶ ἡ ἱερωσύνη ἐν τῷ μύρῳ γίνεται.

<sup>55</sup> Panaréto, pp. 73-74, 1θ' : τὰ θυσιαστήρια τῶν ναῶν ἀδιαφόρως ἔχουσι, τὰ μὲν πρὸς ἀνατολάς, τὰ δὲ πρὸς νότον, τὰ δὲ πρὸς ἄρκτον· καταλύοντες κἀν τούτῳ τὴν παραδοθεῖσαν ἐν τούτοις τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ συνήθειαν ἄγραφον ἐκ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἄνωθεν, ὡς πληροφοροῦσιν ἡμῖν οἱ παλαιοὶ ναοὶ οἱ κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους τῶν μακαρίων ἀποστόλων καὶ τοῦ μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου οἰκοδομηθέντες ἐν διαφόροις τόποις καὶ πόλεσι καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ Βυζαντίδι.

<sup>56</sup> Voir P. Volti, *Les couvents des ordres mendiants et leur environnement au Moyen-Âge*, Paris

mendiants s'affranchissent peu à peu de la tradition liturgique voulant que le célébrant soit toujours tourné vers l'est : la multiplication des chapelles latérales, qui ne sont pas toutes orientées vers l'est, et l'apparition de grands retables au-dessus des autels empêchent souvent que le prêtre puisse regarder en direction de l'est quand il officie. Cet abandon de l'orientation liturgique amène à négliger aussi l'orientation architectonique lors de la construction : l'abside de la basilique Saint-François à Assise est à l'ouest, Santa Maria Novella à Florence est orientée vers le nord, tandis que l'église Saint-François à Pistoia voit son plan modifié lors de sa reconstruction en 1289, son orientation passant de l'est vers le sud.<sup>57</sup>

Panarétos et Syméon introduisent aussi deux nouveaux griefs liés aux vêtements religieux des Latins. En revêtant tantôt l'habit du prêtre, tantôt celui du diacre ou du sous-diacre, le clerc latin crée de la confusion au sein de la hiérarchie ecclésiastique, ainsi que l'affirme Panarétos : « leurs prêtres célèbrent tantôt en tant que prêtres et offrent le sacrifice non sanglant revêtus de l'habit de prêtre, tantôt les mêmes célèbrent en tant que diacres avec le prêtre, revêtus de l'habit de diacre, servant le prêtre et accomplissant toutes les tâches du diacre, tantôt les mêmes célèbrent en tant que sous-diacres, si bien qu'ils bouleversent l'ordre du sacerdoce et les degrés de l'ordonnement ecclésiastique ». <sup>58</sup> Même si les vêtements liturgiques ne sont en aucun cas interchangeables,<sup>59</sup> ce n'est pas tant le vêtement qui est en cause ici que la transgression de l'ordre, ou pour employer le terme byzantin, de la *taxis* selon laquelle l'Église est structurée. Panarétos reproche aux prêtres latins de ne pas se cantonner à la fonction liturgique qui correspond à l'ordre qu'ils ont reçu, mais de tenir aussi des rôles inférieurs lors des cérémonies religieuses. Cette situation est réelle en Occident à la fin du Moyen-Âge : elle est due à la quasi-disparition des ordres mineurs, devenus de simples degrés de passage vers les ordres majeurs et, *in fine*, vers le sacerdoce.<sup>60</sup> L'exemple le plus évident est celui du sous-diaconat : il est assimilé aux ordres majeurs à partir de la fin du XII<sup>e</sup>

2003, en particulier p. 104 : P. Volti donne ainsi l'exemple de l'église dominicaine d'Argentan, orientée au nord et flanquée d'un cloître à l'est, l'ensemble du carré claustral se trouvant situé entre les deux enceintes urbaines, ce qui laissait peu de latitude pour l'organisation de l'espace. Je remercie Panayota Volti, à qui je dois cette information, ainsi qu'Élisabeth Yota.

<sup>57</sup> Voir S. de Blaauw, *Innovazioni nello spazio di culto fra basso Medioevo e Cinquecento : la perdita dell'orientamento liturgico e la liberazione della navata*, in J. Stabenow (éd.), *Lo spazio e il culto. Relazioni tra edificio ecclesiale e uso liturgico dal XV al XVI secolo*, Venezia 2006, pp. 25-51 : 29-34.

<sup>58</sup> Panarétos, p. 74, κ' : οἱ ἱερεῖς αὐτῶν ποτὲ μὲν ἱερατικῶς λειτουργοῦσι καὶ προσφέρουσι τὴν ἀνάμακτον θυσίαν τὴν ἱερατικὴν ἐνδεδυμένοι στολὴν, ποτὲ δὲ οἱ αὐτοὶ διακονικῶς λειτουργοῦσι μετὰ ἱερέως, τὴν διακονικὴν ἐνδεδυμένοι στολὴν καὶ αὐτῷ διακονοῦντες καὶ πάντα τὰ τοῦ διακόνου τελοῦντες, ποτὲ δὲ οἱ αὐτοὶ ὡς ὑποδιάκονοι, συγχέοντες τὴν τάξιν τῆς ἱερατείας καὶ τοὺς βαθμοὺς τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς εὐκοσμίας.

<sup>59</sup> Dans l'Église byzantine comme dans l'Église latine, le vêtement liturgique reflète la fonction de celui qui le porte et correspond à un degré précis de la hiérarchie ecclésiastique : voir N. Schnabel, *Die liturgischen Gewänder und Insignien des Diakons, Presbyters und Bischofs in den Kirchen des byzantinischen Ritus*, Würzburg 2008.

<sup>60</sup> Voir J. Hirnsperger, *Weibestufen*, in *LThK*, X, 2001<sup>3</sup>, coll. 1015-1016.

siècle et le sous-diacre est alors soumis à l'obligation du célibat ecclésiastique ;<sup>61</sup> en pratique, le sous-diaconat comme le diaconat deviennent de courtes étapes avant d'accéder à la prêtrise.<sup>62</sup> De cet étiolement des ordres inférieurs découle le fait que les prêtres exercent les fonctions liturgiques des diacres et des sous-diacres lors des cérémonies. Encore une fois, c'est le non-respect de la tradition chrétienne, en l'occurrence de l'ordre originel, qui est ici mis en cause.

Le dernier point, soulevé cette fois par Syméon, concerne l'habit monastique. Syméon souligne à plusieurs occasions le symbolisme de l'habit monastique, signe de la mort au monde – d'où sa couleur noire – et de l'entrée dans la pureté de la vie angélique – l'habit monastique orthodoxe est en effet appelé « habit angélique » (ἀγγελικὸν σχῆμα). Syméon associe cette symbolique à l'attitude de pénitence qui caractérise toute la vie du moine.<sup>63</sup> Il insiste aussi sur l'unicité de l'habit monastique dans le monde orthodoxe et expose à cette occasion le lien consubstantiel qui unit le « petit habit » (τὸ μικρὸν σχῆμα) et « le grand habit » (τὸ μέγα σχῆμα), le premier étant seulement préparatoire à la perfection du second, ou ses « arrhes » (ἀρραβών) selon le terme consacré.<sup>64</sup> Il existe en effet dans l'orthodoxie un seul habit monastique qui comporte deux degrés, ainsi que l'explique justement Syméon, mais ce dédoublement avait suscité en son temps des controverses et donné lieu à une législation canonique.<sup>65</sup> C'est donc un point quelque peu délicat que Syméon met en exergue lorsqu'il reproche aux Latins la diversité de leurs habits religieux : « alors que l'habit est unique, eux l'ont découpé en beaucoup de morceaux et ils ont fait un très grand nombre d'habits ». <sup>66</sup> Il est vrai que l'uniformité de l'habit monastique est beaucoup moins respectée en Occident, même si certaines constantes demeurent dans le dépouillement et la rusticité du vêtement, censés rappeler l'humilité du moine. Dès le X<sup>e</sup> siècle, les camaldules adoptent un habit blanc distinct de celui des bénédictins,<sup>67</sup> tandis qu'avec l'apparition des ordres mendiants, les différences vestimentaires se multiplient : elles permettent de marquer visuellement l'appartenance d'un moine ou d'un religieux à un ordre particulier, mais sont aussi un signe de division du monde monastique.<sup>68</sup> Syméon dénonce donc ici à la fois l'absence de fidélité des Latins à la tradition unitaire du monachisme et la perte du symbolisme originel de l'habit.

<sup>61</sup> Voir A. Michel, *Sous-diacre*, in *DTC*, XIV, 1941, coll. 2459-2466.

<sup>62</sup> Voir J. Avril, *Ordres*, in C. Gauvard (dir.), *Dictionnaire du Moyen-Âge*, Paris 2002, p. 1024.

<sup>63</sup> Un passage du traité *Sur les sacrements* est dédié à ce lien entre pénitence et habit monastique : voir *PG* CLV, coll. 197-202.

<sup>64</sup> Voir Syméon, col. 104C-D.

<sup>65</sup> Voir C. Lialine, *Érémisme en Orient*, in *DSAM*, IV, 1960, coll. 936-953, en particulier coll. 947-949.

<sup>66</sup> Syméon, col. 104C : ἐνὸς γὰρ ὄντος τοῦ σχήματος, εἰς πολλὰς οὔτοι τοῦτο κατέτεμον μίρας, καὶ πλεῖστα τὰ σχήματα πεποιήκασιν.

<sup>67</sup> On en trouve déjà un écho dans la liste de Constantin Stilbès, qui écrit : « certains moines sont vêtus entièrement de blanc, en signe – c'est eux qui le disent – de vertu et de pureté, et le peuple les nomme Blancs » (Darrouzès, *Mémoire de Constantin Stilbès*, cit., article 65, p. 78).

<sup>68</sup> Voir A. Gerhards, *Dictionnaire historique des ordres religieux*, Paris 1998, s.v. *Habit*, pp. 291-

### 3. Interprétation

Tous ces reproches nouveaux faits aux Latins aux XIV<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècles s'inscrivent dans le même type de critiques que les griefs traditionnels. Dans leurs grandes lignes, les pistes ouvertes par T. Kolbaba pour interpréter le contenu de ces listes restent donc pertinentes pour les textes des XIV<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècles. En effet, dans la mesure où on constate que les points cités les plus importants demeurent identiques, une partie des conclusions peut aussi être reprise.

T. Kolbaba insiste dans son ouvrage sur une première constatation : pour l'essentiel, les listes ne portent pas sur des questions théologiques.<sup>69</sup> De fait, on a bien souligné que le *Filioque* occupe la première place dans l'énumération des reproches faits aux Latins, mais dans les listes ce grief apparaît toujours sous la forme de son addition au *Credo*, non de la doctrine de la double procession de l'Esprit. La dimension théologique de la question du *Filioque* est traitée en dehors des listes – comme c'est du reste le cas tant chez Blastarès que chez Panarétois juste avant que ne débute la liste, et par Syméon dans un autre traité –, précisément parce qu'elle nécessite une argumentation savante et développée qui n'est pas du tout adaptée au genre de la liste. Il apparaît en revanche opportun d'insérer dans le cadre de la liste l'altération liturgique introduite par les Latins dans la récitation du *Credo*. En dehors du *Filioque*, seule la doctrine du purgatoire est mentionnée par Panarétois, avec l'idée que le châtement aura une fin : mais ce thème fait lui aussi plutôt l'objet de traités séparés ou peut, comme chez Syméon, être abordé par ailleurs.<sup>70</sup> L'accent n'est donc pas mis sur les points doctrinaux, et on peut même élargir ce constat aux croyances et aux objets de la vénération religieuse des Latins, aspects très peu abordés dans les listes tardives. On a noté que les éléments liés au culte de la Vierge, des saints et des images avaient plutôt tendance à refluer, de même que les reproches concernant certaines formules utilisées par les Latins, par exemple « sainte Marie » au lieu de « mère de Dieu ».

Les listes ne s'attachent donc pas prioritairement à ce que les Latins croient, ni à ce qu'ils disent, mais bien plutôt à ce qu'ils font, c'est-à-dire à tout ce que l'on peut ranger sous le terme d'orthopraxie.<sup>71</sup> Les tendances repérées par T. Kolbaba s'accroissent à la fin du Moyen-Âge, puisque d'une part les griefs traditionnels concernant les formes du rituel sont réaffirmés avec force par les trois auteurs et que d'autre part les critiques nouvelles portent presque toutes elles aussi, peu ou prou, sur le juste et strict respect de l'accomplissement des rites. Il faut en effet placer dans cette catégorie tout ce qui est dit concernant la manière dont sont accomplis les sacrements (en particulier la communion, le baptême et l'ordination), la liturgie

293 ; voir aussi M. Parisse, *Les religieux entre l'action et la contemplation*, in J.-M. Mayeur (dir.), *Histoire du christianisme*, V, Paris 1993, pp. 367-408 : 381-382.

<sup>69</sup> Voir notamment Kolbaba, *Lists*, p. 71.

<sup>70</sup> Panarétois est l'auteur d'un traité encore inédit sur le purgatoire : voir Risso, *Matteo Angelo Panareto*, 1914, cit., pp. 178-179. Syméon ne mentionne pas la doctrine du purgatoire dans sa liste, mais il l'évoque plus loin dans son traité : voir PG CLV, col. 117A-B.

<sup>71</sup> Voir Kolbaba, *Lists*, pp. 3-4, 102-123.

(usage des azymes, non-respect du sanctuaire par les laïcs) et les différents jeûnes. La plupart du temps, le rite analogue n'est pas absent chez les Latins, mais il est célébré de façon inadéquate, de sorte qu'il perd son efficacité. Les auteurs des listes expriment tous l'idée que les « innovations » latines aboutissent à une perte du sens du rituel : les Latins n'auraient pas une juste perception et compréhension du sacré, de sorte qu'ils en transgresseraient sans cesse les limites. À maintes reprises, le fait que les Latins se soient affranchis de la tradition apostolique en matière de cérémonial est considéré par les auteurs byzantins comme une infidélité inacceptable. Il faut cependant ajouter, comme le faisait remarquer T. Kolbaba, que la revendication d'une séparation claire entre le sacré et le profane est le fait du courant le plus rigoriste de l'orthodoxie, non une généralité dans le monde orthodoxe, et toutes ces questions sont parfois l'objet de débats entre les Byzantins eux-mêmes.<sup>72</sup>

À côté de ces manquements d'ordre culturel, les auteurs des listes tardives relèvent aussi les erreurs commises par les Latins en matière de droit canon. Entrent dans ce registre les reproches concernant par exemple la question du mariage en cas d'affinité, ou, pour ce qui concerne spécifiquement les clercs, le problème de l'ordination d'hommes mariés ou celui du transfert des évêques. Ici les Byzantins considèrent que les Latins ne connaissent et n'appliquent pas le droit élaboré depuis l'origine par l'Église. En réalité le droit canon a évolué différemment en Occident et en Orient : l'un des facteurs d'incompréhension entre Latins et Byzantins sur ce point tient au fait que toutes les décisions du concile *in Trullo* (691-692) n'ont pas été reçues et incorporées dans le droit canon latin. Pour les auteurs des listes, l'infidélité latine procède ici des mêmes causes que celles qui les poussent à l'erreur sur le plan culturel, mais elles s'appliquent cette fois à des questions de discipline ecclésiastique. Cependant là encore, T. Kolbaba fait à juste titre remarquer que même à Byzance, le droit canon orthodoxe n'était pas toujours respecté, par exemple en matière de mariage.<sup>73</sup>

Enfin les critiques quittent, au moins apparemment, le domaine religieux pour s'étendre aux mœurs répréhensibles des Latins : sur ce thème on ne relève que trois points, dont les deux premiers sont liés, à savoir la consommation d'aliments impurs, la consommation de leurs propres urines et la fornication. Par comparaison avec les nombreux griefs liés aux usages culturels, ces trois reproches semblent de peu de poids. Mais c'est en examinant le type d'argumentation qui se greffe autour de chacun d'entre eux qu'on pourra mieux mesurer leur importance réelle : s'ils n'apparaissent pas dans la liste de Matthieu Blastarès, ils sont bien présents dans celle de Panaréto et parmi les plus développés dans la liste de Syméon. On peut d'ores et déjà affirmer que, comme le pressentait T. Kolbaba, les critiques de cet ordre ont tendance à se durcir à la fin du Moyen-Âge.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>72</sup> Voir *ibid.*, pp. 70-71.

<sup>73</sup> Voir *ibid.*, pp. 44 et 129.

<sup>74</sup> Voir *ibid.*, pp. 152-153.

En substance, ces trois listes des XIV<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècles restent donc analogues aux textes antérieurs. Il faut souligner pour finir un dernier phénomène déjà observé par T. Kolbaba : les critiques adressées aux Latins trahissent une remarquable connaissance de leurs pratiques par les Byzantins.<sup>75</sup> Examinons à ce propos les 8 nouveaux points relevés dans les listes tardives : plusieurs des usages latins recensés se sont généralisés seulement aux XII<sup>e</sup>-XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles, tels l'abandon de la communion sous les deux espèces, l'onction des mains du prêtre lors de l'ordination ou le refus de distribuer la communion aux enfants, consécutif au concile de Latran IV ; de même, le souci des âmes des enfants non-baptisés s'exprime avec plus d'angoisse qu'auparavant à partir du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle dans le monde latin. D'autres critiques byzantines nouvelles visent sans doute les représentants des ordres mendiants, à savoir la diversité des habits monastiques et le problème de l'orientation des églises. Il en ressort que la plupart des griefs inédits figurant dans nos listes stigmatisent des innovations très récentes du côté latin, apparues en majorité à partir du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Cette remarque permet de tirer deux conclusions : les auteurs byzantins tardifs n'ont pas identifié dans les pratiques latines des motifs de condamnation supplémentaires non décelés par leurs prédécesseurs ; en revanche, ils actualisent les listes – du moins est-ce vrai de Panaréto et de Syméon – et y introduisent des critiques contre les nouvelles déviances latines qu'ils ont pu repérer.

### Du contenu à la formulation

Jusqu'ici, les reproches faits aux Latins dans les listes ont été énoncés d'une manière uniforme, afin de pouvoir reconnaître la même accusation lorsqu'elle revient dans des textes différents. Mais ces griefs ne sont en réalité jamais présentés de façon exactement identique d'une liste à l'autre. Ces variations de l'expression, ainsi que la présence ou non d'une argumentation condamnant l'usage latin visé, vont faire l'objet des réflexions qui suivent. Il serait fastidieux de commenter les listes point par point, et on se contentera ici de quelques exemples représentatifs, en essayant ainsi de définir la fonction spécifique de la liste au sein de la littérature de polémique religieuse et d'examiner ses transformations dans les derniers siècles du Moyen-Âge.

Les trois listes étudiées des XIV<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècles ne sont pas de simples décalques des listes antérieures. Alors que ces textes empruntaient beaucoup les uns aux autres ou dépendaient parfois clairement les uns des autres,<sup>76</sup> les listes tardives sont toutes autonomes, au point que certaines d'entre elles, celles de Panaréto et de Syméon surtout, font même preuve d'originalité. Bien sûr, on l'a vu, toutes ces listes puisent à un fonds commun élaboré depuis plusieurs siècles et sans cesse enrichi, mais, même s'ils y recourent, les auteurs des XIV<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècles écrivent en leur nom propre – alors que beaucoup des listes antérieures sont anonymes – et

<sup>75</sup> Voir *ibid.*, p. 72.

<sup>76</sup> Voir *ibid.*, Appendix 1, pp. 173-183 ; voir aussi l'exception que représente à cet égard la liste de Mélétios : T. Kolbaba, *Meletios Homologetes Galesiotes 'On the customs of the Italians'*, « Revue des Études Byzantines » 55, 1997, pp. 137-168 : 141-142.



développent leur propos antilatin chacun à sa manière. Ajoutons que deux listes sur les trois sont incluses dans un traité et rien n'indique qu'elles aient circulé isolément, ce qui signifie que le public visé est celui qui lit la production polémique antilatine en général : ce pourrait être un indice de ce que ces listes ne sont pas, ou en tout cas pas directement, destinées à un public populaire.<sup>77</sup>

De la même façon, aucune de ces trois listes ne consiste en une sèche énumération, comme c'est en revanche très majoritairement le cas dans les listes antérieures. Il peut arriver qu'un grief soit cité en une ligne, sans explication, mais c'est plutôt rare.<sup>78</sup> La plupart du temps, les accusations contre les Latins sont argumentées et étayées par des références soit sommaires, soit plus explicites. Il en résulte pour le lecteur contemporain une impression de déséquilibre, puisque certains points sont traités en une ou deux phrases et d'autres en plusieurs pages, sans qu'on puisse en tirer pour autant la conclusion que l'auteur accorde une importance supérieure à l'aspect qu'il expose plus longuement. De la même façon, les points nouveaux ne sont pas présentés de manière plus circonstanciée que les anciens. La longueur de chaque article reste donc très aléatoire, mais dans l'ensemble le discours est beaucoup plus développé qu'il ne l'était auparavant.

Qu'en est-il de la hiérarchisation des griefs ? Ils n'étaient pas classés dans les listes anciennes, on ne pouvait repérer de plan structuré dans ces énumérations.<sup>79</sup> Il n'en va pas tout à fait de même dans les listes tardives. On a déjà soulevé le problème de l'anticipation de certaines accusations en amont de la liste, en particulier la question du *Filioque*, qui est parfois abordée plus haut dans un traité et n'est pas répétée ensuite. Si, comme je l'ai proposé, on la prend en compte dans ces cas-là, on obtient le même début de liste chez nos trois auteurs : *Filioque* puis azymes sont à chaque fois les deux premiers griefs énoncés. C'est là un début de hiérarchisation, d'autant que l'addition au *Credo* est aussi présentée comme le point le plus grave.<sup>80</sup> La suite des listes comporte parfois des redites, mais à l'inverse, certains reproches autour d'un même thème sont souvent regroupés, par exemple tout ce

<sup>77</sup> Le contenu de la liste de Syméon a été en grande partie repris par l'auteur dans une lettre dogmatique adressée à un orthodoxe de Crète : voir Syméon de Thessalonique, *Ἔργα θεολογικά*, éd. D. Balfour, Thessaloniki 1981, pp. 195-219 : 216-218. Presque tous les griefs de la liste réapparaissent dans la partie finale de cette lettre, mais de façon beaucoup moins développée et plus désordonnée que dans le *Dialogue contre les hérésies* ; tout le début de l'épître est consacré à la réfutation de la doctrine latine du *Filioque*. On constate là encore que le destinataire doit être un homme instruit, sans doute, selon D. Balfour, un laïc exerçant un rôle important au sein de la population orthodoxe de Crète (voir *ibid.*, pp. 195-196), c'est-à-dire le même type de public potentiel que le traité lui-même.

<sup>78</sup> Voir par exemple Panarétos, p. 71, 17', à propos de l'interdiction de manger avec les juifs. Panarétos a pu considérer que cette question était parfaitement connue et qu'il était inutile d'en dire plus. Elle l'est en effet : les Byzantins s'appuient sur le 70<sup>e</sup> canon apostolique et sur le 11<sup>e</sup> canon du concile in *Trullo* pour interdire tout commerce avec les juifs. Voir Kolbaba, *Lists*, p. 38.

<sup>79</sup> À l'exception de celle de Constantin Stilbès : voir *ibid.*, p. 32.

<sup>80</sup> Voir Syméon, col. 101A et Panarétos, p. 77. Cependant Syméon insiste aussi sur la gravité de toutes les transgressions latines et sur l'erreur de certains orthodoxes qui, par économie, ne cherchent à résoudre que la question du *Filioque* : voir *PG CLV*, col. 109A.

qui concerne les sacrements<sup>81</sup> et tout ce qui a trait au jeûne.<sup>82</sup> Enfin chez Syméon, il existe une claire transition entre deux parties : « donc non seulement ils font ce genre de choses contre l'usage ecclésiastique originel, mais ils font aussi des milliers d'autres choses inconvenantes pour des chrétiens ». <sup>83</sup> Syméon entend donc évoquer d'une part les transgressions latines aux coutumes ecclésiastiques traditionnelles, d'autre part les manquements latins à l'esprit de la religion chrétienne : on reviendra sur cette bipartition.

Examinons maintenant le type d'arguments invoqués par les auteurs des listes tardives lorsqu'ils se montrent prolixes. Comme ailleurs dans la polémique antilatinne, les Byzantins recourent à des arguments d'autorité. Ils invoquent tour à tour les textes scripturaires, les canons apostoliques, les canons des Pères, les décisions conciliaires, et parfois tous à la fois.<sup>84</sup> Ainsi sur la question de l'ordination d'hommes mariés, voici une paraphrase de l'argumentation de Blastarès, qui donne lui-même toutes les références aux canons et cite certains extraits des textes :<sup>85</sup> il invoque successivement le 26<sup>e</sup> canon des apôtres,<sup>86</sup> le canon 6 du 6<sup>e</sup> concile, le canon 16 du synode de Carthagène, parce qu'ils autorisent les lecteurs et les chantres à se marier ; puis le 5<sup>e</sup> canon des apôtres, qui interdit à tout clerc de répudier sa femme ; puis le canon 12 du 6<sup>e</sup> concile, qui interdit le mariage seulement à l'évêque ; puis le canon 13 du même concile, qui condamne la législation romaine en ce domaine et donne lui-même une citation sur l'impossibilité pour l'homme de briser les liens consacrés par Dieu,<sup>87</sup> puis une citation de Paul sur l'honorabilité du mariage ;<sup>88</sup> puis le canon 51 des apôtres, qui condamne le clerc qui s'abstient du mariage par dégoût ; puis le 1<sup>er</sup> canon du synode de Gangres, qui condamne celui qui considère le mariage légitime comme impur ; et le 4<sup>e</sup> canon du même synode qui étend la condamnation à celui qui n'accepte pas la communion d'un prêtre marié ; et le 10<sup>e</sup> canon du même synode, qui condamne les vierges qui

<sup>81</sup> Ce sont les points 10 et 11 de la liste de Blastarès ; 3 à 5 de la liste de Panaréto ; et 7 à 12 de la liste de Syméon.

<sup>82</sup> Ce sont les points 4 à 7 de la liste de Blastarès ; 11 à 13 de la liste de Panaréto ; et 3 à 5 de la liste de Syméon.

<sup>83</sup> Voir Syméon, col. 104D: οὐ μόνον τοίνυν τὰ τοιαῦτα παρὰ τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν ἐξαρχῆς συνήθειαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μυρία ἕτερα Χριστιανοῖς ἀνάρμοστα ἐνεργοῦσι. Cette transition intervient entre les points 14 et 15 de la liste de Syméon, elle introduit le grief de la fornication.

<sup>84</sup> A. Argyriou insiste sur la présence de ce type de références dans les listes, qui traduit l'attachement de leurs auteurs à la tradition orthodoxe : voir Argyriou, *Remarques sur quelques listes grecques*, cit., pp. 28-30.

<sup>85</sup> Voir Blastarès, pp. 441-442. Sur la hiérarchie que Blastarès établit par ailleurs entre célibat et mariage, voir P. Viscuso, *Purity and sexual defilement in late Byzantine theology*, « *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* » 57, 1991, pp. 399-408.

<sup>86</sup> Pour toutes les références aux canons, voir P.-P. Joannou (éd.), *Discipline générale antique (II<sup>e</sup>-IX<sup>e</sup> s.)*, I, 1, *Les canons des conciles œcuméniques*, Roma 1962 ; *Discipline générale antique (IV<sup>e</sup>-IX<sup>e</sup> s.)*, I, 2, *Les canons des synodes particuliers*, Roma 1962 ; *Discipline générale antique (IV<sup>e</sup>-IX<sup>e</sup> s.)*, II, *Les canons des Pères grecs*, Roma 1963.

<sup>87</sup> Il s'agit d'une citation attribuable à Matthieu (Mt 19, 6) ou à Marc (Mc 10, 9).

<sup>88</sup> Voir He 13, 4, puis 1 Co 7, 27.

disent du mal des personnes mariées ; et Paul dans la première lettre à Timothée, à propos du respect dû au mariage ;<sup>89</sup> puis Paul dans la lettre à Tite, qui fait mention d'un prêtre marié.<sup>90</sup> Cet exemple à lui seul suffit à montrer l'abondance des références – toutes pertinentes – dont peuvent faire usage les auteurs des XIV<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècles, particulièrement un spécialiste de droit comme Blastarès.<sup>91</sup>

Certaines de ces références sont des passages obligés que tous les auteurs connaissent et citent de concert, mais ce n'est pas toujours le cas. À propos du non-respect du sanctuaire, les trois auteurs se réfèrent chacun à une autorité différente : Syméon cite l'Ancien et le Nouveau Testament,<sup>92</sup> Blastarès invoque le canon 69 du 6<sup>e</sup> concile et les canons 19 et 44 du synode de Laodicée,<sup>93</sup> tandis que Panaréto donne lui aussi le canon 69 du 6<sup>e</sup> concile, mais y ajoute Denys l'Aréopagite.<sup>94</sup> Cette variété laisse penser que chaque auteur est livré à lui-même pour le choix de ses citations et puise dans ses propres connaissances : si Blastarès est souvent très complet, Panaréto est inégal et Syméon la plupart du temps très vague, se référant seulement aux apôtres et aux Pères en général. Mais tous éprouvent le besoin de justifier leurs accusations en renvoyant aux textes fondateurs de la loi. Cette tendance n'était pas inexistante auparavant, et en particulier Jean II de Kiev au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle se référait déjà systématiquement aux canons, même si c'était avec une bien moindre profusion.<sup>95</sup> Mais ce renvoi aux textes s'affirme très nettement à partir de la fin du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle avec les listes respectives du Pseudo-Athanase et de Mélélios le Confesseur, toutes deux rédigées dans le contexte du concile de Lyon II,<sup>96</sup> et les trois listes ultérieures qui font l'objet de la présente étude. Il n'est pas impossible que la conclusion de l'Union de Lyon, les discussions avec les Latins et la rédaction à cette période de nombreux florilèges et traités polémiques aient pu contribuer à une inflation de l'usage des citations dans les listes elles-mêmes.

Ce recours massif aux canons éclaire la nature même des listes : elles sont conçues pour fournir un ensemble de chefs d'accusation qui pourraient être utilisés dans un contexte judiciaire. Le procès demeure fictif, mais ce sont bien des listes d'infractions commises par les Latins, et chacune tombe sous le coup de la loi, l'article étant souvent nommément cité désormais. La conclusion implicite de chaque liste pourrait être que, en vertu de toutes les charges retenues, les Latins sont coupables et doivent être condamnés. On a affaire ici à une conception très normative de l'orthodoxie qui met en avant la conformité à la règle, d'une façon tout à fait procédurière. Il me semble important d'insister sur ce point, car je m'écarte ici en partie des interprétations de T. Kolbaba : les listes antilatines ne sont pas le lieu où

<sup>89</sup> Voir 1 Tm 3, 2, puis 3, 12, puis 4, 1-3.

<sup>90</sup> Voir Tt 1, 5-6.

<sup>91</sup> Sur le même sujet, Panaréto fait seulement allusion au synode de Gangres et cite le canon 51 des apôtres : voir Panaréto, p. 69, ε'.

<sup>92</sup> Voir Syméon, col. 108A-B, qui cite Mt 7, 6 et Is 56, 7.

<sup>93</sup> Voir Blastarès, p. 443.

<sup>94</sup> Voir Panaréto, p. 70, η'.

<sup>95</sup> Voir Kolbaba, *Lists*, pp. 130 et 175-176.

<sup>96</sup> Voir *ibid.*, pp. 131, 179-180 ; Kolbaba, *Meletios Homologetes Galesiotes*, cit., pp. 137-168.

les Byzantins examinent leurs différences avec les Latins, ni même celui où ils répertorient, dans un esprit de charité, les usages plus ou moins fautifs que les Latins pourraient amender : avant même d'être différents, les Latins sont en tort.<sup>97</sup> Il est tout à fait exact que les listes révèlent ce qui était perçu par les Byzantins comme des usages distincts de la part des Latins, mais ces différences ne sont pas appréhendées de manière relativiste, comme des modes divers de pratiquer la religion chrétienne : elles sont condamnées en tant que déviations illégales. La problématique des listes n'est pas tant la question du « eux » et « nous » dans une interaction réciproque, que « le jugement de Dieu sur eux » et « le jugement de Dieu sur nous », comme une préfiguration du jugement dernier.

Abandonnons maintenant les canons pour examiner l'argumentation donnée par les auteurs des listes précisément lorsqu'ils ne disposent pas d'un écrit auquel ils peuvent se référer. Lorsque la loi n'existe pas, Panarétos en appelle par exemple à la tradition non-écrite : ainsi, c'est en vertu de « l'usage non-écrit transmis par l'Église » que les sanctuaires doivent être orientés vers l'est.<sup>98</sup> Mais le plus souvent il propose une réflexion plus élaborée, sinon plus convaincante. Sur l'usage des prêtres latins de se raser la barbe, il n'existe aucun canon : Michel Cérulaire et Constantin Stilbès rangeaient cette coutume parmi les pratiques judaïsantes, d'autres y voyaient un acte efféminé, mais il ne semble pas qu'une argumentation théologique ait été élaborée autour de ce thème.<sup>99</sup> Panarétos affirme pour sa part qu'en se rasant, les clercs et les moines latins cherchent à corriger la création divine et mettent donc en cause sa perfection.<sup>100</sup> De plus, il place malgré tout une citation – tirée du Lévitique, donc fortement empreinte de commandements judaïques, mais il ne perçoit certainement pas cette contradiction – qu'il déforme pour lui donner le sens voulu : de « vous ne ferez pas de rouleaux avec la chevelure de votre tête et n'abîmerez pas l'aspect de votre barbe », <sup>101</sup> on passe sous la plume de Panarétos à « ne pas épiler les barbes et ne pas faire de rouleaux ». <sup>102</sup> On voit que la mé-

<sup>97</sup> Voir par exemple Kolbaba, *Lists*, p. 28 : « the central message of the lists is that the Latins are filthy and utterly alien. In the most radical lists, the Latins are not only not Christian ; they are also barely human ». Je souscris tout à fait à cette idée qui procède de l'analyse anthropologique (voir *infra*), mais à mon avis le « message central » des listes est plus littéral : il consiste à affirmer que les Latins transgressent à tel point les prescriptions religieuses qu'ils en deviennent hors-la-loi, ils attentent à la loi divine et doivent donc être exclus. T. Kolbaba n'évince certes pas la dimension hérésiologique de ces textes, mais elle ne met pas l'accent sur leur caractère judiciaire.

<sup>98</sup> Voir *supra*, n. 55.

<sup>99</sup> Voir Kolbaba, *Lists*, p. 57 et la bibliographie citée.

<sup>100</sup> Voir Panarétos, p. 73, ιη' : « leurs prêtres, leurs évêques et leurs moines et le pape lui-même coupent leur barbe en la rasant jusqu'à la peau, comme pour critiquer la création de Dieu et, dirait-on, comme pour corriger le créateur » (τοὺς πάγονας ἑαυτῶν κείρουσι ξυρώντες ἕως ἐπιδερμίδος οἱ τε ἱερεῖς αὐτῶν, οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς, οἱ μονάζοντες καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Πάπας, μεμφόμενοι ὡσανεὶ τὴν δημιουργίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ ὡς ἄν, εἴποι τις, ἐπιδιορθούμενοι τὸν δημιουργόν).

<sup>101</sup> Lv 19, 27 : οὐ ποιήσετε σισόνη ἐκ τῆς κόμης τῆς κεφαλῆς ὑμῶν οὐδὲ φθερεῖτε τὴν ὄψιν τοῦ πάγονος ὑμῶν.

<sup>102</sup> Panarétos, p. 73, ιη' : μὴ τίλλειν τοὺς πάγονας, μηδὲ σισόνη ποιῆσαι.

thode peut être approximative et même malhonnête, il importe surtout de condamner la pratique latine au nom de principes chrétiens, même s'ils sont inappropriés.

La question des nourritures impures se prête aussi à un traitement de ce genre. Le christianisme n'a pas conservé les interdits alimentaires des juifs, mais on trouve pourtant de façon récurrente dans les listes la mention de nourritures impures consommées par les Latins.<sup>103</sup> Sur ce point, l'argumentation – pour une fois très brève – de Panarétois reste classique et sobre : il se réfère au passage des *Actes des apôtres* où Jacques proscriit la consommation de chair étouffée et de sang.<sup>104</sup> De son côté, Syméon aborde longuement le sujet<sup>105</sup> en se référant d'abord à plusieurs citations de Paul sur le jeûne et la tempérance, ce qui est assez éloigné du problème de l'ingestion des viandes incriminées : encore une fois, la citation semble n'être là que pour apporter une caution religieuse au propos de l'auteur. La démonstration de Syméon se poursuit sur un tout autre registre. Il entremêle, certainement à dessein, le premier reproche avec un autre : non seulement les Latins mangent la chair d'animaux sauvages, mais ils consomment aussi leurs propres excréments.<sup>106</sup> L'association entre les deux griefs, présents séparément chez Panarétois<sup>107</sup> ainsi que chez Stilbès,<sup>108</sup> est ici destinée à déconsidérer complètement les Latins non plus sur le plan religieux, mais en tant qu'êtres humains. Le fait de se nourrir de bêtes sauvages était déjà la marque d'un comportement non-civilisé voire barbare,<sup>109</sup> mais la consommation d'urine ravale le Latin en-dessous même de l'animal : « pas même les bêtes sauvages ne mangent leurs propres excréments, preuve que ceci n'est pas naturel ».<sup>110</sup> Contrairement à Syméon, les autres listes font état du contexte médical dans lequel l'urine peut être bue par les Latins ;<sup>111</sup>

<sup>103</sup> Voir Kolbaba, *Lists*, pp. 145-161.

<sup>104</sup> Voir Panarétois, pp. 71-72, ιδ'. Il cite Ac 15, 20 : « qu'on leur mande seulement de s'abstenir de ce qui a été souillé par les idoles, des unions illégitimes, des chairs étouffées et du sang ». Ce passage, ainsi que Ac 15, 28-29, est régulièrement invoqué par les Byzantins dans leur condamnation des nourritures impures consommées par les Latins : voir Kolbaba, *Lists*, pp. 146-148. Ces viandes sont entre autres celles de l'ours, du chacal, de la tortue, du castor, du corbeau et du rat.

<sup>105</sup> Voir Syméon, coll. 105B-108A.

<sup>106</sup> Voir *ibid.*, col. 105B : « car ils touchent aussi à leurs propres excréments et goûtent à leurs urines, comme beaucoup de gens l'ont vu » (καὶ τῶν περιττωμάτων γὰρ αὐτῶν ἄπτονται, καὶ οὐρῶν ἀπογεύονται, ὡς εἶδον πολλοί).

<sup>107</sup> Voir Panarétois, pp. 71-72, ιβ', ιδ' et ιε'.

<sup>108</sup> Voir Darrouzès, *Mémoire de Constantin Stilbès*, cit., articles nr. 66, p. 79 et nr. 75, p. 81.

<sup>109</sup> Voir Kolbaba, *Lists*, pp. 134-135 et 148-149.

<sup>110</sup> Syméon, col. 108A : οὐδὲ γὰρ τὰ θηρία περιττωμάτων ἰδίων γεύεται, δεικνύοντα ὡς οὐ κατὰ φύσιν τοῦτό ἐστιν.

<sup>111</sup> Voir *supra*, n. 107 et 108. Constantin Stilbès parle de façon très générale de consommation d'urine « sous prétexte de bonne santé », tandis que Panarétois la croit réservée aux cas de « fièvres de quatre jours et plus longues ». L'usage thérapeutique de l'urine est attesté dans le monde latin à cette période, comme en témoigne un auteur du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, Barthélémy l'Anglais : « cette substance humide et claire, recueillie dans la vessie, est appelée urine parce que, sèche de nature, elle brûle et attaque tout ce qu'elle touche, comme dit Gilles le médecin.

mais leurs auteurs manifestent le même dégoût que Syméon et la même incrédulité devant une pratique pourtant réellement attestée.<sup>112</sup> Il semble en effet que la consommation d'urine à des fins médicales n'existe pas à Byzance, tandis que cette pratique est fortement associée à l'hérésie, en particulier au bogomilisme.<sup>113</sup> Du point de vue argumentatif, on retrouve ici, avec beaucoup plus de virulence que chez Panarétos précédemment, l'idée que les Latins vont contre les lois naturelles, c'est-à-dire contre la création divine.

La bipartition indiquée par Syméon<sup>114</sup> s'explique donc ainsi : une première catégorie des reproches qui peuvent être faits aux Latins relève de manquements aux canons ; le reste, à savoir ce qu'il qualifiait de « choses inconvenantes pour les chrétiens », trouve sa condamnation dans les lois de la nature elles-mêmes, dans l'ordre naturel des choses tel que l'a voulu Dieu. Ainsi les auteurs des listes peuvent prétendre – ce qu'ils font implicitement – qu'ils disposent pour chaque grief d'un argument évident, objectif. Mais en réalité, le contenu des listes ne se réduit certes pas à un discours accusatoire respectant les strictes limites du droit ecclésiastique : comme l'avait analysé T. Kolbaba et comme on le constate avec ces derniers exemples, en assimilant déviance, hérésie et barbarie, il véhicule aussi une xénophobie extrême qui ne trouve pas d'équivalent dans le reste de la littérature antilatine.

Les listes antilatines des XIV<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècles sont par bien des aspects comparables aux listes antérieures : elles reprennent pour une bonne part les « erreurs » traditionnellement imputées aux Latins, en particulier l'addition du *Filioque* au *Credo*

Pour cela, elle est bonne contre la gale ; les vésicules, les clous et les pustules, quand on les lave avec. Lorsqu'on la boit, elle est bonne contre la maladie de la rate et guérit les plaies purulentes du corps. Mélangée à du fiel de faucon, elle est bonne pour les yeux, car, si on les badigeonne avec soin, elle ronge le voile et enlève les taies, comme disaient Constantin et Galien. On ne doit donc pas mépriser l'urine, qui est utile en beaucoup de choses » (Barthélémy l'Anglais, *Le livre des propriétés des choses. Une encyclopédie au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, éd. B. Ribémont, Paris 1999, livre V, chap. XLV, pp. 132-133). Voir aussi L. Moulinier-Brogé, *Un flacon en point de mire. La science des urines, un enjeu culturel dans la société médiévale (XII<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, « Annales. Histoire, Sciences sociales » 65, 2010, pp. 9-38. Je remercie Laurence Moulinier-Brogé, à qui je dois ces références, ainsi qu'Antoine Piétrobelli.

<sup>112</sup> Dans les listes de Panarétos et de Syméon, cette accusation est la seule qui se trouve confirmée par un ou plusieurs témoignages explicites, certainement pour garantir qu'il ne s'agit pas d'une rumeur calomnieuse : Syméon se réfère à « beaucoup de gens [qui] l'ont vu » (voir *supra*, n. 106) et Panarétos se pose en témoin direct (Panarétos, p. 72, ιε') : « comme moi-même je l'ai entendu de la part de ceux qui en sont venus à une telle pratique » (ὡς αὐτὸς ἐγὼ παρ' αὐτῶν ἤκουσα τῶν εἰς τοιαύτην πράξιν ἐλθόντων).

<sup>113</sup> C'est l'une des accusations portées contre des moines bogomiles en 1344 : on leur reproche d'attribuer à l'urine de leur maître une valeur sacramentelle. A. Rigo interprète cette accusation comme un cliché récurrent dans la polémique contre les hérétiques, dont on retrouve d'autres exemples antérieurs : voir A. Rigo, *Monaci esicasti e monaci bogomili : le accuse di messalianismo e bogomilismo rivolte agli esicasti ed il problema dei rapporti tra esicismo e bogomilismo*, Firenze 1989, pp. 196-198.

<sup>114</sup> Voir *supra*, n. 83.

et l'usage des azymes, qui figurent comme les griefs les plus graves. Elles introduisent aussi des reproches inédits qui reflètent une grande attention aux évolutions de la vie religieuse des Latins : la plupart des accusations nouvelles lancées par Panarétos et Syméon de Thessalonique concernent des pratiques latines datant des XII<sup>e</sup>-XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles, comme par exemple la suppression de la communion sous les deux espèces ou la création de différents habits monastiques.

Comme les listes antérieures, celles des XIV<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècles ne traitent pas de théologie, preuve qu'elles ne visent pas à une synthèse de toute la pensée antilatine, mais constituent un genre à part, fondé sur l'énumération des infractions latines. Elles fonctionnent comme de véritables réquisitoires, de plus en plus argumentés à partir de la fin du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle : on constate en effet dans les textes une recrudescence très nette de l'usage de citations, qu'elles soient scripturaires ou conciliaires. Ce recours aux textes canoniques est l'une des caractéristiques des listes tardives, plus explicites sur ce plan que leurs devancières. De cette façon, les listes mettent les Latins en accusation d'une manière qui se veut factuelle et impartiale ; en réalité, elles appartiennent bien à la littérature polémique la plus radicale de par leurs attaques souvent biaisées et leur xénophobie latente. Le dernier enseignement des listes tardives pourra sembler paradoxal : ces procédés n'émanent pas d'auteurs populaires écrivant pour des fidèles fanatisés, ils trouvent place au contraire dans des traités composés par des lettrés appartenant à l'élite de la société. Il faut sans doute en conclure que la liste antilatine est perçue comme un genre légitime à Byzance à la fin du Moyen-Âge, non comme une sous-littérature.

Marie-Hélène Blanchet

## Annexe

On trouvera ci-dessous le contenu de chacune des trois listes étudiées selon l'ordre donné par les textes. Par souci de clarté et d'unification de la terminologie, j'ai repris les formulations utilisées par T. Kolbaba dans l'Appendice 3 de son ouvrage et renvoyé aux occurrences qu'elle répertorie (abrégé en K.). J'ai aussi indiqué par un astérisque les griefs nouveaux qui étaient absents des listes médiobyzantines.

### I. Liste de Matthieu Blastarès

Édition : Dosithée de Jérusalem, *Τόμος καταλλαγῆς*, Iași 1692, pp. 441-444.

Matthieu Blastarès insère dans son traité *Contre les Latins* cette brève liste. Il s'agit d'une énumération de griefs contre les Latins qui vient après un long développement sur le *Filioque* et les azymes. Certains points sont mis en cause à plusieurs reprises, en particulier ceux qui concernent les jeûnes ainsi que la célébration de la liturgie complète pendant le Carême au lieu de la liturgie des présanctifiés. En comptant les 2 premiers points qui s'ajoutent à la liste, on obtient un total de 11 griefs, parmi lesquels aucun n'est nouveau.

- Ils ont ajouté le *Filioque* au *Credo* (partie antérieure du traité ; K. 191)
- Ils utilisent du pain non levé (azymes) pour l'eucharistie (partie antérieure du traité ; K. 190)
- Ils n'acceptent pas les prêtres mariés (pp. 441-442 ; K. 190)

- Ils jeûnent le samedi (p. 442 ; K. 189)
- Ils ne jeûnent pas le mercredi, et leur jeûne du vendredi n'est pas assez rigoureux (2 occurrences pp. 442 et 443 ; K. 196)
- Ils ne jeûnent pas correctement pendant le Carême (2 occurrences p. 443 ; K. 191)
- Leurs moines mangent du lard et d'autres viandes (p. 443 ; K. 193)
- Ils célèbrent la liturgie complète pendant le Carême (2 occurrences p. 443 ; K. 196)
- Ils ne respectent pas suffisamment l'autel et le sanctuaire (p. 443 ; K. 195)
- Ils embrassent les autres célébrants au lieu de leur donner la communion (p. 443 ; K. 195)
- Ils ne baptisent pas convenablement (avec de l'eau, sans chrême, sans la triple immersion) (pp. 443-444 ; K. 192)

## II. Liste de Matthieu Ange Panaréto

Édition : P. Risso, *Matteo Angelo Panareto e cinque suoi opuscoli*, « Roma e l'Oriente » 9, 1915, pp. 202-206 ; 10, 1915, pp. 63-77.

Le titre de la liste de Panaréto est « Du même, au sujet des autres absurdités des Latins de mauvaise doctrine, lesquelles sont au nombre de 24 ». Ces « autres absurdités » viennent dans les manuscrits après un petit opuscule sur le *Filioque*, de sorte qu'il est logique de rajouter ce grief au début de la liste ; c'est d'autant plus légitime que Panaréto revient sur ce point à la fin de sa liste en le désignant comme « leur hérésie complète » (ἡ ἐγκύκλιος αὐτῶν αἰρέσις), c'est-à-dire l'erreur qui englobe et génère toutes les autres. La liste de Panaréto comprend donc 25 articles, mais comme certains se répètent et que d'autres se subdivisent en deux griefs, on arrive ci-dessous à un total de 24 points, dont 3 sont nouveaux.

- Ils ont ajouté le *Filioque* au *Credo* (opuscule précédent ; K. 191)
- Ils utilisent du pain non levé (azymes) pour l'eucharistie (pp. 202-204 ; K. 190)
- Ils mélangent le vin de l'eucharistie avec de l'eau froide et non de l'eau chaude (p. 204 ; K. 202)
- Ils donnent la communion aux laïcs avec seulement du pain, sans vin\* (pp. 204-206 et 63-65)
- Ils ne baptisent pas convenablement (sans chrême, sans immersion) (pp. 65-69 ; K. 192)
- Ils n'acceptent pas les prêtres mariés (p. 69 ; K. 190)
- Les évêques obtiennent l'épiscopat contre de l'argent (pp. 69-70 ; K. 201)
- Le transfert des évêques d'un siège à un autre ne fait l'objet d'aucun empêchement (p. 69 ; K. 201)
- Ils permettent le mariage même dans le cas de degrés d'affinité interdits (p. 70 ; K. 192)
- Ils ne respectent pas suffisamment l'autel et le sanctuaire (p. 70 ; K. 195)
- Ils ne jeûnent pas le mercredi, et leur jeûne du vendredi n'est pas assez rigoureux (pp. 70-71 ; K. 196)
- Ils jeûnent le samedi (p. 71 ; K. 189)
- Ils ne jeûnent pas correctement pendant le Carême (2 occurrences pp. 71 et 77 ; K. 191)
- Ils consomment des aliments impurs (2 occurrences pp. 71 et 71-72 ; K. 189)
- Ils mangent librement avec des juifs (p. 71 ; K. 198)
- Ils boivent leur propre urine (p. 72 ; K. 201)
- Ils disent que tous les pécheurs doivent obtenir leur purification dans le feu du purgatoire (p. 72 ; K. 198)
- Ils disent que le châtement aura une fin (p. 72 ; K. 199)
- Ils connaissent à peine les saints canons et ne les appliquent pas (pp. 72-73 ; K. 199)
- Leurs prêtres se rasent la barbe (p. 73 ; K. 195)
- Ils orientent leurs sanctuaires dans n'importe quelle direction et non pas toujours vers l'Orient\* (pp. 73-74)



- Ils introduisent de la confusion entre les degrés de la hiérarchie ecclésiastique\* (p. 74)
- Ils célèbrent plus d'une eucharistie par jour et par autel, par église ou par prêtre (2 occurrences pp. 74 et 74-75 ; K. 195)
- Les évêques et les prêtres revêtent leurs mains de gants (pp. 75-77 ; K. 197)

### III. Liste de Syméon de Thessalonique

Édition : *PG CLV*, coll. 101A-108D.

La liste de Syméon est incluse dans le *Dialogue contre les hérésies*, elle introduit dans le traité la dénonciation des erreurs latines. Certains points présents dans cette liste sont développés plus loin dans le traité, mais à l'inverse d'autres sont absents de la liste, tandis qu'ils apparaissent ailleurs dans le traité, par exemple la question du purgatoire. Syméon ne cherche donc pas à dresser une liste exhaustive et autonome des erreurs latines, mais il récapitule les principaux griefs antilatins, selon une composition claire : il traite d'abord des innovations latines en matière ecclésiastique, puis évoque les usages des Latins qui sont contraires à l'orthodoxie. Compte tenu de la répétition de certains griefs, la liste comporte 18 articles, dont 6 sont nouveaux.

- Ils ont ajouté le *Filioque* au *Credo* (col. 101A ; K. 191)
- Ils utilisent du pain non levé (azymes) pour l'eucharistie (2 occurrences coll. 101A et 101C-D ; K. 190)
- Ils ne jeûnent pas le mercredi, et leur jeûne du vendredi n'est pas assez rigoureux (col. 101A ; K. 196)
- Ils ne jeûnent pas correctement pendant le Carême (col. 101B ; K. 191)
- Ils jeûnent le samedi (col. 101B ; K. 189)
- Ils permettent le mariage même dans le cas de degrés d'affinité interdits (col. 101C ; K. 192)
- Ils ne confèrent pas l'ordination par imposition des mains mais par une onction\* (2 occurrences coll. 101C et 104A-B)
- Ils donnent la communion aux laïcs avec seulement du pain, sans vin\* (col. 101D)
- Ils ne baptisent pas convenablement (avec de l'eau, sans chrême, sans la triple immersion) (col. 101D ; K. 192)
- Ils ne donnent pas la communion aux nouveau-nés baptisés\* (col. 101D)
- Ils ne baptisent pas la plupart des nouveau-nés\* (coll. 101D-104A)
- Les clercs ne peuvent pas concélébrer et partager la communion\* (col. 104B-C)
- Ils ont différents habits monastiques\* (col. 104C-D)
- Ils forniquent (coll. 104D-105 B ; K. 202)
- Ils consomment des aliments impurs (coll. 105B-108A ; K. 189)
- Ils boivent leur propre urine (col. 105B-C ; K. 201)
- Ils ne respectent pas suffisamment l'autel et le sanctuaire (col. 108A-B ; K. 195)
- Le pape et les évêques donnent l'absolution pour toutes sortes de péchés (col. 108C-D ; K. 200)

### IV. Récapitulatif des points nouveaux

- Ils donnent la communion aux laïcs avec seulement du pain, sans vin (2 occurrences)
- Ils ne donnent pas la communion aux nouveau-nés baptisés
- Ils ne baptisent pas la plupart des nouveau-nés
- Les clercs ne peuvent pas concélébrer et partager la communion
- Ils ne confèrent pas l'ordination par imposition des mains mais par une onction
- Ils orientent leurs sanctuaires dans n'importe quelle direction et non pas toujours vers l'Orient

- Ils introduisent de la confusion entre les degrés de la hiérarchie ecclésiastique
- Ils ont différents habits monastiques

## The Polybius Translation of Romulus Amasaeus

After Polybius' reappearance in Western Europe at the dawn of the fifteenth century, his reception in the Latin West was defined by two major publications.<sup>1</sup> Around 1418-19 Leonardo Bruni first wrote the history of the first Punic War and the subsequent Illyrian and Gallic wars – an episode missing in the preserved parts of Livy's *Ab Urbe Condita* – by producing a free adaptation of the first and part of the second book of Polybius' *Historiae*, paraphrasing the Greek source of his *Commentaria de Primo Bello Punico* to make his text look like authentic Livy. One might indeed recall that Polybius had been a major, if not always duly acknowledged, source of Livy himself in the first place. Bruni's effort proved a success on all fronts: his text survives in some 140 manuscripts in the original Latin version and in more than a hundred in its Italian translation, and almost as soon as the printing press reached Italy, Bruni's supplement was printed along with the *Decades* in both Latin and Italian.<sup>2</sup>

When Pope Nicholas V about 1450 included Polybius in the list of Greek historians to be translated into Latin, this task was assigned to Cardinal Bessarion's confidant Niccolò Perotti. He completed his translation of the first five books – the only ones that were in their entirety available to him – in the summer of 1454. The *Excerpta antiqua* from the books VI-XVIII were to be translated only much later, in scattered efforts. The fragment *De militia Romana* (VI 19-42) met with quite some success, after having been first rendered by Janis Lascaris, whose version was printed in 1529, along with the Greek. Only the following year, Vincentius Obsopoeus finally published the first five books in Greek, accompanied by Perotti's Latin translation, which by then had been printed independently several times after the *editio princeps* had been issued by Sweynheym and Pannartz in Rome in 1472.

In 1543, the Bolognese humanist Pompilius Amasaeus (1513-1586 ca.)<sup>3</sup> supple-

<sup>1</sup> As a survey of the Polybius reception in the Renaissance, still unsurpassed is A. Momigliano, *Polybius' Reappearance in Western Europe* [1974], in *Sesto Contributo alla storia degli studi classici e del mondo antico*, I, Roma 1980, pp. 103-123.

<sup>2</sup> J. Hankins, *Repertorium Brunianum: a critical guide to the writings of Leonardo Bruni*, Roma 1997. The most recent discussion of Bruni's version is by G. Ianziti, *Writing History in Renaissance Italy*, Cambridge, MA-London 2012, pp. 61-88: *Between Livy and Polybius: Bruni on the First Punic War*.

<sup>3</sup> Biography by R. Avesani, *Amaseo, Pompilio*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, II, Roma 1960, pp. 658-660. See also M. G. Bianchi, *Pompilio Amaseo, Polibio e l'Ambrosiana*, in M. Ballarini, G. Barbarisi, C. Berra, G. Frasso (edd.), *Tra i fondi dell'Ambrosiana. Manoscritti italiani, antichi e moderni*, Milano, 15-18 maggio 2007, I, Milano 2008, pp. 311-339.

mented Lascaris' effort by publishing two more fragments from the sixth book: *De diversis rerum publicarum formis deque Romanae praestantia* (VI 3-18 and VI 43-58).<sup>4</sup> He dedicated his translation to the "Gran Cardinale" Alessandro Farnese (1520-1589), who nine years before had been made a cardinal, at the age of fourteen, by his homonymous grandfather (1468-1549), shortly after the latter had in 1534 been elected to the papacy as Paul III. This translation is considered the major achievement of Pompilius, who would never really come out of the shadows of his more famous father Romulus Quirinus Amasaesus (1489-1552),<sup>5</sup> who was born in Udine but had come into prominence in Bologna, where he also obtained citizenship. He became the instructor of two grandsons of Pope Paul III, the cardinals Guido Ascanio Sforza and Alessandro Farnese. To the latter he dedicated his translation of Pausanias, published in Rome in 1547 by his first-born Pompilius.

Soon after, Romulus apparently decided to follow in his son's footsteps by translating Polybius. In his dedication letter to his pupil and patron Farnese, he explains that after having finished his Pausanias translation, he wanted to devote himself to another translation from the Greek, but that, just when he had had his mind set on Polybius, the latter was published in its entirety in both Greek and Latin in Basel. Being busy with many more important tasks, Romulus decided to give up on his initial plan, yet in order not to waste his efforts completely, he decided to send a sample of his work on Polybius to Farnese: the description, that is, of the capture of Nova Carthago by Scipio's troops in Polybius' tenth book (X 2-20). A reference to the 1549 bilingual edition by Johannes Hervagius<sup>6</sup> allows us to date Romulus' translation as we have it between March 1549 and Romulus' demise in June 1552. The translator assures his dedicatee that any resemblance to Livy's parallel account is merely due to Livy's dependence on Polybius, as he himself did not intend to follow Livy's rendering. Strikingly, however, Romulus does not really discuss the value or flaws of the Latin translation as it was edited by Arnoldus Arlenius and printed by Hervagius (who had adopted Perotti's translation of books I-V and relied on Wolfgangus Musculus for a new translation of the epitome of books VI-XVII), taking the position that anybody could reissue a text already translated by somebody else, a task therefore not befitting himself. He moves on to an assessment of Polybius' own literary values and of the unduly tepid reception of his oeuvre by Livy and Cicero – in sharp contrast with M. Brutus,

<sup>4</sup> Bianchi, *Pompilio Amaseo*, cit., p. 316, mentions the edition by Giovanni Battista Faelli in Bologna (1543) and its reissue as an appendix to François Hotman's *Novus commentarius de verbis iuris*, Basel 1563, reprint Venice 1564. It should be noted, however, that Hotman had included Amasaesus' translation already in his original *Commentarius de verbis iuris*, Basel 1558, reprint Basel 1566, and not only in the later revision.

<sup>5</sup> Biography by Avesani, *Amaseo*, cit., pp. 660-666. See also E. Billanovich, G. Frasso, *Amaseiana*, «Italia Medioevale e Umanistica» 22, 1979, pp. 531-545.

<sup>6</sup> ΠΟΛΥΒΙΟΥ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΠΟΛΙΤΟΥ ἹΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ ΒΙΒΛΙΑ Ε΄ ΚΑΙ ἘΠΙΤΟΜΑΙ ΙΒ΄. Polybii Megalopolitani Historiarum libri priores quinque, Nicolao Perotto, episcopo Sipontino interprete; item epitome sequentium librorum usque ad decimumseptimum, Wolfgango Musculo interprete. Basileae, per Ioannem Hervagium, anno MDXLIX mense Martio.

who allegedly epitomized Polybius' *Historiae* (a notice that seems to stem from Plutarch's *Life of Brutus*), followed by two testimonia stemming from Pausanias (in Romulus' own translation as it was published in 1547) and a paraphrase of the Suda entry. Amasaeus also gives no explanation why he selected precisely this Polybius fragment for his sample translation, but an obvious explanation may be the fact that these pages about the conquering of Nova Carthago also contain the famous exemplum about the "Continnence of Scipio". While Scipio had become a prominent role model for Renaissance princes ever since Petrarch had selected him as the idealized hero of his epic poem *Africa*, Scipio's magnanimity and (sexual) self-restraint became a very popular subject in sixteenth and especially seventeenth century painting, initiated by Giovanni Bellini's *Continnence of Scipio* (1506), now at the National Gallery in Washington,<sup>7</sup> and followed by many imitators. While the motif is mostly ascribed to Livian influence, the role of (the Latin) Polybius may not have been granted sufficient attention in scholarship. Most probably Amasaeus deemed that Scipio's leadership would serve as an excellent example for Farnese too. While his translation was never printed and therefore probably lacked any significant influence, it proves by itself an apposite illustration of the appeal that Scipio's model apparently had to the patronage context of sixteenth-century humanist scholarly endeavour.

Romulus Amasaeus' Polybius has until now remained unpublished,<sup>8</sup> and it survives in no more than two coeval manuscripts:

V Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 6206; cart. misc., ff. 148<sup>r</sup>-163<sup>r</sup>.<sup>9</sup>

E Évora, Biblioteca Pública, cod. CX/1-21, N° 6; cart., 31 ff.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Painting discussed in D. A. Brown, S. Ferino-Pagden, *Bellini, Giorgione, Titian, and the Renaissance of Venetian Painting*, Washington-Vienna-New Haven 2006, pp. 156-159. A survey of representations of the theme can be found in C. L. Baskins, (*In Famous Men: The Continnence of Scipio and Formations of Masculinity in Italian Renaissance Domestic Painting*, «Studies in Iconography» 23, 2002, pp. 109-136.

<sup>8</sup> The translation has not been the object of any scholarly research beyond the short citation by Avesani (*Amaseo*, cit.): «Da una lettera al cardinale A. Farnese citata da Liruti [= G. G. Liruti, *Notizie delle vite ed opere scritte da' letterati del Friuli*, II, Venezia 1762, pp. 349-385], p. 375 era noto che l'Amaseo aveva atteso a tradurre Polibio. Probabilmente copia di tale lettera è la dedica premessa al *De Scipione Africano maggiore, deque eius ductu, et auspiciis, Carthagine nova expugnata, ex Polybii historiarum lib. X*, conservataci nel *Vat. Lat.* 6206, ff. 150<sup>r</sup>-163<sup>r</sup>. La dedica al cardinale Farnese, da cui appare che tale traduzione è posteriore a quella di Pausania, è al f. 148<sup>r-v</sup>. Ai ff. 149<sup>r</sup>-150<sup>r</sup> vi è una notizia su Polibio».

<sup>9</sup> P. O. Kristeller, *Iter Italicum: Accedunt Alia Itinera: a Finding List of Uncatalogued or Incompletely Catalogued Humanistic Manuscripts of the Renaissance in Italian and other Libraries*, VI, *Italy III and Alia Itinera IV: Supplement to Italy (G-V), Supplement to Vatican and Austria to Spain*, London-Leiden 1992, p. 342. Witness consulted in print and digitization from microfilm alone, as the entire codex is «non consultabile» since 3 November 2006 because of the disintegration of the paper due to ink corrosion; the pages containing our text, however, are perfectly legible.

<sup>10</sup> Kristeller, *Iter Italicum*, cit., IV, *Alia Itinera II: Great Britain to Spain*, London-Leiden 1989,

The collation of both witnesses at first glance seems to lead to the conclusion that they are independent and equivalent, as they both contain different omissions and other significant peculiar errors that exclude both as the exemplar of the other. In the case of most variants the obviously correct reading can be deduced by referring to the Greek source text. Other instances, however, display divergences that betray a certain pattern. In X 8, 2, for example, where the Greek reads μόνη σχεδὸν τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν, the Latin translation in V (*una fere omnium quae in Hispania essent urbium*) is more explicit than the source text and than the reading of E, where *urbium* is omitted. Likewise, in X 17, 5 πᾶσι is rendered by *omnibus* in E and by the more explicit *omnibus ... militibus* in V, and in X 17, 14 παραπλησίως is translated *eadem lege* in E, while in V this has been elaborated into the explanatory *eadem lege qua iis quos Romam mittendos curarat*. A fourth similar case can be seen in X 19, 7, where τοῖς ὑποτακτομένοις became *eorum quibus imperabat* in E and *eorum omnium quibus imperabat* in V, while also in X 19, 4, V's *ad veri certaminis imaginem* for πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν is more explicit than E's *ad vera certamina*. All these examples seem to betray a deliberate editorial effort. As the readings of V are more elaborate, one imagines the Vatican manuscript to reflect a subsequent phase in the genesis of the text, a most probably authorial intervention, resulting in a text somewhat more removed from the Greek source text but also more comprehensible for the Latin reader. In this reconstruction, one should print the text as V has it, with the obvious exception of some omissions and other errors in V that can be emended thanks to the true readings in E.

Such a reconstruction, however plausible from a collation of both witnesses, becomes untenable when we take into consideration a few interesting snippets that are conserved at the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan,<sup>11</sup> where codex D 218 inf. is a collection of letters written to and by Pompilius Amaseus. At the very end of this miscellanea, the codicological units 89 and 90 (ff. 119 and 120 respectively) contain, according to the library's catalogue:<sup>12</sup>

- f. 119<sup>r-v</sup> Pompilio Amaseo, Excerpta da Polibio
- f. 119<sup>v</sup> Romolo Amaseo, Lettera di presentazione a favore di Pompilio Amaseo a papa Clemente VII, copia
- f. 120<sup>r</sup> Pompilio Amaseo, Excerpta varia
- f. 120<sup>v</sup> Romolo Amaseo, Lettera di presentazione a favore di Pompilio Amaseo al cardinale Paolo Emilio Cesi, copia, Bologna 20 febbraio 1534

The folia that are now ff. 119 and 120 of manuscript D 218 inf. were originally two separate introductions written by Romulus for his son Pompilius. The two letters were probably written in the same period, as the one addressed to the Pope explic-

pp. 452-453; J. H. da Cunha Rivara, *Catálogo dos Manuscritos da Bibliotheca Pública Eborensis*, III, Lisboa 1870, p. 192. Codex collated from digital images generously provided by the Évora library. See Plate 1 for a reproduction of f. 1<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>11</sup> The Ambrosiana's rich holdings of manuscripts related to Romulus and Pompilius Amaseus have been listed by Bianchi, *Pompilio Amaseo*, cit., pp. 331-333.

<sup>12</sup> <http://ambrosiana.comperio.it/opac/detail/ambro:catalog:37388> (accessed 3 June 2012).

itly refers to Cardinal Cesi: «Qui pedibus tuis avolutus has tibi reddidit, is est Pompilius meus, qui cum Romam venerit in fidem et clientelam ab amplissimo viro cardinali Caesio receptus...», and must certainly predate 25 September 1534, when Clement VII passed away. Probably they were originals turned into drafts rather than copies, as they display stylistic corrections that were most likely integrated in another fair copy.

The dozen “*excerpta*” that were untidily written in all four directions around the original letter on f. 120<sup>v</sup> (and a pair on the back of the letter, now f. 120<sup>r</sup>) are the very same that were copied in a more organized way (yet introducing some minor transcription errors) on f. 119. The original notes on f. 120 are:

- pag. 223 Gr. v. 25 *deest in converso προσκυνήσαντες τὸν στρατηγόν* [X 17, 8]  
 pag. 2 v. 10: *omnium ominum monitis consideratis* [X 2, 12]  
 pag. 7 v. 3. «*in magnam spem venisse*» *magis videtur proprium «expectatione magnopere suspensam»* [X 4, 4]  
 v. 20 *ἐξ ἐφόδου* [X 6, 8] *praetermissa in translatione: «De repente sive de improvise subita et inopinata aggressione»*  
 v. 38 *κενῆς πόλεως* [X 7, 5] *non male forsan «omni tunc praesidio vacua»*  
 v. 38 *quam foede interpretis lapsus qui pro κενῆς πόλεως «Cenetarum urbem» vertit; «in qua nullum esset praesidium, abesse»*  
 p. 221 v. 28 *desunt haec verba: «hostiumque amplius neminem porta egredi ausurum»* [X 12, 7]  
 v. 47 *Ubi ea partitio eorum qui scalas ascendebant non eiusmodi videtur in Graeco sed potius quaedam veluti casus et periculi consequentia et continuatio* [X 13]  
 r. 19 *ἄδηλον ποιῶν* [X 6, 7] «*omnibus esset incertum»* *an magis proprium «omnes caelant»*  
 Desunt haec verba pag. 10 v. 5 in Graeco p. 219 v. 7 *λέγω δὴ τὴν ἐπιδεξιότητα καὶ φιλοπονίαν* [X 5, 9] «*morum videlicet dexteritatem et alacritatem in laboribus suscipiendis alacritatem»*  
 v. 14 *κατὰ μέρος κινδυνεύοντας* [X 6, 5] «*parvis praeliis*», *nunquid magis proprie «disiuncti»*  
 p. 219 r. 11 *διαπέμπεσθαι* [X 6, 4] *utrum recte «transisse» an potius «certos iam homines misisse qui se ad eos transituros nunciarent»*

The references between square brackets to the corresponding Polybius passages show that all these comments concern the fragment translated by Romulus Amasaeus. The page numbers 219, 221 and 223 correspond to the pages of the Greek source text in the 1549 edition, where book X starts on page 217, while the single digit page numbers and the line numbers must refer to a first version of Romulus' translation. They do not reflect the pagination in E or V, yet they shed some decisive light on the precise relationship between our two witnesses. The comment on X 12, 7, «*desunt haec verba: hostiumque amplius neminem porta egredi ausurum*», can only concern V, whose «*facile*» is substituted in E by «*facileque hostium amplius neminem porta egredi ausurum*» (for ὅτι διατραπήσεται τὰ ὅλα καὶ τὴν πύλην οὐκέτι τῶν ἔνδον οὐδεὶς ἐξιέναι θαρρήσει). Likewise, in X 5, 9, the comment about the omission of λέγω δὴ τὴν ἐπιδεξιότητα καὶ φιλοπονίαν, «*morum videlicet dexteritatem et alacritatem in laboribus suscipiendis alacritatem*» does concern V, while in E we see added «*comitatem videlicet ingeniique dexteritatem*,

et in laboribus suscipiendis animi alacritatem», clearly a paraphrase of the suggested correction.

The elaborate translation of the concepts ἐπιδεξιότητα and φιλοπονίαν can be seen mirrored in Amasaëus rendering of κρύπτεσθαι in X 17, 2 by «subtrahi atque occultari», one of the very few occasions where one might surmise a certain influence by Musculus' much more terse and pedestrian translation, as the latter had untypically written «abscondi et defraudari». If Amasaëus produced his translation with an eye on the one published in 1549, the least we can say is that he consistently went to great lengths to avoid any verbal echoes of his predecessor's version. His son, by contrast, who apparently gave some feedback to his father on the back of two recommendation letter drafts written at least fifteen years before, certainly did compare the Greek in Hervagius' edition with both Latin versions, as we can deduce from his criticism on the alleged lapsus of the unidentified translator who wrote «Cenetarum urbem» for κενῆς πόλεως in X 7, 5. While the 1549 edition indeed prints κενῆς πόλεως, Musculus' «civitate Cenetarum» reflects his insight that the nonsensical 'empty city' was probably a corruption of a proper name – modern editors adhere to Casaubon's emendation Καινῆς πόλεως. As Romulus' had first translated «a Nova Carthagine», one wonders whether he had first only wished to make more explicit the generic πόλεως – although elsewhere he almost systematically has «Carthago», not «Nova Carthago», just like Polybius – or rather anticipated Casaubon's interpretation, and then somewhat nodded by interpolating the «tunc nullo firmata praesidio» that paraphrases his son's «omni tunc praesidio vacua». <sup>13</sup>

Several of Pompilius' suggestions were not followed up on, and Romulus clearly revised his text also beyond his son's corrections. In the passages quoted above that seem to suggest that V reflects a subsequent phase, where some vague concepts were rendered more explicit, we must assume that either Romulus decided to reverse his explications and to adhere more strictly to the Greek, or that V stems from the archetype through a lost intermediary where unauthorized alterations were introduced. <sup>14</sup> At any rate, we can be certain that the text stage preserved in V predates the one in E. Consequently, the latter is at the base of this first edition of Romulus Amasaëus' Polybius translation. <sup>15</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Interestingly, in X 18, 7, Amasaëus' «Ilergetum» also anticipates Casaubon's Ἰλεργητῶν (Musculus has «Lechetarum»).

<sup>14</sup> Interference by Musculus' translation in those instances can be excluded, as it displays none of the above-mentioned more explicit renderings.

<sup>15</sup> While both witnesses are neat copies in typical 'cancelleresca' handwriting and were originally separate units – of which one was incorporated in a large, heteroclite Vatican miscellanea collection – the authority of E may be corroborated by the fact that it is in a very similar if not identical hand as one of the secretaries that copied two letters written by Romulus on behalf of pope Julius III (therefore between 1550 and 1552), which both contain autograph corrections by Romulus Amasaëus; these letters are now the codicological units 75 (f. 117<sup>r-v</sup>) and 85 (f. 132<sup>r</sup>) in another Ambrosiana manuscript, A 179 inf.



Alexandro Farnesio cardinali, viro amplissimo, patrono suo Romulus Amaseus salutem dicit.

Apparere iam coepit in tuo nomine Pausanias meus, multis a me multorum annorum succisvis operis elucubratus. Nunc aliquid iam mihi aliud quod tibi donem inveniendum est. Nam cum vultu et oratione tua, humanitatis plenissima, planum mihi cotidie facias non desinere te cogitare qua maxime ratione mihi meisque benigne faciendo fortunam meam subleves, non debeo ego profecto hunc, quem iampridem institui, gratiae tibi referendae cursum intermittere. Ac ad Polybium quidem, quem tibi in Latinum sermonem transferri te vehementer cupere iampridem intellexeram, acri tendebam animo, ita paratus ut eum non prius de manibus ponerem quam et quae alii vertissent ad meliorem formam redegissem, et nobiles quosdam ex eius decem et octo libris excerptos locos, quos temporibus nobis iniuria reliquos fecisset, Latinitate donatos tibi tradidissem. Sed illuc ego dum cogitationem et operam converto, ecce tibi ex Augustae Rauracorum officina tota ea Polybii pars cuius ante mentionem feci, non Graecis tantum sed Latinis etiam literis expressa, in vulgus emittitur. Hic interceptum conatum meum boni consului. Neque enim conari me quidquam posse sentio quod alius quivis, ut permediocri sit vel intelligendi vel dicendi facultate, non multo queat facilius ac felicius assequi. Quid igitur? Alia quae tam multa a me inter maximas occupationes scripta sunt quam multa fere scribere non potuerit nisi qui non literis tantum sed plurimum etiam ocio abundarit, tibi meditor expolire, et ea certe cum Latinae linguae, tum vero optimarum quarumque artium studiosis talia visum iri confido, ut facile eos putem passuros levatum mihi Polybii vertendi laborem, cum meam per te sibi plus auctoris quam interpretis operam profuisse intellexerint. Interea tamen, ne prorsus mihi aut oleum aut opera quam in Polybium insumpsi perierit, pusillum quoddam novae huius meae lucubrationis vestigium quasi Nemei leonis unglam extare volui. Lectitandum enim tibi exhibeo locum hunc qui erit iam prae oculis; et in eo sane particulam agnosces in qua Latinae historiae auctor gravissimus T. Livius, dum ipse quoque Novae Carthaginiis expugnationem lactea illa sua eloquentia persequitur, stylum exacuit. Eius ego si verbis semel et iterum usus videri possum, id tamen fortuito accidisse mihi credas velim, cum hoc tunc demum animadverterim, cum nihil ad Liviana verba respiciens, locum iam totum cum vertissem quem Livium ipsum Polybii vestigiis inhaerentem accuratissime legisse dubitari nihil potest. Sed priusquam vel Latine vel certe non omnino barbaramente redditas eius loci sententias legas, pauca de Polybio cognosce, quae cum ex ipsomet, tum ex aliis auctoribus sumpta libuit subii-cere, quo plus quasi familiariter cognitum ames quem non valde notum, tuum tamen fieri tantopere cupisti. Vale.

POLYBIUS, Lycortae filius, patria Megalopolitanus fuit, ex Arcadia, vir cum scriptis tum rebus gestis clarus. Magnae earum quas conscripsit rerum parti interfuit. Dicendi copia in rebus exponendis ei non defuit, verbis castrensibus ac militaribus abundat. Totum quo utitur orationis genus Arcadicum plane, non Atticum est, etsi iucunditatis et priscae cuiusdam fidei plenissimam prae se fert elegantiam. Quo magis miror Fabium Quintilianum nullum ei locum in veteribus historicis recensendis dedisse, et Ciceronem, quamvis eius in epistola ad Luceium mentionem faciat et *De officiis* tertio bonum auctorem appellet, dum enumerat tamen in secundo *De oratore* illustres rerum gestarum scriptores, hunc prorsus praeterisse. Livius quidem dissimulare non potest se multa a Polybio sumpsisse. At eum semel, et frigi-

25 Livius, *Ab Urbe condita* XXVI 41-51    39 Cicero, *Ad familiares* V 12    40 Cicero, *De officiis* III 113    41 Cicero, *De oratore* II 53

32 quasi familiariter cognitum ames] ames familiariter cognitum V    37 et] tamen et V

de quidem, in trigesimo tertio libro nominat. Plurimi certe fecit Polybium vir cum generis claritate et animi magnitudine, tum vero liberali omni eruditione praestantissimus M. Brutus, cum eius libros omnes – quo minore (opinor) negotio memoria comprehendendi possent – in compendium sibi redigendos putavit, et quidem merito. Nam multae et minime vulgares in eo virtutes elucet. Creber est sententiis et gravis, nulliusque rei fuisse quam veritatis, quae summa est historiae laus, amantior videtur. Bellorum causas, initia, consilia miro explicat ordine. In locorum temporumque opportunitatibus describendis eventorum omni varietate exprimenda, in factorum vel ratione comprobanda vel temeritate arguenda qui huic antecellat, non reperio. Cum P. Scipione Aemiliano et C. Laelio vixisse eum ex ipsiusmet verbis saepissime et ex aliis veterum scriptorum monumentis colligas.

Bella omnia quae gessit populus Romanus usque post excisas Carthaginem et Numantiam libris XL complexus est; quorum cum dimidia parte plures totos amiserimus, reliquorum vix quas ante dixi reliquias, et eas mancas ac depravatas, retinemus. Plinius de Atlante monte scribens, «Scipione, inquit, Aemiliano res in Africa gerente, Polybius, annalium conditor, ab eo accepta classe, scrutandi illius orbis gratia circumvectus, prodidit a monte eo ad occasum versus saltus plenos feris quas generat Africa». De Polybio haec Pausanias in commentario *De rebus Arcadicis*, quae nos ita vertimus: «In eodem foro a tergo septi eius quod est Iovi Lycaeo dicatum, pilae insistit Polybius, Lycortae filius, cum inscriptione quae elegis indicat vagatum illum esse per terras et maria omnia, amicum et socium Romanorum fuisse, quos etiam iratos Graecis placarit. Scripsit Polybius hic et alias res gestas populi Romani et bella cum Carthaginensibus suscepta. Quae fuerit illorum causa, et quam spisse et vix multis defuncti periculis civis cuiusdam sui virtute quem Scipionem Africanum cognomento appellarunt, deleta Carthagine bellum Romani confecerint. Et sane quae Polybii monitu gessit Romanus imperator, omnia bene et feliciter ei evenisse. In quibus vero minus se eius viri dicto audientem praebuit, in iis graviter eum offendisse memoriae proditum est. Civitates plane omnes quae se Achaeis contribuissent, Polybium nactae sunt rerum suarum publicarum auctorem, legum etiam latorem». Et infra paucis paginis: «Quarto loco est Polybii statua, Lycortae filii. Inscriptio testatur nihil ab initio offensuram fuisse Graeciam si Polybii consiliis paruisset, iam vero graviter affectae unum illum praesidio fuisse». Suidas suis mandavit commentariis Scipionem Africanum Polybio et Panaetio Stoico doctoribus usum; *Historiam* Polybii continuasse Possidonium Olbiopolitanum et Strabonem Amasiensem, voluminibus editis XLIII.

75 DE SCIPIONE AFRICANO MAIORE DEQUE EIUS DUCTU ET AUSPICIIIS CARTHAGINE NOVA EXPUGNATA, EX POLYBII *HISTORIARUM* LIBRO DECIMO

[X 2] Qui P. Scipionis res gestas literis mandarunt, alii omnes hominem quendam eum describunt cui feliciter omnia caderent cuique cuncta ad quae aggressus fuisset, fere semper non certa ratione sed fortuito prospere evenirent, quod nempe deorum similiores atque omnino admirabiliores tales esse homines censeant quam eos qui in rebus gerendis consilio et ratione nitantur. Non intelligunt scilicet illi horum alterum in laude ponendum, alterum felicitati tribuendum, et hoc quidem vulgo quibusvis commune esse; quod vero maxime est laudabile, iis tantum proprium, quibus et rationis et mentis inest plurimum; quos utique et

43 Livius, *Ab Urbe condita* XXXIII 10    44 Plutarchus, *Brutus* 4, 8    55 Plinius, *Naturalis Historia* V 9, 1    58 Pausanias, *Descriptio Graeciae* VIII 30, 4    69 Pausanias, *Descriptio Graeciae* VIII 37, 1  
71 Suidas, s.v. Πολύβιος

43 Polybium] Polybius E    45 minore] minimo V

maxime divinos et diis ipsis quam carissimos esse censendum est. Ac mihi quidem videtur Publius hic, de quo est oratio suscepta, et natura et vitae instituto Lycurgo, qui fuit apud Lacedaemonios legum lator, consimilis fuisse; neque enim aut Lycurgum semper in religiones intuentem et Pythii Apollinis responsa anxie observantem Spartanis rempublicam constituisse, aut omnino Publium ipsum somniorum atque ominum monitis tantum imperium tantasque patriae suae opes comparasse. Sed nimirum, cum eorum uterque satis perspicuum haberet non facile solere imperitam multitudinem nova et inusitata quaedam de maximis rebus consilia accipere, multoque minus fidenter periculosa facinora capessere, nisi in certam de praesenti ac propitio deorum numine spem adducta fuerit, Lycurgus ad suarum actionum exorsus quasi fundandos ac muniendos Pythii Apollinis vocem quampiam assumens, suae ipsius sententiae ut probabiliores viderentur atque ut in civium suorum animos quasi mollius illaberentur efficiebat. Pari quoque Scipio ratione, cum in eorum quibus imperaret animos eam opinionem immisisset, de sententia et consilio deorum quaecumque moliretur geri omnia, fidentiores multo atque ad pericula adeunda alacriores reddebat. Usus autem eum in singulis rebus gerendis ratione et providentia, et quamnam ob rem actionum eventa omnia ad eius consilia quadrarent, ex his quae mox dicentur perspicuum fuerit.

[3] Ac beneficium quidem et magnanimum confitentur omnes, solertem vero illum ac sobrium fuisse et intenta in id quod propositum haberet cogitatione, nemo sane affirmanti concesserit, nisi forte de iis unus fuerit qui una cum eo vixerunt et, dum res gererentur, eius viri naturam inspexerunt. Ex eo fuit hominum numero C. Laelius, a puero illi omnium actionum atque orationum ad extremum usque vitae tempus particeps. Is me hac de Africano opinione facile imbuit, quod scilicet et valde credibilia mihi dicere videbatur, et quae cum ipsius factis maxime congruerent. Memorabat ille primum extitisse Scipionis insigne facinus cum eius pater equestrem pugnam cum Annibale ad Padum fluvium commisit. Tunc enim primum, annum agens (quantum e temporum descriptione colligi potest) decimum septimum, in solem, ut aiunt, ac pulverem prodiit, accepta a patre ad corporis praesidium lectissimorum equitum turma. Ibi cum patrem animadvertisset in magno periculo versari, ab hoste cum duobus aut tribus equitibus circumventum et graviter saucium, principio quidem suis cohortando persuadere conatus est ut patri auxilium ferrent. Postea, cum eos undique imperatorem urgentium hostium globo territis cunctari ac tergiversari videret, ipse in confertos incitato equo solus irruit, consecuti mox coeteri, pudore victi. Eo factum ut, re inopinata perculti, hostes in diversa abierint. Romanus imperator, praeter omnem spem servatus, cunctis audientibus, primus omnium filium servatorem suum appellavit. Magnam et illustrem bellicae laudis famam Scipio tantae virtutis tam insigni documento consecutus, de caetero quoque pro re atque tempore nullum vitae capitisque sui discrimen defugit quotiens a se uno, ea maxime ratione, quod summae rei publicae impenderet periculum, redimi oportere intelligeret. Quod sane non fortunae omnia committentis, sed mente plurimum vigentis imperatoris proprium fuit. Iam vero et illud quam perspicuum est huius de qua nunc agimus rei argumentum.

[4] Fratrem habuit maiorem se natu Lucium. Is aedilitatem petebat, qui sane apud Romanos iuvenum summus est honos. Duos autem patricios cum creari mos esset ac tunc plures peterent, diu multumque dubitavit an et ipse cum fratre eum honorem peteret. Deinde, sub comitiorum tempus, cum per studia plebis non facile eum magistratum fratrem adepturum prospiceret, se vero ipsum in magna esse apud populum gratia, eoque arbitraretur fratrem voti compotem fieri posse si ipse se cum illo in eo petendi munere coniunxisset, huiusmodi

130 consilium cepit. Matrem cum animadvertisset templa frequentantem et diis immortalibus  
rem divinam saepius facientem, in magnam cum de Lucii honore, tum vero de tota in posterum  
domus prosperitate spem venisse (ac matrem quidem tunc solam verebatur; nam pater, in Hispaniam  
imperator classe profectus, eas res de quibus iam ante locuti sumus gerebat), exposuit itaque  
135 matri bis eandem sibi somnii speciem oblatam; videre visum se aedilem cum fratre renuntiatum  
e foro domum reduci, et utrunque matrem obviam ad fores cum laetitia et gratulatione complexam.  
Ibi cum mater muliebri quodam animi motu affecta talem effudisset vocem: «Utinam eveniat eum  
ut diem videam!», «Vis, mater», inquit ille, «periculum faciamus?» Quod cum illa fuisset  
assensa (neque enim id ausurum, sed iocari eum e re nata putabat; erat enim peradolescens),  
140 at enim sibi ille ut candidam togam expediret rogavit, quod cum eo nempe ornato magistratus petere mos erat.

[5] Sed cum illa quod dictum ab eo fuerat, menti non mandasset, adhuc matre cubante  
ipsemet sibi adolescens candidam togam prompsit, cum ea in forum descendit. Magna tum ob rei  
novitatem, tum ob multitudinis in eum summam benevolentiam, cum admiratione acceptus est.  
Progressus deinde in campum, cum fratri astitisset, non solum ipse Publius  
145 sed in eius etiam gratiam frater populi suffragiis est aedilis renuntiat, amboque domum  
aediles designati reducti sunt. Mater, tanto tamque inopinato successu laeta, ad fores occurrens,  
adulescentes est amplexata. Effecit huius rei eventus ut qui ante hoc Scipionis somnium  
audierant, non in somnis tantum sed vigilantem etiam interdum cum diis colloqui eum arbitrati  
fuerint, cum de somnio tamen fuissent omnia commentitia. Nam cum beneficentia  
150 ac liberalitate summaque in congressibus affabilitate facile intelligeret mirificam sibi se  
multitudinis benevolentiam conciliasse, ea re fretus callide atque accommodate ad populi  
sensum et matris votum, somnio excogitato, non solum quod sibi propositum habuit est  
assecutus, verum divino etiam quodam afflatu impulsus ad petendum descendisse omnibus  
visus est. Quicumque enim neque temporum conditiones neque causas nec postremo rerum  
155 quarumlibet apparationes satis exacte possunt perspicere, ii vel ob ingenii imbecillitatem  
vel ob imperitiam et socordiam ad fortunam et deos earum omnium rerum causas referunt  
quae tamen ob eximiam viri solertiam a summa ratione sunt et providentia profectae. Haec  
mihi eorum causa dicenda putavi qui de Scipione quae commemorantur audiunt, ne forte  
falsa animis insita opinione decepti, quae maxime in eo viro excelluerint quaeque longe  
160 fuerint pulcherrima (comitatem videlicet ingenique dexteritatem et in laboribus suscipiendis  
animi alacritatem) negligentius attendant. Sed elucescent quae dicimus clarius ex rebus  
ipsis ab eo gestis.

[6] Nam cum in unum iam copiae omnes convenissent, militum animos oratione confirmavit,  
cum diceret nihil esse quod proximo superiore casu perculsi conciderent; neque  
165 enim virtute fuisse Romanos Poenis inferiores ne una quidem ex parte, sed Celtiberorum  
proditione et ducum, qui, cum interclusi fuissent, opem alter alteri ferre non poterant,  
temeritate id accidisse, quod scilicet fidei nimis multum iis a quibus proditi sunt habuissent.  
In utrunque iam periculum hostes deductos, quippe qui et castrorum intervallis disiuncti  
essent et quod socios, contumeliose tractatos, plane omnes non abalienassent tantum, sed  
170 ut hostili etiam essent in ipsos animo effecissent. Quocirca et eorum aliquot iam ad se transisse  
et reliquos simulac fidentius facere id se posse putarent libenter atque alacriter, praesertim  
si Romanos Iberum iam transmisisse vidissent transituros. Non illos quidem tam benevolentia  
adductos quam ulciscendi studio eas iniurias quas per Carthaginensium insolentiam  
acceperant; quodque caput esset, ipsos hostium duces inter se dissidere. Non esse il-

los quidem universo agmine signa collaturos. Si parvis praeliis belli fortunam experiri ma- 175  
 luisse, in potestatem redigi quam facillime posse. Adhortatus itaque est ut, cum prae ocu-  
 lis haec omnia haberent, audacter Iberum traicerent, caetera sibi pro re atque tempore  
 aliisque ducibus curae fore pollicitus est. Haec locutus, Marcum Syllanum collegam cum  
 peditibus ter mille, equitibus quingentis, qua transmittendum erat, iubet consistere, nempe  
 ut praesidium contra eos hostium socios relinqueret qui cis flumen essent. Reliquas ipse 180  
 copias traiecit, cum quid cepisset consilii, omnibus esset incertum. Statutum enim habebat  
 nihil omnino eorum facere quae in vulgus prodiderat. Habebat autem in animo urbem eam  
 Hispaniae obsidere quae Carthago est appellata. Hoc sane facile possit quis pro maximo  
 sibi argumento sumere, fuisse eum qua paulo ante diximus in rebus cogitandis et providen-  
 dis animi attentione. Nam et annum vix agens septimum et vicesimum, ad res primum eas 185  
 aggressus est quas caeteri conterriti superiorum offensionum magnitudine geri posse prorsus  
 desperarant. Deinde ad quam semel se dedisset consilii partem, obvia et exposita, quae-  
 que prope essent omnibus in conspectu, missa faciebat. Sed ad ea curam conferebat suam,  
 in ea toto animo incumberebat, quae neque sui milites neque hostes cogitatione praecipere  
 potuissent. Horum certe nihil exquisita quadam meditatione vacabat. 190

[7] Iam tum ab initio, cum Romae adhuc esset, accurate singula percontando, de Celtibe-  
 rorum prodicione deque Romanis legionibus dissipatis certior factus fuerat. Id vero cum fa-  
 cile colligeret in causa fuisse, quamobrem pater adversa esset belli usus fortuna, non prop-  
 terea Poenorum opes extimescens animum, ut plerique omnes solent, demisit, verum cum e  
 sociis Carthaginensium in officio eos quidem manere audisset qui intra Iberum amnem 195  
 sunt, duces vero et inter se dissidere et eos quibus imperarent iniuriosius tractare, fidenter  
 se ad belli exorsus comparavit, non sane fortuna sed consilio fretus. In Hispaniam iam ap-  
 pulsus, cum, ex omnibus omnia exquirens, hostium copias cognovisset tripartito divisas, et  
 cum una earum parte Magonem intra Herculis columnas in Coniis (sic enim ii populi ap-  
 pellantur) consedissee, Asdrubalem Gesconis filium circa Lusitaniam ad Tagi fluminis 200  
 ostium, Asdrubalem alterum urbem quandam in Carpentanis obsidere, eorum neminem  
 omnino propius quam dierum decem a Nova Carthagine, tunc nullo firmata praesidio,  
 abesse, anceps ei aliquandiu de ratione belli gerendi consilium fuit. Nam si cum triplici hos-  
 tium manu congressus esset, in summum periculum rem ne deduceret verebatur, quod et  
 aliis Romani praeliis fuerant superati et quod multis partibus maiores erant illorum copiae; 205  
 sin eorum quempiam seorsum aggressus esset, ille vero, pugnam detrectans, in aciem de-  
 scendere noluisse, ne interim aliorum agminum concursu ipse circumveniretur metuebat,  
 ex eoque in eandem incideret calamitatem qua paulo ante Gnaius patruus et pater Publius  
 percussi fuerant.

[8] Hanc igitur consultationis partem reiecit; cumque perspectum haberet Carthaginem, 210  
 cuius ante facta est mentio, magna hostibus commoda suppeditare, sibi vero in eo bello val-  
 de infestam esse, de captivis quos in hybernis habebat sigillatim omnia percontatus, audivit  
 primum magno eam esse Poenis usui, tum quod una fere omnium quae in Hispania essent  
 portus haberet classibus et navalibus copiis opportunos, tum quod ad appellandum ex  
 Africa et ad provehendum in altum loci natura plane esset admirabili; in eam praeterea ur- 215  
 bem usu hostibus evenisse ut luculentam pecuniam et omnes belli machinas, omnia tor-  
 menta atque armamenta congererent; ad haec fuisse in eam obsides e tota Hispania coactos.  
 Urbis vero capiendae spem illud praecipue afferebat, quod mille (non amplius) ad pugnam

187 ad] apud E    201 ostium] hostium E V    202 tunc nullo firmata praesidio *om.* V    206-207  
 eorum – interim] cum singulis ducibus signa contulisset, persequeretur V    213 essent] essent ur-  
 bium V    217 eam] ea E

- parati homines ibi fuerant in arcis praesidio collati. Neque enim, cum universa Hispania in  
 220 Carthaginiensium potestate esset, obsessum hanc urbem iri cuiquam suspicari in mentem  
 venisset. Reliqua omnis multitudo, ingens illa quidem numero, sed opifices prope omnes,  
 tabernarii ac piscatores, bellicarum prorsus artium imperiti. Ex ea re sibi ad urbem oppug-  
 nandam perspicuam et admirabilem quandam ostentari opportunitatem est arbitratus. At  
 enim neque Carthaginiensium situm neque munitiones nec stagni postremo oppidum incingentis  
 225 formam aut naturam ignorabat. De piscatoribus enim quibusdam qui ea loca frequentabant  
 sciscitatus, cognorat vadosam eam paludem esse magna sui parte, illudque in primis re-  
 fluxum eius quasi euripi cuiusdam cotidianum fieri sub ipsum maxime crepusculum. Cum  
 itaque, rebus omnibus circumspectis, collegisset, ex animi sententia si negotium confecisset,  
 non hostibus tantum se plurimum obfuturum, sed praeclarum etiam suis se rebus adiuven-  
 230 tum comparaturum; sin de spe decidisset, quod in ipsius potestate esset mare, tutum suos e  
 periculo receptum habituros, modo ut castra munimentis firmasset. Erat vero id factu  
 haudquaquam difficile, cum tam longe abessent tamque locorum intervallis divisa haberet  
 stativa hostium exercitus. Caeteris itaque rebus omissis, dum in hybernis fuit, totum se ad  
 apparandam urbis oppugnationem dedit.
- 235 [9] Haec cum moliretur, neque esset maior quam ante diximus natu, omnes coelavit,  
 praeter C. Laelium, usque dum expedire censuit cogitationes suas omnibus patefacere. Tam-  
 lem cum in consilio capiendi fuisse eum scriptores omnes, nihil inter se discrepantes, con-  
 fiteantur, rerum tamen exitum dum exponunt, non plane video cur non ad hominis exi-  
 miam quandam providentiam, sed ad numen deorum et fortunam rerum gestarum felicita-  
 240 tem referant. Cum tamen neque probabilibus ullis indiciis, neque ullis omnino eius contu-  
 bernalium testimoniis niti possint, in epistola certe qua sua exponit acta, ad Philippum scri-  
 bens, planum facit secutum se eas fuisse rationes quas superius commemoravimus, tum in  
 tota illa Hispaniensi expeditione, tum vero maxime in Carthaginiensium oppugnatione. Ac tunc  
 quidem C. Laelio (is enim, quod ante diximus, solus quid statuisset norat), semotis arbitris,  
 245 classe commissa imperavit ut ad moenia cum navalibus copiis propius accederet. Ipse cum  
 pedestri agmine magnis itineribus eodem contendit. Fuit universi exercitus numerus pedi-  
 tum viginti millia, equitum duo millia et quingenti. Cum septimo ipso die quo constituerat  
 pervenisset ad eam oppidi partem quae ad septentriones pertinebat, castra locavit; ea dupli-  
 250 cipi fossa et vallo, qua parte extrorsum superficies excurrerat, a mari ad mare ducto aggere,  
 circumdedit. Nam quod urbi castrorum latus obversum fuit, cum ipsa loci natura per se tuta  
 omnia praestaret, nullis omnino indiguit munitionibus. Verum enimvero, cum eius urbis et  
 obsidionem et expugnationem simul explicaturi, necessarium ducimus iis qui haec audient  
 et proximorum locorum et moenium ipsorum situm, quatenus res postulare visa fuerit, de-  
 monstrare.
- 255 [10] Posita est Carthago in Hispania circa medium ferme orae maritimae, in sinu ad Afri-  
 cam converso, cuius recessus ter mille paulo minus passuum, latitudo qua incipit mille fer-  
 me et quingentorum. Situs hic portum hac de causa efficit. Insula in prima ostii fronte  
 utrinque appellentibus angustos aditus aperit, ab alto vero insurgentes fluctus ita scindit ut  
 quae recedunt reliquae sinus partes perpetuam retineant tranquillitatem. Infestae quidem  
 260 sunt, flante Africo violentioribus undis, primae illae portus ab utroque latere fauces, ab aliis  
 utique ventis summa quies, quod quae introrsus recedunt sinus latera tergumque totum  
 continentis terrae quasi obice quodam protegitur, ab intimo sinu in paeninsulam excurrens,  
 se tumulus attollit. In eo urbs eminent, mari ab ortu et meridie, ab occasu stagno circun-  
 fluenta, quod et partem eam moenium amplectitur quae ad septentrionem conversa est. Eo

fit ut quod montis reliquum urbem continenti iungit utrinque ad mare, nihilo plus quam 265  
 passus CCLXXX pateat. Urbs ipsa media sui parte concava est, sed quo latere ad austros  
 vergit, planum habet a mari accessum. Reliquae partes verticibus primum duobus montanis  
 et asperis consurgunt, exinde tribus, depressioribus illis quidem, sed praeuptis et caverno-  
 sis. Eorum maximus ab ortu muris adiacet, mari incumbens in quo Aesculapii erectum est  
 templum. Huic ab occasu eodem prope situ ex adverso est alter, in quo magnifice et ingenti 270  
 impensa aedificata se ostentat regia quam construxisse Asdrubalem memorant, regium sibi  
 dominatum appetentem. Reliquum urbis interiorum ambitum, ad aquilones conversum, mi-  
 norum collium iuga claudunt. E tribus his tumulis, qui ad solis ortum vergit, Vulcani; cum  
 hoc continens, Aletae (hunc tradunt Aleten, argenti metalla cum reperisset, divinos conse-  
 cutum honores); iam tertius Saturni appellatur. Stagnum cuius iam ante facta est mentio, ut 275  
 una cum mari confluat ad nauticae turbae commoditatem, manu facto opere effectum est.  
 Marginis medii hiatus ponte iungitur ad ea quae usui sunt ex agro sive iumentis sive plaus-  
 tris convehenda.

[11] Hic urbis cum situs esset, castra Romanus imperator ita metatus est ut qua parte  
 contra urbem essent, cum et stagno et mari utrinque ambirentur, munitione nulla opus esse 280  
 putarit. Medium castrorum spacium fuit qua urbs continenti annectitur. Ibi de industria  
 vallum nullum obiecit, seu ut fiduciam ostentans hostem terreret, sive quod ad impressio-  
 nes faciendas accommodatum id esse putarat, quo scilicet et exeuntem militem nihil impe-  
 diret, et faciliores in castra, aperta fronte, receptus haberet. Erat urbis ambitus nihilo ampli-  
 or quam passuum duum ferme millium et quingentorum. Atqui scriptum ab aliis non 285  
 ignoro passuum fuisse quinque millium, quod sane falsum est. Neque enim audita nos, sed  
 quae ipsi inspecta et explorata habuimus, literis asseveranter mandamus. Est vero hoc tem-  
 pore totum eius urbis pomoerium multo contractius. Navales quidem copiae in tempore  
 appulerant, cum Scipio, advocata concione, militem ad rem alacriter gerendam est adhorta-  
 tus, non ille quidem ea disserens quae aliis duntaxat persuadere contenderet, sed ea prope- 290  
 modum quae perfici posse ipse sibi in animum suum induxerat. Nam et his primum rationi-  
 bus quas nos ante exposuimus, haud dubiam urbis potiundae spem ostentavit. Atque ea  
 summatim collegit quae ex prospero rei eventu in promptu Romanis futura essent emolu-  
 menta, quaeque hosti urbis illius expugnatio praesidia esset ereptura. Aureas deinde corona-  
 nas iis promisit qui primi in muros ascendissent, dona praeterea caeteris more maiorum da- 295  
 ri solita quorum praecipue virtus enituisset. Postremo iam tum ab initio de belli summa cogi-  
 tanti ipsum Neptunum affirmavit per somnii visum rei feliciter gerendae viam praemon-  
 strasse, ac se pollicitum in medio rerum discrimine tam perspicue praesto futurum ut nulla  
 exercitus pars non facile praesentis numinis esset opem sensura. Imperatoris oratio, cum  
 argumentis accurate expositis, tum aurearum coronarum pollicitatione, in primis vero pro- 300  
 misso dei favore, iunioribus impetum quandam atque animi summam alacritatem iniecit.

[12] Postero die, cum naves omni armatas telorum genere certis circa portum locis collo-  
 casset iisque C. Laelium praefecisset, a continenti vero ad duo valentissimorum hominum  
 millia, cum iis qui scalas essent moenibus admoturi consistere iussisset, ad tertiam prope 305  
 horam obsidendi initium fecit. Contra Mago, praesidiariorum dux, cohortem suam ita dis-  
 tribuit ut, cum mille essent, dimidium eius numeri in arce reliquerit, reliquos in eum verti-  
 cem qui ad ortum solis est, traduxerit. Oppidanorum vero robustissimum quaque cum ea  
 quae in promptu fuit armorum copia ad eam portam qua exitus ad continentis angustias  
 patebat, quaeque hostium castris adversa erat, collocavit. Reliquam multitudinem pro se  
 quaque ad eas moenium partes quo subita vis advocasset, iussit accurrere. Classica iam ce- 310

cinerant et ad impetum faciendum signo dato excitati Romani fuerant, cum Mago quos ad  
 portam instruxerat emisit, quod nempe eruptionem eam et hostem exterrituram et omnem  
 eius conatum fracturam sibi persuaserat. At enim cum manus illa in Romanorum aciem  
 quae in pertenui illo terrae inter stagnum et mare discrimine instructa fuerat, valida impres-  
 sione facta, incidisset, acris illic pugna, sublato bellico clamore, suos hinc e castris, illinc ex  
 315 urbe cohortantium, commissa. Sed causa fuit quamobrem par non esset pugnae conditio,  
 neque enim facultas utrisque suis auxilia submittendi: Carthaginenses, unica erumpentes  
 porta, non propius quam passus aberant CCL; at Romanis praesto sui e proximo loco et ex  
 diversis castrorum partibus fuerunt. Nam Scipio suos statim extra castrorum munitiones  
 320 dedita opera instruxerat, ut hostem ad pugnam e longinquo alliceret. Pro certo enim habebat,  
 si manum illam quae tanquam urbanae multitudinis frons ad portam steterat, fudisset,  
 hostium amplius neminem porta egredi ausurum facileque se rerum omnium compotem fore.  
 Fuit aliquandiu tamen anceps certamen, quod scilicet lectissimi ex utraque parte manus  
 conserebant. Concursu postremo recentium e subsidiis militum quasi mole quadam loco  
 325 deturbatus, terga Poenorum globus vertit. Ac multi quidem in pugna, non pauciores in fuga  
 ceciderunt, plures vero inter se, dum intra portam irruunt, collisi. Eo casu passim omnibus  
 tanta incensus trepidatio ut a propugnatoribus murorum etiam stationes desertae fuerint.  
 Ac nihil omnino propius fuit quam ut Romani effusos cupidius insecuti et ipsi fugientibus  
 permisti intra urbem irrumperent. Sed cum receptui cani imperator iussisset, mox inter  
 330 munimenta scalae muris admotae.

[13] Ibi se Scipio ipse quoque in periculum coniecit; quod ipsum tamen quam potuit  
 maximo cum praesidio fecit. Treis enim circa se habuit milites, qui scutis oppositis impera-  
 torem adversus ea quae de superiore murorum parte iaciebantur tela protegebant. Quo factum  
 ut, in dextrum e transverso latus ad moenia succedens, multum ad rem praeclare ge-  
 335 rendam attulerit momenti. Nam et spectator atque arbiter, ut quidque strenue vel secus fieret,  
 aderat, et ipse ab omnibus conspici cum posset, mirificam militum animis alacritatem  
 adiecit. Ex eo accidit ut nihil a quoquam praetermitteretur dum periculo occurritur, et  
 ipse praesto erat ad ea quae in rem essent providenda et curanda. Iam eorum qui primi per  
 scalas audacter ascendebant non tam propugnatorum numerus quam murorum altitudo  
 340 difficilem et periculosum impetum reddebat. Quare qui pro muris erant, ex eo fiduciam  
 assumebant, quod irritas plerumque oppugnantium impressiones fieri videbant. Scalae  
 aliquot prae ascendendum ponderae sunt effractae. Iam qui primi per integras evadere cona-  
 bantur, ad terram offusa prae altitudine, dum sursum aciem intenderent, oculis caligine  
 corruiebant. Alii, vel quam levissimos repugnantium impulsus non sustinentes, se ipsos de  
 345 scalis abiiciebant. At qui forte pinnas murorum iam prensabant, abstracti simul omnes in  
 praeceps devolvebantur. Non tamen poterat ea casuum acerbitas Romanorum impetum  
 retardare aut illum animorum ardorem restinguere. Collabentibus enim primis, subinde alii  
 in eorum locum continenter succedebant, donec, procedente iam die confectoque paene  
 aerumna et laboris tolerantia milite, tubarum cantu ut omnes in tutum se reciperent impe-  
 350 rator significavit.

[14] Hostes tunc quasi omni periculo defuncti exultare. At Scipio, refluentis aestus op-  
 portunitate expectata, cum scalis circa stagnum quingentorum hominum manum collocat;  
 ad eam portam quae in angustis fuit terrae faucibus, recentes submittit; oratione virtutem  
 incitat; scalarum numerum auget. Muri repente oppugnantium perpetua corona incingun-  
 355 tur. Quare cum, dato signo, undique scalae magna cum animorum alacritate admoverentur,



hostes, re inopinata perculti et a spe ad metum conversi, qui ante periculum depulsum arbitrati fuerant, in discrimen sibi ac dimicationem instauratae oppugnationis veniendum videbant. Praeterea cum missilium copia deficeret et prae oculis essent tam multi qui de suis ceciderant, vehementer animum despondebant maximeque ob impendentis mali magnitudinem angebantur, vim tamen pro viribus repellebant. Gliscebant per scalas evadere enitentium certamen. Et iam sensim ab aestuarii extremis vadis aqua decedens vehementi mox aestu per ostium in proximum mare ferebatur. Ea res tam de improvise animadversa cunctis mirabilis videri. At Scipio paratis ad hoc ducibus in aquam ut descendant imperat, bonoque animo eos esse iubet quos circa stagnum cum scalis collocarat ut ea ex parte ad moenia accederent. Erat autem egregie a natura institutus, tum ad incendendos animos, tum ad conciliandas hominum sibi voluntates. Illi parendi studio impulsus cum per vadosum coenum certatim ad muros contenderent, universus exercitus deorum id providentia accidisse putavit. Recordati igitur prope omnes quae Scipio de Neptuno, dum milites cohortaretur, praedixisset, tanto sunt animorum impetu concitati ut fores refringere bipennibus ac dolabris adorti fuerint. Qui vero per vada ad urbem iam accesserant, cum ea moenium pars nullis praesidiis teneretur, non impune tantum scalas admovere, sed sine ullo etiam certamine ascendentes muris potiti sunt. Conversis nempe oppidanis ad ea loca defendenda quae maxime periculo exposita rati fuissent, et prae caeteris ad continentis terrae fauces et eam quae in ipsis erat illis angustiis portae custodiam. Neque enim vereri in mentem venerat hostes ab ea parte qua aestuarium erat ad urbem appropinquaturos. Quod vero omnia pesum dedit, prae inordinati clamoris et promiscue trepidantis turbae confusione cernere aut audire nemo quicquam quod in rem esset poterat.

[15] Romani, muris iam superatis, primum quidem per ipsa murorum propugnacula vadebant, hostem undique detrudentes. Magno fuit auxilio armaturae genus ad huiusmodi usus maxime appositum. Ad mediterraneam portam ubi perventum est, descendentes forium vectes effregere. Irruerunt protinus qui foris ad portam steterant. Qui vero per scalas iam evaserant, deturbatis propugnatoribus, et ipsi murorum pinnas transcenderunt. Moenibus itaque quo diximus modo captis, collem etiam in orientem versum, qui per portam irruerant, praesidio illinc deiecto, occuparunt. Ubi animadvertit Scipio eorum qui ingressi fuerant iam praevalidam esse manum, eos (qui fuit Romanae militiae mos) in oppidanorum turbam immisit, imperavitque ut obvium quenque caederent atque omnino nemini ut parcerent, neve ad praedam priusquam signum datum esset se converterent. Hoc a Romanis institutum arbitror ad incutiendum hostibus terrorem. In ipsis itaque Romanorum expugnationibus videre est non homines modo caesos, sed canes etiam gladiis in duas divisos partes, et aliorum item animalium membra a corporibus abscissa passim per vias iacentia. At tunc quidem, Nova Carthagine ob eorum qui intus deprehensi sunt multitudinem capta, multo fuerunt usitatae illae caedes frequentissimae. Imperator cum mille ferme militum cohorte ad arcem contendit. Arcis praefectus Mago comparare se primum ad repugnandum, sed cum urbem prorsus esse in hostium potestate videret, missis de propria salute legatis, arcem dedit. Ea deditioe transacta, mox dato signo, caedes fieri desitae. Miles ad praedam omnem impetum convertit. Nocte vero iam adventante e tentoriis non discesserunt, quibus castrorum custodia fuerat mandata. Cum sua cohorte Scipio in arce pernoctavit. Evocatis vero per tribunos militum ex aedibus quas occuparant caeteris militibus, sub suis quenque signis, quae direpta fuerant omnia in forum ut comportent imperat, ibique ipsi ut cubent. Cum accersisset deinde e castris pilanos, ex eo militum numero praesidium in colle qui ad ortum spectabat statuit. Ad hunc sane modum Romani Carthagine Nova quae in Hispania fuit potiti sunt.

[16] Postero die in forum congesto tum eorum [qui stipendia Carthaginiensibus fecerant  
 bellico omni apparatu, tum vero oppidanorum et operarum instrumento, haec suis legionibus  
 405 more maiorum tribuni militum diviserunt. Est autem huiusmodi, captis iam urbibus,  
 militarium muniorum patria apud Romanos dispensatio. Selectis aliquando hominibus cer-  
 tas administrationes cotidie mandant, aequabiliter ad eum numerum descriptis quem urbis  
 magnitudo visa fuerit postulare. Fit aliquando munerum distributio per signa. Nunquam  
 tamen plures dimidia parte in huiusmodi ministeriis occupatos habent. Reliqui e subsidiis,  
 410 ad ea quae forte imperata fuerint praesto futuri, vel extra muros vel in ipsa urbe quid signi-  
 ficetur expectant. Cumque Romanorum exercitus in duas fere semper dividatur partes,  
 quarum altera duabus ex urbano delectu legionibus, altera totidem e sociorum auxiliis con-  
 stat, nonnunquam vero, etsi omnino raro, in unum ambae coeant partes. Quibus urbem di-  
 ripiendi negocium est attributum, ad suas eorum quique legiones praedam omnem conge-  
 415 runt. Rerum vero divenditarum aequabiliter sua cuique militi pars a tribunis militum assig-  
 natur, neque solum iis qui in subsidiis remanserint, sed iis etiam quibus tabernaculorum  
 custodia mandata fuerit, quin et aegrotantibus vel quos in aliquam forte expeditionem di-  
 mitti usu evenerit. Nam sua prorsus neminem parte praedae fraudaturos ac religionem  
 iurisiurandi sanctissimam habituros iurant singuli cum, delectu habito, contra hostem miles  
 420 educitur. Qua de re pluribus egimus quo loco de tota Romanae reipublicae disciplina dis-  
 seruimus. Efficit tam aequa tamque provide instituta militarium munerum ratio ut, cum di-  
 midia totius exercitus pars in diripiendis urbibus occupata sit, alteri castrorum custodia  
 committatur, nunquam de summa rerum ob immodicam plus aequo sibi deposcentium mi-  
 litum cupiditatem Romani periclitentur. Cum enim spes fidesque sua neminem frustreret et  
 425 aequam sibi partem praedae fore pro certo habeant, tam castrorum praesidiani quam qui  
 direptionibus interfuerunt, nemo plane ordinem deserit, cum plerunque de praeda discep-  
 tationes aliarum gentium exercitus magnis afficiant calamitatibus.

[17] Nam cum hominum plurimi lucri causa et aerumnas tolerant et in pericula se conii-  
 ciant, perspicuum quidem est, quoties eiusmodi tempora inciderint quae lucri spem osten-  
 430 tent, perdificile ac magni negotii esse in officio eos continere qui vel in subsidiis relictis fue-  
 rint, vel quorum fidei castra fuerint commendata, nempe quod quae hosti eripi contigerit,  
 penes eos omnia sunt qui priores eas sibi res vindicarint. Nam et si unus quis (dux ille sive  
 imperator fuerit) quae diripuerint milites, in medium conferri iusserit, sua tamen ea esse in-  
 terpretatur quilibet quae subtrahi atque occultari potuerint. Quapropter multitudine saepe  
 435 in eos invadente a quibus praedae sibi partem suam ademptam iure queratur, cum omnino  
 eam duces vim non habeant ut possint obsistere, de rerum summa ut in summum deducan-  
 tur discrimen, necesse est. Multi itaque cum iam hostem castris exuerent et urbes expugna-  
 rent, non aliam nisi ob hanc unam causam non solum de spe deciderunt, sed ingentibus  
 etiam sunt cladibus afflicti. Quamobrem nihil diligentius providendum, nihil maiore studio  
 440 ducibus contendendum quam ne lucri spes multitudinem frustreret. Quod sane eveniet si  
 quoties ut urbes diripiantur usu evenerit, aequa omnibus exposita fuerit emolumentorum  
 portio. Sed ut ad Carthaginem redeat oratio, dum tribuni milites in dispensanda praeda oc-  
 cupati sunt, imperator Romanus, omni captivorum multitudine coacta, quae paulo fuit mi-  
 nor decem capitum millibus, cives primum omnes, tam viros quam foeminas cum liberis  
 445 suis, in unum congregari, ab illis deinde opificum turbam seiungi iussit. Ac cives plane om-  
 nes, adhortatus ut benevolo erga Romanos et praesentis beneficii memori essent animo, di-  
 misit. Et ii quidem flentes et simul quod ex inopinato salutis compotes facti fuerant, gau-  
 dentes cum ad terram summissi imperatori gratias egissent, domos quisque suas redierunt.

Opificibus fore publicas populi Romani operas edixit, eos pollicitus qui tum benevolentiam, tum pro suae quisque artis captu in rempublicam alacritatem prae se tulissent, libertatem recepturos ubi primum confectum esset ex animi sententia bellum quod cum Poenis gerebatur. Atque ii ut publica mancipia quaestori adscriberentur mandavit, tricenis singuli procuratores Romani cives attributi; fuerunt hi duo ferme hominum millia. Ex reliqua captivorum multitudine validissimum quendam, et cum ipsa corporis habitudine, tum aetate maxime vigentem, remigibus admiscuit. Ac sesqui reddidit maiorem numerum navalium sociorum quam ante fuerat hoc supplemento, cum in eam quam a republica acceperat classem, tum in captivas naves distributo. Et iam duplicatus prope erat in singulis navigiis hominum numerus, prae eo qui ante conscenderat. Et naves quidem captivae decem et octo accesserant ad quinque et XXX quas prius habuerat. Huic quoque quem in naves imposuit captivorum numero eadem lege libertatem, bello superatis Carthaginiensibus, promisit, si bonam scilicet ac fidelem operam reipublicae navassent. Ad hunc modum rebus quod ad captivos pertinuit constitutis, magnam sibi benevolentiam et fidem a civibus conciliavit, eaque re multum reipublicae praesidii comparavit. Iam vero spe libertatis proposita, opificum ad bene de republica merendum studia vehementer incendit. Ad haec e re nata quae fuit summa viri providentia, sesquialtero nauticae turbae numerum auxit.

[18] Quibus rebus transactis, Magonem totamque eius cohortem (in qua duo fuerunt de magistratu quae *gerusia* Graeca voce appellabatur, XV vero ex ipso Poenorum senatu) in custodias divisit. C. Laelio ut viros eos pro dignitate tractandos curaret negotium dedit. Accitis deinde obsidibus, qui CCC et eo amplius fuere, pueros qui in eo numero erant ad se proprius adduci iussit et, manu eos demulcens, bono ut animo sint imperat, quod prope diem essent suos visuri parentes. Universos praeterea ad spem optimam erexit, atque in suam quisque patriam ad suos necessarios ut scriberent est adhortatus. Primum salvos se esse belleque secum agi, deinde summa Romanorum voluntate ad suos quendam rediturum, modo ut illi Romanorum quam Poenorum partis esse mallent. Haec locutus ex omni praeda secrevit ea quae ad rerum bellicarum molitionem idonea fore est arbitratus; de reliqua spoliolum copia per ordines atque aetates quae aptissima visa sunt militi dona divisit: pueris galearum cristas et armillas, adolescentibus falcatos et ancipites gladios dedit. Interea ex obsidum foeminarum numero Mandonii uxor, qui Indibilis, Ilergetum reguli, frater erat, ad imperatoris genua accidens, multis cum lachrymis obtestata est ut maiori sua esset ipsi dignitas curae quam ante Poenis fuisset. Ob has ille preces misericordia tactus, quaesivit nunquid ei quod ex usu foret deesset. Erat enim iam natu grandior mulier, et ipsa facie maiestatem quandam principe foemina dignam prae se ferebat. Reticente illa accersiri iubet eos quibus fuerat foeminarum cura demandata. Ex iis intelligit a Carthaginiensibus large et prolixo mulieribus omnia subministrata fuisse. Sed mulier, Scipionis genua amplexata, easdem non desinebat preces iterare. Valde hic ille est re dubia commotus. Ac plane suspicari coepit negligi a custodibus curam cultumque foeminarum, et pro tempore quae minime vera essent fuisse ab illis renuntiata. Ad eas itaque conversus bono iubet esse animo, quod alios esset praefecturus qui providerent accurate ne quid eorum quae usui sunt, ipsis deesset. Ad haec illa, cum paululum subticuisset, «Non recte, inquit, imperator verba nostra accipis, tuam si nos opem ventris causa implorasse putas». Tunc quid sibi mulier vellet animo et cogitatione Scipio reputans, et simul speciem et aetatis florem intuens, cum Indibilis filiarum, tum complurium eiusdem loci puellarum, lachrymas non continuit, mulieris admiratus prudentiam, quae tam brevi oratione suae conditionis qui tunc erat statum significas-

set. Et perspicue quid illa diceret se intellexisse testatus, eius apprehendens dextram et  
 495 ipsam et alias est consolatus, effecturum se affirmans ut earum a se non minorem curam  
 quam si vel sorores vel filiae essent susceptam intelligerent, ac se eas aliis optimae fidei viris  
 commendaturum qui aequae hac in re ut in caeteris priores illi satis earum optatis facerent.

[19] His ita constitutis, omnem qua potitus fuerat publicam Poenorum pecuniam quaes-  
 toribus appendit. Fuit haec summa sexcentorum et eo maior talentorum. Extulerat ipse ex  
 500 urbe talenta quadringenta. Hac accessione expleverat quae ad belli impensas adservabantur  
 talenta amplius mille. Dum haec aguntur, adolescentes aliquot Romani, virginem inter cap-  
 tivas nacti, tum aetatis flore, tum specie corporis caeteris antecellentem, cum scirent impe-  
 ratorem suum ad foeminarum amores paulo propensiores, adductam in eius conspectum  
 puellam, eam ut a se dono acciperet rogarunt. At ille, subita re percussus, ubi satis fuit vir-  
 505 ginis formam admiratus, privato sibi dixit nullum fortasse potuisse donum suavius evenire,  
 at imperatori non aliud sibi minore aestimatione dignandum, tali dicto illud, ni fallor, in-  
 nuens, in vita hominis dum ad corporis animique requiem temporis aliquid conceditur, iu-  
 cundas videri posse quae ex huiusmodi rebus existerent voluptates; ubi vero rerum geren-  
 darum momenta urgeant, maxima tam corporibus quam animis hinc afferri impedimenta.  
 510 Gratias itaque se habere adolescentibus dixit; virginis vero patre ad se accessito, filiam  
 de manu sua restituit, eamque ut cui civium mallet, nuptum daret permisit. Ex ea sane re, cum  
 et continentiae et animi moderationis certissimum documentum dedisset, magnam utique  
 et praeclaram de se opinionem in sevit eorum animis quibus imperabat. His ita gestis, et  
 captivorum qui cum Magone deprehensi fuerant, custodia tribunis militum commissa, C.  
 515 Laelium cum quinquere mi impositis in eam reliquis, tum Poenis, tum ex aliis nationibus  
 nobilissimo quoque Romam misit ut quae gesta essent, suis civibus nuntiaret. Nam cum  
 maximam eorum partem compertum haberet de rebus Hispaniensibus spem omnem abie-  
 cisse, ad nuntium rei feliciter gestae excitatos, multis partibus ad ea quae ad bellum geren-  
 dum opus forent discernenda, alacriores futuros nihil dubitabat.

[20] Ipse interea Carthagine commoratus, ad navales copias exercendas animum appulit,  
 tribunisque militum hanc praescrispsit legiones exercendi rationem. Primo die ad passuum  
 quatuor millia in armis ad idem unde moverant vestigium milites recurrerunt; altero arma  
 cuiusvis generis tergere, curare, inspicere in propatulo iussi; iam tertio plane quiescere et  
 cessare; quarto dein ligneis corioque obvolutis iisdemque praepilatis gladiis manus consere-  
 525 re, alii inter se praepilata missilia iaculari; at quinto eandem repetere in eundem locum re-  
 cursandi consuetudinem, ne quid scilicet vel ad armorum meditationes vel ad vera certami-  
 na deesset. Ad continendos praeterea opifices in artis quaque suae exercitationibus prae-  
 cipuam adhibuit diligentiam, eius rei curam (quod superius diximus) solertibus hominibus  
 mandavit; verum inspiciebat et ipse cotidie quid operum fieret, atque ipsemet sumptum in  
 530 officinas dispensabat. Cum igitur et legionum peditatus ante urbis moenia proelia medita-  
 retur, et socii navales quantum armis tractandis, quantum remis pellendis possent, excursio-  
 nibus in altum susceptis experirentur. Iam vero in urbe ipsa, tela hi acuerent, cuderent illi  
 quae opus erat, fabricarentur alii, et simul omnes magna animi contentione in omni belli  
 apparatu essent occupati. Nemo qui haec intueri potuisset, non facile (uti Xenophon quo-  
 535 dam in loco scriptum reliquit) totam urbem illam belli esse officinam dixisset. Praeclare ad  
 omnia belli munia obeunda milites et armis instructi et exercitationibus comparati impera-  
 tori videbantur, cum, firmata praesidiis et munitionibus urbe, castra cum terrestribus ac  
 maritimis copiis Tarraconem versus movit, et obsides quidem, ubicunque castra poneret,  
 secum habuit.

## *Notae legentis* zu Papyri und außerägyptischen griechischen Texten aus byzantinischer Zeit\*

Sowohl die griechische als auch die lateinische Lexikographie hält noch viele Rätsel bereit, von denen wir einigen nachgehen wollen.

Im vorliegenden Beitrag möchten wir Korrekturen, Neuinterpretationen und Vorschläge zu lateinischen und griechischen Begriffen vorstellen, die unser Wissen um den Wortschatz auf dem Feld der Klassischen Philologie, der Byzantinistik, der Papyrologie und nicht zuletzt der Koptologie vermehren können.

### 1. Ein Eintropfgerät für die Ohren

Unter den Rezepten aus dem „*Therapeuticus*“ eines Johannes<sup>1</sup> findet sich auch eines gegen ein rinnendes Geschwür im Ohr:

πρὸς ὠτία ῥέοντα ἔλκος· οἶνον χλίον καὶ μέλι ἐνώσας ἔμβαλε εἰς τὸ ὠτίον, διὰ ὠτεχύτου. ἀλλὰ μὴ βάλε τὸν αὐλὸν ἐντὸς, ἀλλὰ ἔχε αὐτὸν ἐναντίον τῆς ὀπῆς καὶ σφίξας τὸν ἄσκον εἰς τὸ οὖς κτλ.

Bei der Behandlung soll das Medikament, warmer Wein, vermischt mit Honig (οἶνον χλίον καὶ μέλι ἐνώσας) in das Ohr eingebracht werden mittels (nach dem Text der Edition) eines ὠτεχύτης. Der so grob verständliche Begriff (man hört οὖς und χύτης heraus und kann sich sofort einen Reim darauf machen) läßt sich aus dem Zusammenhang und durch die Formulierung ἔγχεε αὐτὸ (*sc.* das genannte Medikament) weiter unten im Text εἰς τὸ οὖς ohne Schwierigkeiten zu eindeutigen, „hochsprachlichem“ ὠτε<γ>χύτης korrigieren. Es handelt sich also um ein Eintropfgerät für ein (flüssiges) Medikament (ear-dropper).

Im *LBG* finden wir das Grundwort in der Gestalt ἐγχυτήρ. Als analoger Begriff läßt sich aus *LSJ* und *TLG*, dazu aus Aelius Promotus<sup>2</sup> 66, 3 der ῥινεγχύτης, ein Einspritzgerät für die Nase, anführen. Verwiesen sei am Rande noch auf den Begriff aus Anastasios vom Sinai: ἐκχύτης ἢ κενώτης.<sup>3</sup>

Zu einer solchen, vermeintlich einfachen „Korrektur“ läßt sich folgendes sagen:

\*M. Hasitzka (Wien) und S. Schönauer (Bonn) danken wir für zielführende Hinweise und Hilfe bei der Literaturbeschaffung.

<sup>1</sup> B. Zipser, *John the Physician's Therapeuticus*, Leiden-Boston 2009, S. 82, 5.

<sup>2</sup> S. Ihm, *Der Traktat περι τῶν ἰοβόλων θηρίων καὶ δηλητηρίων φαρμάκων sog. Aelius Promotus*, Wiesbaden 1995.

<sup>3</sup> Anastasius of Sinai, *Hexaemeron*, edd. Cl. A. Kuehn, J. D. Baggarly, Roma 2007, S. 288, 257; vgl. *LBG s.v.*; außerdem ist nach W. Voigt wohl κενώτης zu lesen.

Der Ausfall des Nasals vor dem  $\chi$  ist in der Koine, besonders in der Spätantike, nicht selten und im Neugriechischen in volkssprachlichen Wörtern normal, wozu z.B. ἔρχεσθαι → ἐ[γ]χέλυ[ο]ν → χέλυ, geschrieben χέλι, zu vergleichen ist. Daher kann ein Verbum wie ἐγγέω in der Volkssprache nicht leicht weiterbestehen, denn denasaliertes ἐχέω wäre bei Aphärese nicht vom Simplex zu unterscheiden. Das Kompositum ὠτεχύτης wäre zu \*ὠτο(ε)χύτης, \*ὠτοχύτης normalisiert worden und hätte sich wegen ὠτίον → αὐτί weiter zu \*αὐτοχύτης, ἀφθοχύτης entwickeln können.

Zur Praxis: Wenn es heißt: ἀλλὰ μὴ βάλε τὸν αὐλὸν ἐντός, geht aus dem übrigen Text hervor, daß der ἀσκός kein Synonym für diesen ist, sondern als selbständiges Zubehör zwischen dem ὠτεγχύτης/αὐλός und dem Ohr angeschlossen wird.

σφι(γ)ξος könnte heißen, daß die Flüssigkeit in das Ohr (den Gehörgang) aus- oder hineingedrückt wird. Es ist somit eine Unterscheidung zwischen Ohrmuschel (außen) und Gehörgang (innen) denkbar. Es wird ja auch heutzutage oft davor gewarnt, zur Entfernung von Ohrenschmalzpfropfen mit Geräten wie watteumwickelten Stäbchen im Gehörgang Schaden anzurichten.

## 2. Nicht ungewaschenes, sondern ausgelassenes Schweinsschmalz

S. 243, 9 begegnet uns im Text der Edition ein ἀξούγγιν ἀπλυτόν (falls richtig, erwartete man üblicherweise ἄπλυτον)<sup>4</sup> χλίον: warmes, «ungewaschenes» Fett, eine unwahrscheinliche Angelegenheit.

Wir möchten, wie im vorhergehenden Fall, auch hier an die (ursprüngliche) Form λυτόν oder an ἀναλυτόν denken).

Nicht zu vergessen, daß auch Handschrift B „richtiges“ λυτόν hat.

Ein weiteres Beispiel auf S. 243, 8 bestärkt uns in unseren Überlegungen: στάζον δὲ εἰς τὸ ὠτίον ἀπέσω χήνειον ἀξούγγιν λυτόν.

## 3. Eselszucht oder Schafszucht im Hexaemeron des Anastasios Sinaites

Das neunte Buch des Hexaemerons des Anastasios Sinaites<sup>5</sup> aus dem 7. Jh. (S. 306ff.) hat die Erschaffung des Menschen durch den Schöpfergott zum Inhalt.

S. 328ff. kommt der Autor dann nochmals auf die von Gott im Paradies erschaffenen Kreaturen zu sprechen. In dem uns interessierenden Abschnitt geht es um Tiere. Die Tiere als Metapher und Symbol:

Ausgegangen wird von AT, Gen. 2,19-20 (S. 328, 436ff.): Καὶ ἔπλασεν ἔτι ἐκ τῆς γῆς Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς πάντα τὰ θηρία τοῦ ἀγροῦ καὶ πάντα τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ etc.

Und Anastasios führt weiter aus (S. 330, 464) Ἔστι δ' [...] εἰπεῖν, ὅτι ἔθνη<sup>6</sup> εἰς ταῦτα τὰ θηρία τὰ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ὑπὸ Θεοῦ εἰσενεχθέντα ἢ ὅτι ἰπῶν καὶ συβό-

<sup>4</sup> Zum Wort vgl. das LBG s.v.

<sup>5</sup> Anastasios of Sinai, *Hexaemeron*, wie Anm. 3.

<sup>6</sup> Hier ist der Hinweis angebracht, daß altgriechisches ἔθνος bei Tieren auch «Schar, Haufe, Schwarm» bedeuten kann; vergleichen läßt sich auch ἔθνος im neugriechischen kretischen Dialekt in der Bedeutung «Tier, Vieh». Ngr. dialektal (Kreta) erhalten in der Lautform εχνος,

τιον [*pro* συβώσιον, vgl. *LBG*. Die gewöhnliche neugriechische Form ist συβώτιον, aber nebeneinander συβότης, συβώτης (Quantitäten zusammenfall)] καὶ καμηλοστάσιον καὶ οἰνοτροφεῖον σήμερον ὁ παράδεισος ὑπάρχει.

Diese zahmen Tiere werden (nach Arten getrennt) gezüchtet im ἵππων («Pferdehof») καὶ συβότιον / συβώσιον («Saustall») καὶ καμηλοστάσιον («Kamelzuchtstation»). Welche Tiere werden aber im οἰνοτροφεῖον gezüchtet?

Wie paßt also mitten unter diese Zuchtanstalten für Tiere ein οἰνοτροφεῖον, ein «Weinbaubetrieb»?

Dazu etwas später: Bei Eustathios,<sup>7</sup> der ebenfalls über die besagte Genesis-Stelle referiert, finden wir folgenden Text: ταῦτα τὰ θηρία τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ ὑπὸ Θεοῦ συναχθέντα ἢ ὅτι ἵππων καὶ συβόσιον [vgl. συβώσιον *LBG*] καὶ καμηλοστάσιον καὶ οἰοτρόφον [?] σήμερον ὁ παράδεισος ὑπάρχει.

Auch hier eine Schwierigkeit, in einem Text, der über τὰ θηρία handelt, auf den ersten Blick ein unbelegtes οἰοτρόφον (Fragezeichen vom Herausgeber) unterzubringen.

Es bieten sich u.E., wenn auch bisher nicht belegt, statt οἰνοτροφεῖον und οἰοτρόφον

1. ein ὄνοτροφεῖον, eine Eselszucht, an. Unterstützt wird dieser Vorschlag durch den bei *LSJ* belegten ὄνοτρόφος, eine der vielen mit -τρόφος zusammengesetzten Tierpfleger und Tierzüchter (z.B. ἰβιοτρόφος, χηνοτρόφος etc.).

Der Weg vom ὄνοτροφεῖον zu οἰνοτροφεῖον / οἰνοτρόφιον über οἰοτρόφον wäre paläographisch leicht nachvollziehbar, aber die sprachlichen Argumente wiegen schwerer (s.u.): ΟΝΟΤΡΟΦΕΙΟΝ / ΟΝΟΤΡΟΦΙΟΝ → ΟΙΟΤΡΟΦΥΟΝ → („verschlimmbessertem“) ΟΙΝΟΤΡΟΦΕΙΟΝ.

Begünstigt würde ein οἰνοτροφεῖον durch belegtes Adjektiv οἰνοτρόφος z.B. in der *Anthologia Graeca*:<sup>8</sup> Τίς ποτ' ἀκηδέστως οἰνοτρόφον ὄμφακα Βάκχου / ἀνὴρ ἀμπελίνου κλήματος ἐξέταμεν.

Aus Pseudo-Apollodoros<sup>9</sup> erfahren wir weiters: Ὅτι θυγατέρες Ἀνίου τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος Ἐλαΐς Σπερμῶ Οἰνώ, αἱ Οἰνότροφοι λεγόμεναι.

2. kann man aber auch an ein (ebenfalls unbelegtes) zu οἷς (i.q. πρόβατον) gehörendes \*οἰοτρόφιον (i.q. \*οἰοτροφεῖον) denken: ΟΙΟΤΡΟΦΥΟΝ ← ΟΙΟΤΡΟΦΙΟΝ → („verschlimmbessertem“) ΟΙΝΟΤΡΟΦΕΙΟΝ.

Hier hilft Apollodoros<sup>10</sup> weiter, der sagt: Οἰοπόλῳ ἦτοι ἐν ᾧ ὄϊες ἀναστρέφονται, ὃ ἐστὶ πρόβατα. Πολεῖν γὰρ τὸ ἀναστρέφασθαι.

3. ist, aus sprachlicher Sicht, auch an \*ὑοτρόφιον zu denken (s. dazu unten die weiterführenden Ausführungen von W. Voigt).

pl. «Herde», vgl. N. Andriotis, *Lexikon der Archaismen in neugriechischen Dialekten*, Wien 1974, S. 222, Nr. 2031.

<sup>7</sup> Eustathius, *In Genesim de creatione* [Sp.] (fragmenta), M. Spanneut, *Recherches sur les écrits d'Eustathe d'Antioche avec une édition nouvelle des fragments dogmatiques et exégétiques*, Lille 1948, Frgm. 85, 16.

<sup>8</sup> *A.G.* IX 375, 1.

<sup>9</sup> Pseudo-Apollodoros, *Bibliotheca* (epitomae e codd. Vat. 950 + Sabbaitico 366), III 10, 2.

<sup>10</sup> Apollodoros, Frgm. 194a, 1 Mueller. Schol. *Il.* N, 473.

Zum näheren Verständnis von ovo- und οιο- (bzw. ὄο-) führt W. Voigt aus:

ovo- und οιο- sind beide Nutztierarten: sachlich kommt jedes in Frage, doch sind die Ableitungen von ὄϊς, ὄϊος nach dem 4.-5. Jh. v. Chr. wohl nur noch poetisch; sie hatten früh mit οιο- 'allein, einsam' zu konkurrieren, vgl. LSJ *s.v.* οιο-νόμος, οιο-πόλος, οιο-πολέω, οιο-χίτων.  
οιοτρόφον / οιοτρόφον ist wohl nur der Versuch des Eustathios, das wenig sinnvolle οίνο- durch einen (hier unwahrscheinlicheren) Tiernamen zu ersetzen.

Zu ovo- / οίνο- / οιο- läßt sich hinzufügen: ὄϊς wird später auch zu οἶς kontrahiert: sonst wäre es ja kein völliges Homonym von ὄϊς!

Deswegen bin ich für ὄνοτροφεῖον. Der οἰνοτρόφος, «der Wein/Reben anbaut, trägt», kommt sonst nur in der *Anthologia Palatina* vor und ist hier sachlich nicht zutreffend.

Übrigens kommt auch ὄο-, zu 'Schweinezucht', in Frage, weil gleiche Aussprache; belegt sind sonst nur ὄο-φορβός, -φόρβιον, -φορβεῖον in Ägypten ptolemäisch und kaiserzeitlich; ὄϊς hatte wohl minimal besser überlebt als ὄϊς, war aber mündlich sicherlich schon obsolet.<sup>11</sup> Siehe aber den ἵπποφόρβιος, Pferdezüchter, im Alexandergedicht (14. Jh.).

Gegen ὄνοτροφεῖον spricht, daß bereits zuvor ein σὺβότιον erwähnt worden ist, und eine sozusagen doppelte Nennung von Stall oder Zucht für eine Tierart wäre merkwürdig und kaum zu erwarten, es sei denn, die beiden altgriechischen Wörter für «Sau, Schwein, Eber» würden zur Unterscheidung bestimmter Arten oder Formen dieser Tiere genutzt (etwa Haustier/Wildtier, was aber hier offenbar nicht paßt). Übrigens haben wir es bei der Stelle bei Anastasios, die Schweine ausgenommen, mit Haustieren zu tun, die als Reit-, Zug- und Lasttiere dienen: Pferde, Kamele und was die Überlegungen zu οἰ[ι]νοτροφεῖον unterstützt, Esel.

Natürlich könnten theoretisch die Tierzuchten neben Weinbau auf demselben Landgut oder im selben Paradeisos bestehen, aber als Exegese zu der Genesis-Stelle, die nur von Landtieren und Vögeln spricht, ist ὄνο- gewiß das Richtige. Zu den sprachlichen (m.E. weniger als paläographisch einzustufenden) Verwechslungen zwischen οἰνο- und ὄνο- in Komposita<sup>12</sup> vergleiche man die vier Beispiele, die dem LSJ entnommen sind: οἰνόγαλα (*v.l.* ὄνειον γάλα!), οἰνοθήρας = ὄνόθουρις, ὄνοφύλαξ mit Subscriptum, ὄνοφόρον. (Ὀ)νάριον heißt auch «wine-cup»,<sup>13</sup> m.E. vielleicht gefördert durch die Nähe zu (οἰ)νάριον, denn in der Alltagssprache fielen potentiell beide in τὸ \*ἄριον zusammen, vgl. nordneugriechisch dialektal (halbgelehrt, teilweise wieder an die volkstümliche Lautung angepaßt) ἄνοπιβια ←

<sup>11</sup> S. dazu im einzelnen die Graphik zur Darstellung zweier Wortkollisionen bei W. Voigt, *Die Leiden der alten Wörter. Homonymie, labile Wortkörper und andere Faktoren im Wandel zwischen Alt- und Neugriechisch*, I-III, Frankfurt/M. 2006, hier: Teil I, S. 162-163.

<sup>12</sup> Vgl. Voigt (wie Anm. 11), Teil II, S. 410.

<sup>13</sup> Vgl. J. H. Moulton, *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament illustrated from the Papyri*, London 1930, *s.v.* Kann man auf widerförmige Rhyta verweisen?



(οἰ)νόπνευμα, mit Artikel wieder τὸ νόπιβμα (bzw. dialektal /tu/ statt τό. Und tatsächlich ist einmal ὄνοχόη mit Subscriptum = οἰνοχόη belegt, und sogar ὄνος mit Subscriptum = οἶνος.<sup>14</sup> Man vgl. ferner den *Index Hippocraticus s.v.* ὄνος unter C. «lapis molaris (ut vid.)» *Epid.* IV 5, 164, 13 (IR οἶνον V Li[ttré]). Und schließlich heißt der Einwohner von Οἰνὴ im Pontos normalerweise Οἰν(ε)ιάτης, bei Choniates 667, 20 und Pachymeres I 290, 5 aber auch Ὀνιάτης! Störungen gab es außerdem zwischen dem Stamm von ὄνος, ὄν(o)- und ὠνή, ὠνος «Kauf», Adj. ὠνειος, zusammengefallen mit ὄνειος «Esel(s)», «vom Esel».

Bemerkenswerterweise blieb das Diminutivum οἰνάρι(ο)ν nur im pontischen Dialekt<sup>15</sup> erhalten, in dem die unbetonten Anfangsilben i.d.R. nicht der Aphärese zum Opfer fallen, allerdings neben häufigerem κρασίον – und nur von diesem scheint es Komposita zu geben. Und das Diminutivum ὀνάρι(ο)ν von ὄνος ist nur im Tsakonischen erhalten, in dem die Lautentwicklung ebenfalls anders verlaufen ist; selbst das Simplex ist als ὄνη<sup>16</sup> erhalten. Aus der Ellipse το ὀνικόν (κτῆνος) entstand im Neuzyprischen το ὀνικόν mit erhaltenem Anlaut neben ἴκον auf Karpathos. Vor der Aphärese geschützt bleibt das o- in den Varianten (το) β-ονικόν, fem. (η) β-ονική, (το) γ-ονικόν (Andriotis, *Lexikon* [wie Anm. 6], Nr. 4409) Beta bzw. Gamma verhindern den Hiatus.

#### 4. Lateinisches *sepulchrum* in griechischem Gewande

In den Basiliken B 3590, 6.7.<sup>917</sup> begegnet der Begriff τὸ σεπούλκιον, der nach dem Zusammenhang als Begräbnisstätte zu verstehen ist.

Wir können davon ausgehen, daß dieses Wort, das aus dem Griechischen nicht erklärbar wäre, die Frucht der Umschrift eines lateinischen, in Versalien geschriebenen juristischen Terminus in die griechische Schrift darstellt. Und zwar kommt hier die (häufige) Verwechslung lat. R + gr. Π/ρ (mit Metathese) zum Tragen: SEPULCHRUM → SEPOULKRION (-ιον innergriechisch) / ΣΕΠΟΥΛΚΡΙΟΝ → σεπούλκιον; vgl. *LBG s.v.*

Zum lat. R + gr. Π/ρ-Wechsel *et vice versa* vgl. z.B. FM VIII S. 262, Z. 21:<sup>18</sup> ACCEPTILATION (*acceptilatio*) ACERTILATION ἀκερτιλάτιον; S. 272, Z. 14: CONCEPTON CONCERTON κονκέρτον etc.

#### 5. Zerschlagt die Fesseln!

Im Pseudo-Zonaras<sup>19</sup> 1626 finden wir das Zeitwort ῥωπορρυκτέω in der Bedeutung «die Fesseln zerreißen»: ῥωπορρυκτεῖν ῥηγνύειν τὸν ῥῶπον καὶ τὸν κοῦσπον (← *cuspis*).

Die eindeutige Bedeutung macht es klar, aus ῥωπορρυκτέω ein ῥήγνυμι heraus-

<sup>14</sup> Demetrakos *s.v.*

<sup>15</sup> A. A. Papadopoulos, *Ιστορικὸν λεξικὸν τῆς Ποντικῆς διαλέκτου*, II, Athen 1961, S. 104f.

<sup>16</sup> Th. P. Kostakis, *Λεξικὸ τῆς Τσακονικῆς Διαλέκτου*, II, Athen 1986, S. 362f.

<sup>17</sup> σεπούλκιον ed. secundum codd., sed cfr. σεπούλκηρι *Fontes Minores* VIII 112 (7, 65, 1) et σεπουλκίρι 325, 68.

<sup>18</sup> L. Burgmann, *Das Lexikon ἀύσηθ*, FM VIII 249-337.

<sup>19</sup> Ioannis Zonarae *Lexicon*, ed. I. A. H. Tittmann, I-II, Leipzig 1808; vgl. *LBG*.

zuhören. Das zeigen weitere, zu diesem Wortstamm gehörige Wörter wie ῥήκτης (LSJ, LBG), besonders aber der Begriff ῥωπόρηξ, die Fessel zerreißen, aus eben diesem Zonaras 1624 mit der Erklärung: ὁ τὸν κοῦσπον ῥηγνύων.

Würde ὀρύσσω, ὀρυκτ- zugrunde liegen, müßte der Begriff natürlich ῥωπορυκτέω lauten. Wir haben es hier vielmehr mit dem Zeitwort ῥωπορηκτέω zu tun.

Zu ὀρυκτ- läßt sich, ebenfalls aus Pseudo-Zonaras, ῥιζορυκτέω,<sup>20</sup> «die Wurzel ausgraben», stellen. Dazu gehört weiters ῥιζορύκτης, «Wurzeln ausgrabend», aus Manuel Philes (LBG).

## 6. „Als Büblein klein an der Mutterbrust“

τὸ θηλαγγάλακτον<sup>21</sup> τῶν μασθῶν μου<sup>22</sup> des Herausgebers mit der Übersetzung «j'ai allaité du lait des mes seins» macht es sicher, daß wir hier das (bisher nicht belegte, substantivisch gebrauchte) Adjektiv θηλεγγάλακτος (in seiner „klassischen“ Form) anzunehmen haben.

Das Grundwort γαλακτώ läßt sich bisher nur bei Oribasios<sup>23</sup> nachweisen. Ein heutiger Nachfolger, γαλατώνω, ist im Neugriechischen sporadisch belegt: «milchig, trüb werden, (Himmel) sich eintrüben».

## 7. Die gefundene Mitte

In der Festschrift für G. Poethke<sup>24</sup> ist J. Diethart anhand ausgewählter Beispiele einigen von Präpositionalausdrücken abgeleiteten Adverbien im byzantinischen Griechisch nachgegangen. Neben ἐνεπιτόμως, ἐνσυντόμως, διασυντόμως oder ἐναποτόμως, um einige zu nennen, wird auch über ἐπιμέσεως<sup>25</sup> (vgl. LBG) abgehandelt.

Die „legitime“ Entsprechung für unser ἐπιμέσεως neben „altem“ ἐπὶ μέσεως ist das häufige ἐπὶ μέσου. Unser μέσεως wurde als „Überbleibsel“ im Genetiv eines sonst seltenen Substantivs μέσις (= μέση) bezeichnet (vgl. LBG s.v.).

Dieses μέσις findet sich schließlich (im regulären Genetiv) als mathematischer Begriff in einer Berechnung des Rauminhalts eines vasenförmigen Gefäßes: Λαβὲ τὸ ἐξ ἀναλόγου τῆς περιμέτρου τῶν δύο ἄκρων καὶ τῆς μέσεως κτλ.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 1618.

<sup>21</sup> Zu /α-/ statt /ε-/ auch bei Präpositionalsuffixen im nachklassischen Griechisch vgl. ἀντάμα ← ἐν τῷ ἅμα, ἄγλαμπρος ← ἐγλαμπρος ← ἐκλαμπρος, ἀγκαλῶ ← ἐγκαλῶ.

<sup>22</sup> R. Gounelle, *Les recensions Byzantines de l'évangile de Nicodème*, Turnhout 2008, S. 230, 1.2b, 15.

<sup>23</sup> Oribasios, *Collectiones medicae* (lib. 1-16, 24-25, 43-50), VI 11, 6, 4.

<sup>24</sup> J. Diethart, *Zu einigen von Präpositionalausdrücken abgeleiteten Adverbien im Griechischen*, in *Festschrift für Günter Poethke zum 70. Geburtstag*, Berlin-New York 2009, S. 261-264.

<sup>25</sup> Als Adverbium: αὶ δὲ γονυκλισίαι εἰσὶν τέως ἐπιμέσεως εἰς καταμίαν σύνταξιν κατὰ τὸν τύπον τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων: Nikon vom Schwarzen Berge, *Canonarium vel Typicon*, I 28, 20; als Präposition: Τοῦτον καλέσας ὁ μάρτυρ Πάχμιος ἐπὶ μέσεως τῶν ἀδελφῶν λέγει αὐτῷ in den *Vitae Pachomii*, F. Halkin, *Sancti Pachomii vitae Graecae*, Brüssel 1932: *Sancti Pachomii vita tertia* (e codice Patmensi monasterii S. Ioannis 9), S. 294, 16.

<sup>26</sup> M. D. Chalkou, *The mathematical content of the Codex Vindobonensis Phil. Graecus 65* (ff. 11-126), Thessalonike 2006, S. 489.

Das Substantiv μέσις, -εως kann aus sprachhistorischer Sicht als eine hyperkorrekte Abwandlung von μέση nach Analogie des Typs πόλις, πόλεως, πόλιν angesehen werden, das in Folge des Zusammenfalls von Iota und Eta nach dem häufigen νίκη, νίκης, νίκην der ersten Deklination umgestaltet worden ist; weitere Beispiele ab der Jahrtausendwende sind belegt: *The Life of St Andrew the Fool* (ed. Rydén 1995, 10. Jh.) 2130, app. 2280.3888; S. Cusa, *I diplomi greci ed arabi di Sicilia*, Palermo 1868-1882, S. 521 (a. 1095); *Hierakosophion* (ed. Hammer-Purgstall 1840) 84, 9 (14./15. Jh.?).

## 8. Abwehrmittel gegen *testudines*

Im Kap. 15, 267-269 der neu herausgegebenen *Taktika* Leon IV. durch G. Dennis<sup>27</sup> finden wir die Nennung von Abwehrmitteln gegen feindliche χελῶνας / *testudines* angesichts einer Belagerung eines befestigten Platzes in der folgenden Form: Πρὸς δὲ τὰς χελῶνας ἄρπαγες ἦτοι ξύλα μεγάλα ἔχοντα ξίφη καὶ ἐμπισσόμενα κτλ. – und in der Übersetzung der Edition: «Against the tortoises grappling irons or large pieces of wood with sharp points and covered with pitch [...]».

Gehen wir zuerst zur Übersetzung «large pieces of wood [...] covered with pitch»: lange Holzstücke (*sc.* Stangen, Balken), bedeckt mit Pech [...]. Die englische Übersetzung «covered with pitch» schlägt sich indes mit dem griechischen Original ξύλα [...] ἐμπισσόμενα.

Die Holzstangen werden natürlich nicht erst während der Attacke gegen die *testudines* mit Pech beschmiert, sondern sind schon vorher entsprechend präpariert worden. Deshalb erwarten wir statt der Präsensform des passiven Partizips natürlich ein Partizip des Perfekts im Passiv, und zwar (ξύλα) ἐμπεπισσωμένα. ἐμπισσόω ist eine bisher nicht belegte Zusammensetzung des Verbums πισσόω.

Im app. crit. sind keine Varianten verzeichnet.

Heron von Byzanz, *De strategematibus* (ed. Wescher) S. 223, Z. 8. nennt etwa ξύλα ξηρὰ πεπισσωμένα ἢ θείῳ τετριμμένῳ σὺν ὑγρᾷ πίσσῃ ἢ ἐλαίῳ ἐπαλιφέντα κτλ.

Deutlicher schon vorher beim selben Heron S. 217, Z. 2: ἐχέτω δὲ καὶ ξύσματα ξύλων ξηρὰ περιεσπαρμένα σὺν ὑγρᾷ πίσσῃ ἢ ἐλαίῳ ἐπαλιφέντα· καὶ οὕτως ἐκκαέντων τῶν ὑποστυλωμάτων καταπεσεῖται τὸ τεῖχος, so daß wir annehmen können, daß auch die bei Leon genannten ξύλα ἐμπεπισσωμένα (korrigierte Form) bei ihrem Einsatz gegen die *testudines* (vorher) entzündet worden sind, ohne daß dies hier explizit genannt wird, da als bekannt vorausgesetzt bzw. bei Leon gekürzt wiedergegeben.

Ausführlicher im Kapitel: ὡς δεῖ ἀντέχειν τὸν πολιορκεῖσθαι προσδοκῶντα χρονίως bei Pseudo-Mauricius, *Strategicon* 10, 3, 3, 1: πρὸς δὲ τοὺς παλλίωνα<sup>28</sup> ἦτοι ἐμβόλους τοὺς προσαγομένους ἄρπαγες, πίσσα καὶ πῦρ καὶ λίθοι βαρεῖς κα-

<sup>27</sup> G. Dennis, *The Taktika of Leo VI*, Washington 2010.

<sup>28</sup> παλλίων ist wohl eine späte, falsche Schreibung in Folge von Degemination, d.h., es bestand kein Unterschied zu \*παλίων ← lat. *palus*, vgl. das Diminutivum πάλιον, eventuell veranlaßt durch äußerliche Ähnlichkeit mit πάλλιον ← lat. *pallium*.

τάκεντροι ἀπὸ μαγγάνων ἄφνω χαλόμενοι διὰ σχοινίων ἦτοι ἀλύσεων καὶ πάλιν ἀνασπώμενοι δι' ἐτέρων ἀντιβαρημάτων: Das entspricht unserem Leon cap. 15, 270-272.

Zur möglichen Ehrenrettung unseres Schreibers soll hinzugefügt werden, daß er bei der Schreibung ἐμπισσόμενα statt ἐμπεπισσωμένα vielleicht von vorausgehendem ἔχοντα irritiert worden ist.

9. Weitere lexikalische Beobachtungen zu den *Taktika* Leon VI. (ed. G. Dennis)<sup>29</sup>

### 9.1 ἡ τοξοβολίστρα

Die τοξοβολίστρα begegnet in den Kapiteln 5, 38; 6, 149; 14, 519; 19, 342 etc.

Im Index finden wir τοξοβολίστρης, das aber an keiner einzigen Textstelle vorkommt.

Das Fem. ἡ -βολίστρα geht eindeutig hervor aus cap. 14, 519: τὰς λεγομένας τοξοβολίστρας, «bow ballistai».

### 9.2 ἔξατορία „Fehler“ statt ἔξα<κ>τορία?

Abschn. 71 der Constitutio 20, 344/345 beschäftigt sich mit „zivilen“ Belangen, vor denen der Stratege seine Truppe bewahren soll:

ἀγγαρείας ἀπάσης ἰδιωτικῆς καὶ ἀδικίας ἐλεύθερον φύλαττε τὸν ὑπὸ σὲ λαὸν ὅσοι τοῦ στρατοῦ εἰσι καὶ ὅσοι τῆς λεγομένης ἔξατορίας

«Keep the troops serving under your command freed from individual impressment and injustice».

Keine Eintragung im app. crit., ἔξατορία ed., Index.

Aus dem Umfeld ergibt sich eindeutig, daß wir es hier mit dem Begriff ἔξακτορία / ἔξακτωρία im Zusammenhang mit Steuerangelegenheiten zu tun haben.

Aus dem Wortfeld s. den ἔξάκτωρ (*exactor*), «Steuereinnehmer» (*LBG*). Dazu noch ἔξακτωρικός, «einem Steuereinnehmer unterworfen» (vgl. zuletzt das *LBG*).

Liegt also bei der Schreibung ἔξατορία einfach ein „Fehler“ statt ἔξα<κ>τορία vor? Dazu läßt sich folgendes sagen: Auch wenn das Verstummen von /κ/ vor /τ/ sich im Griechischen nicht durchgesetzt hat, gibt es doch alte Parallelen: Schon im altgriechischen kretischen Dialekt kam die Assimilierung von κ vor τ, damals aber mit Ersatzdehnung bzw. Geminatio des τ vor. Die Lautgruppe /κτ/ (vgl. im Italienischen die Entwicklung zu /tt/) kann eine Zwischenstufe /χτ/ erlebt haben: νύχτα ← νύκτα. In der Koine und im Neugriechischen gibt es einzelne Fälle von -πράτης für -πράκτης wohl auch unter dem Einfluß von πεπρα[γ]μένος = πεπραμένος. In ἔξατορία könnte sowohl eine lateinische wie eine seltenere griechische Tendenz vorliegen.

<sup>29</sup> s. Anm. 23.

## 9.3 ἡ κασσίδα – hier nur eine Phantasmagorie

Der Index Graecitatis nennt κασσίδα.

Die üblichen griechischen Wörterbücher kennen das vom lat. *cassis* abgeleitete Lehnwort in der gewohnten Form κασ(σ)ίς, dazu das Dim. κασ(σ)ίδιον:

κασσίς (vgl. *LBG*; s.a. Andriotis, Archaismen Nr. 3084)

κασσίδιον (*LBG*: «Helm»; vgl. weiters das *Reallexikon der Byzantinistik*, Reihe A, Bd. I, Heft 5, 520 oder A. Landi<sup>30</sup> und besonders die grundlegende Arbeit von T. Kolias.<sup>31</sup>

„Ähnliches“ ἡ κασσίδα im Spanos D 841 in der Bedeutung „Kopfgrind“ ist der aus dem griechischen Akkusativ hervorgegangene (byzantinische) Nominativ.

Wir haben auch an unseren Stellen (cap. 5, 22; 6, 11.117.199; 9, 278; 14, 220.565; 15, 53; 18, 535; 19, 88) von der Lexikonform κασσίς auszugehen. Im einzelnen: 6,117 hat acc. sg. κασσίδα, sonst alle übrigen Stellen acc. pl. κασσίδας.

Aus dem Wortfeld sollen noch ἀποκασσιδῶ oder ἀποκασσιδωτός genannt werden.

## 10. ἄλις, «Salz»

In einer koptischen Liste von Heilmitteln<sup>32</sup> aus dem 6.-8. Jh. begegnet neben κολοφανοῦ (κολοφώνια, «Harz») und κιντριν [κίτρι(ο)ν, «Zitrone»] in Z. 4 der Begriff ἄλις:<sup>33</sup> M. Hasitzka sagt im Kommentar zur Zeile: «ἄλις<sup>34</sup> [ed.] muß eine Art Salz sein».

Bei diesem (sonst nicht belegten ἄλις) möchten wir durchaus das Abstraktum ἄλις, das Salzen, sehen, das hier, konkret gebraucht, tatsächlich für Salz steht.

Unterstützt wird diese Vermutung durch Parallelen wie etwa dem Begriff νίψις,<sup>35</sup> der in (koptischen) Papyri ein Gefäß zum Waschen bedeutet, während es außerpapyrologisch ausschließlich den Vorgang des Waschens (die *lotio*) bedeutet (vgl. *LSJ s.v.*).

Dieselbe Erscheinung liegt auch in außerpapyrologischen Texten vor: Und zwar

<sup>30</sup> A. Landi, *Un'esemplificazione di prestito dal latino nella lingua della tarda greçità*, «Κοινωνία» 2, 1978, S. 301-324, bes. 308.

<sup>31</sup> T. Kolias, *Byzantinische Waffen. Ein Beitrag zur byzantinischen Waffenkunde von den Anfängen bis zur lateinischen Eroberung*, Wien 1988: *cassis* steht S. 76 A. 5, dann gibt es im griechischen Index noch κασ(σ)ίδα S. 44 A. 57, S. 75 A. 1, S. 122 A. 175; κασ(σ)ίδιον S. 75 A. 1, S. 77f., S. 83; volkssprachliches κασσιδολιτζι(ο)ν (ράβδιν) S. 85, S. 183 und κάσσις S. 75.

<sup>32</sup> M. Hasitzka, *Koptisches Sammelbuch*, II, Wien 1994, S. 1043.

<sup>33</sup> Fehlt bei H. Förster, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Wörter in den koptischen dokumentarischen Texten*, Berlin-New York 2002.

<sup>34</sup> An ἄλις zu denken, verbietet der Textzusammengang.

<sup>35</sup> J. Diethart und M. Hasitzka, *Beobachtungen und Überlegungen zur griechischen, lateinischen und koptischen Lexikographie*, «The Journal of Juristic Papyrology» 31, 2001, S. 33-46, bes. 40; Förster 542 verweist in Hinblick auf die Bedeutung zu Unrecht auf *LSJ*; M. Hasitzka, G. Schmelz, *Die Klosterbesitzverzeichnisse P.Lond. IV 1631. Eine Neuedition*, «Archiv für Papyrusforschung und Verwandte Gebiete» 49, 2003, S. 79-112.

beim Wort κλειδωσις, das üblicherweise den Vorgang des Verschließens meint (vgl. LSJ *s.v.*); es begegnet aber auch gegenständlich (vor allem im ägyptischen Griechisch) in der Bedeutung «Verschluß», «Schloß»:<sup>36</sup> τὴν κλειδωσιν τῆς ἄρκλης κεκλασμένην θεασάμενος («nachdem er des gesprengten Schlosses der Geldtruhe ansichtig geworden war»); dazu paßt eine bedeutungsgleiche Stelle aus Sophronios:<sup>37</sup> Οὐ μόνον γὰρ κλειδώσει περιέσφιγκτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ σφραγῖσι μολιβδίναις ἐστόμωτο. Zur Erklärung der γομφίοι dient dieses Wort bei Pseudo-Zonaras (Tittmann), γ, S. 447, 7: γομφίους, ὀδόντας, κλειδώσεις· οἱ ἔμπροσθεν δὲ ὀδόντας εἰσὶ (die Richtigkeit der Erklärung steht hier nicht zur Diskussion).

### 11. τὸ κελλάδιον

In einer koptischen Liste und in koptischer Sprachgestalt wohl aus dem 4. Jh. (*Koptisches Sammelbuch* [wie Anm. 32], II, S. 1035, 13) begegnet neben «Fellkleidung» (βαλοῦτ) oder einem θερμαντήριον (ΘΕΡΜΑΤΗΛΕΙΝ) auch ein κελατῆνι, das nach der ed. pr. (E. Husselman) und M. Hasitzka als κελλ-λακρίδιον zu verstehen sei.

Dem Zusammenhang nach haben wir es bei dem Begriff κελατῆνι sicherlich mit einem Gefäß zu tun, das auf das Grundwort cella → κέλλα zurückgeht. Neben den zahlreichen Ableitungen von κέλλα für eine Räumlichkeit finden wir für Bezeichnungen für ein «Gefäß» etwa ἐξακέλλαρν,<sup>38</sup> ἑπτακέλλαρν<sup>39</sup> oder τρικέλλαρν.<sup>40</sup>

Die – wie Voigt in einem Kongressbeitrag<sup>41</sup> gezeigt hat – modernere Gestaltung der Wortenden in ἐξακέλλαρν, ἑπτακέλλαρν, τρικέλλαρν statt \*τρικελλάριον setzt in Diminutiv κελλάριον voraus, welches als ngr. κελλάρι aber «Keller» und nicht «Gefäß» bedeutet, obwohl eine Semasiologische Brücke zwischen Vorratsgefäß und Vorratskeller denkbar ist, man denke nur an die auf griechischen Inseln bis heute verwendeten riesigen Tonkrüge, die in den Boden eingegraben werden. Κελλάριον bietet unsere Quelle aber nicht, sondern κελ(λ)άδιον.

Das -άριον wäre in unserem Fall möglicherweise anders erklärbar als lautähnlichem -άριον mit -l-d → -l-r, vgl. κλαδί(ον) → ngr. κλαρί.

Wir möchten allerdings hinter κελατῆνι keine „Verschreibung“ von κελλ-λακρίδιον annehmen, sondern denken an einen bisher sonst nicht belegten Begriff κελλάδι(ον), wofür sich als Parallele z.B. das Wort μεσάδιον (zu *mensa*), «Tisch-

<sup>36</sup> PG LXXVII, col. 194C; weitere byzantinische Belege im *LBG s.v.*

<sup>37</sup> N. Fernández Marcos, *Sophronius, Narratio miraculorum sanctorum Cyri et Joannis*, Madrid 1975, miraculum 35, 81.

<sup>38</sup> Vgl. «Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik» 53, 2003, S. 275.

<sup>39</sup> P.Ant. II 93,31 (4. Jh.). Vgl. «Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik» 123, 1998, S. 172f.

<sup>40</sup> P.Oxy. X 1290, 5 (5. Jh.).

<sup>41</sup> W. Voigt, *Zu den ngr. Komposita des Typs ἀ-/καλό-καρδος, δισκο-πότηρον, παλιό-παιδο* (vgl. *agr. τρί-γωνον, δίδραχμον*) und der „Kürzung“ von (ι)ο -(ι)ος -(ι)ον in *Komposita*, in *Ελληνική Γλωσσολογία '97 / Greek Linguistics '97: Πρακτικά του Γ' Διεθνούς Γλωσσολ. Συνεδρ. για την ελλ. γλώσσα. / Proceedings of the 3rd International Conference on the Greek language*, Athina 1999, S. 522-531.

tuch», eine innergriechische Weiterentwicklung von „mensa“ anbietet: Als μεσάδιν begegnet uns das Wort SB XVIII 13967, 4 (5./6. Jh.), als μεσάτιν in P.Masp. II 67162, 19 (566/70 n. Chr.).<sup>42</sup>

Die „koptisierende“ Schreibung μεσάτιν finden wir auch bei κατῆν<sup>43</sup> für κάδ(ι)ον.

Zum „koptischen“ Wechsel δ/τ/Ϸ/ϝ (wie sonst auch von β/π und γ/κ) lassen wir W. A. Girgis in geraffter Form zu Wort kommen: «It is well-known, that [...] a Coptic ear was not accustomed to catch the difference between b and p, g and k, d and t».<sup>44</sup>

## 12. \*κραβακτοπράτης, der «Bettenverkäufer»

J. Kramer<sup>45</sup> hat unlängst über die Herkunft von κράβατος und *grabatus* im Griechischen und Lateinischen referiert. Demnach wurde das ursprünglich illyrische Wort \**grab-at-* «Holzbett» (zu \**grab-* «Eiche» mit Suffix) aus der Sprache der Messapier sowohl ins Lateinische (als *grabatus*) als auch ins Griechische der Magna Graecia (als κράβατος) übernommen, wo es sich zum ersten Mal um 300 v. Chr. beim Komiker Rhinton findet, der aus Syrakus stammt, also nicht weit weg von messapischem Gebiet!

„Geschichtsmächtig“ im wahrsten Sinne des Wortes wird der Begriff dann durch das Neue Testament (z.B. Mk. 6, 55: ἤρξαντο ἐπὶ τοῖς κραβάτοις τοὺς κακῶς ἔχοντας περιφέρειν, etc.) und in christlich gefärbten Texten.

In den Papyri wird dann dieses «nicht durch die literarische Norm geschützte Wort» (Kramer [wie Anm. 44], S. 250), bei dem ursprünglich das Genus geschwankt hat, in seinen verschiedenen Varianten faßbar. Entweder der erste oder der zweite innervokalische Konsonant konnte expressiv verdoppelt werden (beispielsweise war κράβακτος im 3. Jh. vorherrschend). Dann „regierte“ κράβατος (neben κράβαττος und κράββατος), und erst ab dem späteren 5. Jh. wird dann die Diminutivform κραβάτιον faßbar.

Wir können nun dieses κράβακτος in dem schwererklärbaren κραβαττοπρεκτός auf einem griechisch-koptischen Papyrus (es handelt sich um Lieferverträge aus dem 7. Jh.) sehen.<sup>46</sup> Der Text, Z. 42-44: ἄββα Ἰωάννου τοῦ θεοφιλεστάτου πρεσβυτέρου καὶ φροντιστοῦ τῶν τ[οῦ]των πραγμάτων Α[ὐρ]ηλίου (vgl. *Koptisches*

<sup>42</sup> Zum Verlust der Nasalierung vgl. z.B. V. Binder, *Sprachkontakt und Diglossie. Lateinische Wörter im Griechischen als Quellen für die lateinische Sprachgeschichte und das Vulgärlatein*, Hamburg 2000, S. 112-114.

<sup>43</sup> Vgl. Förster, *Wörterbuch* (wie Anm. 33), S. 397, dazu die Rezension von J. Diethart in «Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik» 53, 2003, S. 268-276.

<sup>44</sup> W. A. Girgis, *Greek Loan Words in Coptic*, «Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte» 19, 1967-1968, S. 57. Ausführlich W. Till, *Das Koptische. Heutiger Stand der Forschung*, Louvain 1954, S. 491ff.

<sup>45</sup> J. Kramer, *Von der Papyrologie zur Romanistik*, Berlin-New York 2011, κράβατος / *grabatus*, Nr. 19: 241-251.

<sup>46</sup> *Corpus Papyrorum Raineri*, IV 34 (Text, Übersetzung, kein Photo); *Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der Nationalbibliothek in Wien*, XV 112 (Text, Photo auf Taf. 51, keine Über-

*Sammelbuch* [wie Anm. 32], IV A 1767, Text und krit. App.) Ἰσακίου κραβατοπρεκτὸς<sup>47</sup> υἱὸς τοῦ μακαρίτου Θεοδώρου ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλ[εως χαί]ρειν.<sup>48</sup>

Aber die Sache der Reihe nach: Aus einem Nominativ -πράκτος läßt sich nur schwer zu einem Nominativ (einer Berufsbezeichnung) -πράκτης kommen, wobei Kretschmer-Locker nur ein einziges Kompositum auf -πράκτης (παντοπράκτης) kennen, und weder im TLG noch auf Papyrus läßt sich ein weiteres Beispiel finden. Hier möchten wir aber mit einiger Sicherheit an einen \*κραβατοπρά[κ]της, «Bettenverkäufer», denken.

Verkäufer, Zusammensetzungen mit πράτης, sind im Griechischen häufig.<sup>49</sup>

Weil die PPP πεπρα(γ)μένος von πράττω und πεπραμένος von πιπράσκω (Stamm von περ(ν)ό- περα-) in mundartlicher Aussprache der Koine zusammengefallen waren, konnten auch andere Formen und Ableitungen beider Verben durcheinandergeraten. So kommen Verbaladjektiv -πρατος und Nomina -πράτης mit den Bed. von -πρακτος und -πράκτης, -πράκτωρ durcheinander. Im heutigen kyprischen Dialekt steht πράττω, πράσσω mit der Bedeutung «Handel treiben» und πράξι mit «Handel». Schon 291 v. Chr. εἰσπραθέν in einer attischen Inschrift statt εἰσπραχθέν. Der nachchristliche Papyrus Zenon III 59497, 3 hat πρώτορα statt πράκτορα. Wer etwas verkauft, kassiert – εἰσπράττει – gewöhnlich auch etwas dafür, daher liegt die Konfusion auch inhaltlich nahe.

Das soll beweisen, daß statt κραββατοπράτης, -που durchaus auch κραββατοπράκτης gesagt werden konnte, und wenn dann noch κράββατος mit κράβ(β)ακτος wechselte, sind allerlei Assimilationen oder Dissimilationen denkbar! Umso leichter auch κραββατοπράκτης statt κραβακτοπράτης. Es kommt einiges zusammen.

Der Schreiber könnte Skrupel gehabt haben, in einer rechtlich verbindlichen Urkunde eine Dialektform mit κρεβ- zu verwenden. Weiters unterdrückte er u.E. die ihm aus der „konservativen“ Amtssprache zwar bekannte Form κραβακτ- und griff zu κραβατ-, das zu seiner Zeit die häufigere Form war, hatte aber noch die Form mit -ε- und -κτ- im Hinterkopf, was sich in der metathetischen Form κραβατοπρέκτης statt \*κρεβατοπράτης niederschlug.

Daß also dieses -ε- unter dem Einfluß der jüngeren Form κρεββάτιον κραββατοπράκτης → \*κρεββατοπράκτης → κραββατοπρέκτης zustandekam, ist vielleicht zu gesucht, sollte aber nicht ungesagt sein.

setzung). Bei Förster, *Wörterbuch* (wie Anm. 33), S. 441f. gibt es \*κραβατοπρακτός, «Hersteller von Betten» (nach *Corpus Papyrorum Raineri*, IV 34, Z. 43).

<sup>47</sup> Syntaktisch korrigierter Text Αὐρηλίω Ἰσακίω κραβατοπρεκτῶ (*Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der Nationalbibliothek in Wien*, XV). Man sollte fürs erste besser unakzentuiert \*κραβατοπρεκτος schreiben!

<sup>48</sup> Den aktuellen griechischen Text verdanken wir M. Hasitzka (Wien).

<sup>49</sup> Vgl. zuletzt J. Diethart, -πώλης und -πράτης und bei weitem kein Ende. *Weitere Berufsbezeichnungen aus byzantinischer Zeit*, «Münstersche Beiträge zur Antiken Handelsgeschichte» 24, 2005, S. 39-49 (erschienen 2006); *Weitere Berufsbezeichnungen auf -πώλης, -πῶλος, -όπωλις sowie auf -πράτης und -πράτισσα aus byzantinischer Zeit*, *ibid.*, S. 193-212.



Hier ist auf W. Voigt (wie Anm. 11), II, S. 321-322 zu verweisen.

Man kann noch weitere Überlegungen anschließen: Das \*-πρακτος (-πρεκτος im Dokument), Genetiv -πρακτου statt -πρακτης, Gen. -πρακτου könnte bei dem das Griechische unvollkommen beherrschenden Kopten durch das belegte κραβατοποιός gefördert worden sein.

Vielleicht ist das -ο- auch nur eine hyperkorrekte Wiederherstellung eines fälschlich für -ο- gehaltenen Endsilben-Schwa?

Vgl. agr. dialektisch thessalisch -εν für Akk. -ον.

Bei \*-πρακτος statt \*-πράκτης / \*-πράτης kann auch die Doppelheit von -πώλης und -πῶλος eine Rolle gespielt haben: beachte das ngr. (seltener) κρασοπούλος «Weinhändler» statt κρασο-πώλης, mit κρασοπουλειό «Weinhandlung» statt κρασοπωλείον.

Fassen wir dabei noch dazu ins Auge, daß es (Kramer, S. 249) ab dem 4. Jh. ein κρέβατος gegeben hat, können wir folgendes „Szenario“ durchspielen: Formen auf κρεβ- könnten als landschaftlichem und sprachlichem Substrat angehörige Wörter angesehen worden sein, bevor sie schließlich im Neugriechischen zum Normalwort geworden sind (κρεβάτι).

Die Endung -ος könnte weiters, jetzt weniger sprachwissenschaftlich als vielmehr sprachpsychologisch gedacht, durch eine Fernwirkung von gedachtem κράβακτος stammen. Oder, vielleicht eher, mit dem folgenden υἰός übereingestimmt sein.

Und der Akzent? Sind Herausgeber und „Verwerter“ von endbetontem πρακτός (vgl. Anm. 2 und 3) beeinflusst, wenn nicht gar „irritiert“ worden?

Johannes Diethart und Werner Voigt

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## Un restauro di erudito: Isidoro di Kiev e il codice Peyron 11 della Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria di Torino\*

Il fondo Peyron della Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria di Torino, acquisito nel dicembre 1969,<sup>1</sup> è costituito dalla biblioteca di Amedeo (1785-1870) e Bernardino (1810-1903) Peyron, insigni papirologi e orientalisti torinesi. Oltre ad autografi dei proprietari stessi, di Tommaso Valperga di Caluso, e a tre fogli papiracei copti, comprende una ventina di manoscritti, tra i quali due greci.<sup>2</sup> Uno di essi, il codice Peyron 11, si rivela particolarmente interessante. Si tratta di un manoscritto di piccolo formato (185x128 mm), che consta di 146 fogli (IV + 142), non datato, riconducibile su base paleografica alla tarda età bizantina. Esso trasmette quattro tragedie: l'*Ecuba*, l'*Oreste* e le *Fenicie* di Euripide – la “triade” bizantina – accompagnate dalla vita dell'autore e dalle *hypotheses* e corredate da glosse interlineari e scolii marginali, e l'*Aiace* di Sofocle, limitatamente ai vv. 1-32, 69-94 e 105-214.

Nel codice si individuano due mani principali – una mano di epoca anteriore (A)<sup>3</sup> è attiva solamente nei fogli di guardia. Accanto a un copista principale (C), che trascrive la maggior parte del testo, nei ff. 1-2 del manoscritto è stata identificata la mano di Isidoro di Kiev (B) (1380/90 - 27 aprile 1463).<sup>4</sup> Un'attenta analisi del manufatto consente di delineare le modalità di allestimento del codice e, in particolare, di mettere in luce l'intervento su di esso di Isidoro.

Ad eccezione dei ff. I-II, pergamenei, il resto del codice è cartaceo. I ff. III-IV-1-2 sono in carta occidentale. Nel bifoglio costituito dai ff. III e 2, in corrispon-

\* Il presente lavoro rientra nell'ambito del progetto *Greek Books in Turin Libraries. Sources and Documents for a New Inquiry in the Classical Background of the Piedmont Elites, XV-XIX Century* (responsabile scientifico: E. V. Maltese) finanziato dalla Regione Piemonte e afferente alla Scuola di Dottorato in Studi Umanistici dell'Università degli Studi di Torino (dottorato in Culture Classiche e Moderne). Ringrazio i proff. Antonio Rollo e Peter Schreiner, che hanno letto e commentato questo contributo, fornendo preziosi suggerimenti, e i Responsabili della Sala manoscritti e rari della BNU di Torino.

<sup>1</sup> G. Bona, *Amedeo Peyron e lo studio dei papiri (Appunti e notizie dall'archivio Peyron)*, in *Atti del XVII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia*, I, Napoli 1984, p. 179; A. Giaccaria, *I fondi medievali della Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria di Torino*, «Pluteus» 2, 1984, pp. 175-194: 180 (Giaccaria indica come anno in cui avvenne l'acquisto il 1970).

<sup>2</sup> Bona, *Amedeo Peyron*, cit., p. 180; Giaccaria, *I fondi medievali*, cit., p. 180.

<sup>3</sup> Si utilizzano le lettere impiegate in P. Eleuteri, *Due manoscritti greci del Fondo Peyron della Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria di Torino*, «Prometheus» 16, 1990, pp. 193-200.

<sup>4</sup> Eleuteri, *Due manoscritti greci*, cit., p. 196; M. Manfredini, *Inventario dei codici scritti da Isidoro di Kiev*, «Studi Classici e Orientali» 46, 1997, pp. 611-624: 618; A. Rollo, *A proposito del Vat. gr. 2239: Manuele II e Guarino (con osservazioni sulla scrittura di Isidoro di Kiev)*, «Nέα Πόμη» 3, 2006, pp. 373-388: 382.

denza della piega, è visibile una filigrana in forma di arco del tipo *Arc 779-799* Briquet, confrontabile in particolare con la nr. 799 (Paris 1406. Var. ident. Turin 1410/11). I ff. 3-142 sono invece in carta orientale.

È visibile una fascicolazione greca ad opera della mano C, posta sul *recto* del primo foglio di ogni fascicolo, nella parte interna del margine inferiore, da β (f. 11) a ιη (f. 138). La struttura fascicolare è la seguente: 1x2, 1x4, 16x8, 1x8<sup>-1</sup>, 1x8<sup>-3</sup>. Gli ultimi due fascicoli sono mutili. Dal penultimo è caduto l'ultimo foglio (131-132-133-134 | 135-136-137-?), come è testimoniato dalla fascicolazione. A f. 131<sup>r</sup> vi è infatti la segnatura ιζ' (17); poiché i fascicoli sono quaternioni, la successiva segnatura ιη (18) dovrebbe essere posta a f. 139<sup>r</sup>, mentre essa ricorre a f. 138<sup>r</sup>. Dall'ultimo fascicolo sono stati tagliati via il quinto, il sesto e il settimo foglio (138-139-140-141 | ?-?-?-142) e sono rimasti i talloni. La cartulazione, da 1 a 142, è settecentesca. Nel computo essa non tiene conto dei fogli caduti dagli ultimi due fascicoli e dei fogli di guardia.<sup>5</sup> Sette fogli sono stati lasciati bianchi, III<sup>r</sup>, III<sup>v</sup>, IV<sup>r</sup>, IV<sup>v</sup>, 135<sup>v</sup>, 136<sup>r</sup>, 136<sup>v</sup>.

La *mise en page* è ariosa, regolare, a 18 linee, con interlineo e margini ampi nei ff. 3-141 (specchio di scrittura ca. 130x95 mm); a 28 linee nei ff. 1-2 (specchio di scrittura ca. 120x80 mm). La rigatura è stata realizzata a secco e sono visibili i fori nel margine dei fogli.

Una mano più antica (A), come si è detto, è presente nei ff. I-II, pergamenei (Tav. I). Essi costituiscono in realtà un unico foglio proveniente da un codice di dimensioni maggiori rispetto al manoscritto Peyron (quelle attuali sono di ca. 235x173 mm), che è stato piegato in due nel senso della lunghezza a costituire un bifoglio. Esso è vergato su entrambi i lati, con uno specchio di scrittura a piena pagina, a 28 linee con margini e interlineo ampi; il testo è un passo tratto dal *Triodion* per la domenica della quinta settimana di Quaresima.<sup>6</sup> La scrittura della mano A è una minuscola appesa al rigo dal tratteggio morbido, chiara ma piuttosto corrente.<sup>7</sup> Il tracciato alquanto sciolto e rapido di alcune legature (come π $\alpha$ , τ $\epsilon$ , σ $\alpha$ ) rende probabile una collocazione all'inizio dell'XI sec.

La prima mano presente nel codice (B), che verga il testo ai ff. 1-2, è stata identificata come quella di Isidoro di Kiev<sup>8</sup> (Tav. II). La sua scrittura è una minuscola elegante, verticale, di modulo piccolo e costante, ma con una moderata tendenza allo squilibrio modulare (con espansione del corpo di lettere come ε, ο, φ, ω, e prolungamento di alcune aste, come il tratto obliquo destro di δ maiuscolo, di χ e di

<sup>5</sup> Verosimilmente essa è di mano di Amedeo Peyron (cfr. *Inventario dei manoscritti e dell'archivio Peyron*, a cura di G. Gallo, Torino 1997, p. 12), come fanno supporre l'inchiostro e la foggia delle cifre, in particolare il tratteggio delle cifre 3 e 7 che, in un foglietto cartaceo inserito all'inizio del codice e di mano di Peyron, presentano un'identica e peculiare forma.

<sup>6</sup> Sono riportate le odi V, VI, VII e VIII, cfr. Τριώδιον κατανυκτικόν, Ἐν Ῥώμῃ 1879, II, pp. 528-531.

<sup>7</sup> Accanto a lettere minuscole tradizionali (π in due tempi, ω chiuso, κ, β, e η di foggia antica in un unico tratto, ψ in forma di croce), vi sono lettere di forma maiuscola (κ e π in tre tempi, λ in due tempi, ε, τ ad asta alta, η in tre tempi). Sono inoltre impiegati contestualmente spiriti angolosi e arrotondati.

<sup>8</sup> Eleuteri, *Due manoscritti greci*, cit., p. 196; Manfredini, *Inventario dei codici*, cit., p. 618; Rollo, *A proposito del Vat. gr. 2239*, cit., p. 382.

λ). Nel manoscritto essa si presenta nella sua variante più calligrafica.<sup>9</sup> Il testo è vergato in inchiostro nero, mentre titoli e lettere iniziali – in *ekthesis* e decorate con un semplice motivo a racemi e perle – sono realizzati in rosso.

La seconda mano (C), trascrive infine i ff. 3-141, vale a dire la maggior parte del codice (Tav. III). Si tratta di una minuscola informale, posata e dal *ductus* piuttosto veloce, ma chiara e leggibile. Il repertorio delle forme utilizzate richiama il *Metochitesstil*:<sup>10</sup> tale accostamento permette di collocare la mano nella prima metà del XIV sec.<sup>11</sup> Le legature e le abbreviazioni non sono molto numerose e non si riscontra un uso frequente delle lettere sovrapposte, che compaiono sporadicamente a fine rigo. Il modulo presenta evidenti squilibri, che interessano tanto le aste, come in χ, ψ in tre tempi, κ, δ maiuscolo, ζ, α in due tempi, tanto le lettere a corpo tondo come ο, ω chiuso e aperto, φ, σ, υ, ε di foggia maiuscola in due tempi. Prevalgono le forme arrotondate e i tratti sinuosi. La mano C verga anche gli scolii che corredano il testo nei margini, per i quali utilizza una scrittura più sciolta e veloce. Titoli e *sigla* dei personaggi sono rubricati.

Il *corpus* dei testi riportati è costituito dalla triade bizantina di Euripide e dall'*Aiace* di Sofocle, sia pure in forma fortemente lacunosa. A f. 1<sup>iv</sup> è riportata una *Vita Euripidis*.<sup>12</sup> Il testo corrisponde alla redazione che Schartau definisce tomano-

<sup>9</sup> Rollo, *A proposito del Vat. gr. 2239*, cit., pp. 381-383, partic. 382 n. 33.

<sup>10</sup> Tra le forme caratteristiche di tale stile nella mano C, in particolare, si riconoscono: α maiuscolo in due tempi, δ maiuscolo con tratto destro terminante in alto con un uncino e minuscolo con asta ripiegata verso destra, θ chiuso e di modulo piccolo, ζ in un tratto, di modulo grande, con la parte inferiore che si sviluppa sotto il rigo, ω ipertrofico aperto e chiuso, κ di modulo grande, ξ. Sul *Metochitesstil*: H. Hunger, *Antikes und mittelalterliches Buch- und Schriftwesen, II. Schriftwesen, 1. Griechische Paläographie*, in *Geschichte der Textüberlieferung der antiken und mittelalterlichen Literatur*, Zürich 1961, pp. 102-103; *Die byzantinische Minuskel des 14. Jahrhunderts zwischen Tradition und Neuerung*, in D. Harlfinger, G. Prato (edd.), *Paleografia e codicologia greca. Atti del II Colloquio internazionale (Berlino-Wolfenbüttel, 17-21 ottobre 1983)*, I-II, Alessandria 1991: I, pp. 154-156; G. Prato, *I manoscritti greci dei secoli XIII e XIV: note paleografiche*, *ibid.*, I, pp. 131-149; II, pp. 79-96 (= G. Prato, *Studi di paleografia greca*, Spoleto 1994, pp. 115-131); D. Bianconi, *La minuscola greca dal 1204 al 1453 (e oltre)*, in E. Crisci, P. Degni (edd.), *La scrittura greca dall'antichità all'epoca della stampa. Una introduzione*, Roma 2011, pp. 198-201. Sull'identificazione del *Metochitesstil* con Michele Clostomalle: E. Lamberz, *Das Geschenk des Kaisers Manuel II. an das Kloster Saint-Denis und der 'Metochitesstil'* Michael Klostomalles, in B. Borkopp, T. Steppan (Hrsgg.), *Λιθόστρωτον. Studien zur byzantinischen Kunst und Geschichte. Festschrift für Marcell Restle*, Stuttgart 2000, pp. 155-165; Georgios Bullotes, *Michael Klostomalles und die byzantinische Kaiserkanzlei unter Andronikos II. und Andronikos III. in den Jahren 1298-1329*, in *Lire et écrire à Byzance (XX<sup>e</sup> Congrès International des Études Byzantines, 19-25 août 2001. Table ronde)*, éd. par B. Mondrain, Paris 2006, pp. 33-48; Johannes Kantakuzenos und die Produktion von Luxus-handschriften in Konstantinopel in der frühen Palaiologenzeit, in *Actes du VI<sup>e</sup> Colloque International de Paléographie grecque (Drama, 21-27 septembre 2003)*, éd. par B. Atsalos, N. Tsironi, Athènes 2008, pp. 133-157, Tavv. 1, 25 (pp. 981-1005).

<sup>11</sup> Si consideri il cod. Burney 95 (Prato, *I manoscritti greci degli anni XIII e XIV*, cit., tavv. 11-12), di mano del *Metochitesstil*. Più precisamente Schreiner (*per litt.* 23.04.2012) suggerisce una datazione intorno agli anni 1340-1360, sulla base di RGK II C, nrr. 81, 105 e 153.

<sup>12</sup> *Tit. σύνοψις τοῦ τε βίου τοῦ ποιητοῦ, καὶ τῆς τοῦ δράματος ὑποθέσεως, inc. Εὐριπίδῃ τῷ ποιητῇ, γένος μὲν Ἀθηναίου, des. πολλοῦ τινοῦ ἄξιον*, ed. *Scholía Graeca in Eurípidis Tragœdiis*

tricliniana.<sup>13</sup> I ff. 2<sup>r</sup> l. 1-2<sup>v</sup> l. 16 contengono l'*argumentum* dell'*Ecuba*<sup>14</sup> e il f. 2<sup>v</sup> ll. 17-20 la *personarum tabula*.<sup>15</sup> Come nel caso della *Vita*, il testo appartiene alla versione tomano-tricliniana della recensione di Magistro. Ai ff. 3<sup>r</sup>-38<sup>v</sup> l. 6 troviamo l'*Ecuba* con glosse interlineari e scoli marginali.<sup>16</sup> Il testo è moscopuleo, come è dimostrato dalla presenza di varianti peculiari di tale recensione.<sup>17</sup> Per quanto riguarda gli scoli, anch'essi fanno parte della recensione di Manuele Moscopulo.<sup>18</sup>

I ff. 38<sup>v</sup>-39<sup>r</sup> ospitano due *argumenta* dell'*Oreste*, il primo (f. 38<sup>v</sup> ll. 7-25) di base antica ma appartenente alla recensione moscopulea<sup>19</sup> e il secondo (f. 39<sup>r</sup> ll. 1-16)<sup>20</sup> attribuito ad Aristofane di Bisanzio;<sup>21</sup> segue la *personarum tabula* (f. 39<sup>r</sup> ll. 16-19).<sup>22</sup>

*ex codicibus aucta et emendata*, ed. G. Dindorf, I, Oxonii 1863, pp. 11-13 (*Vita IV*); ΒΙΟΓΡΑΦΟΙ. *Vitarum Scriptores Graeci Minores*, ed. A. Westermann, Brunsvigae 1845, pp. 139-140.

<sup>13</sup> B. Schartau, *Observations on the Activities of the Byzantine Grammarians of the Palaeologian Era: II. The Impact of Thomas Magistro's Introductory Matter (Vita, ὑποθέσεις) to the Euripidean Triad*, Odense 1973, pp. 69-70. Turyn, descrivendo il contenuto del ms. Par. gr. 2713, definisce però tale vita semplicemente "tomana", cfr. A. Turyn, *The Byzantine Manuscript Tradition of the Tragedies of Euripides*, Urbana 1957, p. 88.

<sup>14</sup> *Tit.* ἡ ὑπόθεσις τοῦ δράματος οὕτως ἔχει, *inc.* Μετὰ τὴν Τροίας ἄλωσιν, ἄραντες οἱ Ἕλληνες, *des.* σύμψηφον σχοῦσα καὶ Ἀγαμέμνονα, ed. Dindorf, *Scholias Graeca in Euripidis Tragoedias*, cit., I, pp. 201-202.

<sup>15</sup> *Inc.* Ἡ μὲν σκηνὴ τοῦ δράματος ὑπόκειται, *des.* Ἀγάμεμνον Πολυμήτωρ, ed. Dindorf, *Scholias Graeca in Euripidis Tragoedias*, cit., I, p. 202, 23-25 e n. 24.

<sup>16</sup> *Tit.* Εὐριπίδου δράμα τὸ τῆς Ἑκάβης.

<sup>17</sup> Esso si distacca solamente cinque volte dalla lista di quarantasei lezioni moscopulee fornita da Turyn (Turyn, *The Byzantine Manuscript Tradition of the Tragedies of Euripides*, cit., pp. 106-109): v. 142: μαστῶν (Peyron, *veteres*), μαζῶν (Mosc.); v. 620: il codice Peyron presenta la congiunzione τε che Moscopulo omette; v. 672: ἀπηγγέλη (Peyron, *veteres*), ἀπηγγέλη (Mosc.); v. 866: πόλεως (Peyron, *veteres*), πόλεος (Mosc.); v. 868: πλέον (Peyron, *veteres*), πλείον (commentatori Bizantini).

<sup>18</sup> Primo scolio (f. 3<sup>r</sup> v. 1) *inc.* γράφεται καὶ τὸ σκότος οὐδετέρως· καὶ τῷ μὲν οὐδετέρῳ (ed. Dindorf, *Scholias Graeca in Euripidis Tragoedias*, cit., I, p. 220, 7-9), ultimo (f. 38<sup>r</sup>, v. 1274) *inc.* οὐδαμῶς ἐστὶ μοι φροντίς τούτου (ed. Dindorf, *ibid.*, I, p. 512, 19).

<sup>19</sup> Caratteristica degli *argumenta* di Manuele Moscopulo all'*Oreste* e alle *Fenicie* è proprio quella di presentare fondamentalmente il testo antico, cioè della tradizione dei *veteres*, ma con sue peculiari interpolazioni, cfr. Turyn, *The Byzantine Manuscript Tradition of the Tragedies of Euripides*, cit., pp. 104-105. *Tit.* Εὐριπίδου ὑπόθεσις Ὁρέστου, *inc.* Ὁρέστης τὸν φόνον τοῦ πατρός μεταπορευόμενος, *des.* καθαρθέντι δὲ τοῦ φόνου, Ἄργους ἄρχειν, ed. Dindorf, *Scholias Graeca in Euripidis Tragoedias*, cit., II, pp. 3-4; *Scholias in Euripidem*, I, *Scholias in Hecubam, Orestem, Phoenissas*, collegit, recensuit, edidit E. Schwartz, Berolini 1887, p. 92; Schartau, *Observations on the Activities of the Byzantine Grammarians*, cit., pp. 119-120.

<sup>20</sup> *Inc.* ἡ μὲν σκηνὴ τοῦ δράματος, ὑπόκειται ἐν Ἄργει, *des.* πάντες φαῦλοι ἦσαν, ed. Dindorf, *Scholias Graeca in Euripidis Tragoedias*, cit., II, pp. 5, 4-6, 10; Schwartz, *Scholias in Hecubam, Orestem, Phoenissas*, cit., p. 93, 5-21.

<sup>21</sup> Schartau, *Observations on the Activities of the Byzantine Grammarians of the Palaeologian Era*, cit., p. 81 n. 23.

<sup>22</sup> *Tit.* τὰ τοῦ δράματος πρόσωπα, *inc.* Ἠλέκτρα· Πυλάδης, *des.* Ἀπόλλων· Τυνδάρεως, ed. Schartau, *Observations on the Activities of the Byzantine Grammarians of the Palaeologian Era*, cit., p. 122, 12-15.

Ai ff. 39<sup>v</sup> l. 20-85<sup>v</sup> l. 5 è riportato il testo della tragedia,<sup>23</sup> moscopuleo.<sup>24</sup> Lo corredano scoli e glosse:<sup>25</sup> tale apparato non è particolarmente ricco ed è anch'esso moscopuleo.<sup>26</sup>

Ai ff. 85<sup>v</sup>-86<sup>r</sup> compare una serie di testi che correda le *Fenicie*: l'*argumentum*<sup>27</sup> (f. 85<sup>v</sup> ll. 6-25), moscopuleo,<sup>28</sup> il cosiddetto χρησμός (f. 86<sup>r</sup>, ll. 1-6),<sup>29</sup> τὸ τῆς σφιγγὸς αἴνιγμα (f. 86<sup>r</sup>, ll. 7-10, titolo nel margine destro),<sup>30</sup> ἡ τοῦ αἰνιγματος λύσις (f. 86<sup>r</sup>, ll. 11-15),<sup>31</sup> un epigramma attribuito ad Aristofane di Bisanzio (f. 86<sup>r</sup>, ll. 16-23, su due colonne),<sup>32</sup> la *personarum tabula* (f. 86<sup>r</sup>, ll. 24-27).<sup>33</sup> Da f. 86<sup>v</sup> a f. 135<sup>r</sup> è ri-

<sup>23</sup> *Tit.* Εὐριπίδου Ὁρέστης.

<sup>24</sup> Il testo dell'*Oreste*, infatti, presenta 53 delle 58 caratteristiche varianti moscopulee elencate da Turyn, cfr. Turyn, *The Byzantine Manuscript Tradition of the Tragedies of Euripides*, cit., pp. 109-113.

<sup>25</sup> Primo scolio (f. 39<sup>v</sup>, v. 2) *inc.* πάθος ἐπὶ σώματος τὸ τραῦμα καὶ ἡ πληγὴ (ed. *Euripidis tragoediae et fragmenta*, IV, ed. A. Matthiae, Lipsiae 1817, p. 277; Dindorf, *Scholía Graeca in Euripidis Tragoediis*, cit., II, p. 30, 15. Tale scolio è indicato da Turyn (Turyn, *The Byzantine Manuscript Tradition of the Tragedies of Euripides*, cit., p. 42) come quello iniziale della recensione moscopulea di *Oreste*. Ultimo (f. 85<sup>r</sup>, v. 1688), *inc.* γυναικὶ δηλονότι τῇ Ἥβῃ, ἔσται αἰεὶ θεός (ed. Dindorf, *Scholía Graeca in Euripidis Tragoediis*, cit., II, p. 346, 21-23).

<sup>26</sup> La quasi totalità degli scoli, infatti, coincide con quelli segnati Gr (mano principale del manoscritto Gudianus gr. 15) da Dindorf e, quindi, attribuiti a Manuele Moscopulo.

<sup>27</sup> *Tit.* Εὐριπίδου ὑπόθεσις Φοινισσῶν, *inc.* Ἐτεοκλῆς παραλαβὼν τὴν Θηβῶν βασιλείαν, *des.* παρὰ τὴν δυστυχίαν ἐλεήσας, ed. Dindorf, *Scholía Graeca in Euripidis Tragoediis*, cit., III, pp. 1-3; Schartau, *Observations on the Activities of the Byzantine Grammarians*, cit., pp. 123-125, 2 (ma il testo riportato nel manoscritto Peyron diverge in alcuni punti rispetto a quello riportato da Schartau – che utilizza il cod. Copenhagen, Gamle Kongelig Samling 3549, Zc – dal momento che esso riporta la versione moscopulea); *Euripides Phoenissae*, ed. D. J. Mastronarde, Leipzig 1988, pp. 2-3 (b).

<sup>28</sup> L'*argumentum* moscopuleo presenta il testo antico con varianti peculiari; cfr. Turyn, *The Byzantine Manuscript Tradition of the Tragedies of Euripides*, cit., p. 105, per la lista delle varianti moscopulee.

<sup>29</sup> *Inc.* Λαίε Αλβδακίδη παίδων γένος, *des.* τάδε πάντα, ed. Dindorf, *Scholía Graeca in Euripidis Tragoediis*, cit., III, p. 10; Schartau, *Observations on the Activities of the Byzantine Grammarians*, cit., pp. 126.16-127.3; Mastronarde, *Euripides Phoenissae*, cit., pp. 5-6; il testo diverge da quello stampato nelle edizioni indicate: a v. 2 presenta la lezione δώσω τοι ἀPrδRfA<sup>70</sup>YYf | πεπρωμένον ἐστὶ(v) ἀPrδRfYYf (secondo l'apparato di Mastronarde, *ibid.*).

<sup>30</sup> *Inc.* Ἔστι δίπουν ἐπὶ γῆς, *des.* πέλει αὐτοῦ, ed. Dindorf, *Scholía Graeca in Euripidis Tragoediis*, cit., vol. III, pp. 10-11; Schartau, *Observations on the Activities of the Byzantine Grammarians of the Palaeologian Era*, cit., p. 127, 11-15; Mastronarde, *Euripides Phoenissae*, cit., pp. 6-7; il testo concorda con Y (Neap. II. F. 9), testimone della recensione moscopulea, nel riportare le varianti βοήν (invece di φυήν) | κινεῖται (invece di γίνονται).

<sup>31</sup> *Inc.* Κλυθὶ καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλουσα, *des.* γῆραϊ καμπτόμενος, ed. Schartau, *Observations on the Activities of the Byzantine Grammarians*, cit., pp. 127, 16-128, 1; Mastronarde, *Euripides Phoenissae*, cit., p. 7, no. 6. 2-7; il testo presenta la variante ἐπάγει (in luogo di ἐρείδει) Y.

<sup>32</sup> *Tit.* στίχοι, *inc.* Λιπὼν Κόρινθον, *des.* ἀγχόναις διώλετο, ed. E. Cougny, *Epigrammatum Anthologia Palatina*, III, Parisiis 1890, p. 303 n. 85.

<sup>33</sup> *Tit.* τὰ τοῦ δράματος πρόσωπα, *inc.* Ἰοκάστη Κρέων, *des.* ἕτερος ἄγγελος Οἰδίπους, ed. Schartau, *Observations on the Activities of the Byzantine Grammarians*, cit., p. 128, 5-8; Mastronarde, *Euripides Phoenissae*, cit., p. 15.

portato il testo della tragedia con glosse e scoli; anche questo è moscopuleo.<sup>34</sup>

Infine, ai ff. 137<sup>r</sup>-141<sup>v</sup> è vergato l'*Aiace* di Sofocle: il testo, come si è detto, non è completo e comprende solamente i vv. 1-32. 69-94 καλῶς. 105-214. Limitatamente alla breve parte trascritta, pare essere moscopuleo.<sup>35</sup> Per quanto riguarda gli scoli, essi non corredano tutto il testo presente, ma sono stati vergati solamente al f. 137<sup>rv</sup>.<sup>36</sup> Conformemente al testo, anch'essi sono moscopulei, in particolare fanno parte della classe degli scoli del filologo bizantino che comprende, accanto a materiale genuinamente moscopuleo, anche scoli planudei. Nel codice Peyron, infatti, sono presenti anche tre scoli planudei,<sup>37</sup> significativamente segnalati in margine con l'indicazione μαξ(ίμου τοῦ Πλανούδη).<sup>38</sup>

Nella tradizione medievale tarda di Euripide, i casi in cui l'*Ecuba*, l'*Oreste*, le *Fenicie* e l'*Aiace* sono copiati insieme sono piuttosto frequenti.<sup>39</sup> Si tratta per la grande maggioranza di testimoni recanti la triade euripidea e quella sofoclea (tal-

<sup>34</sup> Contiene, infatti, 57 delle 70 varianti caratteristiche di tale recensione elencate da Turyn, cfr. Turyn, *The Byzantine Manuscript Tradition of the Tragedies of Euripides*, cit., pp. 113-117.

<sup>35</sup> Mostra infatti tutte le varianti caratteristiche di tale recensione elencate da Turyn in relazione ai versi considerati: cfr. A. Turyn, *Studies in the Manuscript Tradition of the Tragedies of Sophocles*, Urbana 1952, pp. 18-23; *The Sophocles Recension of Manuel Moschopoulos*, «Transactions of the American Philological Association» 80, 1949, pp. 94-173: 131-138. Sono quattro casi, in cui la recensione si distacca dalla lezione dei *vetustiores*: v. 75: ἀρείς (Peyron, Mosc.), ἄρης (*vetustiores*); v. 80: ἐν δόμοις (Peyron, Mosc.), εἰς δόμους (*veteres*); v. 112: ἐγὼ σ' ἐφίεμαι (Peyron, Mosc., che concordano in questo caso anche con i testimoni Q e R della famiglia Romana dei *veteres*), ἔγωγε σ' ἐφίεμαι, (lezione comune al cod. L della famiglia Laurenziana, G di quella Romana e a Magistro e Triclinio); v. 169: troviamo la lezione moscopulea (comune anche alle recensioni tomana e triclinaiana) ὑποδείσαντες (Peyron, Mosc., Mag., Tric.), ὑποδδείσαντες (*vetustiores*).

<sup>36</sup> Primo scolio a f. 137<sup>r</sup>, v. 1 *inc.* οἰκείως ἔχουσιν οἱ παρακείμενοι ἀντὶ ἐνεστώτων λαμβάνεσθαι (*Scholia in Sophoclis tragoedias septem ex codicibus aucta et emendata*, ed. G. Dindorfius, II, Oxonii 1852, p. 196); ultimo a f. 137<sup>v</sup>, v. 23 *inc.* ἀλώμαι τὸ πλανῶμαι· ἀφ' οὗ ἄλη (ed. Dindorf, *Scholia in Sophoclis tragoedias septem*, cit., p. 197). Per la parte che qui interessa cfr. Turyn, *The Sophocles Recension of Manuel Moschopoulos*, cit., pp. 110-112; Dindorf, *Scholia in Sophoclis tragoedias septem*, cit., pp. 196-198.

<sup>37</sup> Per l'individuazione degli scoli planudei si fa riferimento alla lista fornita da Turyn, *The Sophocles Recension of Manuel Moschopoulos*, cit., pp. 117-119.

<sup>38</sup> Si tratta degli scoli al v. 14 *inc.* ὦ Ἀθηναῖ φιλότατη τῶν θεῶν, al v. 15 *inc.* ἄποτος ὁ πόρρω τοῦ ὀρᾶσθαι e al v. 32 *inc.* καὶ τὰ μὲν σημαίνομαι ἀντὶ τοῦ σημειοῦμαι, cfr. Turyn, *The Sophocles Recension of Manuel Moschopoulos*, cit., pp. 117-118. Turyn dice di conoscere solo due codici sofoclei che presentano tale particolarità: il cod. Neap. II. F. 9 (D) e il cod. Bremen, Staatsbibliothek, b. 23, cfr. Turyn, *The Byzantine Manuscript Tradition of the Tragedies of Euripides*, cit., pp. 54-56.

<sup>39</sup> Da uno spoglio dei manoscritti recanti le rispettive tradizioni – condotto sulla base delle liste dei manoscritti euripidei e sofoclei riportate da A. Turyn (per Euripide: *The Byzantine Manuscript Tradition of the Tragedies of Euripides*, cit., pp. 3-9; per Sofocle: *Studies in the Manuscript Tradition of the Tragedies of Sophocles*, cit., pp. 5-9) – risulta che almeno 57 codici le riportano entrambe. 36 di essi recano, in particolare, i quattro drammi contenuti nel codice torinese. Tale dato è stato ottenuto consultando e confrontando le liste dei manoscritti recanti rispettivamente



volta con l'aggiunta dell'*Antigone*) nella recensione moscopulea; ciò non stupisce, dal momento che tale recensione ebbe grandissima diffusione in età bizantina, in particolare nel XV sec.<sup>40</sup> Il manoscritto Peyron, per quanto riguarda i testi, si inserisce pertanto in una tradizione consolidata per la tarda età bizantina. Fa eccezione, tuttavia, la presenza, accanto a testi nella recensione moscopulea, della vita di Euripide e dell'*argumentum* dell'*Ecuba* in quella tomano-tricliniana, una tradizione tessalonicese e molto meno diffusa. Tale accostamento, che appare insolito, trova tuttavia una spiegazione grazie all'analisi delle caratteristiche materiali e, in particolare, delle modalità di allestimento del manufatto.

Mettendo a confronto la struttura fascicolare del codice e la disposizione dei testi è possibile individuare uno 'snodo', vale a dire un punto in cui si hanno contemporaneamente il passaggio da un testo ad un altro e un cambio di fascicolo. Si tratta in altre parole di un luogo in cui si realizza una soluzione di continuità tra "unità modulari" o "blocchi" autonomi.<sup>41</sup> la presenza di uno snodo dimostra che il codice è il frutto di un assemblaggio.<sup>42</sup> Si propone di seguito una tabella riassuntiva che illustra la disposizione dei testi in funzione dei fascicoli; per comodità questi ultimi sono stati numerati, inoltre si indicano la segnatura dei fascicoli, laddove sia presente, e la loro consistenza. Nella tabella non sono considerati i ff. I-II: si tratta infatti di un bifoglio che, come si è detto, costituiva precedentemente un unico foglio estraneo al codice, inserito per fungere da foglio di guardia.

*l'Ecuba*, *l'Oreste*, le *Fenicie* e *l'Aiace* riportate dal sito dell'Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes, Pinakes: <http://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr>.

<sup>40</sup> Turyn, *Studies in the Manuscript Tradition of the Tragedies of Sophocles*, cit., pp. 27-30; Turyn, *The Byzantine Manuscript Tradition of the Tragedies of Euripides*, cit., p. 119; H.-C. Günter, *The Manuscripts and the Transmission of the Paleologan Scholia on the Euripidean Triad*, Stuttgart 1995, p. 35.

<sup>41</sup> Si utilizza l'accezione di *unità modulare* proposta da Marilena Maniaci (*Il codice greco 'non unitario'. Tipologie e terminologia*, «Segno e Testo» 2, 2004, pp. 75-107: 79), secondo cui: «Un'unità modulare [...] è un fascicolo o un insieme di fascicoli che si apre con l'inizio di un testo o di una porzione testuale definita, anche se non necessariamente autonoma (come ad esempio un libro della Bibbia) e si conclude, analogamente, con la fine di un testo (non necessariamente il medesimo) o di una sua partizione». Tale definizione è ripresa da Ronconi nel suo lavoro sul cod. Bodl. Barocci 50 (F. Ronconi, *La miscellanea che non divenne mai silloge: il caso del Bodl. Barocci 50*, in R. M. Piccione, M. Perkams, Hrsgg., *Selecta Colligere, II*, Alessandria 2005, p. 298 e in partic. n. 20).

<sup>42</sup> Cfr. Maniaci, *Il codice greco 'non unitario'*, cit., pp. 80-81 per un elenco dei vari processi di cui l'*assemblaggio* è esito: *accrezione, convergenza, concomitanza e restauro*.

Fascicoli e segature	Consistenza dei fascicoli	Testi	Mani	
1. (1x4)	ff. III-IV   1-2	f. 1 <sup>rv</sup> vita Euripidis f. 2 <sup>rv</sup> argumentum	Isidoro di Kiev	
2. (1x8)	ff. 3-4-5-6   7-8-9-10	ff. 3 <sup>v</sup> -38 <sup>v</sup> Ecuba	Mano C	
3. (1x8) β <sup>r</sup>	11-12-13-14   15-16-17-18			
4. (1x8) γ <sup>r</sup>	19-20-21-22   23-24-25-26			
5. (1x8) δ <sup>r</sup>	27-28-29-30   31-32-33-34			
6. (1x8) ε <sup>r</sup>	35-36-37-38   39-40-41-42			ff. 38 <sup>v</sup> -39 <sup>v</sup> argumentum
7. (1x8) ς <sup>r</sup>	43-44-45-46   47-48-49-50			ff. 39 <sup>v</sup> -85 <sup>v</sup> Oreste
8. (1x8) ζ <sup>r</sup>	51-52-53-54   55-56-57-58			
9. (1x8) η <sup>r</sup>	59-60-61-62   63-64-65-66			
10. (1x8) θ <sup>r</sup>	67-68-69-70   71-72-73-74			
11. (1x8) ι <sup>r</sup>	75-76-77-78   79-80-81-82			
12. (1x8) α <sup>r</sup>	83-84-85-86   87-88-89-90			f. 85 <sup>v</sup> argumentum
13. (1x8) ιβ <sup>r</sup>	91-92-93-94   95-96-97-98			ff. 86 <sup>v</sup> -135 <sup>v</sup> Fenicie
14. (1x8) ιγ <sup>r</sup>	99-100-101-102   103-104-105-106			
15. (1x8) ιδ <sup>r</sup>	107-108-109-110   111-112-113-114			
16. (1x8) ιε <sup>r</sup>	115-116-117-118   119-120-121-122			
17. (1x8) ις <sup>r</sup>	123-124-125-126   127-128-129-130			
18. (1x8 <sup>-1</sup> ) ιζ <sup>r</sup>	131-132-133-134   135-136-137-?			ff. 137 <sup>v</sup> -141 <sup>v</sup> Aiace
19. (1x8 <sup>-3</sup> ) ιη <sup>r</sup>	138-139-140-141   ?-?-?-142			

Si individua uno snodo tra i ff. 2 e 3.<sup>43</sup> Conseguentemente il codice risulta formato da due blocchi: il primo è costituito dai ff. III-2, il secondo dai ff. 3-142.

I due blocchi non sono distinguibili solamente sulla base della struttura fascicolare e della disposizione dei testi, ma sono significativamente rimarcati anche dal cambio di mano, da un cambiamento nel supporto scrittorio e nella *mise en page*: i ff. III-2 sono infatti in carta occidentale, il testo è vergato da Isidoro di Kiev ed è disposto secondo una *mise en page* a 28 linee; i ff. 3-142 sono invece in carta orientale, sono stati vergati dalla mano C e la *mise en page* è a 18 linee.

<sup>43</sup> Esso è segnalato da una linea in grassetto.

Il manoscritto Peyron risulta dunque essere un manufatto non unitario, formato dall'assemblaggio di due blocchi cronologicamente successivi: il primo (ff. 3-142) è stato vergato da C nella prima metà del XIV sec.; il secondo (ff. III-IV-1-2) da Isidoro di Kiev nel XV. Un'analisi dei singoli blocchi permette di capire come sia avvenuto l'assemblaggio e per quale motivo.

Nel blocco cronologicamente anteriore la mano C trascrive la triade bizantina di Euripide e l'*Aiace*, il primo dramma della triade sofoclea. Tali tragedie sono normalmente tradite con un corredo di testi introduttivi che comprendono la vita dell'autore e gli *argumenta*, e ciò accade a maggior ragione nel caso delle recensioni bizantine:<sup>44</sup> Moscopulo, Magistro e Triclinio diedero appunto una personale rielaborazione di tale materiale. Nel manoscritto Peyron ciò non accade: la mano C non trascrive la vita e la *hypothesis* dell'*Ecuba*, ed è poco probabile che lo avesse fatto e che i fogli siano caduti. Infatti, come si è visto, a f. 11<sup>r</sup> è presente la segnatura β' (2). Poiché i fascicoli sono quaternioni, si deduce che il primo fascicolo, la cui segnatura non è presente,<sup>45</sup> dovesse essere quello formato dai ff. 3-10. Tale fascicolazione è di mano di C. Quando egli l'ha realizzata, dunque, il primo foglio del codice doveva essere effettivamente l'attuale f. 3 e il primo testo, l'*Ecuba*. A meno che non si ipotizzi – a dire il vero, poco verosimilmente – che il fascicolo iniziale in origine comprendesse, insolitamente, uno o più fogli tagliati, cui non corrispondevano fogli solidali alla fine, quello riportato è un *corpus* di testi lacunoso.

Particolarmente lacunoso è inoltre il testo dell'*Aiace*. La tragedia inizia a f. 137<sup>r</sup>; non è corredata né dall'*argumentum* né dalla *vita* dell'autore, ma è preceduta da alcuni fogli lasciati vuoti da C. La mano ha finito di trascrivere le *Fenicie* a metà di f. 135<sup>r</sup>, in seguito ha lasciato bianchi il resto del foglio, il suo *verso* e il successivo f. 136<sup>rv</sup>. Tale spazio bianco potrebbe essere stato lasciato per ospitare in un secondo tempo materiale introduttivo alla tragedia (*vita Sophoclis* e *argumentum* della tragedia?),<sup>46</sup> secondo una tradizione consolidata. Tale ricostruzione sembra stridere con quanto appena osservato circa il fatto che C non abbia trascritto nel codice l'*argumentum* dell'*Ecuba* e la *vita* di Euripide; essa pare nondimeno fondata, dal momento che comunque i fogli rimasti privi di scrittura non si trovano in corrispon-

<sup>44</sup> Schartau, *Observations on the Activities of the Byzantine Grammarians of the Palaeologian Era*, cit., pp. 17-20.

<sup>45</sup> Le segnature sono poste proprio sul margine inferiore dei fogli: la segnatura α' potrebbe quindi essere stata eliminata in fase di rifilatura. Nei manoscritti greci accade tuttavia frequentemente che la segnatura del primo fascicolo non venga riportata, quindi essa potrebbe non essere mai stata presente.

<sup>46</sup> Il foglio sarebbe stato certamente adatto ad accogliere la *Vita* di Euripide (un foglio *recto* e *verso* secondo la *mise en page* del cod. Peyron 11) e l'*argumentum* di uno dei drammi della triade euripidea (una sola pagina), ma è difficile stabilire se lo spazio lasciato bianco potesse essere sufficiente per l'*argumentum* dell'*Aiace* e/o la *Vita* di Sofocle, testi generalmente più estesi. Ad esempio, nella raccolta di Westermann, la *Vita* di Euripide nella recensione tomano-tricliniana occupa 54 linee (Westermann, ΒΙΟΓΡΑΦΟΙ, cit., pp. 139-140), che corrispondono nella scrittura di modulo piccolo di Isidoro a un foglio *recto* e *verso*, quella di Sofocle 108 (Westermann, *ibid.*, pp. 126-132), che corrisponderebbero ad almeno 2 fogli vergati dalla mano C.

denza di uno snodo (cfr. Tab. I), e pertanto sono stati lasciati tali da C intenzionalmente, secondo un progetto sotteso alla copia.

Il testo della tragedia, come si è detto, è inoltre limitato ai versi 1-32, 69-94 e 105-214. La prima lacuna che si incontra è quella dei vv. 33-68: il f. 137<sup>v</sup> si conclude con il v. 32 e il successivo, f. 138<sup>r</sup>, inizia con il v. 69. I 36 versi mancanti corrispondono esattamente alla quantità di testo prevista nel manufatto per un foglio *recto* e *verso*, dato che il codice ha una *mise en page* a 18 linee. La lacuna, infatti, stata determinata dalla caduta di un foglio, come è confermato dalla fascicolazione: la struttura del fascicolo, come si è visto,<sup>47</sup> è 131-132-133-134 | 135-136-137-?

La seconda lacuna, che interessa i vv. 94-104, ha invece una natura diversa. Essa si trova a f. 138<sup>v</sup>, dove la mano C copia fino al v. 93, poi al v. 94 si limita a scrivere  $\kappa\alpha\lambda$  e lascia bianco il resto della pagina, corrispondente a 10 linee di scrittura. A f. 139<sup>r</sup> continua poi la trascrizione dal v. 105, cioè 10 versi dopo. Tale *modus operandi* suggerisce un guasto dell'antigrafo: il copista evidentemente non riusciva a leggere tali versi e, ritenendo necessario integrarli, ha lasciato nell'apografo lo spazio necessario, ma il restauro non è mai avvenuto.

Infine, il testo si conclude a f. 141<sup>v</sup> con il v. 214. L'ultimo fascicolo del codice è mutilo (ff. 138-139-140-141 | ?-?-?-142).<sup>48</sup> Dopo f. 141 sono caduti 3 fogli, mentre il f. 142<sup>rv</sup> è ricoperto di *probationes calami* di mani posteriori. I tre fogli caduti non sarebbero stati sufficienti per accogliere i 1206 versi restanti della tragedia: ne avrebbero contenuti, infatti, solamente 108. Non si può escludere che altri fogli fossero presenti dopo questo fascicolo. Certamente il fatto che sul f. 142 (che, appunto, ne costituisce l'ultimo) siano vergate le *probationes* indicherebbe che, quando esse sono state tracciate, il f. 142 era bianco, e la trascrizione, conseguentemente, non era stata completata.

I fogli lasciati bianchi prima della tragedia, la lacuna dei vv. 94-104 e l'incompletezza del testo indicano che l'opera del copista C sull'*Aiace* non è compiuta. Ciò è dimostrato anche da altri elementi. In primo luogo, come si è visto, si nota che l'apparato di glosse interlineari e scoli è presente solo a f. 137<sup>rv</sup>. Lo spazio per essi previsto nella *mise en page* è comunque sempre rispettato: si può quindi dedurre che essi dovessero venirvi trascritti. Inoltre la tragedia è priva delle parti rubricate: a f. 137<sup>r</sup> è la mano di Amedeo Peyron a vergare a matita il titolo della tragedia e nello stesso foglio manca la lettera iniziale del testo (<A>εί); al suo posto vediamo in margine dei segni a matita compatibili con la forma di un  $\alpha$  maiuscolo.

Il fatto che l'apparato scoliastico e le parti rubricate fossero trascritti in un secondo momento rispetto al testo è pratica diffusa nell'ambito della produzione manoscritta greca medioevale. Tuttavia, i testi della triade euripidea nel manoscritto sono provvisti dei *rubra*. Un loro attento esame ha però evidenziato il fatto che non sono di mano del copista C che verga il testo.

Alcune lettere significative per la caratterizzazione della mano C presentano

<sup>47</sup> Cfr. *supra*, p. 72.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*

nelle parti rubricate un tratteggio diverso, che permette di affermare che ci troviamo di fronte ad un'altra mano, come si può osservare attraverso il raffronto delle lettere nelle prime due colonne della tabella sottostante. Le forme sono riscontrabili nella mano di Isidoro di Kiev, come si può notare attraverso il confronto con la terza colonna della tabella.  $\delta$  minuscolo ha l'asta verticale invece che ripiegata verso sinistra (Fig. 1),  $\phi$  di foggia maiuscola ha corpo tondo e non è a punta di lancia (Fig. 2). Altre lettere, seppur meno caratterizzanti, confermano che ci troviamo di fronte ad una mano diversa:  $\delta$  di foggia maiuscola presenta il tratto obliquo terminante con un ricciolo che forma col tratto stesso un angolo acuto, mentre in C ha una forma arrotondata (Fig. 3);  $\epsilon$  di foggia minuscola è in un tempo invece che in due (Fig. 4). Troviamo poi alcune legature realizzate in modo diverso: nella legatura  $\epsilon\nu$  l'ansa di  $\nu$  è più in basso rispetto ad  $\epsilon$ , che non presenta un occhiello come nella stessa legatura vergata da C (Fig. 5),  $\omicron\nu$  a cappio termina formando un'ansa a destra, cosa che non accade in C (Fig. 6) e la legatura  $\sigma\sigma$  è formata con il secondo  $\sigma$  in posizione più bassa rispetto al primo, mentre tale gruppo in C presenta le due lettere perfettamente allineate alla stessa altezza (Fig. 7).

A sostegno dell'attribuzione delle parti rubricate ad Isidoro si propone inoltre il confronto tra queste e la sua scrittura relativamente ad alcune legature caratteristiche della sua mano, come  $\sigma\phi$  con  $\phi$  minuscolo (Fig. 8) e  $\epsilon\lambda$  di modulo piuttosto grande, con  $\epsilon$  ridotto a ricciolo e  $\lambda$  che sviluppa al di sotto del rigo con un ampio svolazzo (Fig. 9).

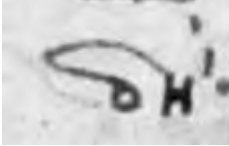
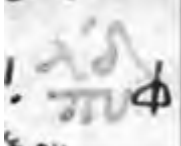

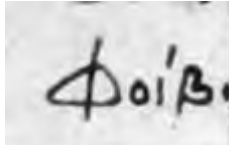
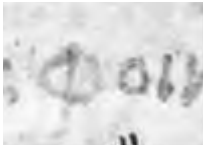

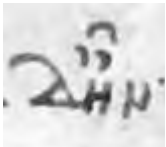
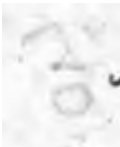
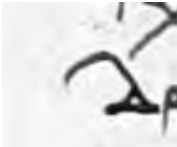
	Mano C	Parti rubricate	Isidoro di Kiev
Fig. 1			
Fig. 2			
Fig. 3			

Fig. 4

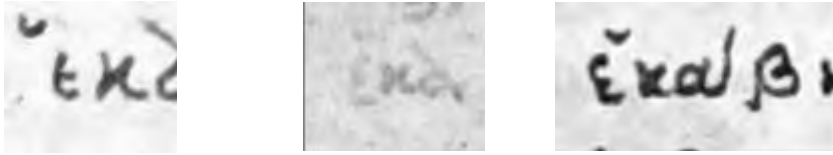


Fig. 5

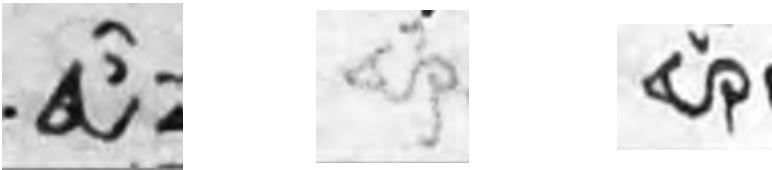


Fig. 6



Fig. 7



Fig. 8



Fig. 9



Isidoro ha dunque realizzato le parti rubricate di tutto il manoscritto: dei primi due fogli dove verga anche il testo e del resto del manoscritto di mano del copista C. Questa nuova attribuzione ad Isidoro ha importanti ricadute per la definizione del suo intervento sul codice Peyron. Il manoscritto, prima del suo intervento, era incompleto. Infatti, non solo il testo – in inchiostro nero – non era stato copiato completamente (l'*Aiace* era ed è rimasto estremamente lacunoso), ma non erano

stati neppure realizzati gli elementi in rosso (titoli, lettere iniziali, *sigla* dei personaggi). Il manoscritto, privo di tali elementi, era di fatto inutilizzabile.

L'intervento di Isidoro si configura pertanto come un vero e proprio restauro materiale e testuale volto all'integrazione e alla normalizzazione di un manufatto incompleto, che avviene in due direzioni. In primo luogo egli è intervenuto sul *corpus* dei testi, aggiungendo la vita di Euripide e l'*argumentum* dell'*Ecuba*. Si tratta di testi che normalmente corredevano la triade euripidea; Isidoro li ha dunque aggiunti dal momento che evidentemente il *corpus*, senza di essi, non era a suo giudizio completo. Per realizzare tale operazione di restauro egli annette materialmente al codice due bifogli (segnati nel codice III, IV, 1, 2) prima del testo dell'*Ecuba*.

Non si è tuttavia limitato a questo. In secondo luogo è infatti intervenuto sul testo scritto da C completandolo con l'aggiunta delle parti rubricate, senza le quali esso non era in effetti compiuto né fruibile. Il suo intervento si è limitato alla triade euripidea e non all'*Aiace*, che avrebbe richiesto un lavoro molto più lungo e complesso, che probabilmente non ebbe modo o interesse ad affrontare. Le parti rubricate permettono inoltre di osservare un'ulteriore attività di Isidoro sul testo. Oltre a titoli e *sigla* dei personaggi, egli ha realizzato in rosso alcuni segni marginali: accanto al tradizionale ὠραῖον, in vari passi è presente γνωμικόν, posto in corrispondenza di espressioni sentenziose. Ad esempio a f. 13<sup>v</sup> segnala τὸ γὰρ ζῆν μὴ καλῶς, μέγας πόνος (*Hec.* 378), a f. 36<sup>v</sup> ἐν τοῖς κακοῖς γὰρ οἱ ἀγαθοὶ σαφέστατοι | φίλοι (*Hec.* 1226, 1227), a f. 71<sup>r</sup> οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲν κρεῖσσον ἢ φίλος σαφῆς (*Or.* 1155). L'apposizione di tali *sigla* è un'abitudine diffusa e certamente non caratteristica del solo Isidoro,<sup>49</sup> ma che mostra come egli abbia lavorato sul testo, non limitandosi al ruolo di *restaurator*. Testimonia inoltre un inedito interesse da parte sua per la triade euripidea,<sup>50</sup> che, peraltro, non risulta abbia copiato.<sup>51</sup> Non sembra infatti che Isidoro avesse dedicato una particolare attenzione ai tragici; nell'ambito della letteratura greca classica si individua piuttosto uno spiccato interesse per la retorica e per autori come Elio Aristide e Luciano,<sup>52</sup> di cui possiede esemplari e i testi dei quali, invece, copia frequentemente.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>49</sup> Isidoro appone tali *sigla* in margine all'opera di Achille Tazio nel cod. Vat. gr. 914, cfr. P. Schreiner, *Literarische Interessen in der Palaiologenzeit anhand von Gelehrtenkodices: das Beispiel des Vaticanus gr. 914*, in W. Seibt (Hrsg.), *Geschichte und Kultur der Palaiologenzeit*, Wien 1996, pp. 205-219: 212.

<sup>50</sup> Un suo eventuale interesse per tali testi era sin qui suggerito solamente dal fatto che fu nelle sue mani il cod. Vat. gr. 1345, recante la *Pesca* di Oppiano e la triade euripidea, che Mercati annovera nell'elenco «Altri codici trascritti da Isidoro o stati nelle mani di lui». Tale manoscritto reca solamente «un pensiero, od un estratto che sia» scritto di suo pugno su un foglio aggiunto al codice, cfr. G. Mercati, *Scritti d'Isidoro il cardinale ruteno e codici a lui appartenuti che si conservano nella Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, Roma 1926, p. 95; M. Manfredini, *Inventario dei codici scritti da Isidoro di Kiev*, cit., p. 614. Si tratta dell'unico codice con testi di Euripide, oltre al torinese, che Isidoro ebbe nelle sue mani, P. Schreiner, *per litt.* 23/04/2012.

<sup>51</sup> Cfr. Manfredini, *Inventario dei codici scritti da Isidoro di Kiev*, cit.

<sup>52</sup> Cfr. Mercati, *Scritti d'Isidoro cardinale ruteno*, cit., p. 17; Schreiner, *Literarische Interessen*, cit., p. 215; *I teologi bizantini del XIV e XV secolo e i Padri della Chiesa, con particolare riguardo alla biblioteca di Isidoro di Kiev*, in M. Cortesi (ed.), *Padri greci e latini a confronto*, Firenze 2004, p. 140.

<sup>53</sup> Cfr. Manfredini, *Inventario dei codici scritti da Isidoro di Kiev*, cit., pp. 616-624.

Il restauro del codice Peyron rispecchia un comportamento noto dell'attività erudita di Isidoro di Kiev, tanto che Monsignor Mercati, nel suo fondamentale studio, dice: «Egli, da buon amatore di libri, sembra quasi che provasse una pena a vederli mutili».<sup>54</sup> Così nel cod. Urb. gr. 125, contenente scritti di Libanio, portò a termine una delle orazioni che si interrompeva nel bel mezzo del testo;<sup>55</sup> nel Vat. gr. 947, del XIV sec., recante opere di Luciano, supplì il testo nei ff. 2-4 ed in margine al f. 20.<sup>56</sup> Non di rado i suoi interventi sui codici non coinvolgevano solo il testo riportato, ma anche la struttura materiale del manufatto. Ad esempio, nel caso del cod. Urb. gr. 110, egli seguì un *modus operandi* simile a quello osservato nel codice Peyron. Il manoscritto vaticano, recante, tra le altre, opere di Filostrato, non conteneva tuttavia le *Imagines*; Isidoro ve le inserì aggiungendo materialmente all'inizio del codice due quaternioni; realizzò inoltre le parti rubricate.<sup>57</sup>

La presenza di una filigrana nel bifoglio aggiunto al codice torinese da Isidoro permette una collocazione nel tempo almeno approssimativa del suo intervento. Come si è detto, nei ff. III-IV-1-2 da lui aggiunti al codice è visibile una filigrana ad arco: la sua vicinanza con la variante 799 Briquet (Paris 1406. Var. ident. Turin 1410/11) porta ad una collocazione dell'intervento in un lasso di tempo compreso tra il 1391 e il 1425 ca.,<sup>58</sup> periodo in cui Isidoro si trovava in Oriente. Per quanto riguarda l'arrivo del manoscritto in Italia, si può ipotizzare che vi sia stato condotto da Isidoro stesso. Egli vi soggiornò infatti varie volte: nel 1438-39 fu a Firenze e Ferrara per il concilio sull'Unità delle Chiese, nel 1443 soggiornò a Siena mentre era in viaggio al seguito del Papa e, infine, trascorse a Roma gli ultimi anni compresi tra la presa di Costantinopoli e la sua morte.<sup>59</sup>

Un'annotazione vergata sull'ultimo foglio del manoscritto Peyron potrebbe inoltre precisare un possibile scenario per l'arrivo del manufatto in Italia. Tra le *probationes calami* presenti a f. 142<sup>v</sup> si riconosce il nome *Baptista Guarinus Guarinus*. Battista Guarino (1434-1513) era il figlio di Guarino Veronese (1374-1460). È noto che Isidoro e Guarino intrattennero ottimi rapporti testimoniati dall'epistolario di quest'ultimo.<sup>60</sup> Il dotto Veronese conobbe Isidoro di Kiev durante il suo soggiorno

<sup>54</sup> Mercati, *Scritti d'Isidoro il cardinale ruteno*, cit., p. 62.

<sup>55</sup> Cfr. Schreiner, *Literarische Interessen*, cit., p. 208.

<sup>56</sup> Cfr. Mercati, *Scritti d'Isidoro il cardinale ruteno*, cit., p. 76; Manfredini, *Inventario dei codici scritti da Isidoro di Kiev*, cit., p. 621.

<sup>57</sup> Cfr. Schreiner, *Literarische Interessen*, cit., p. 208 e n. 15.

<sup>58</sup> Per la datazione di filigrane simili ad un determinato tipo si vedano tra gli altri: M. L. Agati, *Il libro manoscritto da Oriente a Occidente. Per una codicologia comparata*, Roma 2009, pp. 113-114; D. Harlfinger, *Zur Datierung von Handschriften mit Hilfe von Wasserzeichen*, in D. Harlfinger (Hrsg.), *Griechische Kodikologie und Textüberlieferung*, Darmstadt 1980, pp. 144-169, partic. 158-159.

<sup>59</sup> M. E. Cosenza, *Biographical and Bibliographical Dictionary of the Italian Humanists and of the World of Classical Scholarship in Italy, 1300-1800*, V, Boston 1962, p. 238; W. Buchwald, A. Hohlweg, O. Prinz, *Dictionnaire des auteurs grecs et latins de l'Antiquité et du Moyen Âge*, traduit et mis à jour par J. D. Berger et J. Billen, Brepols 1991, pp. 438-439; *PLP*, nr. 8300, pp. 130-131.

<sup>60</sup> Mercati, *Scritti d'Isidoro cardinale ruteno*, cit., pp. 17, 102; A. Rollo, *Dalla biblioteca di Guarino a quella di Francesco Barbaro*, «Studi Medievali e Umanistici» 3, 2005, pp. 9-27: 17.



a Costantinopoli negli anni 1403-1408 al seguito di Crisolora. Interesse comune erano i libri. Isidoro, come testimonia il suo epistolario, forniva al veronese, appassionato grecista, libri in tale lingua: è il caso, ad esempio, dei codici Guelf. 86. 7 Aug. 2° (Luciano) e Laur. Conv. soppr. 112 (Senofonte), in cui sono stati riconosciuti i due manoscritti di cui Isidoro annuncia l'invio in una lettera a Guarino del 1410.<sup>61</sup> Varie sono inoltre le attestazioni di manoscritti copiati da Isidoro venuti successivamente in possesso di Guarino, come l'Ambr. E 111 sup.<sup>62</sup> Pertanto, benché si tratti solo di un'ipotesi, la presenza del nome del figlio del Veronese in un codice posseduto da Isidoro di Kiev non stupirebbe: visti i provati e buoni rapporti tra i due eruditi e la nota consuetudine da parte di Isidoro di fornire libri al Veronese, non si esclude che anche il codice torinese sia giunto nelle sue mani, e poi in quelle del figlio.

Erika Elia

<sup>61</sup> Rollo, *ibid.*, pp. 17-18; C. Griggio, *Senofonte, Guarino, Francesco ed Ermolao Barbaro, Alberti*, «Filologia e Critica» 31, 2006, pp. 161-176; M. Bandini, *Senofonte alla scuola di Guarino*, in *Filologia, papirologia, storia dei testi. Giornate di studio in onore di Antonio Carlini*, Udine, 9-10 dicembre 2005, Pisa-Roma 2008, pp. 83-109.

<sup>62</sup> Rollo, *Dalla biblioteca di Guarino a quella di Francesco Barbaro*, cit., pp. 16-18.



## Pseudo-Gregorios Korinthios, *Über die vier Teile der perfekten Rede\**

Gregorios Pardos, auf Grund seines Amtes als Metropolit von Korinth auch Gregorios Korinthios genannt, lebte von circa 1070 bis 1156. Er ist bekannt vor allem als Autor einiger grammatischer und rhetorischer Schriften, darunter eines Traktates über die Dialekte sowie einer Schrift über Syntax. Athanasios Komines hat eine Monographie über sein Leben und Werk verfasst.<sup>1</sup> Auf Grund seines Oeuvres wird vermutet, dass er vor seiner Weihe zum Metropoliten Lehrer an der Patriarchatsschule war.<sup>2</sup> Kommentare zu den Kanones von Johannes von Damaskos und Kosmas Melodos sind noch größtenteils unediert.<sup>3</sup> Das Werk über die Dialekte ist in der Edition von G. H. Schäfer zu benützen.<sup>4</sup> Die Schrift *Περὶ συντάξεως λόγου* *Über die Syntax der Rede* wurde erstmals von Daniel Donnet in einer vollständigen Edition vorgelegt.<sup>5</sup> Donnet behandelt dort auch verwandte Texte, die in einigen Handschriften zusammen mit dem Werk des Gregorios überliefert sind, freilich ohne diesem ausdrücklich zugeschrieben zu werden. Im Anhang ediert er diese «textes apocryphes ou interpolés», die wegen mancher theoretischer Aussagen, nicht zuletzt auch wegen der darin angeführten Mustersautoren, schon seit längerem ein gewisses Interesse erfahren.<sup>6</sup> Gegenstand des vorliegenden Beitrages ist einer dieser „apokryphen“ Texte, jener mit der Überschrift *Περὶ τῶν*

\* Mein aufrichtiger Dank für wertvolle Hinweise geht an die Freunde Stratis Papaioannou, Anneliese Paul, Andreas Rhoby und Elisabeth Schiffer.

<sup>1</sup> A. Kominis, *Gregorio Pardos metropolita di Corinto e la sua opera*, Roma 1960.

<sup>2</sup> R. Browning, *The Patriarchal School at Constantinople in the Twelfth Century*, «Byzantion» 33, 1963, S. 11-40: 19f.

<sup>3</sup> Vgl. A. Giannouli, *Die beiden byzantinischen Kommentare zum Großen Kanon des Andreas von Kreta*, Wien 2007, S. 18 et passim.

<sup>4</sup> *Gregorii Corinthii et aliorum grammaticorum libri de dialectis linguae graecae*, rec. G. H. Schäfer, Lipsiae 1811.

<sup>5</sup> D. Donnet, *Le traité Περὶ συντάξεως λόγου de Grégoire de Corinthe. Étude de la tradition manuscrite, édition, traduction et commentaire*, Bruxelles-Rome 1967 (= Donnet).

<sup>6</sup> W. Hörandner, *Beobachtungen zur Literarästhetik der Byzantiner. Einige byzantinische Zeugnisse zu Metrik und Rhythmik*, «Byzantinoslavica» 56, 1995, S. 279-290: 287-290; M. Lauxtermann, *The velocity of pure iambs. Byzantine observations on the metre and rhythm of the dodecasyllable*, «Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik» 48, 1998, S. 9-33: 20-21, 27; M. Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry from Pisides to Geometres. Texts and Contexts*, I, Wien 2003, S. 301; A. Rhoby, *Byzantinische Epigramme auf Fresken und Mosaiken*, Wien 2009 (W. Hörandner, A. Rhoby, A. Paul, Hrsgg., *Byzantinische Epigramme in inschriftlicher Überlieferung*, I), S. 38-39.

τεσσάρων μερῶν τοῦ τελείου λόγου.<sup>7</sup> Teile dieses Traktates waren bereits von Walz<sup>8</sup> (teils als Kapitel der Σύνοψις ῥητορικῆς des Joseph Rhakendytes, teils anonym) und Kominis,<sup>9</sup> kleine Exzerpte auch von Bekker<sup>10</sup> ediert worden.

Diese Edition	Donnet	Walz
Z. 1-40	Z. 138-186	570-572, 6
Z. 41-52	—	572, 7-24
Z. 53-72	—	562, 16-564, 8
Z. 73-79	Z. 187-195	572, 25-573, 3
Z. 79-80	Z. 195-198	—
Z. 80-85	Z. 198-202	573, 3-8
Z. 86-94	Z. 203-214	—
Z. 95-110	Z. 214-235	521, 2-27 (Jos. Rhak.)
Z. 111-122	Z. 236-248	558, 17-559, 12 (Jos. Rhak.) und 573, 9-25
Z. 123-140	—	559, 13-560, 19 (Jos. Rhak.)
Z. 141-165	Z. 249-282	560, 19-562, 15
Z. 166-172	[Z. 283-284]	573, 26-574, 4

Z. 138-142. 187-190. 203-221. 232-234. 277-283 Donnet auch bei Bekker 1081f.; Z. 187-284 Donnet auch bei Kominis 127-129.

Die Überschrift Περὶ τῶν τεσσάρων μερῶν τοῦ τελείου λόγου bezieht sich streng genommen nur auf den ersten Abschnitt des Traktates (Z. 1-52 der hier gebotenen Edition), die übrigen Abschnitte tragen in einigen Handschriften eigene Titel, in anderen fehlen diese Zwischentitel. Der Traktat selbst dürfte zusammen mit den ihm in den Handschriften vorangehenden Texten eine Schrift Περὶ λογογραφίας gebildet haben, von der Teile im frühen 14. Jahrhundert in die Σύνοψις ῥητορικῆς des Joseph Rhakendytes Eingang gefunden haben.<sup>11</sup> Wichtige Beobachtungen zu Charakter, Datierung und Autorschaft der Texte hat kürzlich Thomas M. Conley vorgelegt.<sup>12</sup> Eine endgültige Klärung der Relationen zwischen (Ps.-)Gregorios Korinthios, Joseph Rhakendytes und der sogenannten *Rhetorica Marciana*<sup>13</sup> kann an dieser Stelle nicht geboten werden; sie setzt eine vollständige Erfassung und Prüfung des handschriftlichen Materials voraus – eine so mühsame wie prinzipiell wichtige Aufgabe für auf diesem Gebiet tätige Philologen.

<sup>7</sup> Donnet 319-323: *Textes contenus dans V, fol. 217v, 22 ss, cap. 20-42* (die zum Teil problematischen Kapitelzahlen wurden in der vorliegenden Ausgabe nicht übernommen).

<sup>8</sup> Ch. Walz, *Rhetores graeci*, III, Stuttgart 1834 (= Walz).

<sup>9</sup> Kominis, *Gregorio Pardos* (oben, Anm. 1), S. 127-129.

<sup>10</sup> I. Bekker, *Anecdota graeca*, III, Berlin 1821, S. 1080-1082.

<sup>11</sup> Zu Joseph grundlegend M. Treu, *Der Philosoph Joseph*, «Byzantinische Zeitschrift» 8, 1899, S. 1-64. Neuere Literatur in *ODB*, III, S. 1074.

<sup>12</sup> Th. M. Conley, *Rummaging in Walz's Attic: Two Anonymous Opuscula in «Rhetores Graeci»*, «Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies» 46, 2006, S. 101-122.

<sup>13</sup> Teilweise ediert von V. De Falco, *Trattato retorico bizantino (Rhetorica Marciana)*, «Atti della Società Ligustica di Scienze e Lettere», n.s. 9/2, 1930, S. 71-124. Die Kapitel XIII–XVI des Joseph Rhakendytes (Walz 547-564) stimmen mit diesem Traktat überein.

Donnet sieht von einer kritischen Edition des Traktates ab und bietet den Text – eben anhangsweise – nur nach einem einzigen unabhängigen Textzeugen, dem Cod. Vat. gr. 887, sowie nach dessen Abschrift, dem Cod. Vat. Ottob. gr. 173. Da sich bei einer Kollation auch der übrigen teilweise schon von Donnet genannten Textzeugen einige nicht unerhebliche Unterschiede in Textbestand und Varianten ergaben, schien es angebracht, den Traktat kritisch zu edieren, um auf diese Weise einen einigermaßen gesicherten Text zu erhalten, der es erlaubt, einige Fragen vor allem textkritischer, aber auch inhaltlicher Natur zu klären.

Zunächst seien die Handschriften vorgestellt. Hinsichtlich der Überlieferung des Traktates wurde Vollständigkeit im Prinzip angestrebt. Eine vollständige Erfassung und Durchforstung sämtlicher Textzeugen der *Σύνοψις ῥητορικῆς* des Joseph Rhakendytes<sup>14</sup> hingegen hätte den Rahmen gesprengt.

**B** Bodl. Barocc. gr. 45 s. XV<sup>15</sup>

1r-13v <Gregorios Korinthios>, Περὶ συντάξεως λόγου.

13v-16v Περὶ λογογραφίας. Πᾶσα λόγου ιδέα ἐκ μερῶν ὀκτῶ σύγκειται – πραῦνεται καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα (Walz 516, 10-521, 2: Rhak. Cap. II).

16v folgt mit neuer Zeile und verzierter Initiale C: **Σὺ γοῦν εἰ θέλεις εὐδοκμεῖν – εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ φράσιν** (unten, **Z. 95-110; Donnet 214-235; Walz 521, 2-27: Rhak. Cap. II** Ende).

16v (am Ende der Seite beginnend) – 17v Πολυμαθία, λογιότης – τὰ ἀφελέστερα καὶ ἀπλούστερα (Walz 522-523, Anm. 1).

17v-19v Τὸ διηγηματικὸν αἰεὶ τήρει – πλεονάζει ταῖς λέξεσιν ὁ γράφων καὶ ἐπὶ (Des. mut., Seitenende) (Walz 522, 1-527, 17: Rhak. Cap. III-IV).

20r von späterer Hand: Aphthonios, Progymnasmata, Περὶ μύθου.

**Ba** Vat. Barb. gr. 240 (13. Jh., 2. Hälfte)<sup>16</sup>

71r-75v Konstantinos Stilbes, Brandgedicht.<sup>17</sup>

75(bis)<sup>18</sup>r oben-76v Πᾶσα λόγου ιδέα ἐκ μερῶν ὀκτῶ σύγκειται (oberhalb des Incipit oder am Ende des vorangehenden Verso vielleicht verblasste Überschrift) – πραῦνεται καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα = Περὶ λογογραφίας (Walz 516, 10-521, 2: Rhak. Cap. II).

**76v Σὺ δὲ εἰ θέλεις εὐδοκμεῖν – εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ φράσιν** (unten, **Z. 95-110; Donnet 214-235; Walz 521, 2-27: Rhak. Cap. II**).

Ab 76v unten Randscholien (vgl. Walz 522, Anm. 1).

77r-82v weitere Rhakendytes-Kapitel, Bestand und Reihenfolge teilweise abweichend von Walz (Walz 522, 1-529, 13; 538, 8-542, 27; 533, 8-534, 14; 575, 19-576, 12 [anonym]; 534, 16-538, 7; 529, 13-533, 8; 574, 12-578, 27 [anonym]; 605, 20-606, 9).

<sup>14</sup> Walz stützt sich primär auf den von ihm als «Ven.» zitierten Cod. Marc. Cl. VIII 18 a. 1483 (in unserer Edition M, siehe weiter unten).

<sup>15</sup> H. O. Coxe, *Greek Manuscripts. Reprinted with corrections from the edition of 1853*, Oxford 1969, S. 63f.; Donnet 25.

<sup>16</sup> I. Mogenet, *Codices Barberiniani Graeci*, II, *Codices 164-281*, In Bibliotheca Vaticana 1989, S. 86-94; 87f. Vgl. Wilson (unten, Anm. 43).

<sup>17</sup> Constantinus Stilbes, *Poemata*, rec. J. Diethart, W. Hörandner, Monachii et Lipsiae 2005, S. XXII.

<sup>18</sup> Neue Zählung am Seitenende: 76.

83r oben [τινός] ἢ τινος [τοιούτου οἶον ἔστιν ἐκεῖνο· Ἄρχέλαος,] ἦν δὲ ἐκεῖνος ἀνὴρ τοιόσδε, ἐποίησε τόδε καὶ τόδε – καθολικὴν σύγκρισιν (unten, Z. 18-40; Donnet 159-186; Walz 571, 6-572, 6 anonym).

Οἱ ἐπίλογοι γραφήσοντά σοι – περὶ τέχνης ῥητορικῆς (unten, Z. 41-52; Walz 572, 7-24 anonym).

Ἄναγιώσκων ποίημά τινος – δυνατὸν καὶ τὸ σχῆμα καὶ τᾶλλα (unten, Z. 54-72; Walz 562, 16-564, 8; Rhak. Cap. XVI).

Ἐν τοῖς πανηγυρικοῖς – καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς (unten, Z. 74-77; Donnet 187-192).

83r-v Ἐν τοῖς συμβουλευτικοῖς – καὶ τὰ ἔπη καὶ τοὺς ἰάμβους. Χρήσι[μος ἐν πᾶσι καὶ ὁ σοφώτατος Ψελλός (?)] (unten, Z. 77-85; Donnet 193-202).

83v [Ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς χρήσιμα τὰ γνω]ματεύματα – σοφώτατον Ψελλὸν καὶ εἴ τις τοιοῦτος (unten, Z. 112-122; Donnet 236-248).

Τῶν ἰαμβικῶν στίχων ἀρετὴ ἐστὶ προηγουμένως – ἐμποιοῦσα τοῖς μέτροις (unten, Z. 124-140; Walz 559, 13-560, 19; Rhak. Cap. XV).

Ἄρετὴ πρώτη στίχων – τοῦ Λυκόφρονος καὶ εἴ τι τοιοῦτον (unten, Z. 141-165; Donnet 249-282; Walz 560, 19-562, 15; Rhak. Cap. XV).

Τὰ ἥρωα ἐπαινοῦνται – Τροίας τὸν [Μου]σαῖον καὶ εἴ τις τοιοῦτος (unten, Z. 167-172; Walz 573, 26-574, 4 anonym).

83v Τέλος.

83v-84v weitere Kapitel (Walz 574, 5-11 [anonym]; 542, 27-546, 30).

84v Τέλος τῶν ὀκτῶ μερῶν τοῦ ῥητορικοῦ λόγου.

84v Περὶ τῶν τεσσάρων μερῶν τοῦ τελείου λόγου. Ὁ τέλειος ἐγκωμιστικὸς ῥητορικὸς λόγος – ποιοῦνται τὴν πρότασιν καὶ τὸ προοίμιον· ἀλλ' ἐξώθεν διὰ ἱστοριῶν (Seitenende) (unten, Z. 1-18; Donnet 137-159; Walz 570, 1-571, 6 anonym).

Danach ist Blattvertauschung anzunehmen, denn die Fortsetzung ἐκεῖνος ἀνὴρ τοιόσδε, ἐποίησε τόδε καὶ τόδε folgt auf fol. 83r oben.

85r-v ἀπέκτεινε [πρόβατα καὶ βόας, τὴν λείαν τῶν Ἑλλήνων. Τ]ὰ ἐνθυμήματα οὕτω – ἀναγκαιοτάτης καὶ αὐτῆς οὐσης (Walz 606, 9-609 Anm.).

85v-88v oben Λέξιν τῶν νεωτέρων – τόπων τῶν ἐκτεθέντων σοι (Walz 579, 2-605, 18).

88v-101r Michael Psellos (τοῦ αὐτοῦ ... Ψελλοῦ cod.),<sup>19</sup> Oratio in crucifixionem.<sup>20</sup>

### C Cremonensis gr. 160 s. XV<sup>21</sup>

96r Ὁ βαρβαρισμὸς – οὐ βαρβαρίσεις (Greg. Cor., Περὶ συντάξεως λόγου 506-626 Donnet).

96r-v Τοῦ αὐτοῦ [sc. Γρηγορίου μητροπολίτου Κορίνθου] εἰσαγωγικὸν περὶ λογογραφίας· περὶ ἐπιστολῶν· περὶ στίχων. Πᾶσα λόγου ἰδέα ἐκ μερῶν ὀκτῶ –πραῦνται καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα (Walz 516, 10-521, 2; Rhak. Cap. II).

96v Σὺ γοῦν εἰ θέλεις – καὶ εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν φράσιν (unten, Z. 95-110; Donnet 214-235; Walz 521, 2-27; Rhak. Cap. II).

96v-97r Πολυμάθεια, λογιότης (dazu am Rand ein Zeichen: Παρασημείωσις [?]) – ἀφελέστερα καὶ ἀπλούστερα (Walz 522-523 Anm. 1).

<sup>19</sup> Wegen der Blattvertauschung gibt es keinen Anhaltspunkt dafür, dass sich, wie Conley (oben, Anm. 12), S. 106f. meint, dieser Vermerk auf «Four parts» beziehen könnte.

<sup>20</sup> Michaelis Pselli *Orationes hagiographicae*, ed. E. A. Fisher, Stuttgartiae et Lipsiae 1994, S. 116-198.

<sup>21</sup> E. Martini, *Catalogo di manoscritti greci esistenti nelle biblioteche italiane*, I-II, Milano 1896, S. 302-313.

97r-v Περὶ τοῦ ἀφηγεῖσθαι καὶ ἐνθυμηματίζεσθαι. Τὸ διηγηματικὸν ἀεὶ τήρει – φεύγειν τὴν ταυτολεξίαν (Walz 522, 1-530, 7: Rhak. Cap. III-IV).

97v Δείκνυται δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ σημείου ἢ λογιότης ἢ πολυμάθεια· λογιότης μὲν, εἰς φυσικοῖς καὶ ἐμφιλοσόφοις ὀνόμασι χρώμεθα, περὶ ὧν προελέχθη τινά· πολυμάθεια δὲ, εἰς ποικίλους παραλαμβάνωμεν ὀνόματα καὶ μὴ δὲ κοινά· ἔκκριτα μέντοι, οἷον τὸ ἀποσπόγγισμα λέγοντες ἀπόμορμα, τὸν αὐτόβουλον αὐθέκαστον καὶ αὐτόνομον, τὸν σφόδρα κωφὸν λασιόκωφον, τὸν περὶ τὸν θεῖον ἐπίφοβον [τὸ θεῖον φόβον L] δεισιδαίμονα, τὸν αὐτόσοφον θυμόσοφον, τὴν μέλισσαν φυσίσοφον, χειρόνομον χειρίσοφον, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα· εὐφυῖα δὲ ἐμφαίνονται, εἰς τοὺς ῥητορικωτέροις χρώμεθα, περὶ ὧν καὶ αὐτῶν εἴρηται· τοιοῦτον καὶ ἡ περιφρασὶς, ὡς οἴκοθεν μᾶλλον εὐρισκομένη καὶ οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν τεθειμένων οὐσα ὀνομάτων· ὅμοιον καὶ ἡ δριμεῖα λέξις ὡς εὐρεμα καὶ αὐτὴ τοῦ ἡμετέρου νοός· λυμαίνεται δὲ ἡ κομψὴ καὶ ἡ περιέργος λέξις τῷ ἐνδιαθέτῳ καὶ ἀληθευτικῷ τύπῳ, ἢ δὲ ἀφελῆς συνεργεῖ. πλήρης δὲ τῆς λέξεως ἐκείνης ὀνοματοθέτης ὁ [ὁ ὀνοματοθέτης ὁ L] Πολυδεύκης· μετρεῖσθω δὲ καὶ ταύτης ἡ χρῆσις, ἵνα μὴ ἀσάφειά τις ἐγγίνηται τῷ λόγῳ· ὁ γὰρ τοι μέγας θεολόγος οὐδὲ μιᾷ τοιαύτῃ λέξει χρῆσάμενος, ἐν τοῖς πεζοῖς (πεζοῖς L) αὐτοῦ λόγοις εὐρίσκεται (auch in L; etwas verändert und verkürzt in P 175v mg., daraus Walz 530 Anm. 19).

97v-98v weitere Kapitel (Walz 530, 8-537, 2).

98v Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ λόγος σῶμα μιμεῖται – ὄπισθεν ἐδιδάχθης (Walz 534f., Anm. 11).

Περὶ μεθόδου. Ἡ μέθοδος σχῆμα ἐστὶ – δεῖ χρῆσθαι σε καὶ ταύτη κατὰ καιρὸν (wie L; Walz 537, 3-539, 23: Rhak. Cap. VII).

Παρασημείωσις. Μέθοδος ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ ὑπαλλάττειν – μορίων τοῦ λόγου οἰκονομία (Walz 537f., Anm. 1).

98v-99r Περὶ ψυχρολογίας. Ἡ δὲ ψυχρολογία – αἰτίαν τινὰ τῆς συγκρίσεως (wie L; Walz 540-542: Rhak. Cap. VIII).

99r Περὶ κώλων. Κῶλα λέγονται – τῶν ἀκροτήτων τοῦτο μαθῶν (Walz 543, 1-544, 8: Rhak. Cap. IX).

Ἄκριβέστερον δὲ ἢ βραχυκωλία – καὶ κώλου καὶ σχήματος καὶ τῶν τοιῶνδε (Walz 543f., Anm. 4).

Περὶ συνθήκης καὶ ἀναπαύσεως. Συνθήκη λόγου ἦτοι σύνθεσις – τῇ μακρῷ χρῶ καταλήξει (Walz 544, 9-545, 18: Rhak. Cap. X-XI).

Περὶ ῥυθμοῦ. Ῥυθμὸς ἢ τοιάδε τις – καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς λέξεις (Walz 545, 19-546, 30: Rhak. Cap. XII). Ende der Seite.

99v Seitenanfang Περὶ τῶν τεσσάρων μερῶν τοῦ τελείου λόγου. Ὁ τέλειος ἐγκωμιστικὸς ῥητορικὸς λόγος – καθολικὴν σύγκρισιν (unten, Z. 1-40; Donnet 137-186; Walz 570, 1-572, 6 anonym).

Οἱ ἐπίλογοι – τέχνης ῥητορικῆς (unten, Z. 41-52; Walz 572, 7-24 anonym).

Ἐπεὶ πάντας οὓς ἴσμεν – ὁποῖος πανταχοῦ ὁ Ψελλός. Ἔως ἴδω τὰ περὶ λογογραφίας (unten, Z. 86-89; Donnet 203-206).

Ἀνάγνωθι Λευκίππην – ἢ Χαρίκλεια (unten, Z. 90-94; Donnet 207-214).

Περὶ τοῦ πῶς δεῖ ἀναγινώσκειν ῥήτορας καὶ τοὺς λοιπούς. Ἀναγινώσκων ποίημά τινος – καὶ τὸ σχῆμα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα (unten, Z. 53-72; Walz 562, 16-564, 8: Rhak. Cap. XVI).

Τίνας τῶν σοφῶν παραληπτέον εἰς παράδειγμα ἐκατέρου εἴδους τῶν λόγων. Ἐν τοῖς πανηγυρικοῖς – ὁ σοφάτατος Ψελλός (unten, Z. 73-85; Donnet 187-202).

99v-100r Περὶ ἐπιστολῶν. Ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς – Ψελλὸν καὶ εἴ τις τοιοῦτος (unten, Z. 111-122; Donnet 236-248; Walz 558, 20-559, 11: Rhak. Cap. XIV).

100r Περὶ στίχων ἱαμβικῶν. Τῶν ἱαμβικῶν στίχων ἀρετὴ – ἐμποιοῦσα τοῖς μέτροις (unten, Z. 123-140; Walz 559, 13-560, 19: Rhak. Cap. XV).

Ἄρετὴ στίχων πρώτη – τὰ εὐφραδέστερα τοῦ Λυκόφρονος καὶ εἴ τι τοιοῦτον (unten, Z. 141-

165Walz 560, 11-562, 10: Rhak. Cap. XV Fortsetzung [Seitenende]; 560, 19-562, 10 = Donnet 249-278).

**Περὶ στίχων ἠρωϊκῶν. Τὰ ἠρῶα – Μουσαῖον καὶ εἷ τις τοιοῦτος (unten, Z. 166-172; Walz 573, 26-574, 4 anonym).**

Εἰσαγωγικὸν τοῖς μέλλουσι γράφειν ῥητορικῶς. Τοῖς ἀναγινώσκουσιν – πολυπραγμόνει καὶ τὰ λοιπά (Walz 574, 5-578, 5).

E Vat. Ottob. gr. 173 s. XVI<sup>22</sup>

Nach 145v ein leeres Blatt.

146r oben – 148v Mitte Τοῦ αὐτοῦ μακαρίου μητροπολίτου Γρηγορίου τοῦ πρότερον Πάρδου ὀνομαζομένου. Πάλιν δὲ τῶν ῥημάτων – καὶ μὴ σολοικίζειν (Donnet, *Textes apocryphes*, Z. 1-136).

148v Mitte – 151v **Περὶ τῶν τεσσάρων μερῶν τοῦ τελείου λόγου. Ὁ τέλειος ἐγκωμιαστικὸς ῥητορικὸς λόγος – Μουσαῖος.**

**Bestand und Anordnung der Texte wie in V.**

151v unten **Τέλος τῆς γραμματικῆς.**

152r Περὶ ἀντωνυμιῶν. Τῶν μὲν ὀνομάτων καὶ τῶν ῥημάτων ἡ κλίσις κατὰ ἀκολουθίαν φωνῆς παρέρχεται etc. (ähnlich Georgios Choïroboskos, *Epimerismi in Psalmos*, ed. Th. Gaisford, *Georgii Choërobosci epimerismi in Psalmos*, III, Oxford 1842, S. 1-192, 90).

L Laur. gr. LV 7 s. XV<sup>23</sup>

331v-332r Τοῦ μακαριωτάτου μητροπολίτου Κορίνθου κύρ Γρηγορίου<sup>24</sup> εἰσαγωγικὸν περὶ λογογραφίας· περὶ ἐπιστολῶν· περὶ στίχων. Πᾶσα λόγου ἰδέα ἐκ μερῶν ὀκτῶ σύγκειται – πραῦνεται καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα (Walz 516, 10-521, 2: Rhak. Cap. II).

332r **Σὺ γοῦν εἰ θέλεις εὐδοκίμειν – ἐννοίας καὶ εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ φράσιν (unten, Z. 95-110; Donnet 214-235; Walz 521, 2-27: Rhak. Cap. II).**

332r unten – 332v Παρασημείωσις. Πολυμαθία, λογιότης – τὰ ἀφελέστερα καὶ ἀπλούστερα (Walz 522f. Anm. 1).

332v Περὶ τοῦ ἀφηγῆσθαι καὶ ἐνθυμηματίζεσθαι. Τὸ διηγηματικὸν ἀεὶ τήρει – ἐν τῷ τετραβασιλείῳ καὶ τοῖς ὁμοίοις (Walz 522, 1-525, 9: Rhak. Cap. III).

332v-333v Περὶ λέξεως. Ἡ λέξις πολυσχιδῆς ἐστίν – φεύγειν τὴν ταυτολεξίαν (Walz 525, 10-530, 7: Rhak. Cap. IV).

333v Δείκνυται δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ σημείου – ὁ γάρ τοι μέγας θεολόγος, οὐδὲ μὴ τοιαύτη λέξει χρῆσάμενος, ἐν τοῖς πεζοῖς αὐτοῦ λόγοις εὐρίσκεται (wie C 97v, Text siehe oben, S. 91; etwas verändert und verkürzt in P 175v mg., daraus Walz 530 Anm. 19).

333v-335r weitere Kapitel (Walz 530, 8-537, 2).

335r Περὶ σημείων (?). Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ λόγος σῶμα μιμεῖται – ὀπισθεν ἐδιδάχθης (Walz 534f. Anm. 11).

<sup>22</sup> E. Feron – F. Battaglini, *Codices manuscriptorum graeci Ottoboniani Bibliothecae Vaticanae*, Romae 1893, S. 97f.; Donnet 30.

<sup>23</sup> A. M. Bandini, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae* II, Florentiae 1768, S. 244-268: 264f.; Donnet 38f. Die Handschrift hat zwei unterschiedliche Paginierungen; hier wurde (auch für die übrigen Laurentiani) die heute gültige verwendet, jene bei Bandini differiert (jedenfalls für diesen Teil) um sieben (331 neu = 324 Bandini). Bilder sind dankenswerterweise im Internet über <http://teca.bmlonline.it/TecaRicerca/index.jsp> online abrufbar.

<sup>24</sup> Die Worte μητροπολίτου Κορίνθου κύρ Γρηγορίου heben sich in Größe und Dicke der Buchstaben deutlich vom übrigen Titel ab. Wie schon Bandini vermerkt, dürfte Platz dafür gelassen und erst sekundär gefüllt worden sein.



Περὶ μεθόδου. Ἡ μέθοδος σχῆμα ἐστὶ – δεῖ χρῆσθαι σε καὶ ταύτη κατὰ καιρὸν (Walz 537, 3-539, 23; Rhak. Cap. VII).

335r-v Παρασημείωσις. Μέθοδος ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ ὑπαλλάττειν – μορίων τοῦ λόγου οἰκονομία (Walz 537f. Anm. 1).

335v-336r Περὶ ψυχρολογίας. Ἡ δὲ ψυχρολογία – αἰτίαν τινὰ τῆς συγκρίσεως (Walz 540-542; Rhak. Cap. VIII).

336r Περὶ κώλων. Κῶλα λέγονται – τῶν ἀκροτήτων τοῦτο μαθῶν (Walz 543, 1-544, 8; Rhak. Cap. IX).

Ἄκριβέστερον δὲ ἢ βραχυκωλία – καὶ κώλου καὶ σχήματος καὶ τῶν τοιῶνδε (Walz 543f. Anm. 4).

336r-v Περὶ συνθήκης καὶ ἀναπαύσεως. Συνθήκη λόγου ἦτοι σύνθεσις – καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς λέξεις (Walz 544, 9-546, 30; Rhak. Cap. X-XII).

336v-337r Περὶ τῶν τεσσάρων μερῶν τοῦ τελείου λόγου. Ὁ τέλειος ἐγκωμιαστικὸς ῥητορικὸς λόγος – καθολικὴν σύγκρισιν (unten, Z. 1-40; Donnet 137-186; Walz 570, 1-572, 6 anonym).

337r Οἱ ἐπίλογοι – τέχνης ῥητορικῆς (unten, Z. 41-52; Walz 572, 7-24 anonym).

Ἵπὲρ πάντας οὓς ἴσμεν – ὅποιος πανταχοῦ ὁ Ψελλός. Ἔως ὄδε τὰ περὶ λογογραφίας (unten, Z. 86-89; Donnet 203-206).

Ἀνάγνωθι Δευκίππην – ἢ Χαρίκλεια (unten, Z. 90-94; Donnet 207-214).

Περὶ τοῦ πῶς δεῖ ἀναγινώσκειν ῥήτορας καὶ τοὺς λοιπούς. Ἀναγινώσκων ποίημά τινος – καὶ τὸ σχῆμα καὶ τ' ἄλλα (unten, Z. 53-72; Walz 562, 16-564, 8; Rhak. Cap. XVI).

337r-v Τίνας τῶν σοφῶν παραληπτέον εἰς παράδειγμα ἑκατέρου εἴδους τῶν λόγων. Ἐν τοῖς πανηγυρικοῖς – ὁ σοφώτατος Ψελλός (unten, Z. 73-85; Donnet 187-202).

337v Περὶ ἐπιστολῶν. Ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς – Ψελλὸν καὶ εἴ τις τοιοῦτος (unten, Z. 111-122; Donnet 236-248; Walz 558, 20-559, 11; Rhak. Cap. XIV).

Περὶ στίχων ἱαμβικῶν. Τῶν ἱαμβικῶν στίχων ἀρετὴ – ἐμποιοῦσα τοῖς μέτροις (unten, Z. 123-140; Walz 559, 13-560, 19; Rhak. Cap. XV).

Ἄρετὴ στίχων πρώτη – τὰ εὐφραδέστερα τοῦ Λυκόφρονος καὶ εἴ τι τοιοῦτον (unten, Z. 141-165; Walz 560, 11-562, 10; Rhak. Cap. XV Fortsetzung [Seitenende]; 560, 19-562, 10 = Donnet 249-278).

Der Text endet am Ende von 337v abrupt (mit ἐθυμηματικὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς, unten, Z. 162; Donnet 278; Walz 562, 10). Es fehlt an sich nur die Aufzählung der Musterautoren sowie allenfalls das kurze Stück über die heroische Dichtung, doch liegt wahrscheinlich Blattverlust oder Vertauschung vor; denn 338r beginnt mit ὅσα δὲ καὶ ὑπ' ἀρνακίδι λύκος = Walz 606, 28 anonym.

#### La Laur. gr. LVIII 2 s. XV ex.<sup>25</sup>

2r-3r Ἰατροῦ [recte Οἰκτροῦ] Ἰωσήφ Πιναροῦ Ῥακενδύτου. Ἐμοὶ δ' ἄρα καὶ λίαν – καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰῶνων, ἀμήν (Walz 467-472; Rhak., Prolegomena, laut Walz nur in diesem Codex).

3r-4r Τοῦ αὐτοῦ στίχοι ἱαμβικοὶ περιέχοντες ἐν ἐπιτομῇ τὴν ἅπασαν ὑπόθεσιν τῶν ἐγκειμένων τῆδε τῆ βίβλω εὐσυνάπτων μαθημάτων. Ὀρῶν, θεατὰ, βίβλον ἠτέλεισμένην – μετὰ πόνου πλείστου με συντεταχότος (139 V., ed. Walz 473-477).

4r-v Ἰωάννου νομικοῦ τοῦ Βοτανιάτου τοῦ ἀπὸ Κρήτης πρὸς Ἰσίδωρον διάκονον καὶ ταβουλάριον τὸν Χιώτην στίχοι ἑκατὸν, τὸ ἱαμβικὸν διασαφούντες μέτρον. Ἡ τῶν ποδισμῶν

<sup>25</sup> Bandini (oben, Anm. 23), II, S. 438-440. Näheres zur Handschrift und ihrer Datierung bei A. Acconcia Longo, A. Jacob, *Poesie di Nicola d'Otranto nel Laur. gr. 58, 2*, «Byzantion» 54, 1984, S. 371-379.

τῶν ἰάμβων αἰτία – τοῦ παντελείου τυγχάνων μύστης λόγου (100 V., aus dieser und anderen Handschriften ediert von Studemund<sup>26</sup>).

4v-5r Religiöse Epigramme, eines von Theodoros Prodromos (Nr. 282b Papagiannis), die übrigen von Nikolaos von Otranto.<sup>27</sup>

5r-11v Σύνοψις τῆς ῥητορικῆς. Ἀπροοιμιάστως ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν προοιμίων – δεινότητα καὶ ἀκμὴν (Seitenende, Blattvertauschung) (Walz 478-512, 17: Rhak. Cap. I).

12r-133v Libanios, Progymnasmata.

134r-v δεινότητος δὲ τῆς μὲν (Fortsetzung von 11v) – ἐκάτερον ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐδαμοῦ (Walz 512, 17-516, 9: Rhak. Cap. I Ende).

134v-135v Ἄλλ' ἀναληπτέον – καὶ εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν φράσιν (Walz 516, 10-521, 27: Rhak. Cap. II), darin 135v, ohne Initiale oder Abstand Σὺ γοῦν εἰ θέλεις εὐδοκιμεῖν – καὶ εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν φράσιν (unten, Z. 95-110; Donnet 214-235; Walz 521, 2-27).

135v-138r weitere Kapitel aus Rhak. (Walz 522, 1-525, 9; 525, 10-530, 7; 530, 8-534, 28; 535, 1-537, 2).

138r-140r Τῶν τοῦ λόγου σχημάτων – καὶ ἐμοῦ μετὰ ἀντὶ τοῦ μετ' ἐμοῦ καὶ τὰ ὅμοια (Spengel<sup>28</sup> III 174-188: Ἀνωνύμου περὶ σχημάτων).

140r-142v weitere Kapitel aus Rhak. (Walz 537-539; 543-544; 544-545; 545; 545-546; 547-558).

142v Περὶ ἐπιστολῶν. Ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς χρησιμώτατα τὰ γνωματεύματα – σοφώτατον Ψελλὸν καὶ εἴ τις τοιοῦτος (unten, Z. 111-122; Donnet 236-248; Walz 558-559: Rhak. Cap. XIV).

142v-143r Περὶ στίχων ἰαμβικῶν. Τῶν ἰαμβικῶν στίχων ἀρετὴ ἐστὶ προηγουμένως – ἐμποιούσα τοῖς μέτροις (unten, Z. 123-140; Walz 559-560, 19: Rhak. Cap. XV).

143r Ἄρετὴ στίχων πρώτη καὶ μεγίστη – τὸν Πτωχοπρόδρομον καὶ εἴ τις τοιοῦτος (unten, Z. 141-163; Donnet 249-280; Walz 560, 19-562, 12: Rhak. Cap. XV).

143r-v Περὶ τοῦ πῶς δεῖ ἀναγινώσκειν ῥητορικὰς βίβλους. Ἀναγινώσκων ποίημα τινὸς – ὡς δυνατόν καὶ τὸ σχῆμα καὶ τᾶλλα (unten, Z. 53-72; Walz 562, 16-564, 8: Rhak. Cap. XVI).

143v Περὶ τῶν ὀκτῶ στιγμῶν. Στιγμαὶ δὲ εἰσὶν ὀκτῶ – μείζονος καὶ τυγχάνει (Walz 564, 9-565, 19: Rhak. Cap. XVII).

143v-144v Περὶ τρόπων ποιητικῶν. Τρόπος ἐστὶ λέξις ἢ φράσις – σὺ εἰ ἐταῖρε τῶν λογίων τὸ κλέος (Inc. ähnlich Spengel III 227, Des. entspricht Choïroboskos, Spengel III 255).

144v-145v, Z. 4 Περὶ τῶν τῆς λέξεως παθῶν. Τὰ τῆς λέξεως πάθη – οἶον Διόνυσος Διόνισος (Walz 565, 20-569, 18: Rhak. Cap. XVIII).

Rest der Seite leer, Ende des Codex.

#### Le Laur. gr. LVIII 21 s. XV<sup>29</sup>

1r-24v Σύνοψις τῆς ῥητορικῆς (am oberen Rand von späterer Hand: Ἰωσήφ τοῦ Ῥακενδύτου Σύνοψις Ῥητορικῆς). Ἀπροοιμιάστως ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν προοιμίων – ἔχει ἐκάτερον ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐδαμοῦ (Walz 478, 1-516, 9: Rhak. Cap. I).

24v-30v Ῥητορικὴ. Περὶ τοῦ πανηγυρικοῦ εἴδους τοῦ λόγου. Ἔστω εἰς παράδειγμα λόγος βασιλικός. Ὁ τοίνυν βασιλικός λόγος ἐγκώμιον ἐστὶ – παραδοθῆναι τῷ γένει καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια (Walz 547-558: Rhak. Cap. XIII).

<sup>26</sup> W. Studemund, *Anecdota varia graeca musica metrica grammatica*, Berlin 1886, S. 201-205. Weitere Literatur dazu bei K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*, München 1897<sup>2</sup>, S. 597.

<sup>27</sup> Acconcia Longo, Jacob, *Poesie* (oben, Anm. 25)

<sup>28</sup> L. Spengel, *Rhetores graeci*, I-III, Lipsiae 1853-1856.

<sup>29</sup> Bandini (oben, Anm. 23), II, S. 462f.

30v-31v *Περὶ τῶν ὀκτῶ στιγμῶν. Στιγμαὶ δὲ εἰσιν ὀκτῶ, ὑπερτελεῖα – μείζονος καὶ τυγχάνει* (Walz 564, 9-565, 19: Rhak. Cap. XVII).

31v-34v *Περὶ τρόπων ποιητικῶν. Τρόπος ἐστὶ λέξις ἢ φράσις – σὺ εἶ ἑταῖρε τῶν λογίων τὸ κλέος* (Inc. ähnlich Spengel III 227, Des. entspricht Choiroboskos, Spengel III 255).

34v-36v *Περὶ τῶν τῆς λέξεως παθῶν. Τὰ τῆς λέξεως πάθη – οἶον Διόνυσος Διόνισος* (Walz 565, 20-569, 18: Rhak. Cap. XVIII). Kurze Zierleiste, Ende der Seite.

37r-187r *Σωπάτρου διαίρεσις ζητημάτων. Μετὰ τὰ κατὰ Κύζικον Ἀλκιβιάδης αἰτήσας – τὰς δὲ λυποῦντες οἷς ὕβριζουσι* (Sopater, Walz VIII 2-385, dazwischen vielleicht auch anderes).

187r-191r *Κύρου περὶ διαφορᾶς στάσεως. Περὶ τοῦ κατασοφισμοῦ. Τὰς τοῦ κατασοφισμοῦ ζητήσεις – ἢ πρόσωπον ἢ χρόνον ἢ αἰτίαν* (Walz VIII 387-399).

191v-192v *Diagramme.*

193r-195v *Περὶ λογογραφίας, περὶ ἐπιστολῶν, περὶ στίχων εισαγωγικόν. [Πᾶσα] λόγου ἰδέα – θεοειδέστερος ἡμῖν πραῦνεται [καὶ τὰ] τοιαῦτα* (Walz 516, 10-521, 2: Rhak. Cap. II, Anfang leicht abweichend).

195v *Σὺ γοῦν εἰ θέλεις εὐδοκιμεῖν – καὶ εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν φράσιν* (unten, Z. 95-110; Donnet 214-235; Walz 521, 2-27: Rhak. Cap. II Ende).

195v-206r weitere Kapitel aus Rhak. (Walz 522, 1-525, 9; 525, 10-530, 7; 530, 8-534, 28; 535, 1-537, 2; 537, 3-539, 23; 540-542; 543, 1-544, 8; 544, 9-545, 6; 545, 7-18; 545, 19-546, 30).

206r-207r *Περὶ τῶν τεσσάρων μερῶν τοῦ τελείου λόγου. Ὁ τέλειος ἐγκωμιαστικὸς ῥητορικὸς λόγος – καθολικὴν σύγκρισιν* (unten, Z. 1-40; Donnet 137-186; Walz 570, 1-572, 6 anonym).

207r-v *Οἱ ἐπίλογοι γραφήσονται σοι – Μενάνδρου ῥήτορος περὶ τέχνης ῥητορικῆς* (unten, Z. 41-52; Walz 572, 7-24 anonym).

207v-208r *Περὶ τοῦ πῶς δεῖ ἀναγινώσκειν ῥήτορας καὶ λοιπούς. Ἀναγινώσκων ποιημάτωνος – καὶ τὸ σχῆμα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα* (unten, Z. 53-72; Walz 562, 16-564, 8: Rhak. Cap. XVI).

208r *Τίνας τῶν σοφῶν παραληπτέον εἰς παράδειγμα ἐκάστου εἶδους τῶν λόγων. Ἐν τοῖς πανηγυρικοῖς – ὁ σοφώτατος Ψελλός* (unten, Z. 73-85; Donnet 187-202; Walz 572, 25-573, 25 anonym).

208r-v *Περὶ ἐπιστολῶν. Ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς χρησιμώτατα – σοφώτατον Ψελλὸν καὶ εἶ τις τοιοῦτος* (unten, Z. 111-122; Donnet 236-248; Walz 558, 20-559, 12: Rhak. Cap. XIV).

208v *Περὶ στίχων ἰαμβικῶν. Τῶν ἰαμβικῶν στίχων ἀρετὴ ἐστὶ προηγουμένως – τὴν τοῦ λόγου σάλπιγγα καὶ* (Des. mut., Ende der Seite und des Codex; unten, Z. 123-138; Walz 559, 13-560, 16: Rhak. Cap. XV).

**M** Marc. gr. 620 (coll. 890) s. XIV<sup>30</sup>

119r-137r *«Gregorius Corinthius», De syntaxi* (ed. Donnet 167-225, Z. 1-595). *Περὶ συντάξεως λόγου ἤγουν περὶ τοῦ μὴ σολοικίζειν· μὴ δὲ βαρβαρίζειν καὶ ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ τούτων, περὶ συντάξεως προθέσεων καὶ ῥημάτων. Ὀκτῶ εἰσι πάντα τὰ μέρη τοῦ λόγου – οὕτω καὶ σὺ λέγων καὶ γράφων, οὐ βαρβαρίσεις.*

137r-138v *Περὶ τῶν δ' μερῶν τοῦ τελείου λόγου. Ὁ τέλειος ἐγκωμιαστικὸς λόγος, ῥητορικῶς σύγκριται – καθολικὴν σύγκρισιν* (unten, Z. 1-40; Donnet 137-186; Walz 570, 1-572, 6 anonym).

138v-139r *Ἐν τοῖς πανηγυρικοῖς κείσθω σοι – ἐν πᾶσι καὶ ὁ σοφώτατος Ψελλός* (unten, Z. 74-85; Donnet 187-202).

<sup>30</sup> E. Mioni, *Codices graeci manuscripti bibliothecae Divi Marci Venetiarum. Thesaurus antiquus*, II, *Codices 300-625*, Roma 1985, S. 545-548. Von Donnet nicht herangezogen, aber nachträglich (S. 329-330) verzeichnet.

139r Ὑπὲρ πάντας οὓς ἴσμεν – πιθανὸν καὶ εὐπλαστον ἔχουσι (unten, Z. 86-93; Donnet 203-211).

Σεμνὸς κατὰ πάντα καὶ ὑψηλὸς – τύπου καὶ ἡ Χαρίκλεια (unten, Z. 93-94; Donnet 211-214).

139r-140r Εἰ θέλεις εὐδοκμεῖν – καὶ εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν φράσιν (unten, Z. 95-110; Donnet 214-235; Walz 521).

140r Περὶ ἐπιστολῶν. Ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς, χρήσιμα τὰ γνωματεύματα – τὸν Ψελλὸν καὶ εἷ τις τοιοῦτος (unten, Z. 111-122; Donnet 236-248; Walz 558, 20-559, 11; Rhak. Cap. XIV).

140v Κεῖσθω σοι παράδειγμα τῶν ὀγκηρῶν λέξεων – ἔχεις καὶ νεωτέρους τινάς (Walz 526, 13-27; Rhak. Cap. XIV).

140v-141v Περὶ στίχων. Ἀρετὴ στίχων πρώτη καὶ μεγίστη – τὰ εὐφραδέστερα τοῦ Λυκόφρονος καὶ εἷ τι τοιοῦτον (unten, Z. 141-165; Donnet 249-282; Walz 560, 19-562, 15; Rhak. Cap. XV Schluss).

141v-142r Τὰ ἡρώα ἐπαινοῦνται – τὸν Μουσαῖον καὶ εἷ τις τοιοῦτος (unten, Z. 167-172; Walz 573, 26-574, 4 anonym).

Auf fol. 142r folgt, nach einer Zeile, die offenbar eine heute total verblasste Überschrift enthielt, mit den Worten Ἡ Σεμίραμις, τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ἦν βασιλις, τὸν δὲ περὶ τὴν Βαβυλῶνα der Anfang des Porphyrioskommentars des Tzetzes.<sup>31</sup>

Ma Marc. gr. VIII 18 (coll. 1020) a. 1483<sup>32</sup>

Der Codex enthält auf fol. 1r-40v die Σύνοψις ῥητορικῆς des Joseph Rhakendytes. Darin finden sich Teile des hier behandelten Traktates:

19r Σὺ γοῦν εἰ θέλεις εὐδοκμεῖν – εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ φράσιν (unten, Z. 95-110; Donnet 214-235; Walz 521, 2-27).

19r-24v Τὸ διηγηματικὸν – λανθανουσῶν (Walz 522-537; Rhak. Cap. III-VI).

24v-28v Τῶν τοῦ λόγου σχημάτων – καὶ ἐμοῦ μετὰ ἀντὶ τοῦ μετ' ἐμοῦ καὶ τὰ ὅμοια (Spengel III 174-188; Ἀνωνύμου περὶ σχημάτων).

28v-34v Ἡ μέθοδος – παραπλήσια (Walz 537-558; Rhak. Cap. VII. IX-XIII).

34v-35r Περὶ ἐπιστολῶν. Ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς χρησιμώτατα – σοφώτατον Ψελλὸν καὶ εἷ τις τοιοῦτος (unten, Z. 111-122; Donnet 236-248; Walz 558-559; Rhak. Cap. XIV).

35r Περὶ στίχων ἱαμβικῶν. Τῶν ἱαμβικῶν στίχων ἀρετὴ ἐστὶ – ὄγκον ἐμποιοῦσα τοῖς μέτροις (unten, Z. 123-140; Walz 559-560, 19; Rhak. Cap. XV).

35r-v Ἀρετὴ στίχων πρώτη καὶ μεγίστη – τὸν Πτωχοπρόδρομον καὶ εἷ τις τοιοῦτος (unten, Z. 141-163; Donnet 249-280; Walz 560, 19-562, 12; Rhak. Cap. XV).

35v-36r Περὶ τοῦ πῶς δεῖ ἀναγινώσκειν ῥητορικὰς βίβλους. Ἀναγινώσκων ποίημα τινὸς – ὡς δυνατόν καὶ τὸ σχῆμα καὶ τὰλλα (unten, Z. 53-72; Walz 562, 16-564, 8; Rhak. Cap. XVI).

36r-v Περὶ τῶν ὀκτῶ στιγμῶν. Στιγμαὶ δὲ εἰσὶν ὀκτῶ – μείζονος καὶ τυγχάνει (Walz 564, 9-565, 19; Rhak. Cap. XVII).

36v-39r Περὶ τρόπων ποιητικῶν. Τρόπος ἐστὶ λέξις ἢ φράσις – σὺ εἶ ἑταῖρε τῶν λογίων τὸ κλέος (Inc. ähnlich Spengel III 227, Des. entspricht Choïroboskos, Spengel III 255).

39r-40v, Z. 3 Περὶ τῶν τῆς λέξεως παθῶν. Τὰ τῆς λέξεως πάθη – οἷον Διόνυσος Διόνισος (Walz 565, 20-569, 18; Rhak. Cap. XVIII). Danach Schreibervermerk Ἐχεις καὶ τοῦτο διὰ χειρὸς Δημητρίου.

<sup>31</sup> Nach Cod. Vind. phil. gr. 300 teilweise wiedergegeben bei Ch. Harder, *Johannes Tzetzes' Kommentar zu Porphyrius περὶ πέντε φωνῶν*, «Byzantinische Zeitschrift» 4, 1895, S. 314-318.

<sup>32</sup> E. Mioni, *Bibliothecae Divi Marci Venetiarum codices graeci manuscripti*, II, Roma 1960, S. 143-144.

Der Rest der Seite ist leer, auf fol. 41r beginnt <Maximos Planudes>, Προλεγόμενα τῆς ῥητορικῆς.

**Mb** Marc. gr. 444 s. XIV<sup>33</sup>

Der Codex der *Rhetorica Marciana*.<sup>34</sup> Er enthält auf fol. 70v-76v Rhakendytes Cap. XIII-XVI (Walz 547-564), darin folgende Teile unseres Traktates:

75r **Περὶ ἐπιστολῶν. Ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς χρησιμώτατα** – τὸν Λιβάνιον καὶ εἷ τις τοιοῦτος (unten, Z. 111-122; Donnet 236-248; Walz 558-559; Rhak. Cap. XIV).

75v **Περὶ στίχων ἱαμβικῶν. Τῶν ἱαμβικῶν στίχων ἀρετὴ** – σύμμετρος δὲ τούτων χρήσις ἀρίστη (unten, Z. 124-139; Walz 559-560, 19; Rhak. Cap. XV).

75v-76r **Ἀρετὴ στίχων καὶ μεγίστη** – τὸν Πτωχοπρόδρομον, τὸν Φιλῆν καὶ εἷ τις τοιοῦτος (unten, Z. 141-163; Donnet 249-280; Walz 560, 19-562, 12; Rhak. Cap. XV).

76r-v **Περὶ τοῦ πῶς δεῖ ἀναγινώσκειν ῥητορικὰς βίβλους. Ἀναγινώσκων ποίημα** – ὡς δυνατόν καὶ τὸ σχῆμα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα (unten, Z. 53-72; Walz 562, 16-564, 8; Rhak. Cap. XVI).

Der Rest (etwa die Hälfte) von fol. 76v ist leer.

**P** Paris. gr. 2918 (13. Jh., 2. Hälfte)<sup>35</sup>

150r-169r Libanios, *Progymnasmata*

169r-174r Nikephoros Basilakes, *Progymnasmata*,<sup>36</sup> am Beginn Angabe Μῦθοι τοῦ ῥήτορος κῦρ Νικηφόρου τοῦ Βασιλάκη.

174v **Πᾶσα λόγου ἰδέα** – εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ φράσιν (Walz 516-521; Rhak. Cap. II), darin **σὺ δὲ εἰ θέλεις εὐδοκμεῖν** – εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ φράσιν (unten, Z. 95-110; Donnet 214-235; Walz 521).

174v-175r **Τὸ διηγηματικὸν τήρει** – τετραβασιλείῳ καὶ τοῖς ὁμοίοις (Walz 522-525; Rhak. Cap. III).

174v mg. inf. – 175r mg. sup. **Πολυμάθεια λογιότης** – ἀφελέστερον καὶ ἀπλούστερον (Walz 522-523 Anm. 1).

175r-v weitere Kapitel aus Rhak. (Walz 525-530; 530-531; 532, 1-17; 532, 18-534, 14).

175v mg. sin. **Περὶ τοῦ πρέποντος. Λογιότης, πολυμάθεια καὶ εὐφυΐα** δείκνυται καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν λέξεων· λογιότης μὲν καὶ ἐν φιλοσόφοις ὀνόμασι – καὶ οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν τεθειμένων οὐσα ὀνομάτων (Walz 530 Anm. 19 am Ende von Cap. IV; entspricht großteils C 97v und L 333v).

175v-176r (Tit. 175v mg. unten) **Περὶ τοῦ ὠφεληθῆναι εἰς φράσιν ἐκ ποιητῶν. Ἐκ ποιητῶν δὲ μᾶλλον** – κράζειν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα (Walz 575, 19-576, 12; 534, 16-28 mit Abweichungen: Rhak. Cap. V Ende).

176r **Περὶ σχημάτων. Τὰ σχήματα ποικίλα εἰσὶ** – περιβολῶν καὶ λανθανουσῶν σχεδόν (Walz 535-537; Rhak. Cap. VI).

**Περὶ μεθόδου. Ἡ μέθοδος σχήμα ἐστὶ** – ταύτη κατὰ καιρόν (Walz 537-539; Rhak. Cap. VII).

176r mg. dext. **Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ λόγος σῶμα μιμεῖται** – ἐν τοῖς περὶ λέξεως ὀπισθεν ἐδιδάχθης (Walz 534f. Anm. 11).

176r mg. dext. et inf. **μέθοδος ἐστὶ πρὸς τὸ ὑπαλλάττειν** – μερῶν καὶ μορίων οἰκονομία (Walz 537f. Anm. 1).

176r-v **Ἡ δὲ ψυχρολογία** – φευκτέα τοῖς λογογράφοις (Walz 540-542, 8; Rhak. Cap. VIII Anfang).

<sup>33</sup> Mioni, *Codices graeci* (oben, Anm. 30), II, S. 215-218.

<sup>34</sup> De Falco (oben, Anm. 13).

<sup>35</sup> Der Codex wurde bisher meist in das späte 14. Jh. datiert, zuletzt von M. Patillon (Hrsg.), Aelius Theon, *Progymnasmata*, Paris 2002<sup>2</sup>, S. CXVI. Für die Frühdatierung siehe unten, Anm. 43.

<sup>36</sup> Niceforo Basilace, *Progymnasmata e monodie*, a cura di A. Pignani, Napoli 1983.

176v Γίνεται ψυχρότης καὶ ἀχρειότης – αἰτίαν τινὰ τῆς συγκρίσεως (Walz 542, 8-28: Rhak. Cap. VIII Ende).

Περὶ κώλων. Κῶλα λέγονται – ἀκροτήτων τοῦτο μαθῶν (Walz 543-544: Rhak. Cap. IX).

Περὶ συνθήκης καὶ ἀναπαύσεως. Συνθήκη λόγου ἤτοι σύνθεσις – ἐν τοῖς ἐναντίοις (Walz 544, 9-545, 6: Rhak. Cap. X).

Ἀκόλουθος δὲ τούτοις – μακρῶ χρῶ καταλήξει (Walz 545, 6-18: Rhak. Cap. XI).

Περὶ ῥυθμοῦ. Ῥυθμός ἐστὶν ἡ τοιάδε – προπαροξυτόνους καὶ λοιπὰς λέξεις (Walz 545, 19-546, 30: Rhak. Cap. XII).

176v mg. Περὶ κώλων. Ἀκριβέστερον δὲ ἡ βραχυκωλία – σχήματος τῶν τοιῶνδε (Walz 543f. Anm. 4).

176v Seitenende Τέλος τῶν ὀκτῶ μερῶν τοῦ ῥητορικοῦ λόγου.

177r Περὶ τῶν τεσσάρων μερῶν τοῦ τελείου λόγου. Ὁ τέλειος ἐγκωμιστικὸς ῥητορικὸς λόγος – καθολικὴν σύγκρισιν (unten, Z. 1-40; Donnet 137-186; Walz 570, 1-572, 6 anonym).

Οἱ ἐπίλογοι γραφήσονται – περὶ τέχνης ῥητορικῆς (unten, Z. 41-52; Walz 572, 7-24 anonym).

Περὶ τοῦ δεῖν ἀναγινώσκειν ῥήτορας καὶ λοιπούς. Ἀναγινώσκων ποίημά τινος – καὶ τὸ σχῆμα καὶ τᾶλλα (unten, Z. 53-72; Walz 562, 16-564, 8: Rhak. Cap. XVI).

Τίνας τῶν σοφῶν παραληπτέον εἰς παράδειγμα ἑκατέρου εἴδους τῶν λόγων. Ἐν τοῖς πανηγυρικοῖς – καὶ ὁ σοφώτατος Ψελλός (unten, Z. 73-85; Donnet 187-202).

Ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς χρήσιμα – καὶ εἴ τις τοιοῦτος (unten, Z. 112-122; Donnet 236-248; Walz 558, 20-559, 11: Rhak. Cap. XIV).

177r-v Περὶ στίχων ἱαμβικῶν. Τῶν ἱαμβικῶν στίχων ἡ ἀρετὴ – ἐμποιοῦσα τῷ μέτρῳ (unten, Z. 123-140; Walz 559, 13-560, 19: Rhak. Cap. XV).

177v Ἀρετὴ πρώτη στίχων – Λυκόφρονος καὶ εἴ τι τοιοῦτον (unten, Z. 141-165; Donnet 249-282; Walz 560, 19-562, 15: Rhak. Cap. XV Schluss).

Τὰ ἥρωα ἐπαινοῦνται – Μουσαῖον καὶ εἴ τις τοιοῦτος (unten, Z. 167-172; Walz 573, 26-574, 4 anonym).

177v-178r Εἰσαγωγικὸν τοῖς μέλλουσι γράφειν ῥητορικῶς. Τοῖς ἀναγινώσκουσιν – τοῦ οἰκείου ξίφους ἔργον καὶ αὐτὸς πίπτει (Walz 574, 5-578, 5).

178r Αἶας ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄπλοις – ἔξεις κατὰ καιρόν (Walz 578, 6-27).

Ἔτι μάθε καὶ ταῦτα παντὶ διηγήματι ἐνυπάρχουσι τὰ λεγόμενα ἔξ περιστατικά – βακχευτικοῖς τισὶ δαίμοσι (Walz 605, 20-607, 11).

178r-v Πάλιν ὅτι νῦξ καὶ σελήνη – ἀναγκαιοτάτης καὶ αὐτῆς οὔσης (Walz 607, 12-609 App.).

178v-179v Φέρε δὴ καὶ περὶ λέξεως εἴπωμεν ὡς ἀναγκαιοτάτης καὶ αὐτῆς οὔσης – ἐγκωμιστικῶ ἢ ὀποῖω δὴ τινι ἑτέρῳ (Walz 579-587).

179v-181r Περὶ τῶν ὀκτῶ μερῶν τοῦ ῥητορικοῦ λόγου. Πᾶσα γραφὴ ῥητορικὴ – τῶν λοιπῶν τόπων τῶν ἐκτεθέντων σοι (Walz 588-605).

Ab 181v mehrere Progymnasmata, zum Teil Nikolaos (181v) oder Theon (182r) zugeschrieben.

#### V Vat. gr. 883 s. XIV med.<sup>37</sup>

205v-220v Gregorios Korinthios, Περὶ συντάξεως λόγου. Ὀκτῶ εἰσι πάντα τὰ μέρη – συμβάλλεσθαι καὶ μὴ σολοικίζειν (Greg. Kor., Z. 1-503 Donnet).

220v-221v Περὶ τῶν τεσσάρων μερῶν τοῦ τελείου λόγου. Ὁ τέλειος ἐγκωμιστικὸς λόγος – τὴν καθολικὴν σύγκρισιν (unten, Z. 1-40; Donnet 137-186; Walz 570, 1-572, 6 anonym).

<sup>37</sup> Beschreibung bei Donnet 49f. und P. Schreiner, *Codices Vaticani Graeci, Codices 867-932*, Vatikan 1988, S. 40-45.

221v-222r Ἐν τοῖς πανηγυρικοῖς – ὁ σοφώτατος Ψελλός (unten, Z. 74-85; Donnet 187-202).

222r Ὑπὲρ πάντας οὓς ἴσμεν – εἰς τὴν μητέρα (unten, Z. 86-88; Donnet 203-206).

Ἀνάγνωθι Λευκίππην – καὶ ἡ Χαρίκλεια (unten, Z. 90-94; Donnet 207-214).

222r-v Εἰ θέλεις εὐδοκμεῖν – εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν φράσιν (unten, Z. 95-110; Donnet 214-235; Walz 521, 2-27: Rhak. Cap. II).

222v-223r Ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς – Ψελλὸν καὶ εἴ τις τοιοῦτος (unten, Z. 112-122; Donnet 236-248; Walz 558, 20-559, 11: Rhak. Cap. XIV).

223r-v Ἀρετὴ στίχων πρώτη – Λυκόφρονος καὶ εἴ τι τοιοῦτον (unten, Z. 141-165; Donnet 249-282; Walz 560, 19-562, 15: Rhak. Cap. XV Schluss).

223v Ὅμηρος – Μουσαῖος (Donnet 283).

Ende 223v unten, darunter in Monokondylien +Τέλος τῆς γραμματικῆς+

224r oben beginnt ein Traktat über das iambische Metrum.<sup>38</sup>

#### Va Vind. phil. gr. 6 (1. Hälfte 16. Jh.)<sup>39</sup>

1r-10v Γεωργίου μητροπολίτου Κορίνθου τοῦ πρὸ τῶν Πάρδου ὀνομαζομένου περὶ συντάξεως τοῦ λόγου etc. Ὀκτώ εἰσι πάντα – ὡσαύτως καὶ τὸ ἐν· γοῦν· δὴ· καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα (Greg. Kor., Περὶ συντάξεως λόγου und verwandte Texte, siehe Donnet, S. 45f.; das Des. entspricht Schol. in Dion. Thracis artem rhet.).<sup>40</sup>

10v (mit anderer Tinte und anderem Schriftspiegel) – 11r Μέλημα καὶ φρόντισμα καὶ γλυκὺς πόνος, οἰκτροῦ πιναροῦ Ἰωσήφ ῥακενδύτου. Σύνοψις τῆς ῥητορικῆς. Ἀπροοιμιάστως ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν προοιμίων – περινενοημένων τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα (Walz 478-480, 7: Rhak. Cap. I Anfang).

11r-12r Ἐτι εἰδέναι δεῖ ὅτι πᾶν εἶδος λόγου ἐκ μερῶν ὀκτὼ σύγκειται – ἡμῖν πραῦνεται καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα (Walz 516, 12-521, 2: Rhak. Cap. II).

12r Σὺ γοῦν εἰ θέλεις εὐδοκμεῖν – τὴν αὐτῶν φράσιν (unten, Z. 95-110; Donnet 214-235; Walz 521, 2-27: Rhak. Cap. II Ende).

12r-15r weitere Kapitel (Walz 522, 1-537, 2: Rhak. Cap. III-VI).

15v Τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἰωσήφ ῥακενδύτου, περὶ ἐπιστολῶν. Ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς χρησιμώτατα – τὸν σοφώτατον Ψελλὸν καὶ εἴ τις τοιοῦτος (unten, Z. 111-122; Donnet 236-248; Walz 558, 20-559, 11: Rhak. Cap. XIV).

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ περὶ στίχων ιαμβικῶν. Τῶν ιαμβικῶν στίχων ἀρετὴ – ὄγκον ἐμποιοῦσα τοῖς μέτροις (unten, Z. 123-140; Walz 559, 13-560, 19: Rhak. Cap. XV Anfang).

15v-16r Ἀρετὴ στίχων πρώτη – Πτωχοπροδρόμου καὶ εἴ τις τοιοῦτος (unten, Z. 141-163; Donnet 249-279; Walz 560, 19-562, 12: Rhak. Cap. XV Ende).

16r Τοῦ αὐτοῦ περὶ τοῦ πῶς δεῖ ἀναγινώσκειν ῥητορικὰς βίβλους. Ἀναγινώσκων ποίημα – καὶ ἄλλα (unten, Z. 53-72; Walz 562, 16-564, 8: Rhak. Cap. XVI). Seitenende, Verso leer.

#### Vb Vind. phil. gr. 70 (2. Hälfte 15. Jh.)<sup>41</sup>

205r oberer Rand Σύνοψις τῆς ῥητορικῆς, dann Flechtband.

205r-218v Μέλημα καὶ φρόντισμα καὶ γλυκὺς πόνος, οἰκτροῦ πιναροῦ Ἰωσήφ ῥακενδύτου. Ἀπροοιμιάστως – ἐκάτερον ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐδαμοῦ (Walz 478, 1-516, 9: Rhak. Cap. I).

218v-220r Ἄλλ' ἀναληπτέον τὸν λόγον καὶ σαφηνεῖας ἔνεκα – ἡμῖν πραῦνεται καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα (Walz 516, 10-521, 2: Rhak. Cap. II).

<sup>38</sup> Vgl. Schreiner, *ibid.*

<sup>39</sup> H. Hunger, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, I, Codices historici, codices philosophici et philologici*, Wien 1961, S. 139-141.

<sup>40</sup> ed. A. Hilgard, *GG, I 3*, Lipsiae 1901, S. 465, 31.

<sup>41</sup> Hunger, *Katalog* (oben, Anm. 39), S. 185f.

220r Σὺ γοῦν εἰ θέλεις – εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ φράσιν (unten, Z. 95-110; Donnet 214-235; Walz 521, 2-27; Rhak. Cap. II Ende).

220v-224v weitere Kapitel aus Rhak. (Walz 522-525; 525-530; 530-534; 535-537).

225r-228v Τῶν τοῦ λόγου σχημάτων τὰ μὲν εἰσι κατ' ἔννοιαν – ἀπολεῖς ἐμὲ καὶ ἐμοῦ μέτα ἀντὶ τοῦ μετ' ἐμοῦ καὶ τὰ ὅμοια (Spengel III 174-188: Ἀωνόμου περὶ σχημάτων).

228v-234r weitere Kapitel aus Rhak. (Walz 537-539; 543-544; 544-545; 545; 545-546; 547-558).

234r Περὶ ἐπιστολῶν. Ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς χρησιμώτατα – σοφώτατον Ψελλὸν καὶ εἴ τις τοιοῦτος (unten, Z. 111-122; Donnet 236-248; Walz 558, 20-559, 12; Rhak. Cap. XIV).

234r-v Περὶ στοιχείων ἱαμβικῶν. Τῶν ἱαμβικῶν στοιχείων ἀρετὴ ἐστὶ προηγουμένως – ὄγκον ἐμποιοῦσα τοῖς μέτροις (unten, Z. 123-140; Walz 559, 13-560, 19; Rhak. Cap. XV Anfang).

234v-235r Ἀρετὴ στίχων πρώτη – τὸν Πτωχοπρόδρομον καὶ εἴ τις που τοιοῦτος (unten, Z. 141-163; Donnet 249-280; Walz 560, 19-562, 12; Rhak. Cap. XV Ende).

235r bis Seitenende Περὶ τοῦ πῶς δεῖ ἀναγινώσκειν ῥητορικὰς βίβλους. Ἀναγινώσκων ποίημα – καὶ τὸ σχῆμα καὶ τᾶλλα (unten, Z. 53-72; Walz 562, 16-564, 8; Rhak. Cap. XVI).

235v Περὶ τῶν ὀκτῶ στιγμῶν. Στιγμαὶ δὲ εἰσὶν ὀκτῶ – μείζονος καὶ τυγχάνει (Walz 564, 9-565, 19; Rhak. Cap. XVII).

235v beginnt ein Traktat Περὶ τρόπων ποιητικῶν (vgl. die Notiz bei Walz 565 App.).

In B ist nur Z. 95-110 Εἰ θέλεις εὐδοκιμεῖν – τὴν αὐτῶν φράσιν überliefert, und zwar zwischen Περὶ λογογραφίας. Πᾶσα λόγου ἰδέα ἐκ μερῶν ὀκτῶ σύγκειται – πραῦνεται καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα (Walz 516, 10-521, 2; Rhak. Cap. II) und Πολυμαθία, λογιότης – τὰ ἀφελέστερα καὶ ἀπλούστερα (Walz 522-523 Anm. 1). Auch in fast allen anderen Handschriften – ausgenommen lediglich V, sein enger Verwandter M und seine Abschrift E – ist der Text an dieser Stelle überliefert, wo er auch inhaltlich gut passt (wir kommen darauf noch zurück). B enthält in dem kurzen Stück zahlreiche Flüchtigkeiten, insbesondere Auslassungen. Eine besondere Nähe zu anderen Zeugen lässt sich nicht erkennen.

Von dieser Passage abgesehen haben die Handschriften alle Abschnitte des Traktates in einem Block. Als im wesentlichen vollständige Textzeugen können die Codices BaCLMPV gelten; auch Le dürfte ursprünglich den größten Teil des Textes enthalten haben. Im einzelnen sind innerhalb dieser Gruppe gelegentlich Lücken und Umstellungen zu beobachten. So ist etwa in CL die Reihenfolge Z. 54-85 Ἀναγινώσκων – σοφώτατος Ψελλός und 86-94 Ὑπὲρ πάντας – καὶ ἡ Χαρίκλεια vertauscht. Die größten Übereinstimmungen sind jeweils in BaP, CL und MV festzustellen.

Die übrigen Handschriften enthalten nur kleinere Teile des Textes; Bestand und Anordnung sind in LaMaMbVaVb durchwegs identisch.

Ba ist die älteste Handschrift und zweifellos auch eine der besten, deren Benützbarkeit leider durch den schlechten Erhaltungszustand etwas beeinträchtigt ist. Förster sah in diesem Codex die Vorlage von P.<sup>42</sup> In der Tat erweisen sich die beiden zeitlich und stilistisch einander sehr nahen Textzeugen<sup>43</sup> durch zahlreiche

<sup>42</sup> Libanii *Opera*, rec. R. Foerster, VIII, Lipsiae 1915, S. 5. So auch Pignani (oben, Anm. 36), S. 70.

<sup>43</sup> *Anonymi Miscellanea Philosophica. A Miscellany in the Tradition of Michael Psellos (Codex*



gemeinsame Lesarten als eng verwandt. P weist eine Reihe von Trennfehlern auf; dagegen sind solche in Ba selten und meist kaum aussagekräftig. Es ist daher gut möglich, ja wahrscheinlich, dass P von Ba abhängt.

C und L bieten insgesamt einen guten Text. Eine größere Zahl gemeinsamer Fehler sowie die oben erwähnte Vertauschung zweier Abschnitte belegt ihre Verwandtschaft, nicht aber eine direkte Abhängigkeit.

M und V bieten so gut wie ausnahmslos einen identischen Text. Auch durch Bestand und Anordnung der Textabschnitte sind sie, wie erwähnt, als eine Gruppe für sich ausgewiesen. Ein markanter Unterschied besteht jedoch: Der abschließende Absatz über die heroische Dichtung ist in M komplett überliefert, V hat stattdessen nur die Aufzählung der Dichter. M kann somit nicht eine Abschrift von V sein. Gegen eine solche Annahme spricht auch der Umstand, dass der Einschub *Κείσθω σοι παράδειγμα* nur in M vorhanden ist. Eine Abhängigkeit in der Gegenrichtung, wenn auch auf Grund der zeitlichen Nähe der beiden Textzeugen prinzipiell nicht auszuschließen, ist ebenfalls kaum wahrscheinlich. Eher wird man eine gemeinsame Vorlage annehmen.

Dass E von V abhängt, wurde bereits hinlänglich dokumentiert.<sup>44</sup>

Eine weitere Gruppe offenbar miteinander verwandter Textzeugen besteht aus den Codices La, Ma, Mb, Va und Vb. Gemeinsam sind diesen unter anderem einige Auslassungen. Diese könnten zwar in manchen Fällen – etwa bei *saut du même au même* – unabhängig entstanden sein, die relativ große Zahl verbietet es aber, durchwegs an Koinzidenz zu denken. Mb, die Handschrift der *Rhetorica Marciana*, enthält nur kleine Teile des Traktates und diese mit zahlreichen teilweise sinnentstellenden Kürzungen.

Es folgt die kritische Edition des Textes, erstellt auf der Basis der verfügbaren Handschriften. Akzentuation und Orthographie wurden, soweit gut überliefert, beibehalten. Das Iota subscriptum, in den Handschriften meist nicht berücksichtigt, wurde gesetzt. Die in den Handschriften teils einheitliche, teils unterschiedliche Interpunktion blieb der Klarheit wegen unberücksichtigt, was auch insofern akzeptabel schien, als eine Befolgung der Klauselgesetze allem Anschein nach nicht nachweisbar ist – ein Umstand, der bei einem technischen Text nicht besonders überrascht.

*Baroccianus Graecus 131*), critical edition and introduction by I. N. Pontikos, Athen 1992, S. XV-XVI: «(Barocc. gr. 131) dates from the second half of the thirteenth century and on the grounds of recent paleographical research, it has been shown that it belongs to the same family of manuscripts as the cod. Esc. Y-II-10, Vind. Phil. gr. 321, Vat. gr. 305 and 902, and Paris. gr. 2918». Wilson identifiziert darüber hinaus den Schreiber des Cod. Vat. Barb. gr. 240 mit einem der Schreiber des Barocc. gr. 131: N. Wilson, *Mediaeval Greek Bookhands. Examples Selected from Greek Manuscripts in Oxford Libraries. Text. Plates*, Cambridge, Ma. 1973, S. 29-30 and Pl. 58-62: Barocci 131. «62 [fol. 505v] [...] is almost certainly identical with Barb. gr. 240».

<sup>44</sup> Siehe oben S. 92.

## Conspectus siglorum

B	Bodl. Barocc. gr. 45	Ma	Marc. gr. VIII 18
Ba	Vat. Barb. gr. 240	Mb	Marc. gr. 444
C	Cremon. Gr. 160	P	Paris. gr. 2918
E	Vat. Ottob. gr. 173	V	Vat. gr. 883
L	Laur. gr. LV 7	Va	Vind. phil. gr. 6
La	Laur. gr. LVIII 2	Vb	Vind. phil. gr. 70
Le	Laur. gr. LVIII 21	D.	Donnet
M	Marc. gr. 620	W.	Walz

## Περὶ τῶν τεσσάρων μερῶν τοῦ τελείου λόγου

Ὁ τέλειος ἐγκωμιαστικὸς ῥητορικὸς λόγος σύγκειται ἀπὸ κεφαλαίων ὧν καὶ ὁ Ἀφθόνιος ἐν τοῖς προγυμνάσμασι διδάσκει ταῦτα γοῦν τηρεῖν τὸν γράφοντα ἀναγκαῖον. Ἐξεῖ δὲ ὁ τοιοῦτος λόγος καὶ τὰ τέσσαρα μέρη· προοίμια, διηγήσεις, ἀγῶνας καὶ ἐπιλόγους.

5 Προοίμια μὲν οὖν καὶ δύο καὶ τρία ποτὲ θήσεται. Ἀρετὴ δὲ προοιμίου τὸ εἰς τὴν προκειμένην ὑπόθεσιν βάπτειν, οἷον τὸ θεολογικὸν ἐκεῖνο· *Ἐμελλεν ἄρα πολλὰς ἡμῖν υποθέσεις τῶν λόγων αἰεὶ προτιθεῖς ὁ μέγας Βασίλειος – ἐφιλοτιμεῖτο γὰρ τοῖς ἐμοῖς λόγοις ὡς οὐπω τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ τῶν πάντων οὐδεὶς – ἑαυτὸν νῦν ἡμῖν προθήσειν ὑποθέσιν ἀγῶνων*

10 *μεγίστην. Ὅρῳς ὅπως περιέλαβε τὸν τῆς ὑποθέσεως σκοπὸν, λέγων μονοноῦ τοῦτο· Ἰς φίλος ὧν τῷ μεγάλῳ Βασιλείῳ καὶ ἐπαινήτην σχῶν ἐκεῖνον ἐν πολλοῖς νῦν ἀμείβομαι τοῖς ἴσοις, μέγιστον ἄνδρα ἐγκωμιάζων καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς δὲ τοῦ προοιμίου ἀκόλουθα. Ἀλλὰ καὶ προοιμίου δριμύτης, φασί, πρότασις, ἐὰν εὐθύς παριστᾷ τὸν τοῦ λόγου σκοπὸν, οἷα τὰ θεολογικὰ Ἀθανάσιον ἐπαινῶν ἀρετὴν ἐπαινέσομαι. Ἀναστάσεως ἡμέρα καὶ ἡ ἀρχὴ*

15 *δεξιᾶ. Χριστὸς γεννᾶται, δοξάσατε. Πάλιν Ἰησοῦς ὁ ἐμὸς, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα. Οὕτω καὶ σὺ ποίει καὶ μὴ πλανῶ πόρρω τῆς ὑποθέσεως καὶ εὐδοκιμήσεις. Πολλάκις δὲ τινες τῶν νεωτέρων, ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ τῶν παλαιῶν οὐκ ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ὑποθέσεως ποιοῦνται τὴν πρότασιν καὶ τὸ προοίμιον, ἀλλ' ἐξῶθεν διὰ ἱστορίας τυχὸν ἢ δι' ἄλλου τινὸς τοιοῦτου, οἷον ἐστὶν ἐκεῖνο· Ἀρχέλαος, ἦν δὲ ἐκεῖνος ἀνὴρ τοιούσδε, ἐποίησε τότε καὶ τότε ἐπὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ*

20 *Ἀλεξάνδρῳ· ἐγὼ δὲ, βασιλεῦ, ἐπὶ σοὶ ποιήσω τότε καὶ τότε· καὶ τὸ Φασὶ τὸν μουσηγέτην Ἀπόλλωνα ποιῆσαι τότε καὶ τότε ἐπὶ τῷ δεῖνι, ἐγὼ δὲ τότε ποιήσω ἐπὶ σοί. Τὰ τοιαῦτα προοίμια μετέχουσι μὲν γλυκύτητος διὰ τὸ ἱστοριῶδες ἢ μυθῶδες καὶ τὸ ἀφηγη-*

2 λόγος ῥητορικὸς D. : λόγος ῥητορικῶς MV : ῥητορικὸς λόγος ῥητορικῶς E 2-3 ὁ Ἀφθόνιος BaL LeP : Ἀφθόνιος CMV 5 ὁ ὅλος : ὅλος MV σοι om. BaP 7 βλάπτειν Le ἄρα V : ἄρα E 8-9 ὡς οὐπω τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ τῶν πάντων οὐδεὶς om. BaLeMPV 9 ἡμῖν om. BaLeP ἀγῶνων om. LeP 10 σκοπὸν D. μόνον οὐ MV 11 ἐπαινήτην D. 12 ἄνδρα : ἄνδρα καὶ D. ἐγκωμιάζων M τοῦ προοιμίου : προοίμια E 13 σκοπὸν D. οἷον MV 14 ἐπαινέσομαι BaP ἀναστάσιος P : -σεως ex -σιος Ba 15 δοξάτε P 16 μηπλανῶ P 17 ἀπαντῆς P 18 τυχὸν ἢ δι' ἄλλου τινὸς CL : τυχὸν ἢ τινὸς LeP : τινὸς ἢ τινὸς MV : perditum in Ba οἷον ἐστὶν : οἷον ἐστὶν MV : οἷον ἐστὶν E 19 ἦν δὲ : ἦν δ' MV ἐποίησε δὲ CL τότε καὶ τότε καὶ τότε BaCL 19-21 ἐπὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ – Ἀπόλλωνα ποιῆσαι τότε om. et mg. rubr. atr. suppl. Le 19-20 τῷ βασιλεῖ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ : τῷ δεῖνι P 20 βασιλεῦ, ἐπὶ σοί : ἐπὶ σοὶ βασιλεῦ Le ἐπὶ σοὶ ποιήσω τότε καὶ τότε : τότε ποιήσω ἐπὶ σοὶ BaP (τόδε ποιήσω non legitur in Ba) 20-21 καὶ τὸ φασὶ τὸν μουσηγέτην Ἀπόλλωνα, ποιῆσαι τότε καὶ τότε ἐπὶ τῷ δεῖνι· ἐγὼ δὲ [in L spatium 5-6 litt., τότε καί?] τότε ποιήσω ἐπὶ σοὶ om. BaMPV 22 ἱστορικὸν MV 22-23 καὶ ἀφηγηματικὸν CLLe (τὸ mg. rubr. atr. s. l. suppl. Le) [καὶ τὸ? ἀφηγη]ματικὸν Ba

ματικόν, οὐκ εἰσὶ δὲ δριμέα ὡς ἐκεῖνα οὐδὲ τοσοῦτον ἐπαινετὰ, ὡς τὰ παραδείγματα γὰρ εἰσάγονται, τῶν ἀγώνων δὲ, οὐ τῶν προοιμίων τὰ παραδείγματα. Οἶμαι δὲ ὡς τὰ τοιαῦτα προοίμια παρεσέδυσαν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐν τοῖς λογογραφήμασιν ἀπὸ τῶν παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς 25  
 ῥήτορσι προασμάτων ἐν τοῖς αὐτῶν λόγοις ἱστορικῶν, πρὸς τὴν προκειμένην μὲν ὑπόθεσιν προαδομένων, ὅμως διεξευγμένων τοῦ ἐγκωμιαστικοῦ λόγου καὶ ἀπειλημμένων ἰδία, ὅποια εὐρήσεις ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Προκοπίου Γάζης, τοῦ Χορικίου καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν· τὰ γὰρ παρ' ἐκείνοις διεξευγμένα ἐνώσαντές τινες, ὡς ἔοικε, τοῖς ἐγκωμίοις εἰς προοίμιον ἔταξαν. Ἀλλὰ σὺ μᾶλλον ζήλου τὰ ἄνω ῥηθέντα δριμέα προοίμια, τὰ εὐθύς εἰς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν 30  
 βάπτοντα, καὶ μᾶλλον ἐν τοῖς βασιλικαῖς· οὐ γὰρ πρέπον τὴν βασιλικὴν ἀκοὴν ἐξωτερικοῖς καὶ εἰκαίοις προσασχολεῖν, ὅτε μὴδὲ τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις τυχὸν σχοίη τις αὐτὴν ὑπακούουσαν. Τηρητέον δὲ καὶ τὰ τέσσαρα μέρη τοῦ προοιμίου· μετὰ τῆς προτάσεως κατασκευὴν, ἀξίωσιν καὶ βάσιν.

Μετὰ τὰ προοίμια αἱ διηγήσεις καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐγκωμιαστικοῖς, ἡγουν τὰ περὶ τῶν προγόνων καὶ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ αἱ πράξεις τοῦ ἐγκωμιαζομένου. Συνημμένοι δὲ ταῖς διηγήσεσιν οἱ ἀγῶνες, ἡγουν αἱ ἀυξήσεις τῶν διηγουμένων ἐξαιρέτων, κἂν ἐν τοῖς δικανικοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἰδία αἱ διηγήσεις καὶ οἱ ἀγῶνες ἰδία. Ἐξεστὶ δὲ σοὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐγκωμιαστικοῖς ἀγῶσιν ἐκάστην ἀρετὴν τοῦ ἐπαινουμένου αὕξειν καὶ διὰ παραδειγμάτων κατὰ σύγκρισιν εἰσαγομένων, ἰδία δὲ πάλιν πρὸς τῷ τέλει τηρήσεις τὴν καθολικὴν σύγκρισιν. 40

Οἱ ἐπίλογοι γραφήσονται σοὶ εὐκτικοί, ὡς οἶδας· πλὴν ἀκμάσουσι δι' ἐνθυμημάτων καὶ γλαφυρότητος, ὡς ἂν ὁ λόγος προκόπη καὶ μέλλων παύειν ἐναπολίπη ταῖς ἀκοαῖς τῶν παρόντων ἀξιόλογόν τι καὶ θαυμαζόμενον· τῷ μήκει δὲ ἀνάλογοι ἔσονται πρὸς τὸ ὅλον τοῦ λόγου μέγεθος, βραχεῖς πρὸς βραχὺ, μείζους πρὸς μείζον.

Τοιοῦτος ὁ τέλειος ἐγκωμιαστικὸς λόγος. Γράφονται δὲ τινὰ οὐκ ἐγκώμια μὲν, ἐγκωμιαστικά δὲ, καὶ λέγονται τὰ τοιαῦτα λαλιαί, ὅταν οὐκ ἐκ πατρίδος καὶ προγόνων καὶ 45  
 τῶν τοιούτων, οὐδὲ ἀπὸ πασῶν τῶν πράξεων ἐπαινῆς, ἀλλ' ἐκ τινῶν πράξεων καὶ τούτων σπερματικῶς ποτὲ μὲν τὰ πρόσφατα καὶ ἐνεστῶτα ἐκτιθεῖς τοῦ ἐπαινουμένου, ποτὲ δὲ τὰ παροιχόμενα, καὶ ἔμπαλιν αὐτῶν. Οἱ τοιοῦτοι δὲ λόγοι γράφονται, ὅταν ἴσως χρονικὴ στενότης οὐ συγχωρεῖ τὸν ῥήτορα πλατύνεσθαι, τυχὸν δὲ καὶ ἄλλοτε· ποτὲ δὲ ὁ γράφων 50  
 κρινεῖ. Περὶ λαλιαῖς δὲ καὶ τῶν τοιούτων μάθης πλατύτερον ἐν τοῖς Μενάνδρου, ἅπερ ἐπιγράφονται Μενάνδρου ῥήτορος περὶ τέχνης ῥητορικῆς.

Περὶ τοῦ πῶς δεῖ ἀναγινώσκειν ῥήτορας καὶ τοὺς λοιπούς

Ἄναγινώσκων ποιήματινος, μὴ κατάτεμνε τὸν λόγον, ἀλλὰ χωρίον ὅλον ἐκτέρανε καὶ ὑπόθεσιν ὅλην, καὶ πρῶτον ἀνεξέταξε τὴν ἔννοιαν τοῦ χωρίου παντὸς, καὶ εἰ μὲν κατὰ 55

23 τοσαῦτα MV ἐπαινεταί Ba 23-24 γ[ὰρ εἰσάγο]νται Ba 24 τὰ ante παραδείγματα om. D. οἶμαι δὲ : οἶμαι δ' CL 26 πραγμάτων BaP ἱστορικοῖς D. μὲν om. CL 27 προαγομένων MV : προαγομένων D. διεξευγμένων BaP ἀπειλημμένων D. : ἀπειλημάτων MV ἴδια V 28 τῶν om. BaMPV γὰρ om. D. Ba 29 ἐκείνων BaP 32 καίοις V προσασχολεῖν CLLeV : προσασχολεῖν BaPD. τυχῶν V τις : τὴν MV 33 τὰ τέσσαρα : εἰς δ' BaP 36 μάλιστα post καὶ rubr. s. l. add. Le συνημμένων D. 37 ἐξαιρέτων D. : ἐξαιρετέρων P κἂν ἐν : ἐν s. l. Le : καὶ ἐν CLE 38 καὶ τοῖς : καὶ ἐν τοῖς E ἀγῶνες ἰδίως cum α supra ω Le 39 ἐκάστου MV ἀρετῶν MV κατασύγκρισιν L 40 τῶν εἰσαγομένων Le τὸ τέλος BaCLMV 41-72 om. MV 41 γραφήσονται σοὶ : γραφήσονται CL 42 μέλλων CL : μᾶλλον Ba : μᾶλλον cum η supra l. P : μέλλων voce μᾶλλον superscriptum Le ἐναπολείπει CL 43 γράφονται CL : γράφοντες P : γράφοντι ] Ba 46 ἐκ τῶν πατρίδος (sic) C καὶ τῶν προγόνων CLLe 47 ἐπαινεῖς BaP 49 ὅταν ex ὅτε, ut videtur, Le 50 ποτὲ δὲ : ὅτε Le 51 ἐν τοῖς τοῦ LeP Μαινάνδρου P ἅπερ : ἃ W.? 52 Μαινάνδρου P 53 tit. male legendum mg. add. Ba τοῦ αὐτοῦ etc. Va πῶς δεῖ : δεῖν P (et Ba?) τοὺς om. LeP (et Ba?) ῥητορικῆς βίβλους LaMaVaVb 54 ποίημα τινός LaMaVaVb ὅλον bis BaP 55 ἔννοιαν P

τὴν σὴν ἐστὶ γνῶσιν καὶ μάθησιν, παράτρεχε, εἰ δὲ τελεωτέρα σου, ἐφίστα καὶ πολυ-  
 πραγμόνει, καὶ ἀποπειρῶ τῇ μνήμῃ ἐνθουσαυρίζειν. Παρεξέταζε δὲ καὶ τῇ σαυτοῦ γνώσει  
 θεωρῶν, τί μὲν ἂν αὐτὸς ἔγραψας ἐπὶ τῇ τοιαύτῃ ὑποθέσει, τί δὲ ὁ ἀνὰ χεῖρας σοι σοφὸς  
 γράφει, καὶ οἶον τὸ ἐκείνου σοφὸν πρὸς τὸ σὸν ἀτελές· καὶ οὕτως ἀπευθύνου πρὸς τὴν  
 60 ἐκείνου μίμησιν. Εἶτα τὴν φράσιν ὁμοίως βασάνιζε, καὶ ταύτην παρατίθει τῇ σῇ λεκτικῇ,  
 καὶ εἴ τι σου σοφώτερον ἔχει, ἀπομάττου τῷ νῶ, καὶ ταμιεύειν σπούδαζε· εἰ δὲ κατακαυ-  
 χᾶται σου λήθη, παρασημειοῦ ποτὲ καὶ ἐγγράφως· ὡς ἂν δὲ καὶ δραστικώτερον σεαυτὸν  
 κατασκευάσης πρὸς τὴν μίμησιν τῶν σοφῶν, ἐπειδὴν τινος λόγον ἀναγινώσκης, γινόμε-  
 65 στοχάζου τῶν κατωτέρω λεχθησομένων τῷ σοφῷ καθ' ἑαυτὸν γινόμενος, καὶ μὴ τοῖς  
 γεγραμμένοις προσατενίζων, καὶ οὕτως ἐκπέρανε σὺ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν λογογραφῶν κατὰ  
 νοῦν, ἢ καὶ ἐγγράφως πρὸς ἐκείνου μίμησιν. Εἶτα βλέπε καὶ ἀνεξέταζε, εἰς τί τε παρη-  
 κολούθησας τῷ σοφῷ, καὶ κατὰ τί τῆς ἐννοίας ἐκείνου καὶ φράσεως ἐξεπεπτώκεις, κάν-  
 τεύθεν σεαυτὸν βελτιώσεις διορθούμενος τὰς διαμαρτίας. Εἰ δὲ ποτε καὶ νοήματα τινὸς  
 70 σοφοῦ θέλεις ἐν ἰδίᾳ λογογραφίᾳ προσοικειώσασθαι, ὄρα, καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐκεῖνος πλατέως  
 ἀπήγγειλε, σύστειλον σὺ, εἰ δὲ ἐκεῖνος συνέστειλε, τὴν ἐναντίαν τράπηθι σὺ, ἐξαμείβων  
 καὶ τὴν φράσιν τοῦ νοήματος, ὡς δυνατὸν, καὶ τὸ σχῆμα καὶ ἄλλα.

Τίνας τῶν σοφῶν παραληπτέον εἰς παράδειγμα ἐκάστου εἶδους τῶν λόγων

Ἐν τοῖς πανηγυρικοῖς κείσθω σοι πρὸ πάντων εἰς ἀρχέτυπον ὁ μέγας Γρηγόριος ὁ  
 75 Θεολόγος, ὁ Νύσσης, ὁ μέγας Βασίλειος ἐν οἷς ὀλίγοις τοιούτοις ἔγραψεν, ὁ παναθη-  
 ναϊκὸς λόγος τοῦ Ἀριστείδου, ὁ Θεμίστιος, ὁ Προκόπιος Γάζης, ὁ Χορίκιος, ὁ Ψελλὸς τὰ  
 μάλιστα καὶ εἴ τις τοιοῦτος ἐν τε τοῖς παλαιοῖς καὶ τοῖς νεωτέροις καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς. Ἐν  
 τοῖς συμβουλευτικοῖς ὁ Χρυσόστομος, ὁ μέγας Βασίλειος, ὁ Ἀριστείδης, ὁ Ἰσοκράτης, ὁ  
 Δημοσθένης, ὁ Λιβάνιος, ὁ Χορίκιος καὶ εἴ τις τοιοῦτος. Εἰ δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἠθικοὺς λόγους  
 80 τακτέον εἰς συμβουλήν, προσληπτέον σοι καὶ τὸν Πλούταρχον μάλιστα. Ἐν δὲ τοῖς δικα-  
 νικοῖς ὁ Δημοσθένης, ὁ Λυσίας, ὁ Λιβάνιος, ὁ Χορίκιος καὶ εἴ τις τοιοῦτος. Ὁ μέντοι  
 μέγας Γρηγόριος ὁ Θεολόγος, εἰ χρὴ πρὸς ἀκρίβειαν εἰπεῖν, εἰς οὐδὲν εἶδος τῆς ῥητο-

56 σὴν ἐστὶ CLP : σὴν ἔστι Ba : σὴν ἔστι Le μάθησιν : ἐννοίαν BaP τελεωτέρας C ἐφίστει  
 LaVb : ἐφίστη MaVa 57 τὴν σαυτοῦ γνῶσιν LaMaVaVb 58 ἐπὶ τῇ αὐτῇ Vb ἐπὶ τοιαύτῃ Ma  
 ἀναχείρας P : ἀναχείρας Vb 59 εὐτελές LaLeMaVaVb ἀπευθύνων P 60 ταύτην παρατίθει τῇ  
 σῇ λεκτικῇ CLLe : παρατίθει ταύτην τῇ σῇ λεκτικῇ BaP : τοιαύτην παρατίθει τὴν σὴν λεκτικὴν La-  
 MaVaVb 61 καὶ εἴ τι σου : καὶ εἴ που Le : καὶ εἴ τι σοι καὶ LaVaVb : καὶ εἴ τι καὶ Ma σοφώ-  
 τερον LaVb ἔχοι LaVaVb ἀπομάττειν Va νῶ : νῦν BaP εἰ δὲ : ἢ δὲ Va κατακαυχᾶται  
 Ba : κατακαυχᾶται CP : κατακαυχᾶται L 62 σου λήθη : ἢ λήθη Va ποτε La δραστηριώτερον  
 CLLe 63 κατασκευάσης CLLe : κατασκευάσεις Vb : παρασκευάσεις P : κατασκευ[ ] Ba πρὸς  
 om. Ba? μίμησιν Vb γινόμενος Ma 64 περὶ τινὰ C αὐτῆς P ἐκπέρανε Vb 65 κατω-  
 τέρω : κάτω τοῦτω BaP καθ' αὐτὸν CL 66 σὺ : δὲ La ἐκπέρανέ σε Ma 67 ἢ καὶ : εἰ καὶ  
 LaVb ἐγγράφως Ma πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνου P ἀνεξέταζε LaMaVaVb εἰς τί τε : εἰς τί τὲ CLLe :  
 εἰς τί P 68 κατὰ τί : κατὰ τί CL τῆς ἐννοίας καὶ φράσεως ἐκείνου C ἐκείνου : ἐκείνης BaP  
 69 σαυτὸν LaMaVaVb νοήματα τινὸς : νόμᾳ τινος BaP : νοήματά τινος Le : διανοήματά τινος Vb  
 70-71 ὄρα : καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐκεῖνος συνέστειλε, τὴν ἐναντίαν τράπηθι σὺ· εἰ δ' ἐκεῖνος μεμακρυσμένως  
 ἀπήγγειλε, σύστειλε σύ LaMaVaVb ἐκεῖνος συνέστειλε : ἐκεῖνος πλατέως ἀπήγγειλε, σύστειλον  
 σὺ, εἰ δὲ ἐκεῖνος συνέστειλε BaCLP 71 post τράπηθι σὺ add. La εἰ δ' ἐκεῖνος μεμακρυσμένως ἀ-  
 πήγγειλε, σύστειλον σὺ τὴν φράσιν ἐξαμείβων cum signis β et α super voces Vb 72 τὸ σχῆμα καὶ  
 ἄλλα : τὰ σχήματα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα CLe 73 tit. difficile lectu in Ba mg. et C παραληπτέον L, fort.  
 et C ἐκατέρου P 74 προπάντων BaLP εἰς ἀρχέτυπον : καὶ ἀρχέτυπον Le 75 Νύσης Le 76  
 λόγος om. C Ἀριστείδου MV 76-77 Ψελλὸς τὰ μάλιστα CLP : Ψελλὸς ταμίλιστα Ba : Ψελλὸς  
 MV 77 καὶ τοῖς : καὶ ἐν τοῖς D. 79-81 εἰ δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἠθικοὺς – Χορίκιος καὶ εἰ τις τοιοῦτος om.  
 BaLeP 81-82 μέγας μέντοι C

ρικῆς οὐδὲ εἰς ἰδέαν τινὰ ἀσυνεισφορος εὐρεθήσεται σοι, ἐὰν ἐπιστατικώτερον τοὺς αὐτοῦ λόγους ἀναγινώσκῃς, ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ τὰ ἔπη καὶ τοὺς ἰάμβους. Χρήσιμος ἐν πᾶσι καὶ ὁ σοφώτατος Ψελλός.

Ἵπὲρ πάντας οὓς ἴσμεν αὐτοὶ τελείους ῥητορικοὺς λόγους ἀρίστους ἀκρότατοι οἱ τέσσαρες οὗτοι· ὁ περὶ τοῦ στεφάνου Δημοσθενικός, ὁ παναθηναϊκός τοῦ Ἀριστείδου, ὁ εἰς τὸν μέγαν Βασιλείον ἐπιτάφιος τοῦ Θεολόγου καὶ ὁ τοῦ Ψελλοῦ εἰς τὴν μητέρα. Οὗτος δὲ καὶ ἐμφιλόσοφος ὁποῖος πανταχοῦ ὁ Ψελλός.

Ἀνάγνωθι Λευκίπην, Χαρίκλειαν, Λουκιανόν, Συνέσιον, Ἀλκίφρονος ἐπιστολάς. Ἡ πρώτη χαρίτων καὶ ἄνθους γέμει, ἡ δευτέρα χαρίτων μετὰ σωφροσύνης πλήρης, ὁ τρίτος παντοδαπὸν ἔχει τὸ καλόν, ὁ τέταρτος σεμνὸς καὶ ὀγκηρὸς. Αἱ ἐπιστολαὶ πολὺ τὸ πιθανόν καὶ εὐπλάστον ἔχουσι. Σεμνὸς κατὰ πάντα καὶ ὑψηλὸς ὁ Φίλων, ὁ Ἰώσηπος ἄριστος τὸν συγγραφικὸν χαρακτήρα ἐν τῷ περὶ ἀλώσεως, τοῦ αὐτοῦ τύπου καὶ ἡ Χαρίκλεια.

Εἰ θέλεις εὐδοκιμεῖν ἐν τοῖς νῦν καιροῖς, μικτοὺς ἐργάζου λόγους ἔκ τε ῥητορικῶν ἐννοιῶν καὶ φιλοσόφων. Εἰ γὰρ μόνον ῥητορεύεις, ταπεινὸς λογογράφος δόξεις· εἰ δὲ πλεόν τοῦ εἰκότος φιλοσοφεῖς, ξηρότερος καὶ ἄκαιρα γράφων· ὥστε ἡ μίξις ἐπαινετή. Εἰς παράδειγμα τῆς τοιαύτης μίξεως κείσθωσάν σοι οἱ λόγοι τοῦ μεγάλου Γρηγορίου τοῦ Θεολόγου, τοῦ μεγάλου Βασιλείου, τοῦ Νύσσης, οἱ τοῦ Ψελλοῦ λόγοι καὶ αἱ ἐπιστολαί, ὁ Συνέσιος, ὁ Θεμίστιος, ὁ Πλούταρχος καὶ ὅσους ἂν συνειδῆς τούτους ἀκολουθοῦντας. Εἰς παράδειγμα δὲ πάλιν τῆς μόνου ῥητορικῆς λογογραφίας κείσθω σοι ὁ Χρυσόστομος καὶ μᾶλλον ἐν τοῖς ἠθικαῖς αὐτοῦ, ὁ Μεταφραστής, ὁ Λιβάνιος, ὁ Ἀφρόνιος, ὁ Προκόπιος Γάζης, ὁ Χορίκιος, ὁ Ἰμέριος, ὁ Λουκιανός – ἄπτεται δὲ οὗτος ποτὲ καὶ φιλοσόφων ἐννοιῶν –, ὁ Δημοσθένης, καὶ μᾶλλον εἰ ἐναγώνια γράφεις καὶ ῥητορικῶς ἐγκατάσκευα, ὁ Λυσίας, ὁ Ἰσοκράτης, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν νεωτέρων ὅσους ἂν συνειδῆς τούτοις ἀκολουθοῦντας. Ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἀφηγηματικαῖς ῥητορικαῖς ἐννοίαις ἡ Χαρίκλεια, ἡ Λευκίπη, ὁ Φιλόστρατος

83 εὐρεθήσεται σοι CLP : εὐρεθήσεται LeMV : εὐρεθήσεται Ba 84-85 Χρήσι[μος ἐν πᾶσι καὶ ὁ σοφώτατος Ψελλός] Ba Ψελλός P 86-110 Ἵπὲρ πάντας – αὐτῶν φράσιν om. BaLeP 86 ἀρίστους : ἀριστείδους L : ἀριστείδους et ους s. l. C 87 περὶ τοῦ στεφάνου CL : περὶ στεφάνου MV Ἀριστείδους LMV 88-89 Οὗτος δὲ καὶ ἐμφιλόσοφος ὁποῖος πανταχοῦ ὁ Ψελλός om. MV 89 post πανταχοῦ ὁ Ψελλός add. CL ἕως ὧδε τὰ περὶ λογογραφίας τὸν ἀντιοχικὸν τοῦ Λιβανίου δέον εἰπεῖν τέταρτον, τὸν Ψελλὸν εἶπεν ... (?) C mg. 91 ἡ δευτέρα CL : ὁ δεύτερος MV ὁ τρίτος MV : ἡ τρίτη CL 92 παντοδαπὸν ἔχει τῶν καλῶν CL ἡ τετάρτη (ἡ δ' L) σεμνὴ καὶ ὀγκηρὰ CL 93 κατὰ τὰ πάντα L 94 ἐν τοῖς MV 95-110 Εἰ θέλεις εὐδοκιμεῖν – τὴν αὐτῶν φράσιν et in BLA 95 Εἰ θέλεις εὐδοκιμεῖν MV : Σὺ γοῦν (Σὺ δὲ BaP) εἰ θέλεις εὐδοκιμεῖν καὶ μᾶλλον BBaCLLaLeMaPVaVb νῦν : ἄρτι BBaCLLaLeMaPVaVb μεικτοὺς D. λόγους ἐργάζου MV ἔκ τε τῶν LaMaVaVb : ἐν τε B 96 καὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων Ma ῥητορεύεις LaVaVb 97 εἰκότως MaVa φιλοσοφοῖς Vb ἄκερα B μείξεις D. παράδειγμα γοῦν M 98 μείξεως D. τοῦ μεγάλου Γρηγορίου τοῦ θεολόγου om. B : τοῦ μεγάλου Βασιλείου, Γρηγορίου τοῦ θεολόγου C 99 Νύσσης Γρηγορίου Va οἱ om. B Ψελοῦ Va αἱ om. BLaMaP 99-100 ὁ Συνέσιος, ὁ Θεμίστιος om. B 100 καὶ ὅσους ἂν συνειδῆς τούτους ἀκολουθοῦντας V : om. B : καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν νεωτέρων ὅσους ἂν ἴδῃς ἀκολουθοῦντας CL : καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν νεωτέρων ὅσους ἂν συνειδῆς τούτους (τούτους P) ἀκολουθοῦντας BaLaLeMaPVaVb 101 εἰς παράδειγμα δὲ MV : εἰς δὲ παράδειγμα BBaCLLaLeMaPVaVb μόνου MV : μόνου BP : μόνου BaCLLaLeMaVaVb 102 καὶ μᾶλλον : ἡ μᾶλλον E D. Ἀφρόνιος B 103-104 ὁ Ἰμέριος – ἐννοιῶν om. B ὁ Λουκιανός – ἐννοιῶν om. Va 103 δὲ καὶ La οὗτός ποτε D. ποτὲ om. MaVb 104 ἐναγώνια BBaLLe : ἐν ἀγωνία CV : ἐν ἀγώνια P : ἐναγωνίας La : ἐν ἀγωνίᾳ Va : ἐναγωνίως MaVb 104-105 ὁ Λυσίας, ὁ Ἰσοκράτης : καὶ ὁ Λυσίας καὶ Ἰσοκράτης CL : καὶ ὁ Λυσίας καὶ ὁ Ἰσοκράτης BaLaMaPVa : καὶ Λυσίας καὶ ὁ Ἰσοκράτης Le 105 καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν – ἀκολουθοῦντας om. B ὅσους ἂν συνειδῆς τούτους (τούτων Vb) ἀκολουθοῦντας VVb : ὧν ἂν συνειδῆς τούτους (τούτους C) ἀκολουθοῦντας CL : ὧν ἂν συνειδῆς (συνίδεις Le, συνιδῆς Va) τούτους ἀκολουθοῦντα BaLePVa : ὧν συνειδῆς τούτους ἀκολουθοῦντι (-θοῦντα Ma) LaMa 106 ἀφηγηκαῖς La : ἀφηγητικαῖς Le ῥητορικαῖς B mg. : ῥητορικαῖς om. Va Λευκίπη CLVa : Λευκίπη Vb

110 ἐν τοῖς περὶ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου, ὁ Ξενοφῶν, ὁ Καισαρεὺς Προκόπιος – οὗτος ἔν τε δημηγο-  
 ρίαις καὶ συμβουλαῖς ἔχει τι καὶ ἐναγώνιον καὶ ἐγκατάσκευον καὶ οὐχ ἄπλως ἀφηγημα-  
 τικός ἐστιν –, αἱ ἐπιστολαὶ τοῦ Ἀλκίφρονος καὶ μᾶλλον εἰς ἀφελεῖς ἐννοίας καὶ εἰς τὴν  
 αὐτῶν φράσιν.

#### Περὶ ἐπιστολῶν

Ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς χρησιμώτατα τὰ γνωματεύματα τῶν σοφῶν καὶ τὰ οὕτω καλούμενα  
 ἀποφθέγματα καὶ τὰ παροιμιώδη, πολλάκις καὶ τὰ μυθικώτερα καὶ γλυκύτερα καὶ τὰ  
 ἀφελέστερα. Χρήσιμοι ποτὲ καὶ αἱ κολλήσεις, οἷον ἐάν ἔπος ὀμηρικὸν ἀπολαβὸν ἢ  
 115 ἔπους τεμμάχιον προσάψης. Καὶ χρή μὲν τὸ λογογραφικὸν εἶδος καὶ ἐγκατάσκευον φεύ-  
 γειν ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς, μεταδιώκειν δὲ τὸ ἀφηγηματικόν· ἀπαγγελία γὰρ ἐστὶ καὶ  
 ὀμιλία φίλου πρὸς φίλον ἢ ἐπιστολή. Ἄλλ' οἱ καθ' ἡμᾶς καὶ νεώτεροι οὐκ ἐφείσαντο λο-  
 γοειδεῖς ὅλας ἐπιστολάς συντιθέντες. Ἀνάγκη γοῦν καὶ σοὶ τούτους παραζηλοῦν, μετρί-  
 120 ῳ γε μὴν. Ἡ μέντοι λέξις καθαρωτέρα σοὶ ἐστὶ καὶ σχήματα οὐδέποτε ἐμπερίβολα.  
 Ἔχεις ἀρχέτυπα εἰς ἐπιστολάς τὸν μέγαν Γρηγόριον μάλιστα, τὸν μέγαν Βασίλειον, τὸν  
 Νύσσης κομψότερον ὄντα καίτοι νεώτερον, τὸν Συνέσιον μάλιστα, τὸν Λιβάνιον, τὸν  
 σοφώτατον Ψελλὸν καὶ εἰ τις τοιούτος.

#### Περὶ στίχων ἰαμβικῶν

125 Τῶν ἰαμβικῶν στίχων ἀρετὴ ἐστὶ προηγουμένως μὲν ἡ εὐρυθμία ἢ γίνεται ἐκ τοῦ συμ-  
 πεπιλημένου καὶ συγκεκριμένου τῶν λέξεων καὶ ἀχασμωδήτου. Χασμωδιώδης γὰρ  
 λέξις καὶ ὑπτία τὸ ἐθεάσατο, συγκεκριμένη τὸ ἔβλεψε, πάλιν ὑπτία τὸ ποιησάμενος,  
 συγκεκριμένη τὸ δράσας, πλάσας, ὀκλάσας, ἐμβολή, συμβολή, ἀναρριχᾶται, ἐξάλλε-  
 ται, θάρρος, θάρσος, θράσος· τὸ δὲ δειλία καὶ ραθυμία καὶ ἀτονία, ὑπτία καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα.  
 130 Ἄλλὰ καὶ ὁ τόνος πολλὴν εὐρυθμίαν ποιεῖ. Διὸ δεῖ σπουδάζειν τὴν σύνθεσιν τῶν ὀξυτό-  
 νων, παροξυτόνων, προπαροξυτόνων καὶ τῶν τοιούτων λέξεων καὶ ὑπαλλάττειν αὐτάς

107 περὶ Ἀπολλωνίου LaMaVa ὁ Ξενοφῶν BaLeMaPV : ὁ Ξενοφῶν CLLa : om. B Κεσαρεὺς B  
 108 ἔχει τί LaLeVa καὶ οὐχ P ἀφηγηκός La 109 Ἀρχίφρονος B : Λυκόφρονος BaCLLaLeMa  
 PVaVb 110 αὐτοῦ Vb 111 Τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἰωσήφ Ῥακενδύτου περὶ ἐπιστολῶν Va : tit. om. PV : tit.  
 et initium textus usque ad 112 γνω deperditum in Ba 112 χρήσιμα MV καὶ οὕτω La 113-114 τὰ  
 ἀφελέστερα : τὰ om. D. 114 χρήσιμα MPV ἀπολαβὸν CLLaVa : ἀποβαλὸν MPV : ἀπ[ Ba : ὑ-  
 πολαβὸν La 115 τεμμάχιον : τεμάχιον LaMaVa D. : ]άχιον Ba προσάψεις Vb 116 ἐπαγγελία  
 P 117 ἢ ἐπιστολή : ἢ om. CLa ἢ καθ' ἡμᾶς P λογοειδῆς La : λογοειδῶς Va 118 ὅλας τὰς ἐπι-  
 στολάς CLLa συντεθέντες La γοῦν : οὖν Le : om. MMaV καὶ σοὶ CLa : καὶ σὺ cett. : καὶ σὲ  
 conī. W. D. 119 μὴν· ἢ (εἰ Ba) μέντοι λέξις BaLLePV : μέντοι· ἀλλ' ἢ μὲν λέξις C ἔσται : ἔστω  
 BaP 120 ἔχεις γὰρ CL (γὰρ in L supra l.) ἀρχέτυπον ex-πα P μάλιστα om. LaMaVaVb μάλ-  
 ιστα δὲ τὸν CL 121 Νύσης Le Νύσσης Γρηγόριον LaMaVaVb καίτοι : καὶ τι BaP : καίτοι  
 νεώτερον om. C : κομψότερον ὄντα καὶ τοι νεώτερον om. LaMaVaVb Συναίσιον La μάλιστα om.  
 LaMaVaVb Ψελλὸν Vb τὸν Ψελλὸν MV 123-140 om. MV 123 στοίχων Vb Τοῦ αὐτοῦ  
 περὶ στίχων ἰαμβικῶν Va : tit. om. Ba 124 ἢ ἀρετὴ P ἀρετὴ ἐστὶ CLaVaVb ἢ εὐρυθμία ἢ : εὐ-  
 ρυθμία καὶ LaMaVaVb 124-125 συμπεπιλημένου P : συμπεπλημένου La 125 συγκεκριμένου  
 Va ἀχασμωδῆ LaVb : ἀχασμωδήτων Va 126 λέξις om. La ἔβλεπε Le 127 συμβολή om. Vb  
 128 θάρρος, θάρσος, θράσος : θάρρος, θράσος, θάρσος Le : θράσος om. P, add. mg. τὸ δὲ : τὸ CL  
 ἀτονία Vb ὑπτία BaP : ὑπτία CL W. 129 τὴν : καὶ τὴν LaMaVaVb 129-130 ὀξυτόνων παρο-  
 ξυτόνων προπαροξυτόνων CL : ὀξυτόνων παροξυτόνων BaP : ὀξυτόνων προπαροξυτόνων LaLeMaVaVb  
 130 καὶ τῶν τοιούτων CLLa : καὶ τοιούτων BaLaMaPVaVb ὑπαλλάττειν CLP : ὑπαλάττειν Ba :  
 ὑπαλλάσσειν LaMaVaVb

ἐμμελῶς, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἕκτῃ χώρα τηρεῖν τὴν παροξυτόνον καὶ εὐῆχον, εἰ δυνατὸν πάντοτε· οἷον τὸ τρέχειν παρὰ τὸ θέειν, τὸ βρέφος παρὰ τὸ τέκνον, τὸ ὀκλάσας παρὰ τὸ χωλάνας, τὸ τρόμος παρὰ τὸ δέος· πολλὴν γὰρ εὐρυθμίαν ἐμποιεῖ τῷ ὄλω στίχῳ ἢ κατάληξις εὐ-  
ηχος οὔσα, ὡς ἂν καὶ τοῖς ἄδουσι τὸ τελευταῖον ἀπήχημα κοσμεῖ τὴν ᾠδὴν, καὶ τὸ φθά-  
σαν ἴσως ἐκμελῆς ὑποκλέπτει. Ἡ τροπολογία καὶ ἡ διὰ τῶν τοιούτων τόλμα χρήσιμος ἐν  
τοῖς στίχοις, καθὰ τις εἶπεν ὑγροὺς ἄνθρακας τοὺς κόκκους τῆς ρόας καὶ τὸν μάρμαρον  
πεπηγμένον γάλα, εἰ καὶ μείζον τι τετόλμηται ταῦτα· ὁ αὐτὸς εἶπεν ἐμπεφραγμένην τὴν  
τοῦ λόγου σάλπιγγα, καὶ χειμῶνα καὶ ζάλην νοημάτων. Τοιούτων δὲ καὶ ἡ ποιητικὴ  
μεγαλοφονία πλήρης, ὧν ἡ σύμμετρος χρήσις ἀρίστη ἐνταῦθα, ἀξίωμα καὶ ὄγκον ἐμ-  
ποιοῦσα τοῖς μέτροις.

Ἄρετὴ στίχων πρώτη καὶ μεγίστη τὸ ἐμπερικλείεσθαι τῷ στίχῳ ἔννοιαν καὶ ταύτην  
πλείονα καὶ ἀφορίζεσθαι καὶ ἐμπεριγράφεσθαι καὶ μὴ ἐκκρεμῆ εἶναι τὴν τοῦ ὀπισθεν  
στίχου ἔννοιαν πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ἔμπροσθεν, ὡς ἐάν τις γράφῃ οὕτως· *Εἰς τὴν ἐρυθρὰν ἀβρό-  
χοις ποσὶ πάλαι παρήλθε Μωσῆς, ἡ δὲ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων φάλαγξ ὑποβρύχιος ἔνδον ἐκρύβη.*  
Δόκιμον γὰρ εἰ γράψεις οὕτω· *Μωσῆς περὶ θάλασσαν ἀβρόχῳ δρόμῳ, Αἰγύπτιος δὲ τοῖς*  
*κύμασιν ἐκρύβη.* Ὅρας ὅπως ἐν ἐκάστῳ στίχῳ ἀφορίζεται καὶ ἴσταται ἡ ἔννοια; Τοιαῦτα  
καὶ τὰ γνωμικὰ τῶν ποιητῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων σοφῶν· *Γύναι, γυναιξὶ κόσμον ἢ σιγὴν φέρει·*  
*καὶ πάλιν· Ἐξωριάζειν γὰρ πατὴρὸς λόγους βαρὺ·* καὶ τὸ θεολογικόν· *Θυμὸν χαλίνου μὴ*  
*φρενῶν ἔξω πέσης.* Οὐ μόνον δὲ ἀφορισμένας ἔχουσι τὰς ἐννοίας τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
πλείονα περιλαμβάνουσι νοῦν· ὁποῖον κάκεινο· *Σταυροῖ Πέτρον κύμβαχον ἐν Ῥώμῃ*  
*Νέρων.* Ἱστορίαν γὰρ ὄλην συνείληφεν ὁ στίχος καὶ τὰ ἐξ σχεδὸν περιστατικά· κάκεινο  
δὲ ὅμοιον· *Ἄνθραξ ἀθλητῆ δῶρον ἐκ μονομάχου.* Οὐ λέγω δὲ ἵνα καθόλου τὸ τοιοῦτον  
ἀφοριστικὸν τηρῆς καὶ πεπληρωμένον ἐννοίας, ἀλλ' ὡς ἂν ἐν τοῖς πλείοσιν, ἐπεὶ καὶ  
ἀδύνατον μὴ ἐμπεσεῖν σε εἰς ἐκκρεμεῖς καὶ ἀλληλουχομένους στίχους, καὶ μᾶλλον ἂν  
εἰς πλάτος ἰαμβίξης. Τὰς μέντοι ταυτολεξίας καὶ τὰς περιττολεξίας σπούδαζε φεῦγειν

131 καὶ ἐν τῇ ἕκτῃ· καὶ ἕκτη Ma W. τηρεῖν om. Va καὶ εὐῆχον· ὡς εὐῆχον LaMaVaVb fort. recte 132 παρὰ τὸ θέειν· περὶ τὸ θέειν BaP τέκνον Vb τὸ ὀκλάσας· καὶ τὸ ὀκλάσας CL παρὰ τὸ χωλάνας· περὶ τὸ χωλάνας BaP χωλάνας· χαλάσας CL 133 ἐμποιεῖ· ποιεῖ Ma W. στίχῳ om. BaP κατάληξις Vb ἢ κατάληξις om. La 134 κοσμῆ BaP 135 ἐκμελῆς Vb ὑποκλέπτει L· ὑποκλέπτει C Ἡ τροπολογία (in Le fortasse littera initialis H evanida)· καὶ τροπολογία LaMaVaVb καὶ ἡ διὰ· καὶ διὰ BaP χρήσιμα P 136 καθὰ τις· καθάπερ BaP εἶπε Ma ἄνθρακας· ἄκανθας Le εἶπεν ὑγροὺς ἄνθρακας τοὺς κόκκους τῆς ρόας· εἶπε τοὺς κόκκους τῆς ρόας ὑγροὺς ἄνθρακας Ma W. τὸ μάρμαρον Le· τὸ μάρμαρον LaMaVaVb 137 μείζον τι BaLP· μείζον τι Le· μείζον τί C· μείζον LaMaVb· μείζων Va ὁ αὐτὸς· αὐτὸς Va 138 post σάλπιγγα καὶ des. mut. Le τοιοῦτον P 139 ἡ χρήσις σύμμετρος cum signis β et a supra voces Va ἀξίωμα· καὶ ἀξίωμα BaP 142-143 ἐμποιῶσα Vb 140 τῷ μέτρῳ P 141 Περὶ στίχων M πρώτη στίχων BaP μεγίστη τῶν LLaMaVb ἐμπαρικλείεσθαι La 142 ἀφορίζεσθαι· ἐφαρμόζεσθαι Ma περιγράφεσθαι Va ἐκρεμῆ Vb εἶναι om. Ma 142-143 τὴν ὀπισθεν στίχον ἔννοιαν La 143 τὴν τοῦ ἔμπροσθεν· τὴν ἔμπροσθεν MV· τὴν τῶν ἔμπροσθεν Va ἐν τισὶ γράφει MV 144 φάραγξ La· φάλαγ Vb 145 ἔγραψεν MV οὕτως LaVaVb παρὰ (ε supra α primum Ma) La MaVb 146 κύμασιν ex κρίμασιν V ἐκρίβη V ὅπως· πῶς V ἔννοια· CLMPV 148 καὶ πάλιν – λόγους βαρὺ om. LaMaVaVb γὰρ om. CL θυμῷ E χαλίνου MaVb W. D. 149 ἀφορισμένας Ba ἔχουσι τὰς ἐννοίας τὰ τοιαῦτα BaCLP· τὰς ἐννοίας ἔχουσιν MV· ἐννοίας ἔχουσι LaMaVaVb· ἐννοίας ἔχουσιν D. τὰ τοιαῦτα· ταῦτα Va· πλείονα τὰ τοιαῦτα MV 150 κάκεινον Vb 152 μονάχου La 153 πεπληρωμένου BaP 154 ἐκπεσεῖν CL σε om. La ἐκρεμεῖς VVb· ἐκκρεμεῖς E ἀλληλουχομένους LaMaVVb· ἀλληλοχομένους BaCL· ἀλληλοχομένους P· ἀλληλουχομένους Va 155 ἰαμβίξεις LaMV καὶ τὰς περιττολεξίας om. Va φεῦγειν σπούδαζε MV

πάντοτε, οἶον· Ἔλγος φίλοις καὶ θλίψιν εἰς ψυχὴν φέρεις, μακρὰν ἀπάρας καὶ διαστάς πατρίδος. Ταυτὸν γὰρ τὸ ἄλγος καὶ ἡ θλίψις, τὸ δὲ εἰς ψυχὴν περιττολεξία καὶ ἀδολεσχία· ἡ θλίψις γὰρ ἐξάπαντος τῆς ψυχῆς. Ταυτολογία καὶ τὸ μακρὰν ἀπάρας καὶ διαστάς. Δόκιμον δὲ εἰ οὕτω γράψει τις· Ἦλγυνας ἡμᾶς ἀπάρας τῆς πατρίδος.

- 160 Τὸ μέντοι ἐνθυμήμασι χρᾶσθαι κοσμεῖ μὲν καὶ μᾶλλον τὰ μέτρα, οὐκ ἔστι δὲ τούτων ἴδιον, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἀπλῶς ῥητορείας καὶ λογογραφίας. Ἐπεὶ οὖν καὶ τὰ ἱαμβεῖα λογογραφία τίς ἐστὶν εὐρυθμος, ζηλούσθω σοι καὶ τὸ ἐνθυμηματικὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς. Ἐχεις ἀρχέτυπον τὸν Πισίδην, νεωτέρους τὸν Καλλικλῆν, τὸν Πτωχοπρόδρομον καὶ εἰ τις τοιοῦτος· ἐν τοῖς παλαιοῖς τὸν Θεολόγον, τὸν Σοφοκλῆν, ἐκτὸς τῶν ποιητικῶν ιδιωμάτων αὐτοῦ, τὰ εὐφρα-  
165 δέστερα τοῦ Λυκόφρονος καὶ εἰ τι τοιοῦτον.

#### Περὶ στίχων ἠρωικῶν

- Τὰ ἠρῶα ἐπαινοῦνται μᾶλλον, ἐὰν ὧσι δακτυλικά καὶ ἀπὸ διαλέκτων ἔχωσι τὴν λέξιν παντοδαπῶν καὶ μάλιστα τῆς ἰωνικῆς. Χρήσιμος ἐν τούτοις καὶ ἡ τῶν φωνηέντων σύγκρουσις, ἤγουν ἡ χασμαδία, διὰ τὸ ἐμποιεῖν ὄγκον τῷ λόγῳ καὶ ἀξίωμα· καὶ ἀπλῶς  
170 ἄριστα τὰ Ὀμηρικά. Μείζον οὖν πάντων ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις ἀρχέτυπον ἔχεις τὸν Ὀμηρον, εἴτα τὸν Ὀππιανὸν καὶ τὸν Περιηγητὴν, τὸν Τρυφιδῶρον ἐν τῇ ἀλώσει τῆς Τροίας, τὸν Μουσαῖον καὶ εἰ τις τοιοῦτος.

156 θλίψιν D. 156-157 πατρίδος – διαστάς om. Ma 157-158 τὸ δὲ – τῆς ψυχῆς om. LaVaVb 157 ταυτὸν V : ταυτὸ Va θλίψις D. περιττολογία P : περιττολεσχία Ba 158 θλίψις D. γὰρ om. P μακρὰν om. LaVaVb 159 δοκίμιον BaP εἰ οὕτω : οὕτως εἰ C γράψει τις : γράφεις LaMaVb : γράφεις Va 160 χρῆσθαι LaMaPVaVb μὲν μᾶλλον τὰ ἡμέτερα LaMaVb τούτων : τοῦτο La 161 ἀπλῆς LaMaVaVb D. ῥητορείας PVVb λογογραφίας μᾶλλον Ma ἐπεὶ δὲ οὖν (οὖν supra l.) P 162 τίς ἐστὶν : ἐστὶν om. BaP ἐνθυμηματικὸν P ἐν αὐτοῖς des. mut. L ἔχεις Vb 163 Πισίδην Ba : πισσῦδην MV Καλλικλῆν P : Καλλίκλην Vb τὸν Φιλῆν post Πτωχοπρόδρομον add. Mb 163-165 ἐν τοῖς παλαιοῖς – εἰ τι τοιοῦτον om. LaMaVaVb 164 εὐφραδέστατα D. 166 tit. solum in C 163-172 ἐν τοῖς παλαιοῖς – Μουσαῖον καὶ εἰ τις τοιοῦτος om. Ma loco l. 166-172 V solum habet Ὀμηρος - Περιηγητῆς - Τρυφιδῶρος καὶ Μουσαῖος. Τέλος τῆς γραμματικῆς. 167 ὧσιν Ba ἀποδιαλέκτων Ba ἔχωσι : ἔχωσι μᾶλλον C 168 παντοδαπῶν : παντοδαπῆ C : παντοδαπὴν BaMP καὶ μάλιστα : μάλιστα W. τῆς ἰωνικῆς BaC : τοῖς ἰωνικοῖς P : τὴν ἰωνικὴν W. 169 ὄγκων W. 170 μεῖζονα P ἔχεις τὸν Ὀμηρον ἀρχέτυπον C 172 καὶ om. BaM



## Über die vier Teile der vollendeten Rede

Die vollendete rhetorische Lobrede besteht aus Kapiteln, die auch Aphthonios in den Progymnasmata lehrt; es ist somit notwendig, dass der Schreibende diese beachtet. Eine solche Rede wird auch die vier Teile haben, Prooimion, Erzählungen, Argumente und Epiloge. [5] Prooimion kannst du manchmal auch zwei oder drei setzen, dann nämlich, wenn die ganze von dir verfasste Rede lang ist; denn dem Körper soll auch das Haupt entsprechen. Qualität des Prooimions ist es, in den vorliegenden Gegenstand einzutauchen, wie jenes des Theologen: «Es könnte uns wohl der große Basileios viele Themen für Reden darbieten – denn er würdigte meine Reden mehr als irgendjemand seine eigenen – und wird uns nun sich selbst als größtes Thema für Argumente darbieten». [10] Du siehst, wie er das Ziel des Themas zusammengefasst hat, indem er etwa sagte, «da ich ein Freund des großen Basileios bin und ihn vielfach als Lobredner hatte, will ich dies nun mit Gleichem vergelten, indem ich eine Lobrede auf diesen großartigen Mann halte» und das Weitere, das auf das Prooimion folgt. Aber das Vorbringen des Prooimions hat auch, wie man sagt, Schärfe, wenn es direkt das Ziel der Rede präsentiert wie die Worte des Theologen «Indem ich Athanasios lobe, werde ich die Tugend loben», «Tag der Auferstehung und die rechte Herrschaft», [15] «Christus wird geboren, lobpreiset», «Wieder mein Jesus» und dergleichen. So mach es auch du und schweife nicht weit ab vom Thema, und du wirst Zustimmung finden. Oft aber beginnen einige – jüngere, aber auch antike – Protasis und Prooimion nicht vom Thema selbst aus, sondern von außen her durch irgendeine Geschichte oder etwas anderes wie zum Beispiel dies: «Archelaos, das war so und so ein Mann, machte das und das für den König Alexander; [20] ich aber, oh König, werde für dich das und das machen» und dies: «Man sagt, der Museget Apollon habe das und das für den Soundso gemacht, ich aber will das für dich machen». Derartige Prooimia haben zwar auf Grund des Historischen oder Mythologischen und Erzählenden Anmut, sie sind aber nicht scharf wie jene und nicht so sehr lobenswert, da sie Beispiele anführen; Beispiele gehören aber in die Argumente, nicht in die Prooimia. Ich glaube, dass derartige Prooimia [25] ursprünglich in die Literatur eingedrungen sind von den historischen Präludien der antiken Rhetoren in ihren Reden; sie führten zwar in das vorliegende Thema ein, jedoch getrennt von der Lobrede und für sich genommen, wie du sie finden wirst in den Schriften des Prokopios von Gaza, des Chorikios und der übrigen. Was bei diesen getrennt ist, haben manche, wie es scheint, vereint und den Enkomien als Prooimion vorangestellt. [30] Du aber ahme eher die oben genannten scharfen Prooimia nach, die direkt in das Thema eintauchen, besonders in Reden an den Kaiser; denn es ziemt sich nicht, das Ohr des Kaisers zusätzlich mit Äußerlichem und Zufälligem zu beanspruchen, wenn man seine Aufmerksamkeit auch für Wichtiges nicht gewinnen kann. Zu beachten sind die vier Teile des Prooimions: zusammen mit dem Vorbringen (der πρότασις) die Gestaltung (κατασκευή), die Würdigung (ἀξίωσις) und der Abschluss (βάσις).

[35] Auf die Prooimia folgen die Erzählungen, auch in den Lobreden, nämlich die Erwähnung der Vorfahren und der Heimat sowie die Taten des Gelobten. Verbunden mit den Erzählungen sind die Argumente, nämlich das Herausstreichen der erzählten Großtaten, jedoch in Gerichtsreden und anderen die Erzählungen und die Argumente separat; du kannst in den enkomiasischen Argumenten jede Tugend des Gelobten hervorheben auch durch vergleichend eingeführte Beispiele, [40] sollst aber wiederum separat gegen das Ende zu den allgemeinen Vergleich beachten.

Die Epiloge sollst du, wie du weißt, mit einem Wunsch versehen schreiben; sie sollen jedoch die Spitze erreichen durch Enthymeme (Scharfsinnigkeiten) und Eleganz, damit die Rede fortschreite und, wenn sie dem Ende zugeht, im Ohr der Anwesenden etwas Bemerkenswertes und Bewundertes hinterlässt. In der Länge sollen sie (die Epiloge) dem Gesamtumfang der Rede entsprechen, kurz zu kurzem, länger zu längerem.

[45] Solcherart ist die vollendete Lobrede. Es werden aber auch Texte geschrieben, die nicht Enkomia, wohl aber enkomiastisch sind, und diese nennt man Laliai, wenn man nicht von Heimat und Vorfahren und dergleichen und auch nicht von allen Taten ausgehend das Lob ausspricht, sondern von einzelnen Taten – und von diesen nur summarisch – bald die jüngsten und gegenwärtigen Handlungen des Gelobten, bald die vergangenen darstellt und umgekehrt. Solche Reden schreibt man, wenn wohl die Knappheit der Zeit es nicht erlaubt, [50] dass der Redner ausführlicher wird, gelegentlich aber auch sonst; das wird manchmal der Schreibende entscheiden. Über die Lalia und dergleichen kannst du Ausführlicheres erfahren in dem Werk des Menander, das den Titel führt «Menander Rhetor, Über die rhetorische Kunst».

#### Wie man Rhetoren und andere lesen soll

Wenn du ein Werk eines Autors liest, zerschneide nicht die Rede, sondern geh eine ganze Passage und ein ganzes Thema durch. [55] Als erstes prüfe den Sinn der ganzen Passage, und wenn sie deinem Erkenntnis- und Wissensstand entspricht, dann übergehe sie, wenn sie aber deinem Wissen überlegen ist, halt ein und setze dich damit auseinander und versuche sie in deinem Gedächtnis zu speichern. Vergleiche auch mit deiner Erkenntnis, indem du betrachtest, einerseits was du selbst zu diesem Thema geschrieben hast, andererseits was der Weise, mit dem du zu tun hast, schreibt und inwieweit dessen Ausführung im Vergleich zu deiner Schlichtheit weise ist, und so wende dich seiner Nachahmung zu. [60] Sodann prüfe in ähnlicher Art die Ausdrucksweise und stelle diese deiner Wortwahl gegenüber, und wenn er etwas Weiseres hat als du, dann ahm es im Geist nach und strebe danach, es zu registrieren. Wenn dich aber das Vergessen übermannt, mach dir auch einmal schriftlich eine Notiz. Damit du dich aber als eifriger zur Nachahmung der Weisen erweistest, wenn du jemandes Rede liest, führe nicht, mit einem Thema beschäftigt und es erfassend, dessen Lektüre zu Ende, [65] sondern überlege, was der Weise später sagen wird, bei dir und ohne das Geschriebene anzusehen, und so beende das Thema im Geist eine Rede verfassend oder auch schriftlich diesen nachahmend. Sodann sieh zu und prüfe, wieweit du dem Weisen gefolgt bist und worin du von dessen Sinn und Wortwahl abgewichen bist, und dadurch wirst du dich verbessern und die Fehler beheben. Wenn du dir aber einmal auch Gedanken [70] eines Weisen in einem eigenen Werk aneignen willst, sieh zu, und wenn jener ausführlich berichtet hat, dann straffe du, wenn aber er gestraft hat, dann geh du den umgekehrten Weg, Gedankenführung, soweit möglich, Gestalt und das Übrige austauschend.

#### Welche der Weisen man als Vorbilder jeder Art von Reden nehmen soll

In den panegyrischen Reden diene dir vor allem als Vorbild der große Gregorios der Theologe, [75] jener von Nyssa, der große Basileios in den wenigen Werken dieser Art, die er geschrieben hat, der Panathenaikos des Aristeides, Themistios, Prokopios von Gaza, Chorikios, Psellos besonders und Ähnliche unter den antiken, jüngeren und gegenwärtigen Autoren.

In den beratenden Reden Chrysostomos, der große Basileios, Aristeides, Isokrates, Demosthenes, Libanios, Chorikios und Ähnliche. Wenn es gilt, Moralreden zur Beratung zu verfassen, [80] sollst du besonders auch Plutarch heranziehen, bei Gerichtsreden Demosthenes, Lysias, Libanios, Chorikios und Ähnliche. Der große Gregorios der Theologe wird sich dir, wenn Präzision in der Rede erforderlich ist, in keiner Art der Rhetorik und keinem Stil als ohne Nutzen erweisen, wenn du seine Reden, aber auch die epischen und iambischen Gedichte sorgfältiger liest. Nützlich ist stets auch [85] der höchst weise Psellos.

Über all die ausgezeichneten vollendeten rhetorischen Reden, die wir kennen, hinaus

sind die herausragendsten diese vier: die Kranzrede des Demosthenes, der Panathenaikos des Aristeides, der Epitaph des Theologen auf den großen Basileios und jener des Psellos auf seine Mutter. Dieser enthält – wie Psellos immer – auch Philosophisches.

[90] Lies Leukippe, Charikleia, Lukianos, Synesios, Briefe des Alkiphron. Die erste ist voll Anmut und Blüte, die zweite reich an Anmut und Besonnenheit, der dritte hat vielfältig Gutes, der vierte ist würdevoll und gewichtig. Die Briefe sind sehr überzeugend und wohlgeformt. Würdevoll in allem und erhaben ist Philon, Joseph vortrefflich hinsichtlich des Prosastils im Werk über die Eroberung (Jerusalems); von gleicher Art ist auch die Charikleia.

[95] Wenn du in unserer Zeit Erfolg haben willst, verfasse Reden gemischt aus rhetorischen und philosophischen Gedanken. Denn wenn du nur rhetorisch schreibst, dann wirst du als ein schlichter Autor gelten, wenn du aber mehr als nötig philosophierst, als zu trocken und unpassend Schreibender; die Mischung ist also zu empfehlen. Als Beispiele einer solchen Mischung mögen dir dienen die Reden des großen Gregorios des Theologen, des großen Basileios, des (Gregorios) von Nyssa, die Reden und Briefe des Psellos, [100] Synesios, Themistios, Plutarchos und all jene, von denen du findest, dass sie diesen folgen. Als Beispiel hinwiederum der rein rhetorischen Schreibweise diene dir Chrysostomos besonders in seinen Moralreden, der Metaphrast, Libanios, Aphthonios, Prokopios von Gaza, Chorikios, Himerios, Lukianos (dieser bedient sich aber manchmal auch philosophischer Gedanken), Demosthenes (besonders wenn du agonartig und rhetorisch ausgefeilt schreibst), [105] Lysias, Isokrates und von den Jüngeren all jene, von denen du findest, dass sie diesen folgen. In erzählerischen rhetorischen Gedanken Charikleia, Leukippe, Philostratos im Werk über Apollonios, Xenophon, Prokopios von Kaisareia (dieser hat in Volksreden und Beratungen auch etwas Agonartiges und Ausgefeiltes und ist nicht einfach erzählerisch), die Briefe des Alkiphron besonders in einfachen Gedanken [110] und deren Formulierung.

### Über Briefe

In den Briefen sind sehr nützlich die Sprüche der Weisen und die sogenannten Aphthegmata sowie sprichwörtliche Wendungen, oft auch die eher fabelartigen und angenehmen und einfachen Worte. Nützlich sind manchmal auch die Anklebungen, etwa wenn man einen homerischen Vers oder einen Teil eines epischen Verses hernimmt und einfügt. [115] In den Briefen gilt es den literarischen und ausgefeilten Stil zu meiden, dem erzählerischen hingegen zu folgen; denn der Brief ist eine Botschaft und ein Gespräch von Freund zu Freund. Aber die Jüngeren und unsere Zeitgenossen scheuten sich nicht, ganze Briefe literarisch zu verfassen. Auch du sollst daher diesen nacheifern, allerdings maßvoll; du sollst aber eine klare Wortwahl und niemals überbordende Figuren verwenden. [120] Als Muster für Briefe hast du vor allem den großen Gregorios, den großen Basileios, den (Gregorios) von Nyssa (ziemlich elegant, wengleich auch mit Neuerungen), Synesios besonders, Libanios, den höchst weisen Psellos und Ähnliche.

### Über iambische Verse

Die Qualität der iambischen Verse ist zuvörderst die Eurhythmie, die aus der dichten Folge [125] und der Prägnanz der Worte und dem Fehlen des Hiats entsteht. Hiats enthaltend und weitschweifig ist nämlich das Wort *ἐθεάσατο*, prägnant *ἔβλεψε*, wiederum weitschweifig *ποιησόμενος*, prägnant *δράσας* [etc.]. Weitschweifig sind auch Wörter wie *δειλία*, *ῥαθυμία* und *ἀτονία*. Aber auch der Akzent bewirkt viel Eurhythmie; daher gilt es auf die Verbindung von Oxytona, [130] Paroxytona und Proparoxytona und derartiger Wörter zu achten und sie melodios zu wechseln und im sechsten Fuß, wenn möglich, immer ein

Paroxytonon zu bewahren, da es wohlklingend ist. *τρέχειν* neben *θέειν* [etc.]. Denn wenn das Ende wohlklingend ist, schafft es für den ganzen Vers viel Eurhythmie, so wie auch beim Singen der abschließende Nachhall den Gesang ziert und das vielleicht unmelodische Vorangehende überdeckt. [135] Die Tropologie und das Wagnis ihrer Verwendung ist nützlich in den Versen, so wie jemand die Körner des Granatapfels flüssige Kohlen und die Perle verfestigte Milch nannte, obgleich dies besonders gewagt ist. Derselbe sagte, die Trompete der Rede sei blockiert, und sprach von Winter und Sturm der Gedanken. Von solchen Dingen ist auch die poetische Großsprecherei voll, deren maßvoller Gebrauch hier am besten ist, da sie Würde und Gewicht [140] den Metren verleiht.

Erste und größte Qualität der Verse ist es, dass ein Gedanke im Vers eingeschlossen ist, und zwar ein größerer, und dass er begrenzt und eingeschlossen ist und dass der Gedanke des folgenden Verses nicht an dem des vorangehenden hängt, wie wenn jemand so schreibt: *Εἰς τὴν ἐρυθρὰν* [etc.]. [145] Passend ist es nämlich, wenn du so schreibst: *Μωσῆς περὶ θάλασσαν* [etc.]. Siehst du, wie in jedem Vers der Gedanke begrenzt ist und ruht? So sind auch die Sinnsprüche der Dichter und der anderen Weisen: *Γύναί* [etc.]. *Θυμὸν χαλίνου* [etc.]. Solche Verse enthalten aber nicht nur die Gedanken abgeschlossen, ja sie umfassen auch einen weiteren Sinn, [150] wie zum Beispiel: *Σταυροῖ Πέτρον κύμβαχον ἐν Ῥώμῃ Νέρων* «Es kreuzigt Petrus kopfüber in Rom Nero». Denn der Vers hat eine ganze Geschichte und beinahe alle sechs Umstandselemente erfasst. Ähnlich das folgende: *Ἄνθραξ ἀθλητῆ δῶρον ἐκ μονομάχου* «Rubin ist dem Kämpfer ein Geschenk vom Monomachos». Ich sage aber nicht, dass du diese aphoristische und von Gedanken volle Art durchwegs bewahren sollst, wohl aber in der Mehrzahl der Fälle; denn es ist auch unmöglich, dass du nicht in überhängende und miteinander (durch Enjambement) verbundene Verse verfallst, besonders wenn du ein umfangreiches iambisches Gedicht verfasst. [155] Tautologien und Abundanzen trachte stets zu vermeiden, wie zum Beispiel: «Schmerz und Trauer trägst du den Freunden in die Seele, da du weit entfernt und getrennt bist von der Heimat». Schmerz (*ἄλγος*) und Trauer (*θλίψις*) sind dasselbe, «in die Seele» ist Abundanz und Geschwätz; denn die Trauer gehört ganz und gar zur Seele. Tautologie ist auch das «weit entfernt und getrennt». Passend wäre, wenn jemand schriebe: «Schmerz hast du uns bereitet, fern der Heimat».

[160] Die Verwendung von Enthymemen ist eine Zierde, besonders für metrische Texte, eignet aber nicht speziell diesen, sondern der Rhetorik und Literatur schlechthin. Da also auch die iambische Dichtung eine Art rhythmisierte Literatur ist, sollst du auch darin den Enthymem-Charakter anstreben. Du hast als Muster Pisides, unter den Jüngeren Kallikles, Ptochoprodromos und Ähnliche, unter den Alten den Theologen, Sophokles (ohne seine poetischen Eigenheiten), die im Ausdruck besseren Passagen [165] des Lykophron und Ähnliches.

### Über heroische Verse

Die heroischen Dichtungen werden besonders gelobt, wenn sie daktylisch sind und ihren Wortschatz aus vielfältigen Dialekten, insbesondere dem ionischen haben. Nützlich ist in diesen der Zusammenstoß von Vokalen, also der Hiat, da er der Rede Gewicht und Würde verleiht. Schlechthin die besten (heroischen Verse) [170] sind die homerischen. Mehr als alle anderen dient darin als Vorbild Homer, dann Oppian und der Perieget, Tryphiodor in der Eroberung Trojas, Musaios und Ähnliche.

1. Περὶ τῶν τεσσάρων μερῶν τοῦ τελείου λόγου. Sehr ähnlich ist die Formulierung in einem anonymen, in der einzigen bekannten Handschrift wohl fälschlich Tzetzes zugeschriebenen Kommentar in politischen Versen zu Hermogenes, *De statibus*.<sup>45</sup> Dort heißt es:<sup>46</sup>

διδάσκων εἶναι τέσσαρα μέρη τελείου λόγου,  
προοίμιον, διηγήσεις, ἀγώνων ἐπιλόγους.

Dazu eine kurze textkritische Bemerkung: διηγήσεις ist metrisch nicht gut (wegen des Akzents auf der siebten Silbe), man könnte an eine Änderung zu διήγησιν denken. Aber das ist nicht zwingend. Wirklich inhaltlich störend ist vor allem der Genitiv ἀγώνων: Er ist unlogisch, da er ἐπιλόγους nur auf die ἀγῶνες beziehen und damit die Zahl der Redeteile auf drei reduzieren würde. Es ist daher mit Sicherheit ἀγῶνας zu lesen und danach ein Komma zu setzen, also προοίμιον, διήγησιν, ἀγῶνας, ἐπιλόγους.

Ähnlich ist die Aufzählung der Teile der Gerichtsrede in der *Τέχνη ῥητορική* des Rufus Perinthius (2. Jh. n. Chr.):<sup>47</sup> Μέρη δὲ τοῦ δικανικοῦ λόγου τέσσαρα, προοίμιον, διήγησις, ἀπόδειξις, ἐπίλογος «Die Gerichtsrede hat vier Teile: Exordium, Narratio, Demonstratio, Peroratio». Hingegen nennt der Rhetor Nikolaos von Myra in seinen *Progymnasmata*<sup>48</sup> fünf Teile: προοίμιον, διήγησις, ἀντίθεσις, λύσις καὶ ἐπίλογος «Prooimion, Narratio, Antithesis, Widerlegung, Epilog». Hermogenes von Tarsos, zusammen mit Aphthonios zweifellos die wichtigste rhetorische Autorität für die ganze byzantinische Epoche, spricht in seiner für die stilistische Ausgestaltung der Rede so wichtigen Schrift *Περὶ ἰδεῶν De ideis* (1, 1, 164 Rabe) von acht Redeteilen, mit denen aber nicht Abschnitte, sondern stilistische Elemente gemeint sind: ἔννοια «Gedanke», μέθοδος «Gestaltung des Inhalts», λέξις «Wortwahl», σχῆμα «Ausdrucksfigur», κῶλον «Satzkomposition», συνθήκη «Wortfügung», ἀνάπαυσις «Klausel», ῥυθμός «Rhythmus».

Anders verhält es sich in grammatischen Traktaten: Dort werden mit μέρη τοῦ λόγου die Wortarten bezeichnet, z.B. in einem grammatischen Lehrgedicht des Niketas von Herakleia:<sup>49</sup> Nomen, Verbum, Präposition und Adverb. Gregorios Korinthios nennt zu Beginn seiner Schrift *Περὶ συντάξεως λόγου* acht derartige Redeteile:<sup>50</sup> Ὄκτώ εἰσι πάντα τὰ μέρη τοῦ λόγου· ὄνομα, ῥῆμα, μετοχή, ἄρθρον, ἀντωνυμία, πρόθεσις, ἐπίρρημα, σύνδεσμος «Die Rede hat acht Teile: Nomen, Verbum, Partizip, Artikel, Pronomen, Präposition, Adverb, Konjunktion».

2-4. Auf die Überschrift folgt die Erklärung, der perfekte ἐγκωμιαστικὸς λόγος,

<sup>45</sup> Ed. Walz, S. 617-669. Vgl. C. Wendel, *Tzetzes*, in RE VII A 2, coll. 1959-2011: 1991.

<sup>46</sup> Walz, S. 619, V. 27f.

<sup>47</sup> ed. Spengel (oben, Anm. 28), I, S. 463-470: 463, 15.

<sup>48</sup> ed. J. Felten, Nicolai *Progymnasmata*, Leipzig 1913, S. 4, 6.

<sup>49</sup> ed. J. F. Boissonade, *Anecdota graeca*, II, Paris 1830, S. 340-393. Vgl. A. Tovar, *Nicetas of Heraclea and Byzantine Grammatical Doctrine*, in *Classical Studies Presented to Ben Edwin Perry*, Urbana, Ill. 1969, S. 223-235.

<sup>50</sup> Donnet 167.

die Lobrede, Prunkrede, bestehe, wie Aphthonios in den *Progymnasmata* lehrt, aus vier Teilen, eben προοίμια *exordium*, διηγήσεις *narratio*, ἀγῶνας *argumentatio* und ἐπιλόγους *peroratio*; diese Abfolge müsse der Schreibende beachten. Dabei fällt allerdings auf, dass von diesen vier Teilen bei Aphthonios nirgends die Rede ist, wohl aber in einigen Kommentaren zu Hermogenes und Aphthonios.<sup>51</sup> Der Autor empfindet offenbar diese Gliederung als allgemeine Praxis; er kennt sie aus der Schule und schreibt sie dem Aphthonios zu, der, wie gesagt, zusammen mit Hermogenes eine der in Byzanz allgemein anerkannten Autoritäten auf dem Gebiet der rhetorischen Theorie ist.

5-6. Ähnliches gilt für den darauf folgenden Gedanken: Der Logos könne auch zwei oder drei Prooimia enthalten, wenn er umfangreich ist. Auch diese Feststellung ist offenbar Gemeingut, ebenso wie die Begründung, die der Autor dafür bietet: Umfangreiche Reden könnten zwei oder mehr Prooimia rechtfertigen; denn dem Leib solle auch das Haupt entsprechen (πρὸς γὰρ τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἡ κεφαλὴ ἔσται). Ganz ähnlich Johannes von Sardes:<sup>52</sup> ὡς ὁ λόγος σώματι ἔοικεν, ἀναλογεῖ δὲ τῇ κεφαλῇ τὸ προοίμιον.

6-12. Die ἀρετὴ des Prooimions, also seine *virtus*, sei es, in den vorliegenden Gegenstand direkt einzuführen (εἰς τὴν προκειμένην ὑπόθεσιν βάπτειν, also «einzutauchen», ohne Umschweife *in medias res* zu gehen). Für diese Verwendung von βάπτειν, die etwas weiter unten (Z. 30) durch εὐθύς noch verstärkt wird, konnte ich keinen anderen Beleg finden.<sup>53</sup> Umso aussagekräftiger ist die Parallele bei Theodoros Studites, *Brief* 219, 4:<sup>54</sup> καὶ γὰρ ἐπιστολῆς ἀρετὴ εὐθύς τῆς προκειμένης ὑποθέσεως ἄπτεσθαι. Auch die Fortsetzung des Satzes (καὶ τοσαῦτα λέγειν ἅττα ἐπάναγκες, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐπικυκλεῖν τὰ οὐχ οὕτως) entspricht der Anweisung des Anonymus (Z. 15 Οὕτω καὶ σὺ ποίει καὶ μὴ πλανῶ πόρρω τῆς ὑποθέσεως καὶ εὐδοκιμήσεις). Im wesentlichen dieselbe Formel gebraucht auch der Autor der *Rhetorica Marciana*, allerdings für seiner Meinung nach allzu direkte Anfänge, denen dann nicht der Charakter eines Prooimions eigne.<sup>55</sup> εἰσὶ καὶ τινα τῶν προοιμίων καινοπρεπῆ, ὡς μηδὲ προοίμια δοκεῖν, διότι αὐτῆς εὐθέως τῆς ὑποθέσεως ἄπτεται. Die Wendung ὑποθέσεως ἄπτομαι ist offenbar nicht ungebräuchlich, auch unser Autor verwendet sie etwas später (Z. 64f.). Jemand – vielleicht der Autor selbst – hat dann ἄπτ- und βάπτ- durcheinander gebracht oder bewusst wortspielerisch vertauscht.

<sup>51</sup> Vgl. *Rhetorica anonyma*, *Σημειῶδες εἰς τὰς εὐρέσεις*, Walz VII 1, S. 74, 7. Syriani *In Hermogenem*, ed. H. Rabe, II, Leipzig 1893, S. 1-203; 12, 6. *Prolegomenon sylloge*, ed. H. Rabe, Leipzig 1931, S. 167, 5; 206, 18; 212, 7; 214, 5.

<sup>52</sup> *Prolegomenon Sylloge*, S. 358, 17f.

<sup>53</sup> Conley (wie oben, Anm. 12), S. 114, findet die Verwendung von βάπτειν in diesem Context «puzzling». Er weist aber (S. 121) auf eine interessante Stelle hin, wo das Wort in einer ähnlichen Bedeutung verwendet wird: Theodora Raoulaina, *Vita der Heiligen Theophanes und Theodoros Graptoi*, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἀνάλεκτα Ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς Σταχυολογίας*, IV, Jerusalem 1897, S. 185-223: 205, 6f. οὐδ' εἰς νοῦν βάψαντες.

<sup>54</sup> ed. G. Fatouros, *Theodori Studitae Epistulae*, II, Berlin 1992, S. 341.

<sup>55</sup> *Rhetorica Marciana* (wie oben, Anm. 13), S. 82, 20f.

Für die geforderte Direktheit bringt der Autor unseres Traktates ein Beispiel aus Gregor von Nazianz, das er in der üblichen Weise einführt (τὸ θεολογικὸν ἐκεῖνο, also wörtlich «jenes theologische Wort»): Ἔμελλεν ἄρα πολλὰς ἡμῖν ὑποθέσεις τῶν λόγων αἰεὶ προτιθεὶς ὁ μέγας Βασίλειος ... «Viele Themen von Reden könnte uns wohl der große Basileios vorlegen...». Es ist dies, mit geringfügigen Varianten, der Beginn der Grabrede des Gregorios auf seinen Freund Basileios von Kaisareia.<sup>56</sup> Das nimmt nicht wunder: Gregor von Nazianz ist eines der großen Vorbilder für die byzantinischen Autoren aller Jahrhunderte,<sup>57</sup> und gerade seine beiden Grabreden, jene auf Basileios und jene auf seinen eigenen Bruder Kaisareios, werden immer wieder als Muster herangezogen. Ein besonders reicher Schatz an Zitaten aus Gregor von Nazianz findet sich in der sogenannten *Rhetorica Marciana*.<sup>58</sup> Wie De Falco zeigt, ersetzt der Autor dieser Schrift bei Hermogenes vorgefundene Zitate aus Demosthenes systematisch durch solche aus Gregor, dem «christlichen Demosthenes».<sup>59</sup> Den Beginn des Epitaphs auf Basileios zitiert er öfters einfach als τὸ ἐμελλεν. So auch andere, z.B. Psellos, *Theol.* I 239, 1 Gautier (Hinweis N. Zagklas).

Unser Autor rühmt an diesem Prooimion, dass es gleich zu Beginn das Ziel der Rede umreißt (περιέλαβε τὸν τῆς ὑποθέσεως σκοπὸν). Dem Beispiel aus Gregor von Nazianz setzt er ein offenbar fiktives Prooimion zum selben Gegenstand – gewissermaßen eine Paraphrase des Gregor-Zitates – entgegen. Damit wird hier die Technik sichtbar, die der Autor in dem ganzen Traktat anwendet: stilistische Empfehlungen, illustriert jeweils durch kontrastierende positive und negative Beispiele.

12-15. Wichtig sei im Prooimion die δριμύτης («Schärfe», «Pointiertheit»). Mit den Worten προοιμίου δριμύτης, φασί, πρότασις «Schärfe des Prooimions, sagt man, ist die Protasis (das Vorbringen)» signalisiert der Autor ein Zitat oder einen geläufigen Ausdruck. Dahinter steht offenbar Ps.-Hermogenes, *Περὶ εὐρέσεως* 1, 1<sup>60</sup> προοιμίου δριμύτης πρότασις. Dabei ist es nicht von Belang, ob der Autor den originalen Text von *De inventione* oder einen der Kommentare zu dieser Schrift im

<sup>56</sup> PG XXXVI, coll. 493-606 = *Or.* 43, 1, ed. J. Bernardi, Grégoire de Nazianze, *Discours* 42-43, Paris 1992, S. 116, 1-5. Als Beispiel für längere Satzstrukturen zitiert von Joseph Rhakendytes, Walz, S. 535, 11-536, 6; 543, 11-14.

<sup>57</sup> Zahlreiche Belege für die Wertschätzung der Kappadokier und speziell des Nazianzeners (einschließlich gelegentlich seitens des Arethas von Kaisareia geübter Kritik) bietet G. Podskalsky, *Von Photios zu Bessarion. Der Vorrang humanistisch geprägter Theologie in Byzanz und deren bleibende Bedeutung*, Wiesbaden 2003, S. 44-54. Hier sei nur noch auf zwei Arbeiten aus jüngster Zeit verwiesen: A. Rhoby, *Aspekte des Fortlebens des Gregor von Nazianz in byzantinischer und postbyzantinischer Zeit*, in M. Grünbart (Hrsg.), *Theatron. Rhetorische Kultur in Spätantike und Mittelalter*, Berlin 2007, S. 409-417. Ch. Simelidis, *Selected poems of Gregory of Nazianzus*, Göttingen 2009, S. 57ff.

<sup>58</sup> Dokumentiert von De Falco, *Trattato retorico* (siehe oben, Anm. 13).

<sup>59</sup> Vgl. Rhoby, *Aspekte* (oben, Anm. 57), S. 412f.

<sup>60</sup> ed. H. Rabe, *Hermogenis Opera*, Leipzig 1913, S. 95. G. A. Kennedy, *Invention and Method. Two Rhetorical Treatises from the Hermogenic Corpus*, The Greek Text, Edited by Hugo Rabe, Translated with Introductions and Notes, Atlanta 2005, S. 9.

Ohr hat. Der Terminus wird auch sonst von (Ps.-)Hermogenes mehrmals benützt, nicht immer speziell auf Prooimia bezogen. Was unser Autor unter *δριμύτης* am Beginn einer Rede versteht, macht er anhand von vier Beispielen deutlich, die alle wieder als τὰ θεολογικά eingeführt, also aus Gregor von Nazianz entnommen sind: der Anfang der Rede *In laudem Athanasii*:<sup>61</sup> Ἀθανάσιον ἐπαινῶν ἀρετὴν ἐπαινέσομαι, der Anfang der Rede *In sanctum Pascha et in tarditatem*:<sup>62</sup> Ἀναστάσεως ἡμέρα καὶ ἡ ἀρχὴ δεξιᾶ, der Anfang der Rede *In theophania*:<sup>63</sup> Χριστὸς γεννᾶται, δοξάσατε, und schließlich der Anfang von *In sancta lumina*:<sup>64</sup> Πάλιν Ἰησοῦς ὁ ἐμὸς κτλ., und er fügt hinzu, wie auch bei seinen späteren Aufzählungen: καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα «und dergleichen». Wenn man diesen folgt und nicht weit weg vom Gegenstand umherirrt, werde man Erfolg haben.

Ein Wort noch zu dem berühmten Χριστὸς γεννᾶται, δοξάσατε· Χριστὸς ἐξ οὐρανῶν, ἀπαντήσατε· Χριστὸς ἐπὶ γῆς, ὑψώθητε. Dieser Beginn der Weihnachtsrede Gregors von Nazianz war offenbar allgemein bekannt und eignete sich vorzüglich zur Demonstration verschiedenster Elemente (Auswahl der Wortlänge, kurze Kola, Anaphora, Homoioteleuton, Rhythmus). Für all diese Dinge wird die Passage wiederholt als *exemplum* herangezogen, mehrmals von Joseph Rhakendytes,<sup>65</sup> aber auch von den Rhetorikern Johannes Siculus<sup>66</sup> und Stephanos<sup>67</sup> (wahrscheinlich 12. Jahrhundert) sowie in anonymen Traktaten.

16-23. Prooimia, die nicht gleich mit dem Bezug auf den Gegenstand beginnen, haben zwar γλυκύτης (etwas Angenehmes), aber nicht δριμύτης (Schärfe, Pointiertheit) und seien daher nicht zu loben.

Als negatives Musterbeispiel für ein solches Prooimion, das nicht mit dem Gegenstand der Rede, sondern mit irgendwelchen Geschichten (ἱστορία) beginnt, nennt der Autor das folgende: Ἀρχέλαος, ἦν δ' ἐκεῖνος ἀνὴρ τοιόσδε, ἐποίησε τόδε καὶ τόδε ἐπὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ· ἐγὼ δέ, βασιλεῦ, ἐπὶ σοὶ ποιήσω τόδε καὶ τόδε «Archelaos, es war dies ein Mann von solcher Art, hat das und das dem

<sup>61</sup> PG XXXV, col. 1081.

<sup>62</sup> PG XXXV, col. 396.

<sup>63</sup> PG XXXVI, col. 312 = Or. 38, ed. C. Moreschini, P. Gallay, *Grégoire de Nazianze, discours 38-41*, Paris 1990, S. 104.

<sup>64</sup> PG XXXVI, col. 336. Zitiert von Joseph Rhakendytes, Walz S. 541, 19; 544, 24.

<sup>65</sup> Walz S. 525, 19-20 = 588, 21-589, 1 für die Wahl klarer und schlichter Wörter; 535, 8-10 für einfache Strukturen; 543, 9-10 für kurze Kola; 546, 7-8 für Wohlklang durch proparoxytone Schlüsse (vgl. W. Hörandner, *Der Prosarhythmus in der rhetorischen Literatur der Byzantiner*, Wien 1981, S. 24-26).

<sup>66</sup> Der TLG verzeichnet nicht weniger als elf Stellen aus seinem Kommentar zu Hermogenes, *De ideis*, ed. Walz VI, S. 80-504.

<sup>67</sup> ed. H. Rabe, CAG, XXI/2, S. 268,11; 321, 28. Cfr. W. Hörandner, *Der Aristoteles-Kommentator Stephanos in seiner Zeit*, in K. Belke, E. Kislinger, A. Külzer, M. A. Stassinopoulou (Hrsgg.), *Byzantina mediterranea. Festschrift für Johannes Koder zum 65. Geburtstag*, Wien 2007, S. 257-267. Der Autor wird mit Stephanos Skylitzes identifiziert bei W. Wolska-Conus, *À propos des Scolies de Stéphanos à la Rhétorique d'Aristote : l'auteur, l'œuvre, le milieu*, in *Actes du XIV<sup>e</sup> Congrès International des études byzantines, Bucarest, 6-12 Septembre, 1971*, publiés par les soins de M. Berza et E. Stănescu, III, Bucarest 1976, S. 599-606.



König Alexander gegenüber gemacht; ich aber, Kaiser, werde das und das dir gegenüber machen». Via *TLG* stellt man fest, dass dies genau dem Anfang einer Rede des Eustathios von Thessalonike (Logos O = 16)<sup>68</sup> entspricht: Ἀρχέλαος (ἦν δὲ ἐκεῖνος ἀνὴρ ἐπιπρέπων λόγοις καὶ οἷος θαμίζειν καὶ ὀπτάνεσθαι προσώποις βασιλικοῖς) – ἐκεῖνος οὖν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ μεγάλῳ ἔχαιρε etc. Das Lob des Archelaos wird dann bei Eustathios noch weitergeführt, und erst in Zeile 10f. wird der Konnex mit dem eigentlichen Gegenstand, dem Lob des Kaisers Manuel, hergestellt. Hier hat der Autor also für ein Negativbeispiel nicht, wie sonst, einen fiktiven Text, sondern einen tatsächlich vorhandenen gewählt. Dass er damit, wenn auch unausgesprochen, einen so renommierten Autor wie Eustathios kritisiert, mag etwas erstaunen; aber die Vorgangsweise des Eustathios entspricht eben nicht den Normen des Autors. Unser Autor ist ein Schulmeister, der Wert darauf legt, dass die Normen für die einzelnen Reden und deren Teile eingehalten werden. Eustathios will genau das Gegenteil, nämlich die Mischung verschiedener Arten von Reden und Redeteilen. Das geht auch aus den ausführlichen Überschriften (προθεωρίαι) seiner Reden hervor.<sup>69</sup>

Für uns hat das Eustathios-Zitat nebenbei den Effekt, dass dadurch, sofern nicht Eustathios selbst ein älteres, auch dem Anonymus bekanntes Prooimion wörtlich wiedergibt – eine eher unwahrscheinliche, wenn auch nicht völlig auszuschließende Annahme –, ein *terminus post quem* für die Abfassung des Traktates geliefert wird, nämlich das späte 12. Jahrhundert. Der Traktat kann somit nicht das Werk des Gregorios Korinthios sein. Conley sieht das letzte Dezennium des 12. Jahrhunderts als *terminus post quem* an. Er geht aber noch wesentlich weiter und sucht den möglichen Autor unter den Gelehrten des späten 13. Jahrhunderts.<sup>70</sup> Das ist aber nicht sehr wahrscheinlich. Das Argument, wonach die Zeit des nizänischen Exils nicht in Betracht komme, weil in Nikaia die verwendeten Texte nicht verfügbar waren,<sup>71</sup> halte ich nicht für überzeugend, und wenn man bedenkt, dass die beiden ältesten Textzeugen, Ba und P, in die zweite Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts zu datieren sind,<sup>72</sup> so wird man die Entstehung der Sammlung eher als Zeugnis für bildungspolitische Bestrebungen in der späten Laskaridenzeit deuten.<sup>73</sup>

Für das zweite Beispiel (Φασὶ τὸν μουσηγήτην Ἀπόλλωνα etc.) konnte ich keine Quelle finden.

<sup>68</sup> Eustathii Thessalonicensis *Opera minora* rec. P. Wirth, Berlin 2000, S. 261, 5ff.

<sup>69</sup> P. A. Agapitos, *Mischung der Gattungen und Überschreitung der Gesetze: Die Grabrede des Eustathios von Thessalonike auf Nikolaos Hagiotheodorites*, «Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik» 48, 1998, S. 119-146.

<sup>70</sup> Conley (oben, Anm. 12), S. 115-122.

<sup>71</sup> Conley, *ibid.*, S. 116.

<sup>72</sup> Siehe oben, S. 100.

<sup>73</sup> Zur Nähe dieser und verwandter Handschriften bzw. deren Vorlagen zum Kreis einer Bildungselite am Hof von Nikaia siehe zuletzt P. A. Agapitos, *Blemmydes, Laskaris and Philes*, in M. Hinterberger, E. Schiffer (Hrsgg.), *Byzantinische Sprachkunst. Studien zur byzantinischen Literatur gewidmet Wolfram Hörandner zum 65. Geburtstag*, Berlin-New York 2007, S. 1-19: 6 mit Anm. 29.

23-34. Paradeigmata gehören in die ἀγῶνες, nicht (wie bei Eustathios) in die Prooimía.<sup>74</sup> Derartige Prooimía scheinen – so unser Autor – ihren Ursprung in den historischen προόσματα der alten Rhetoren in ihren Reden zu haben, etwa bei Prokopios von Gaza und Chorikios. Notieren wir *en passant*, dass der Autor diese beiden Angehörigen der spätantiken Rhetorenschule von Gaza im Verlauf des Traktates noch öfters erwähnen wird, im allgemeinen in positivem Sinn.

Nebenbei eine kurze Bemerkung zum Wort πρόσσμα. In den Codices Ba und P ist προασμάτων durch πραγμάτων ersetzt. Walz, dem Donnet folgt, entscheidet sich für diese Variante, meiner Meinung nach unnötigerweise, da πρόσσμα «Vorspiel, Präludium» gerade an dieser Stelle gut passt. Es ist zwar antik kaum belegt (LS kennt nur eine Stelle in einem Scholion zu Theokrit), in byzantinischen Texten aber, insbesondere solchen aus dem 12. Jahrhundert, wird es wiederholt verwendet, wobei die Grundbedeutung von ᾄσμα «Gesang» manchmal, aber nicht immer mitschwingt.<sup>75</sup>

Nochmals wiederholt der Autor seine Empfehlung der προοίμια δριμέα, die gleich in den Gegenstand eintauchen (τὰ εὐθύς εἰς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν βάπτοντα), und er fügt noch hinzu: καὶ μᾶλλον ἐν τοῖς βασιλικοῖς «und besonders in Reden an den Kaiser». Man solle nämlich das Ohr des Kaisers nicht mit Äußerlichem und Zufälligem belästigen. Dieser Zusatz ist insofern gezielt eingesetzt, als das gebrachte Negativbeispiel, die Rede des Eustathios, an einen Kaiser gerichtet ist.

32. προσασχολεῖν in der Bedeutung wie hier «jemanden mit etwas beschäftigen» ist bei Lampe und im TLG gut belegt, προσασχολεῖν hingegen medial nur ganz vereinzelt in Lampe, aktiv nur hier. προσ- ist daher vorzuziehen, für προ- würde höchstens sprechen, dass hier von Prooimía die Rede ist.

Die vier Teile des Prooimions seien zu bewahren: πρότασις «Vorbringung», κατασκευή «Ausführung», «Darlegung», ἀξίωσις «Würdigung», βάσις «Schluss». Neben anderen Theoretikern nennt auch Ioannes Doxapatres diese vier Teile:<sup>76</sup> τὸ προοίμιον διαιρεθῆσεται εἰς πρότασιν καὶ κατασκευὴν καὶ ἀξίωσιν καὶ βάσιν. Ausführlich Ps.-Hermogenes, *De inv.* I 5 Περὶ παντὸς προοιμίου, καὶ ἐκ πόσων μερῶν συνέστηκεν<sup>77</sup> und der anonyme Kommentar dazu.<sup>78</sup>

35-40. Auf die Prooimía folgen die διηγήσεις «Erzählungen». Speziell in Enkomien seien vor allem die Themen «Vorfahren», «Heimat» und «Taten des Gefeierten» zu behandeln. Das entspricht genau den Anweisungen des Aphthonios für das Enkomion.<sup>79</sup>

<sup>74</sup> Diese Anweisung begegnet auch bei einigen älteren Rhetoren. Dazu K. Demoen, *A Paradigm for the Analysis of Paradigms: The Rhetorical Exemplum in Ancient and Imperial Greek Theory*, «Rhetorica» 15, 2, 1997, S. 125-158: 131-132.

<sup>75</sup> Belege in LBG und TLG.

<sup>76</sup> Ioannes Doxapatres, *Prolegomena in Aphthonii Progymnasmata*, ed. H. Rabe, *Prolegomenon Sylloge*, Leipzig 1931, S. 132, 12f.

<sup>77</sup> ed. Rabe (oben Anm. 60), S. 106-108; Übersetzung mit Anmerkungen bei M. Patillon, Hermogène, *L'art rhétorique*, Lausanne 1997, S. 220-223. Kennedy (oben, Anm. 60), S. 24-29.

<sup>78</sup> Walz VII 2, S. 713-715.

<sup>79</sup> Aphthonios VIII *Περὶ ἐγκωμίου*, S. 21f. Rabe = S. 131f. Patillon.

Verbunden mit den διηγήσεις seien die ἀγῶνες (Argumente), d.h. das Herausstreichen (αἱ αὐξήσεις «auctio») der hervorragendsten Inhalte der διηγήσεις. Hier, in den Agones, können Paradeigmata als Mittel herangezogen werden.

41-52. Die Behandlung der Redeteile beschließen Ausführungen über Epiloge, die in ihrer Länge mit dem Umfang der Rede korrespondieren sollen. Hier geht der Autor auch auf den Redetyp der Lalia ein. Diese Art von Reden habe zwar enkomiasische Funktion, entspreche aber nicht den strengen Regeln des Enkomions mit dem Ablauf Heimat, Vorfahren etc. Der Verfasser einer Lalia sei freier in Wahl und Anordnung der Motive.<sup>80</sup> Ausdrücklich verweist der Autor dazu auf die Schrift Περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν des Rhetors Menandros, der in der Tat der Lalia ein ausführliches Kapitel widmet.<sup>81</sup>

53-72. Hier werden Hinweise gegeben, wie bei der Lektüre von vorliegenden Werken insbesondere im Vergleich mit der eigenen literarischen Produktion kritisch vorzugehen ist.

73-94. Dieser Abschnitt zählt Autoren und Werke auf, die als Vorbilder beim Verfassen rhetorischer Schriften dienen können. Für die Panegyriken sind dies in der Sicht des Anonymus vor allem Gregor von Nazianz, Gregor von Nyssa, Basileios, der *Panathenaios Logos* des Aristeides, Themistios, Prokopios von Gaza, Chorikios und Psellos. An der Spitze stehen also die drei großen Kappadokier, dann erst kommen zwei führende pagane Redner der Kaiserzeit, Ailios Aristeides mit seinem viel gelesenen und hochgeschätzten *Panathenaios Logos* und Themistios. Es folgen wieder die beiden Angehörigen der spätantiken Rhetorenschule zu Gaza Prokopios und Chorikios, und schließlich – als einziger Byzantiner im engeren Sinn – Psellos. Die Reihenfolge ist nicht ganz zufällig. Die Position der Kappadokier signalisiert die große Wertschätzung, die man in Byzanz diesen Vätern auch hinsichtlich ihrer literarisch-rhetorischen Qualität entgegenbrachte (man denke nur an die einschlägigen Würdigungen seitens des Michael Psellos).<sup>82</sup> Erst nach ihnen werden klassische Rhetoren genannt, und Psellos bildet den Schlusspunkt – auch dies bezeichnend für die besondere Rolle dieses Autors in der rhetorischen Produktion der mittel- und spätbyzantinischen Zeit. Nicht von ungefähr fügen die meisten Handschriften zu ὁ Ψελλὸς noch τὰ μάλιστα hinzu.

Kurz noch ein Wort zu Aristeides: Unser Autor steht hier mitten in einer Tradition. Photios bietet in den Codices 246-248 seiner *Bibliothek* umfangreiche

<sup>80</sup> Inhaltsgleich, teilweise wörtlich übereinstimmend Walz S. 600 (anonym).

<sup>81</sup> Spengel (oben, Anm. 28), III, S. 388, 16-394, 31 = D. A. Russell, N. G. Wilson, *Menander Rhetor*, edited with translation and commentary, Oxford 1981, S. 114-126.

<sup>82</sup> Es möge an dieser Stelle genügen, an den markanten Schlusssatz seiner Schrift über den Charakter der Drei Kappadokier und des Chrysostomos (ed. J. F. Boissonade, Michael Psellus, *De operatione daemonum*, Nürnberg 1838, S. 124-131) zu erinnern: Ἐγὼ γὰρ ὄν βουλοίμην καὶ ἀγαπῶν ἄν πανηγυρίζειν μὲν ὡς ὁ θεολόγος Γρηγόριος, λαμπροφωνεῖν δὲ ὡς ὁ μέγας Βασίλειος, ἐξηγεῖσθαι δὲ θεῖους χρησμούς ὡς ὁ Νυσσαεὺς Γρηγόριος, ἴστασθαι δὲ πρὸς τὸ συμβουλευτικὸν εἶδος καὶ ἀφηδύνειν τὸν λόγον ταῖς ἀπλαῖς καὶ ἀδιηγῆτοις χάρισιν ὡς ἡ χρυσιή λύρα τοῦ Πνεύματος.

Exzerpte aus dem *Panathenaikos* und anderen Reden des Aristeides. Die einleitende Bemerkung des Photios zum *Panathenaikos* ist nicht besonders ergiebig. Sie lautet:<sup>83</sup> Ἀνεγνώσθη Ἀριστείδου ὁ Παναθηναϊκός, ἐκλογὴν ὑπέχων ῥημάτων τε καὶ ὀνομάτων καὶ περιόδων, ἀλλὰ καὶ νοημάτων εἰς δεινότητα καὶ κάλλος διασκευασμένων «Es wurde gelesen der *Panathenaikos* des Aristeides, der eine Auswahl von Verben und Nomina und Perioden, aber auch von Gedanken enthält, die auf Intensität und Schönheit hin gestaltet sind». Das sind eigentlich nur Gemeinplätze, die aber dem Horizont unseres Anonymus nicht unähnlich sind. Freilich, die bloße Tatsache, dass Photios diesem Rhetor so viel Platz einräumt, ist Indiz genug für die Wertschätzung, die er ihm entgegenbringt. Ein weiteres Zeugnis für Aristeides-Rezeption stellen die noch unedierte Scholia des Ioannes Sikeliotas dar, die in einer Handschrift des späten 11. Jahrhunderts überliefert sind.<sup>84</sup> Auch in den *Chiliaden* des Tzetzes<sup>85</sup> kommt Aristeides gelegentlich vor (speziell der *Panathenaikos* I 855; XI 655). Der Philologe Thomas Magistros war offenbar – ähnlich wie Photios und wohl auch unser Anonymus – speziell am Wortschatz des Aristeides besonders interessiert und nahm zahlreiche Belege in sein attizistisches Lexikon<sup>86</sup> auf. Und schließlich – last, but not least – ist daran zu erinnern, dass Theodoros Metochites einen Vergleich zwischen Demosthenes und Aristeides verfasst hat.<sup>87</sup>

Für die συμβουλευτικοί «beratende Reden» (= *Genus deliberativum*) werden ebenfalls zuerst zwei Väter genannt, Chrysostomos und Basileios. Darauf folgen wieder antike und spätantike Autoren: Aristeides, Isokrates, Demosthenes, Libanios und Chorikios. Wenn auch die Moralrede (τοὺς ἠθικοὺς λόγους) zur Beratung dient, zusätzlich Plutarch. In den Gerichtsreden Demosthenes, Lysias, Libanios und Chorikios. Gregorios Theologos könne, wenn es präzise sein soll, in allen Gattungen und Stilen der Rhetorik (εἰς [...] εἶδος τῆς ῥητορικῆς [...] εἰς ἰδέαν) etwas beitragen (οὐδὲ [...] ἀσυνεῖσφορος – ein Hapax),<sup>88</sup> und zwar wenn man seine Reden sorgfältig liest, aber auch die Hexameter (τὰ ἔπη) und die Jamben. Nützlich in allen (Gattungen und Arten) sei auch der höchst weise Psellos. Also wieder dieselbe Reihenfolge: Väter – antike und spätantike Redner – Gregor von Nazianz und, sozusagen als Krönung, wieder Psellos. Für Gregor von Nazianz gibt es diesmal die etwas einschränkende Formulierung οὐδὲ [...] ἀσυνεῖσφορος «nicht ohne Gewinn». Interessant ist aber der Hinweis, nicht nur die Reden des Theologos, sondern auch seine Dichtungen im epischen und im jambischen Maß seien zu beachten.

<sup>83</sup> Photius, *Bibliothèque*, texte établi et traduit par R. Henry, VII, Paris 1974, S. 8, 8-10.

<sup>84</sup> F. W. Lenz, *Aristeidesstudien*, Berlin 1964, S. 97-99 und 113-117.

<sup>85</sup> Ioannis Tzetzae *Historiae*, iterum ed. P. A. M. Leone, Galatina 2007.

<sup>86</sup> Thomae Magistri *Ecloga vocum atticarum*, rec. F. Ritschl, Halle 1832. Vgl. N. Gaul, *Thomas Magistros und die spätbyzantinische Sophistik*, Wiesbaden 2008.

<sup>87</sup> Teodoro Metochites, *Saggio critico su Demostene e Aristide*, a cura di M. Gigante, Milano 1969.

<sup>88</sup> Das *LBG s.v.* verweist auf diese Stelle.

Gewissermaßen als Kanon der hervorragendsten Reden nennt der Autor die folgenden vier: die Kranzrede des Demosthenes, den Panathenaikos des Aristeides, den Epitaph des Theologos auf Basileios und die Rede des Psellos auf seine Mutter.

Es folgt eine weitere Gruppe empfehlenswerter Autoren bzw. Werke: Ἀνάγνωθι Λευκίππην, Χαρίκλειαν, Λουκιανόν, Συνέσιον, Ἀλκίφρονος ἐπιστολάς «Lies Leukippe, Charikleia, Lukian, Synesios, die Briefe des Alkiphron».

Leukippe und Charikleia, die Heldinnen der beiden spätantiken Romane von Achilleus Tatios und Heliodoros, werden in Byzanz gern in dieser Art zitiert, ja gelegentlich sieht es so aus, als ob Charikleia als Autornamen verstanden würde: In der *Suda* heißt es einmal (ν 319 zum Verb ὑπερκύπτω): ἔχει αἰτιατικὴν καὶ ὁ Πλούταρχος, ἡ δὲ Χαρίκλεια γενικὴν. Beide Autoren waren in der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit wohlbekannt und insgesamt auch literarisch anerkannt.<sup>89</sup> Photios widmet Heliodor in Cod. 73 seiner *Bibliothek* eine ausführliche Würdigung, behandelt aber Achilleus Tatios in Cod. 87 nur knapp. Stilistisch fällt sein Urteil über beide Romane positiv aus; moralisch hingegen findet er Heliodor und seine Heldin keusch (σώφρων), wogegen er den Roman des Achilleus Tatios moralisch höchst bedenklich findet und daher von der Lektüre abrät.<sup>90</sup> Weit weniger scharf ist das Urteil des Michael Psellos, der in seiner Synkrisis der beiden Romane<sup>91</sup> beiden Autoren gerecht zu werden versucht. Andere Autoren wie der Philosoph Philippos<sup>92</sup> bemühten sich, die moralischen Bedenken durch allegorische Deutung zu zerstreuen. Schließlich sei noch daran erinnert, dass beide Werke, das des Achilleus Tatios und jenes des Heliodor, im 12. Jahrhundert Autoren von Romanen als Vorlage dienten.<sup>93</sup>

Der Aufzählung fügt unser Autor Charakteristika der Autoren bzw. Werke hinzu (Text hier nach Donnet): Ἡ πρώτη χαρίτων καὶ ἄνθους γέμει, ὁ δεύτερος χαρίτων μετὰ σωφροσύνης πλήρης, ὁ τρίτος παντοδαπὸν ἔχει τὸ καλόν, ὁ τέταρτος

<sup>89</sup> Testimonia zu Heliodor bei A. Colonna (ed.), *Heliodori Aethiopica*, Rom 1938, S. 361-372. Vgl. P. A. Agapitos, *Narrative, rhetoric, and 'drama' rediscovered: scholars and poets in Byzantium interpret Heliodorus*, in R. Hunter (Hrsg.), *Studies in Heliodorus*, Cambridge 1998, S. 125-156.

<sup>90</sup> E. V. Maltese, *Fozio (Bibl. 87), Achille Tazio e gli "strani" amori del romanzo greco*, «Ktèma» 36, 2011, S. 25-28.

<sup>91</sup> Michael Psellus, *The Essays on Euripides and George of Pisidia and on Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius*, ed. by A. R. Dyck, Wien 1986.

<sup>92</sup> Siehe den Traktat bei Colonna (ed.), *Heliodori Aethiopica*, cit., S. 365-370. Der Autor wurde von mehreren Forschern mit Philagathos von Cerami identifiziert. Für eine Entstehung nicht im Italien des 12. Jahrhunderts, sondern im Konstantinopel des 5. Jahrhunderts plädiert hingegen A. Acconcia Longo, *Filippo il filosofo a Costantinopoli*, «Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici» 28, 1991, S. 3-21. Die Identifizierung mit Philagathos wird weiterhin vertreten, zuletzt von A. Corcella, *Note a Filippo il Filosofo (Filagato da Cerami)*, *Commentatio in Charicleam*, «Medioevo Greco» 9, 2009, S. 45-51; *Echi del romanzo e di Procopio di Gaza in Filagato Cerameo*, «Byzantinische Zeitschrift» 103, 2010, S. 25-38.

<sup>93</sup> F. Conca, *Il romanzo bizantino del XII secolo*, Torino 1994. Vgl. jetzt vor allem P. Roilos, *Amphoteroglossia. A Poetics of the Twelfth-Century Greek Novel*, Washington, D.C. 2005.

σεμνὸς καὶ ὀγκηρός «Die erste ist voller Anmut und Blüte, der zweite voll Anmut mit Besonnenheit, der dritte hat vielfältig Gutes, der vierte ist erhaben und würdevoll». Hier dürfte etwas passiert sein: Fünf Autoren bzw. Werke, aber nur vier Charakteristika. Bedenkt man, dass nur die erste charakterisierte Person weiblichen Geschlechts ist (ἡ πρώτη, aber ὁ δεύτερος), dann müsste man vermuten, dass eine der beiden Romanfiguren nachträglich hinzugekommen ist.

Die Lösung sieht aber anders aus, die Handschriften weisen den Weg: M und V haben ὁ δεύτερος [...] ὁ τρίτος, C und L hingegen ἡ δευτέρα [...] ἡ τρίτη. Kein Zweifel – es muss heißen ἡ δευτέρα ... ὁ τρίτος, und der in Z. 92f. folgende Satz über die Briefe (Αἱ ἐπιστολαὶ πολὺ τὸ πιθανὸν καὶ εὐπλαστον ἔχουσι «die Briefe sind sehr überzeugend und gut erfunden») ist nicht, wie Donnet offenbar meint, allgemein zu verstehen, sondern auf die Briefe des Alkiphron zu beziehen. Auf diese Weise stimmen auch die Epitheta besser zu den jeweiligen Personen und Werken: Leukippe voll Anmut und Blüte, Charikleia verbindend Anmut und Besonnenheit, Lukian von vielfältiger Schönheit, Synesios würdevoll und gewichtig, Alkiphron glaubwürdig und gut erfunden. Joseph Rhakendytes<sup>94</sup> nennt Synesios als Beispiel ὀγκηρῶν λέξεων. Und für die erfundenen Briefe Alkiphrons passen die Epitheta πιθανόν und εὐπλαστον sehr gut. Akzeptiert man dieses Verständnis der Passage, dann ist hier die Absatzgliederung von Donnet, die ohnehin in den Handschriften keine Grundlage hat,<sup>95</sup> zu korrigieren. Richtig setzt Bekker<sup>96</sup> nach σεμνὸς καὶ ὀγκηρός nur ein Komma und erst nach εὐπλαστον ἔχουσι einen Punkt.

Würdevoll und hoch sei Philon, Joseph ausgezeichnet im Prosastil in seinem Werk über die Eroberung (*sc.* Jerusalems), ebenso die Charikleia.

95-110. Die Empfehlungen unseres Autors, betreffend die Mischung rhetorischer und philosophischer Gedanken, werden nur in M und V an dieser Stelle wiedergegeben, die anderen Textzeugen setzen diese Passage an das Ende von Kapitel II der Σύνοψις ῥητορικῆς des Joseph Rhakendytes. Sie passt dort gut in den thematischen Zusammenhang, woraus sich aber nicht zwingend ergibt, dass dies von Anfang an ihr ursprünglicher Platz war. Es schien uns daher vertretbar, sie hier wiederzugeben und dementsprechend am Beginn der Passage die Version von MV in den Text zu setzen.

Als Beispiele einer solchen Mischung nennt der Anonymus die Reden von Gregor von Nazianz, Basileios und Gregor von Nyssa, Reden und Briefe des Psellos, ferner Synesios, Themistios und Plutarch. Beispiele für rein rhetorisches Schreiben seien Chrysostomos, besonders in seinen Moralreden, der Metaphrast (also Symeon Metaphrastes), Libanios, Aphthonios, Prokopios von Gaza, Chorikios, Hieronios, Lukian (dieser habe aber auch philosophische Gedanken) und Demo-

<sup>94</sup> Walz, S. 526, 14.

<sup>95</sup> C und L schließen den Absatz erst mit καὶ ἡ Χαρίκλεια (Z. 94), M und V mit εὐπλαστον ἔχουσι (Z. 93). Nach ὀγκηρός (Z. 92) hat V einen etwas größeren Abstand, aber weder – wie sonst in solchen Fällen – einen Doppelpunkt, noch eine Initiale. M hat nach ὀγκηρός einen Doppelpunkt, nach ἔχουσι aber Doppelpunkt, Kreuz und Initiale Σ.

<sup>96</sup> Bekker (wie oben, Anm. 10), S. 1082.

sthenes; besonders wenn man Agonartiges (ἐναγώνια – einige Handschriften haben statt dessen ἐν ἀγωνίᾳ) und rhetorisch Ausgefeiltes schreibt, Lysias, Isokrates und von den Modernen jene, die diesen folgen.

101f. ὁ Χρυσόστομος καὶ μᾶλλον ἐν τοῖς ἠθικοῖς αὐτοῦ, ὁ Μεταφραστής: Walz und Donnet setzen nach Χρυσόστομος, nicht aber nach αὐτοῦ ein Komma, beziehen also die Angabe auf den Metaphrasten und verstehen καὶ μᾶλλον im Sinne von «und mehr noch». Man könnte aber καὶ μᾶλλον auch als «und zwar besonders» verstehen. Die Handschriften helfen nicht weiter, da sie an beiden Stellen interpungieren. Es gilt daher festzustellen, welchem der beiden Autoren ἠθικά oder ἠθικοὶ λόγοι zugeschrieben werden. Das Ergebnis der TLG-Recherche ist eindeutig: Keine Belege für den Metaphrasten, einige hingegen für Chrysostomos. Ganz ähnlich wie hier liest man in der *Rhetorica Marciana*:<sup>97</sup> ὁ δὲ Χρυσόστομος ἐννοίαις μὲν χρῆται ῥητορικαῖς, καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τοῖς ἠθικοῖς. Die Angabe bezieht sich dort eindeutig auf Chrysostomos, auch wenn etwas später hinzugefügt wird: τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον καὶ ὁ Μεταφραστής. Im Hermogenes-Kommentar des Gregorios Pardos heißt es:<sup>98</sup> δεῖν οὖν φησιν ἠθικοὺς λόγους ἀναμεταξὺ τῶν ζητητικῶν παρεμβάλλεσθαι· ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ Χρυσόστομος ἐποίησε, ταῖς ἐξηγήσει τῶν θεοπνεύστων λογίων καὶ ἠθικοὺς προσθεῖς. Letztlich gehen derartige Formulierungen auf Chrysostomos selbst zurück. Er betont wiederholt die Verbindung von dogmatischer und ethischer Unterweisung in den von ihm kommentierten biblischen Schriften, und auch auf seine eigenen Werke wendet er diesen Gedanken an, etwa in der Schrift *Non esse desperandum*:<sup>99</sup> Οὗτοι μὲν οὖν μυστικώτεροι καὶ δογματικώτεροι οἱ λόγοι· εἰ δὲ βούλεσθε, καὶ ἠθικώτερον μετὰ τούτων ἐρῶ, oder in *De resurrectione mortuorum*:<sup>100</sup> δογμάτων ὑμῖν ἔμπροσθεν διηλέχθημεν [...] σήμερον τὸν ἠθικώτερον βούλομαι γυμνάσαι λόγον. Später wurde τὸ ἠθικόν oder τὰ ἠθικά als Terminus für diese Praxis verwendet.<sup>101</sup>

In Gedanken rhetorischer Erzählung seien zu erwähnen Charikleia, Leukippe, Philostratos in der Vita Apollonii, Xenophon und Prokopios von Kaisareia. Letzterer sei nicht nur erzählend, sondern habe in den Reden auch Agonartiges und Ausgefeiltes. Die Briefe des Alkiphron haben eher einfache Gedanken und den entsprechenden Stil.

Insgesamt entspricht die Forderung einer Verbindung von Philosophie und Rhe-

<sup>97</sup> Walz, S. 612, 18-20.

<sup>98</sup> Walz VII, S. 1347, 11-13.

<sup>99</sup> PG LI, col. 368.

<sup>100</sup> PG L, col. 417ter.

<sup>101</sup> S. Haidacher, *Neun Ethika des Evangelienkommentars von Theodor Meliteniotes und deren Quellen*, «Byzantinische Zeitschrift» 11, 1902, S. 370-387. *The Synaxarion of the monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis, September – February*, Text and Translation by R. H. Jordan, Belfast 2000, S. 74, 8: Τὰ ἠθικά τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου (ebenso an anderen Stellen des Synaxars, siehe TLG). Vgl. Ch. Baur, *Der heilige Johannes Chrysostomos und seine Zeit*, I, München 1929, S. 307f.: «Das ‚Ethikon‘, die moralische Nutzenanwendung am Schluß jeder Predigt, gehört bei Chrysostomos geradezu zum Wesen der Sache».

torik genau dem harmonisierenden Grundkonzept des Psellos.<sup>102</sup> Papaioannou<sup>103</sup> vermerkt allerdings, dass Psellos als Musterautor für Briefe hier «for the first and, as it so happens, last time» genannt wird.

111-122. Nützlich in Briefen seien τὰ γνωματεύματα τῶν σοφῶν, also die Sprüche der (*sc.* sieben) Weisen, die sogenannten Aporhthegmata und sprichwörtliche Wendungen (τὰ παροιμιώδη), oft auch τὰ μυθικώτερα καὶ γλυκύτερα καὶ ἀφελέστερα «Fabelartiges, Angenehmes, Einfaches». Nützlich seien manchmal auch αἰ κολλήσεις («Anklebungen»), das ist die Einfügung eines Verses oder eines Teils von einem solchen in den Prosatext. Der Terminus ist seit Ps.-Hermogenes<sup>104</sup> wohlbekannt,<sup>105</sup> die Praxis wird in manchen Kommentaren als die Zuhörer erfreuend (τοὺς ἀκροωμένους εὐφραίνουσιν)<sup>106</sup> bezeichnet. Der Autor der *Rhetorica Marciana*<sup>107</sup> bringt als Beispiel eine Stelle aus dem Epitaph Gregors von Nazianz auf Basileios<sup>108</sup> mit einem Pindar-Zitat: οὕτω δὴ τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔχοντες καὶ τοιαύτας ὑποστήσαντες εὐτειχεῖ θαλάμῳ χρυσέας κίονας, ὃ φησι Πίνδαρος (Pind. *Ol.* 6, 1-2).

Ein Reden ähnlicher und ausgefeilter Stil (τὸ λογογραφικὸν εἶδος καὶ ἐγκατάσκευον)<sup>109</sup> sei in Briefen zu meiden, erzählerischer (τὸ ἀφηγηματικόν) anzuwenden; denn der Brief sei eine Erzählung und ein Gespräch von Freund zu Freund – ein Topos, der in theoretischen Aussagen zum Brief immer wieder gebraucht wird, um die Notwendigkeit eines mittleren Stils in Briefen zu unterstreichen. Allerdings – so unser Autor – scheuen sich gerade unsere Zeitgenossen nicht, ganze «literarische» (λογοειδεῖς) Briefe zu verfassen. Ob sich diese Bemerkung auf bestimmte Autoren bezieht, lässt sich nicht sagen (denkbar wäre etwa Eustathios von Thessalonike oder Michael Choniates). Wie auch immer, unser Autor empfiehlt, diese Verfasser «literarischer» Briefe nur maßvoll nachzuzahlen. Damit steht er gedanklich und terminologisch ganz in der Tradition Gregors von Nazianz:<sup>110</sup> Περὶ δὲ σαφηνείας ἐκεῖνο γνώριμον, ὅτι χρῆ φεύγοντα τὸ λογοειδές, ὅσον ἐνδέχεται, μᾶλλον εἰς τὸ λαλικὸν ἀποκλίνειν. Der Terminus λογοειδής wird bei verschiedenen Autoren unterschiedlich verwendet, einerseits wie hier im Sinn eines litera-

<sup>102</sup> S. Papaioannou, *Michael Psellos, Rhetoric and Authorship* (im Druck), besonders S. 48-53 und 281-286.

<sup>103</sup> S. Papaioannou, *Fragile Literature: Byzantine Letter-Collections and the Case of Michael Psellos*, in P. Odorico (Hrsg.), *La face cachée de la littérature byzantine. Le texte en tant que message immédiat*, Paris 2012, Anm. 90.

<sup>104</sup> Hermogenes, *Περὶ μεθόδου δεινότητος* 30 = S. 447, 5-16 Rabe.

<sup>105</sup> Zahlreiche Belege im TLG.

<sup>106</sup> Syrianos, *Comm. in Hermog. De id.*, ed. H. Rabe, Leipzig 1892, S. 78, 19 = Anon. In *Hermog. De id.*, Walz VII 2, S. 1069, 7.

<sup>107</sup> 114 De Falco.

<sup>108</sup> Greg. Naz. *Or.* 43 (*Epit. in Basil.*), 20, 1 = S. 164 Bernardi. Der Editor merkt dazu an, dass Gregor sechsmal Pindar zitiert, fast durchwegs (ausgenommen nur diese Stelle) in den Briefen.

<sup>109</sup> Die Unterscheidung in ἀπλοῦν, ἐνδιάσκευον und ἐγκατάσκευον ist seit Hermogenes gebräuchlich. Vgl. die Demonstration dieser Kompositionsarten bei Walz, S. 577-578 (anonym).

<sup>110</sup> P. Gallay (ed.), Saint-Grégoire de Nazianze, *Lettres*, I, Paris 1964, S. 67 (*ep.* LI 4).



risch anspruchsvollen Stils, andererseits im Bereich der Dichtung im Sinn eines der Prosa angenäherten Rhythmus. Vgl. etwa Hermogenes (über Archilochos):<sup>111</sup> Οἱ γὰρ τετράμετροι αὐτῷ διὰ τοῦτ' οἶμαι καὶ γοργότεροι καὶ λογοειδέστεροι τῶν ἄλλων εἶναι δοκοῦσι, διότι τροχαϊκῶς σύγκεινται· τρέχει γὰρ ὡς ὄντως ἐν τούτοις ὁ ῥυθμός. Dazu die Erläuterung von Trichas:<sup>112</sup> λογοειδῆ λέγων τὴν ἐξ ἰάμβων καὶ τροχαίων συντεθειμένην· οἱ γὰρ πεζοὶ λόγοι ἐκ τοιούτων ὡς τὰ πολλὰ ποδῶν αὐτομάτως σύγκεινται.

Die Lexik solle klar sein und nicht allzu viele Figuren (σχήματα) enthalten. Als Vorbilder für Briefe werden wieder die drei Kappadokier genannt (Gregor von Nyssa mit der Einschränkung «elegant, wenn auch mit Neuerungen»), sodann Synesios, Libanios und Psellos.

123-165. Die Ausführungen zur jambischen Dichtung haben schon bisher Beachtung gefunden,<sup>113</sup> wohl weil sie – im Gegensatz zu metrischen Traktaten im engeren Sinn – auf die Praxis hin ausgerichtet sind.

Der Autor beginnt mit der Feststellung, die ἀρετή der jambischen Verse bestehe vor allem in der εὐρυθμία, und diese werde durch die Wortwahl erzielt, und zwar durch komprimierte, knappe und hiatlose Wörter, also nicht ἐθεάσατο, sondern ἔβλεψε, nicht ποιησάμενος, sondern δράσας. Die beiden Beispiele zeigen, dass der Autor hier mit Hiat nicht, wie üblich, jenen zwischen zwei Wörtern, sondern den innerhalb eines Wortes (χασμωδιώδης λέξις) meint. Er schließt eine ganze Reihe von Wörtern an (von πλάσας bis θράσας), die er in diesem Sinn als hiatlos klassifiziert, wogegen er auf -ία endenden Nomina (δειλία, ῥαθυμία, ἀτονία) diese Qualität abspricht.

Auch der Akzent bewirke in hohem Ausmaß Eurhythmie (καὶ ὁ τόνος πολλὴν εὐρυθμίαν ποιεῖ), und es sei daher auf einen harmonischen Wechsel von Oxytona, Proparoxytona usw. zu achten. Hier würde man sich natürlich Genaueres wünschen, aber der Autor geht leider nicht näher ins Detail – außer zu einem Punkt, und das ist bekanntlich das am strengsten regulierte Element, nämlich der Verschluss: Im sechsten Fuß sei, wenn möglich, immer Paroxytonon anzustreben, weil wohlklingend, und der ganze Vers gewinne sehr an Eurhythmie, wenn das Ende wohlklingend ist. Auch hier (Z. 132-133) illustriert eine auf den ersten Blick wenig verständliche Aufzählung von Wörtern – von τρέχειν bis δέος, durchwegs Paroxytona, also für den Verschluss geeignet – den sinnvollen Gedankengang.

Auch die τροπολογία, also die Verwendung von Bildern und Metaphern, sei nützlich, wenn maßvoll eingesetzt. Beispiele werden auch hier geboten, sie lassen sich aber nicht in bekannten Werken verifizieren und an den Ursprung zurückverfolgen. Bei ὑγροὺς ἄνθρακας τοὺς κόκκους τῆς ρόας führt die Spur zu Eustathios. Er will das Bild bei einem σοφός τις γλυκὺς τὴν φράσιν gefunden haben.<sup>114</sup> Sollte

<sup>111</sup> Hermogenes, *De ideis*, S. 319, 24-320, 1 Rabe.

<sup>112</sup> Trichas, *Libellus de novem metris*, ed. M. Consbruch, Hephæstionis *Enchiridion*, Leipzig 1906, S. 379, 24.

<sup>113</sup> Siehe oben, Anm. 2.

<sup>114</sup> Eustathii Thessalonicensis *De emendanda vita monachica*, ed. K. Metzler, Berlin 2006, S. 178,

der Anonymus es von Eustathios übernommen haben, dann wäre dies schon – nach dem oben zitierten Prooimion von Rede 16 – der zweite Fall einer wenngleich wohl dosierten Kritik an dem gelehrten Erzbischof.

Sehr wichtig sei es, dass ein Gedanke in einem Vers abgeschlossen enthalten ist und dass er nicht vom vorigen in den nächsten Vers hineinhängt – um es modern auszudrücken: Enjambement ist zu meiden. Dieses Postulat mag in einem rhetorischen Traktat selten sein, es entspricht aber weit verbreiteter byzantinischer Praxis.<sup>115</sup> Der Autor nennt dazu als negatives Beispiel die Verse

Εἰς τὴν ἐρυθρὰν ἀβρόχοις ποσὶ πάλαι  
παρήλθε Μωσῆς, ἢ δὲ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων  
φάλαγξ ὑποβρύχιος ἔνδον ἐκρύβη.

Drei Verse, jeweils durch Enjambement verbunden. Mit der Wendung ὡς ἐάν τις γράφῃ οὕτως «wie wenn jemand so schreibe» (*varia lectio* ὡς ἔν τισι γράφει οὕτως) wird wohl auch signalisiert, dass sie erfunden sind (sie sind auch tatsächlich sonst noch nirgends aufgetaucht). Als positives Gegenbeispiel, wie dasselbe Thema in Jamben ausgedrückt werden kann, wird das folgende Distichon angeführt:

Μωσῆς περᾶ θάλασσαν ἀβρόχῳ δρόμῳ,  
Αἰγύπτιος δὲ τοῖς κύμασιν ἐκρύβη.

Derselbe Tatbestand, konzis in nur zwei Versen ausgedrückt, ganz ohne Enjambement. Dieses Distichon, in dem der Autor seine Kriterien erfüllt sieht, ist überliefert.<sup>116</sup> Lauxtermann<sup>117</sup> weist es Johannes Geometres zu.

146. Ὅρῳς ὅπως ἐν ἐκάστῳ στίχῳ ἀφορίζεται καὶ ἴσταται ἢ ἔννοια; Fünf der sechs vollständigen Codices haben am Ende des Satzes ein Fragezeichen. Der Satz ist somit als (rhetorische) Frage zu verstehen.

Für diese Technik, die auch gnomischen Versen der (antiken) Dichter und sonstigen Weisen (καὶ τὰ γνομικὰ τῶν ποιητῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων σοφῶν) entspreche, gibt der Autor weitere Beispiele:

Γύναι, γυναιξὶ κόσμον ἢ σιγῇ φέρει: Soph. *Aias* 293 = Aesch. Frg. 470\*\* Radt, zitiert auch bei Libanios, Stobaios und etwas verändert in Menander-Sentenzen; Anspielungen öfters, so bei Psellos, *Chronographia* VIIc 9 (II 374 Impellizzeri) εἰ δὲ γυναιξὶ κόσμον ἢ σιγῇ φέρει, κατὰ τὸν τραγῳδόν.

Ein weiteres Beispiel:

80; dazu der Kommentar: K. Metzler, *Eustathios von Thessalonike und das Mönchtum. Untersuchungen und Kommentar zur Schrift «De emendanda vita monachica»*, Berlin 2006, S. 567.

<sup>115</sup> M. D. Lauxtermann, *The Spring of Rhythm*, Wien 1999, S. 42 et passim.

<sup>116</sup> L. Sternbach, *Appendix critica de Ioanne Euchaitensi*, «Eos» 4, 1897, S. 157, aus Cod. Paris. gr. 2991A a. 1420.

<sup>117</sup> Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry* (oben, Anm. 6), S. 301.

Ἐξωριάζειν γὰρ πατρὸς λόγους βαρύ: Aesch. *Prom.* 17. Dort haben die Editionen zwar εὐωριάζειν, doch geht dies auf eine Emendation von Porson zurück. Die Aischylos-Handschriften, Scholien und sonstigen Stellen haben durchwegs ἐξ-, nur in dieser Form war das Zitat offenbar in Byzanz bekannt (vgl. *TLG, LBG*).<sup>118</sup>

Es folgt τὸ θεολογικόν (ein Vers aus einem paränetischen Alphabet, Gregor von Nazianz zugeschrieben):<sup>119</sup> Θυμὸν χαλίνου (χαλινουῦ Walz Donnet) μὴ φρενῶν ἕξω πέσης. Der Vers ist auch in den *Sacra Parallela*<sup>120</sup> sowie in einem Syntax-Lexikon<sup>121</sup> überliefert.

Nächstes positives Musterbeispiel, wo in einem Vers nicht nur ein geschlossener Gedanke ausgedrückt, sondern eine ganze Geschichte erzählt wird und beinahe alle sechs Umstände (τὰ ἕξ σχεδὸν περιστατικά) zur Sprache kommen:

Σταυροῖ Πέτρον κύμβαχον ἐν Ῥώμῃ Νέρων.

Es ist dies der Anfangsvers eines Gedichtes in zwölf Versen auf die Todesarten der Apostel, das in den Handschriften verschiedenen Autoren zugeschrieben wird (Psellos, Mauropus, Prodromos); jüngste Edition unter den Spuria des Psellos bei Westerink,<sup>122</sup> Nr. 90.

Die περιστατικά oder περιστάσεις sind ein schon in der Antike geläufiger und dann von den byzantinischen Kommentatoren immer wieder erwähnter Terminus. Der älteste bekannte Beleg dürfte ein Hermagoras-Fragment bei Ps.-Augustinus sein:<sup>123</sup> «Sunt igitur partes circumstantiae, id est peristaseos, septem, quas Hermagoras μόρια περιστάσεως vocat [...] sunt igitur haec: quis, quid, quando, ubi, cur, quem ad modum, quibus adminiculis, quas Graeci ἀφορμάς vocant». Normalerweise werden sechs (seltener fünf oder sieben) Umstände genannt: πρόσωπον, πρᾶγμα, χρόνος, τρόπος, τόπος, αἰτία.<sup>124</sup> Der zitierte Vers enthält in der Tat, wie von unserem Autor postuliert, fast alle Umstände: Person – Petrus, Sache – Kreuzigung, Zeit – Nero, Art – kopfüber, Ort – Rom. In einer der Handschriften (V) hat ein Leser am unteren Rand der Seite die Worte des Verses und jeweils darüber den betreffenden Umstand angegeben:<sup>125</sup> σταυροῖ – τὸ πραχθὲν πρᾶγμα, Πέτρον – ὡς ἀπόστολον, αἰτία δι' ἣν, κύμβαχον – τρόπος ὅπως, ἐν Ῥώμῃ – τόπος ἐν ᾧ, Νέρων – τὸ πρᾶξαν πρόσωπον, χρόνον καθ' ὃν. Die Sechszahl erreichte der Schreiber dadurch, dass er auf Nero zwei Umstände (Person und Zeit) bezog.

<sup>118</sup> Agapitos, *Blemmydes* (oben, Anm. 73), S. 11, Anm. 57.

<sup>119</sup> PG XXXVII, col. 909.

<sup>120</sup> PG XCVI, col. 272.

<sup>121</sup> J. A. Cramer, *Anecdota graeca e codicibus manuscriptorum bibliothecarum Oxoniensium*, IV, Oxford 1837, S. 305, 7.

<sup>122</sup> Michaelis Pselli *Poemata*, rec. L. G. Westerink, Stuttgart 1992, S. 461-463.

<sup>123</sup> Hermagorae Temnitae *Testimonia et fragmenta* collegit D. Matthes. Leipzig 1962, 13f. (I, fr. 7 = Aug. *Rhet.* 7s, S. 141, 8).

<sup>124</sup> Vgl. Walz 517, 7-9; 601, 19-21; 605, 20-23.

<sup>125</sup> In E, der Kopie von V, enthält die Marginalie nur den Wortlaut des Verses ohne die Umstandsbezeichnungen.

Weiteres Beispiel:

Ἦνθραξ ἀθλητῆ δῶρον ἐκ μονομάχου.

Dieser Vers ist bisher nur als Monostichon aus der Anthologie des Cod. Marc. gr. 524 bekannt.<sup>126</sup> Er ist dort anonym überliefert, eine Zuweisung an einen bekannten Dichter ist bis jetzt nicht erfolgt. Lampros druckt *Μονομάχου* mit großem Anfangsbuchstaben, vielleicht zu Recht, da die Gedichte der Umgebung ebenfalls auf den Kaiser Konstantinos Monomachos Bezug nehmen, teilweise mit Wortspielen, so vielleicht auch hier. Dem entspricht in etwa auch der Eintrag bei Vassis:<sup>127</sup> «In imaginem (?) martyris cuiusdam a Constant. Monomacho imp. oblatam». Der genaue Sinn des Verses ist mir nicht klar. Sicher dürfte aber sein, dass hier mit ἄνθραξ nicht die Kohle, sondern ein Edelstein gemeint ist.<sup>128</sup> Erwähnt sei noch, dass δῶρον μονομάχου ein weiteres Mal belegt ist, in V. 11 des astronomischen Gedichts des Johannes Kamateros,<sup>129</sup> dort ohne Bezug auf Konstantinos Monomachos: καὶ ρόδον ὡς ἐξ ἄκανθῶν ἢ δῶρον μονομάχου.

Unser Autor fügt realistischerweise hinzu, dass sich dieses Streben nach in sich abgeschlossenen Versen nicht ausnahmslos durchhalten lässt, vor allem bei längeren Gedichten. Er spricht aber abschließend noch einen weiteren Faktor an, der genau in sein Konzept passt: Meidung von Tautologie und Abundanz. Negativbeispiel:

Ἦλγος φίλοις καὶ θλίψιν εἰς ψυχὴν φέρεις  
Μακρὰν ἀπάραξ καὶ διαστὰς πατρίδος.

Anstelle dieser zwei Verse mit ihren Tautologien genüge ein einziger, nämlich Ἦλγυνας ἡμᾶς ἀπάραξ τῆς πατρίδος.

In diesem Fall sind sowohl Negativ- als auch Positivbeispiel bisher sonst nirgends nachweisbar. Es ist daher möglich, dass der Autor hier beide zu Demonstrationzwecken erfunden hat.

Ein letzter, wichtiger Gedanke: τὸ ἐνθυμηματικόν – man wird das hier wohl als «knappes Argumentieren» zu verstehen haben – sei der Redekunst eigen, und weil ja die jambische Dichtung eine Art rhythmischer Rede sei, solle man diese Praxis anstreben. Als Muster (εἰς ἀρχέτυπον) diene [Georgios] Pisides, unter den Jüngeren (νεωτέρους) Kallikles, der Ptochoprodromos und andere, unter den Alten (ἐν τοῖς παλαιοῖς) der Theologe (also Gregor von Nazianz), Sophokles außer seinen poetischen Eigenheiten (ἐκτὸς τῶν ποιητικῶν ἰδιωμάτων αὐτοῦ) und die im Ausdruck besseren Passagen (τὰ εὐφραδέστερα, v.l. εὐφραδέστατα) des Lykophron.

<sup>126</sup> ed. Sp. Lampros, «Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων» 8, 1911, S. 7, Nr. 8.

<sup>127</sup> I. Vassis, *Initia carminum byzantinorum*, Berlin 2005, S. 54.

<sup>128</sup> Vgl. S. Schönauer, *Untersuchungen zum Steinkatalog des Sophrosyne-Gedichtes des Meliteniotes mit kritischer Edition der Verse 1107-1247*, Wiesbaden 1996, S. 105\*.

<sup>129</sup> ed. L. Weigl, Johannes Kamateros, *Εἰσαγωγή ἀστρονομίας*, Leipzig 1908, S. 5.

Diese Aufzählung ist nicht uninteressant: Pisides steht sozusagen zwischen den Zeiten, er schreibt noch korrekte jambische Trimeter und hält in den Augen der Byzantiner dem Vergleich mit antiken Dichtern stand. Man denke nur an die vergleichende Studie des Psellos über die Frage, wer bessere Verse geschrieben hat, Euripides oder Pisides.<sup>130</sup> Manuel Philes<sup>131</sup> schrieb ein Gedicht κατὰ μίμησιν τῶν στίχων τοῦ Πισίδου.

Unter den Jüngeren, also den byzantinischen Jambographen im engeren Sinne, werden hier Prodromos und Kallikles als repräsentativ angesehen, und dies durchaus mit Recht, auch wenn der moderne Leser Namen wie Geometres oder Mauropus vermissen mag. Dass für Prodromos die Namensform Πτωχοπρόδρομος gewählt wurde, ist bemerkenswert, zeigt es doch, dass diese Bezeichnung bereits relativ früh für die echten Gedichte des Prodromos und nicht nur für die volkssprachlichen Ptochoprodromika in Verwendung stand.<sup>132</sup>

Gregor von Nazianz schließlich, der in diesem Traktat immer wieder als Muster angeführt wurde, ist auch hier präsent, und zwar neben Sophokles und Lykophron<sup>133</sup> als Vertreter der Antike. Das entspricht an sich byzantinischem Selbstverständnis hinsichtlich der prinzipiellen Gleichwertigkeit heidnischer und christlicher Autoren in Fragen der literarischen Ästhetik. Und doch hat Rhoby nicht unrecht, wenn er Gregor als Autorität just für jambische Dichtung und seine Nennung in einem Atemzug mit Sophokles etwas erstaunlich findet, zum einen weil im Oeuvre des Nazianzeners Hexameter und elegische Distichen eine weitaus größere Rolle spielen als Jamben, zum anderen weil seine Jamben in ihrer Qualität bei weitem nicht an jene des Sophokles heranreichen.<sup>134</sup> Die Erklärung könnte darin liegen, dass in dieser Passage nicht von Fragen der Metrik, sondern vom inhaltlichen Charakter jambischer Dichtung die Rede ist.

In cod. Marc. gr. 444, dem Hauptzeugen der *Rhetorica Marciana*, wurde τὸν Καλλικλῆν weggelassen und nach τὸν Πτωχοπρόδρομον noch τὸν φιλῆν hinzugefügt.<sup>135</sup> Offenbar war dem Schreiber oder dem Kompilator der *Rhetorica* Kallikles nicht mehr sehr vertraut, wohl aber sein eigener Zeitgenosse Manuel Philes.

<sup>130</sup> Jüngste Edition von A. Dyck, *Michael Psellus, The Essays on Euripides and George of Pisidia and on Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius*, Wien 1986. Wichtige Textverbesserungen bei A. Kambylis, *Michael Psellos' Schrift über Euripides und Pisides. Probleme der Textkonstitution*, «Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik» 44, 1994, S. 203-215, sowie A. Kambylis, *Michael Psellos' Schrift Τίς ἐστὶ χιζε κρείττον ὁ Εὐριπίδης ἢ ὁ Πισίδης. Textkritische Bemerkungen*, *ibid.* 56, 2006, S. 135-149.

<sup>131</sup> Manuelis Philae *Carmina inedita* ed. Ae. Martini, Neapel 1900, S. 2 (Nr. 2).

<sup>132</sup> Dazu vgl. W. Hörandner, *Autor oder Genus? Diskussionsbeiträge zur "Prodromischen Frage" aus gegebenem Anlaß*, «Byzantinoslavica» 54, 1993, S. 314-324.

<sup>133</sup> Zur Lykophron-Rezeption in Byzanz siehe C. De Stefani, E. Magnelli, *Lycophron in Byzantine Poetry (and Prose)*, in C. Cusset, E. Prioux (edd.), *Lycophron: éclats d'obscurité*, Saint-Etienne 2009, S. 593-620; E. Magnelli, *Prodromea (con una nota su Gregorio di Nazianzo)*, «Medioevo Greco» 10, 2010, S. 111-144: 114-116, *Teodoro Prodromo e Licofrone: due integrazioni*.

<sup>134</sup> Rhoby, *Byzantinische Epigramme* (oben, Anm. 6), S. 39 Anm. 14.

<sup>135</sup> Walz, S. 562, Anm. 36 und 37; De Falco (oben, Anm. 13), S. 112; vgl. Rhoby (oben, Anm. 133).

166-172. Am Ende des Textes folgt in V und daher auch bei Donnet die etwas rätselhafte Aufzählung Ὀμηρος – Ὀππιανός – Περιγηγῆτης – Τρυφιδόωρος καὶ Μουσαῖος. Τέλος τῆς γραμματικῆς. Des Rätsels Lösung findet sich in den übrigen Handschriften und daher auch bei Walz: das kurze Kapitel über Dichtung im heroischen Maß. Der Autor stellt zunächst fest, dass heroische Verse gelobt werden, wenn sie daktylisch (δακτυλικά), also ganz oder weitestgehend aus Daktylen gebildet sind und wenn sie Wörter aus mehreren Dialekten, vorwiegend dem jonischen, enthalten. Den Gebrauch des Hiats (ἡ τῶν φωνηέντων σύγκρουσις ἤγουσιν ἢ χασμῶδία) sieht er als nützlich an, um der Rede Gewicht und Würde (ὄγκον καὶ ἀξίωμα) zu verleihen. Damit ist wieder – wie etwas weiter oben im Kapitel über die jambische Dichtung – nicht der Hiat im üblichen Sinn gemeint, also jener zwischen Wörtern, sondern jener im Inneren eines Wortes, in diesem Fall also das, was man metrische Dehnung nennt, ein Element, das in der Tat so etwas wie den epischen *color* ausmacht. Diese Erscheinung behandelt auch Eustathios mehrmals in seinen beiden Homer-Kommentaren; auch er sieht darin ein Mittel, um den Versen ὄγκος und σεμνότης zu verleihen.<sup>136</sup> Als Muster für diese Praxis nennt unser Autor – natürlich – den Archetypus Homer, sodann Oppian,<sup>137</sup> den Periegeten (also Dionysios Periegetes, 2. Jh. n. Chr. – auch dies ein Autor, mit dem sich bekanntlich Eustathios beschäftigt hat), Tryphiodor (5. Jh. n. Chr.) in der Eroberung Troias und schließlich Musaios (5./6. Jh.).

Wie es dazu kam, dass V (im Gegensatz zu dem ihm eng verwandten M) dieses kurze Kapitel nicht überliefert, sondern nur die darin genannten Namen notiert, ist unklar. Denkbar (und vielleicht am wahrscheinlichsten) ist, dass in der Vorlage von V neben dem Text des Kapitels am Rande ein Leser die Autornamen geschrieben hatte<sup>138</sup> und V – aus welchen Gründen auch immer – nur diese Marginalien, nicht aber den Text kopierte.

Insgesamt vertritt der Autor dieses Traktates ein durchgehendes, klares und nachvollziehbares Konzept, das sich in den wesentlichen Punkten anhand der Texte als sinnvoll bestätigen lässt. Die Zahl der erwähnten oder zitierten Autoren ist beträchtlich: 38 Autoren werden erwähnt, davon gehören 28 dem antiken paganen Bereich an, 5 der patristischen Literatur und 5 der byzantinischen Epoche. 6 Autoren werden ohne Angabe des Autornamens zitiert, davon 2 antike und 4 byzantinische. Die Botschaft ist klar: Richtschnur für den byzantinischen Autor und Rhetor bleiben antike Standardautoren, wobei die Autoren der Kaiserzeit und

<sup>136</sup> Vgl. M. van der Valk (ed.), *Eustathii Thessalonicensis Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem pertinentes*, III, Leiden 1979, S. 639, 18-21: Ἰστέον δὲ καὶ ὅτι τὸ ἀάπατος δι' εὐρυφωνίαν οὐκ ἔσχε τὸ ν κατὰ τὸ ἀνάπηρος καὶ ἀνάπυστος. προκρίνει γὰρ ἐν πολλοῖς ἢ ποιήσις τῆς λείας φωνῆς τὸ χασμῶδες διὰ τὸ σεμνὸν καὶ ὄγκηρόν.

<sup>137</sup> Zur Beliebtheit Oppians im 12. Jahrhundert vgl. A. Rhoby, *Zur Identifizierung bekannter Autoren im Codex Marcianus graecus 524*, «Medioevo Greco» 10, 2010, S. 167-204: 170f.

<sup>138</sup> Eine in für den Unterricht verwendeten Codices nicht unübliche Praxis, in unserem Traktat besonders ausgeprägt in Cod. Ma und Mb.

der Spätantike quantitativ überwiegen. Daneben ist aber – ähnlich wie bei Psellos – die Tendenz unverkennbar, den Vätern, vor allem den Kappadokiern, eine wichtige Rolle zuzumessen. Dominierend ist dabei, vor allem hinsichtlich der Zahl der Textbeispiele, Gregor von Nazianz. Zitate und Erwähnungen «jüngerer», also *grosso modo* zeitgenössischer Autoren schließlich gewähren interessante Einblicke in Literaturkritik und literarische Praxis der Zeit. Manches ist Gemeingut, anderes – etwa das permanente Lob des Psellos einerseits, die implizite Kritik an Eustathios andererseits – ist als individuelles Spezifikum des Autors zu werten.

Wolfram Hörandner





## De Corfú a Venecia: el itinerario primero del *Dioscórides* de Salamanca\*

1. La Biblioteca Universitaria de Salamanca conserva como uno de sus libros más preciados un manuscrito griego de Dioscórides, el Salmanticensis 2659. La razón principal de que este códice sea considerado uno de los tesoros de la Antigua Librería de la Universidad<sup>1</sup> radica no tanto en la antigüedad del ejemplar, que – como veremos – es una copia de época humanista, cuanto en el hecho de que el texto viene acompañado de numerosas ilustraciones policromas de plantas y, en menor medida, de animales que lo convierten en un libro sumamente vistoso y, al margen de su contenido científico, de una gran belleza intrínseca. Su singularidad dentro del fondo salmantino de manuscritos e impresos queda reflejada en varias publicaciones recientes – una edición facsimilar del códice, un volumen con la traducción al español del texto del manuscrito y un portal interactivo realizado gracias a la colaboración entre helenistas, botánicos, geólogos y especialistas en farmacología –, que son un claro exponente del interés suscitado en el medio académico salmantino por este manuscrito Salmanticensis.<sup>2</sup>

En el marco de una de esas publicaciones recién mencionadas dediqué una contribución a describir la historia del manuscrito, haciendo especial hincapié en el modo en que habría llegado a la Biblioteca Universitaria, que no sería otro que a través de la donación hecha presumiblemente por Francisco de Mendoza y Bovadilla, insigne prelado español que habría adquirido en Italia el ejemplar y lo habría regalado después al Colegio Mayor de San Bartolomé.<sup>3</sup> Esa *Historia del manuscrito Salm. 2659*, que intentaba aclarar principalmente el *iter Hispanicum* del *Dioscórides* de Salamanca, venía precedida de otro trabajo anterior en el que también tra-

\* El presente trabajo se ha visto sensiblemente enriquecido gracias a las sugerencias y observaciones que me ha hecho llegar David Speranzi, a quien desde aquí quiero expresar mi mayor gratitud por su ayuda. Trabajo elaborado en el marco del Proyecto de investigación FFI2009-10360.

<sup>1</sup> M. Becedas, *Tesoros de la Antigua Librería de la Universidad de Salamanca*, Salamanca 2002, pp. 56-57.

<sup>2</sup> Edición facsimilar *Dioscórides. Ms. 2659. Biblioteca de la Universidad de Salamanca*, Salamanca 2005; *Estudios y traducción. Dioscórides, Sobre los remedios medicinales. Manuscrito de Salamanca*, Salamanca 2006; <http://dioscorides.usal.es>. El manuscrito formó también parte de la exposición que tuvo lugar en la Biblioteca Nacional de España *Lecturas de Bizancio. El legado escrito de Grecia en España*, Madrid 2008, pp. 118-119.

<sup>3</sup> T. Martínez Manzano, *Historia del manuscrito Salm. 2659*, en la edición facsimilar *Dioscórides. Ms. 2659*, cit., pp. 15-22.

zaba las líneas básicas de la historia del códice y de los otros cuatro manuscritos griegos provenientes del Colegio de San Bartolomé.<sup>4</sup> En uno y otro caso, exponía la tesis de que el manuscrito debía de haber sido producido en Italia, y ello por dos razones: en primer lugar, porque el copista del Salm. 2659, “Juan de Corone”, había sido identificado de forma hipotética en ocasiones con Juan Gregorópulo, colaborador en varias imprentas venecianas,<sup>5</sup> y, en segundo lugar (y en estrecha relación con la razón que se acaba de señalar), porque se sabe que varios manuscritos transcritos por “Juan de Corone” fueron utilizados por Aldo Manuzio como modelos para sus ediciones venecianas, de lo que fácilmente podía concluirse que este personaje habría trabajado en Venecia al servicio de editores o impresores de textos griegos, o al menos en un ambiente próximo a ellos. Parecía, en definitiva, uno de tantos griegos copistas de profesión que encontraron acomodo en la amplia colonia griega asentada en Venecia. Una serie de trabajos publicados recientemente y de los que daré cuenta más adelante en estas páginas han desvelado finalmente la verdadera identidad de “Juan de Corone”, que no resulta ser otro que Juan Mosco, un profesor de origen espartano, activo buena parte de su vida en la isla de Corfú y de cuya presencia en Italia no tenemos ninguna prueba concluyente. La adquisición de este dato obliga pues a reconsiderar la protohistoria de este manuscrito a la vez que plantea un ulterior problema, el de cómo llegó el códice a Italia y a qué localidades en concreto puede circunscribirse su *iter Italicum*. Antes de afrontar estas cuestiones, deben darse algunos datos relevantes sobre el contenido exacto del códice que permitirán a la vez situarlo en el contexto de la transmisión manuscrita de Dioscórides.

2. El grueso del volumen (ff. 18-164<sup>v</sup>) contiene los cinco libros del tratado *De materia medica* de Dioscórides con el título Πεδανίου Διοσκουρίδου Ἀναζαρβέως περὶ ὕλης ἰατρικῆς, cuya edición canónica fue preparada por Max Wellmann a principios del s. XX.<sup>6</sup> El texto viene precedido en ff. 13-17 de un índice alfabético de los capítulos del tratado de Dioscórides dispuesto en cuatro columnas (πίναξ τῆς περὶ ὕλης ἰατρικῆς πραγματείας). Siguen al *De materia medica* dos tratados toxicológicos que la tradición atribuye a Dioscórides (ff. 164<sup>v</sup>-179<sup>v</sup>): se trata de dos suplementos apócrifos sobre venenos y animales venenosos que transmiten una cuarentena de manuscritos tras el texto de Dioscórides y que se editan convencionalmente como libros VI y VII.<sup>7</sup> Estos tratados se titulan respectivamente Περί

<sup>4</sup> T. Martínez Manzano, *El Salm. 2659 de Dioscórides y la historia del fondo griego de la Biblioteca Universitaria de Salamanca procedente del colegio de San Bartolomé*, «Helmantica» 49, 1998, pp. 309-328.

<sup>5</sup> D. y J. Harlfinger, M. Sicherl, J. A. M. Sonderkamp, *Griechische Handschriften und Aldinen. Eine Ausstellung anlässlich der XV. Tagung der Mommsen-Gesellschaft in der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel*, Braunschweig 1978, nr. 59, p. 149.

<sup>6</sup> M. Wellmann (ed.), *Pedanii Dioscuridis Anazarbei De materia medica*, I-III, Berlin 1906-1914.

<sup>7</sup> Para la tradición manuscrita y los problemas de atribución de estos dos tratados espurios cfr. A. Touwaide, *Les deux traités de toxicologie attribués a Dioscoride. Tradition manuscrite, établissement du texte et critique d'authenticité*, en A. Garzya (ed.), *Tradizione e ecdotica dei testi medi-*

δηλητηρίων φαρμάκων καὶ τῆς αὐτῶν προφυλακῆς y Περὶ ἰοβόλων y se conocen con el nombre más habitual de *Alexipharmaca* y *Theriaca*. Los márgenes de los ff. 19<sup>v</sup>-142 y 179<sup>v</sup> contienen extractos copiados por el mismo copista Juan del tratado de Galeno *De simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis et facultatibus*.<sup>8</sup>

Fundamental para situar con precisión el Salm. 2659 en el cuadro general de la transmisión textual de Dioscórides es la aparición en los últimos folios del códice (ff. 179<sup>v</sup>-181<sup>v</sup>) de tres breves opúsculos relacionados temáticamente con la farmacopea de Dioscórides pero ajenos al texto genuino del *De materia medica*. El primero, que trata sobre las facultades terapéuticas de diecisiete plantas, es una paráfrasis del *Carminis de viribus herbarum fragmentum* editado por Ernst Heitsch;<sup>9</sup> el segundo, titulado *Sobre la gran teriaca a base de víboras de Galeno*, es un texto elaborado principalmente a partir de varios tratados toxicológicos del *corpus* galénico que por sus rasgos intrínsecos debió de ser redactado – propone Alain Touwaide – en Constantinopla a mediados del s. XIV, concretamente en el Monasterio de San Juan Bautista de Petra (ἡ μονὴ τοῦ Προδρόμου τῆς Πέτρας), un centro cultural de primer orden, cuya fundación remonta quizás al s. V, que incluía entre sus instalaciones una escuela, un hospital, un taller de copia y una rica biblioteca.<sup>10</sup> Finalmente, el tercer texto, inconcluso, contiene una fórmula inédita para la preparación de las pastillas de la teriaca.

El principal interés de estos tres textos finales radica para nosotros en que, además del Salmanticensis, sólo otros dos manuscritos los transmiten: los códices Par. gr. 2183 y Vat. Pal. gr. 48. Esta circunstancia, unida al examen del texto y de las ilustraciones del tratado de Dioscórides, ha permitido a Touwaide relacionar genealógicamente los tres códices. Repasemos a continuación los principales argumentos esgrimidos por el estudioso belga.

3. En un trabajo publicado en 1997 Touwaide concluía que los tres opúsculos que cierran el Salm. 2659 y a los que acabamos de hacer referencia habían sido copiados por el copista conocido como “Juan de Corone” tomando como modelo el Par. gr. 2183, que contiene esos mismos textos en sus ff. 163<sup>v</sup>-165<sup>v</sup>.<sup>11</sup> Al hilo de su argumentación en torno a la historia textual del breve tratado sobre la teriaca atribuido a Galeno – el segundo de los tres opúsculos –, Touwaide hacía una serie de consideraciones sobre la historia del manuscrito Parisinus, que es pertinente traer a colación aquí. El Par. gr. 2183, antígrafo del Salmanticensis, que contiene como texto principal los libros I-V del *De materia medica* de Dioscórides más los

*ci tardoantichi e bizantini. Atti del Convegno Internazionale Anacapri 29-31 ottobre 1990*, Napoli 1992, pp. 291-335. El texto fue editado por K. Sprengel, en *Medicorum Graecorum opera quae extant*, XXVI 2, Leipzig 1830, pp. 1-41 y 42-91.

<sup>8</sup> Cfr. K. G. Kühn (ed.), *Galeni Opera omnia*, Leipzig 1826: XI, p. 379-XII, p. 377.

<sup>9</sup> E. Heitsch, *Die griechischen Dichterfragmente der römischen Kaiserzeit*, II, Göttingen 1964, pp. 23-38.

<sup>10</sup> A. Touwaide, *Une note sur la Thériaque attribuée à Galien*, «Byzantion» 67, 1997, pp. 439-482.

<sup>11</sup> Touwaide, *ibid.*, p. 445.

libros VI-VII – *Alexipharmaca* y *Theriaca* – del pseudo-Dioscórides, es un manuscrito de mediados del s. XIV que procede de Constantinopla pero que temporalmente pasó por Corfú.<sup>12</sup> La estancia del códice en la isla del Mar Jonio viene confirmada por el hecho de que de los textos de Dioscórides y pseudo-Dioscórides que contiene hizo una copia el escriba griego Demetrio Triboles, el cual la suscribió en el año 1481 en Corfú.<sup>13</sup> La copia de Triboles es el Par. gr. 2182.<sup>14</sup>

Del Par. gr. 2183 del s. XIV se sacó largo provecho, ya que de él descienden – según adelantaba Touwaide en 1997 – no sólo el Salm. 2659, obra de “Juan de Corone”, es decir, Juan Mosco, y el recién mencionado Par. gr. 2182, de la pluma de Triboles, sino también el Ambr. L 119 sup., una copia de ca. 1480 de la mano de Demetrio Mosco, copista de origen mesenio hijo de Juan Mosco.<sup>15</sup> La conjunción de tres datos invitaba – siempre según el estudioso belga – a ubicar en Venecia la copia del Ambrosianus y, por extensión, la presencia en la ciudad lagunara de su antígrafo, el Par. gr. 2183: en primer lugar, la actividad de Demetrio Mosco estaría atestiguada al menos desde 1478 en Italia, de donde no parece haberse movido hasta su muerte acaecida post 1519; en segundo lugar, a partir del Ambrosianus se elaboró la copia del Mutinensis α. P. 5. 17, realizada en 1487 en parte por Giorgio

<sup>12</sup> Touwaide, *ibid.*, pp. 451-452.

<sup>13</sup> Triboles era natural de Esparta. Tras la toma de Mistra en 1460 estuvo activo en Roma y se refugió temporalmente en Corfú, en donde está atestiguada su presencia entre 1481 y 1491 en calidad de copista y poseedor de una notable biblioteca. En 1491 Triboles enseñaba su biblioteca de Corfú a Janus Láscaris y le acompañaba a Arta, en el Epiro, para visitar la biblioteca de la familia y transcribir para él algunos manuscritos.

<sup>14</sup> El Par. gr. 2182 está abundantemente anotado por Jorge Eparco, hijo del médico y erudito Andrónico Eparco y padre a su vez del famoso marchante de códices del s. XVI Antonio Eparco. La familia de los Eparco desarrolló una intensa actividad intelectual en Corfú. El códice Parisinus es uno de los que regaló Antonio Eparco al rey Francisco I: cfr. B. Mondrain, *Les Éparque, une famille de médecins collectionneurs de manuscrits aux XV<sup>e</sup>-XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles*, en N. Oikonomides (ed.), *Ἡ ἐλληνικὴ γραφὴ κατὰ τοὺς 15<sup>ο</sup> καὶ 16<sup>ο</sup> αἰῶνες. The Greek Script in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> Centuries. Acts of the international Symposium (Athens, october 1996)*, Athine 2000, pp. 145-163, en esp. 157-158, y B. Mondrain, *Janus Lascaris copiste et ses livres*, en G. Prato (ed.), *I manoscritti greci tra riflessione e dibattito. Atti del V Colloquio internazionale di Paleografia greca, Cremona, 4-10 ottobre, 1998*, Firenze 2000, pp. 417-426, en esp. 420. David Speranzi señala que el manuscrito presenta la inscripción ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ en mayúsculas epigráficas de tradición bizantina, una característica habitual en los folios iniciales de los autógrafos de Demetrio Triboles: cfr. D. Speranzi, *Per la storia della libreria medicea privata. Il Laur. Plut. 58, 2, Giano Lascaris e Giovanni Mosco*, «Medioevo e Rinascimento» n.s. 18, 2007, pp. 181-215, en esp. 200.

<sup>15</sup> Cfr. Touwaide, *Une note sur la Thériaque*, cit., pp. 451-452, y A. Touwaide, *The Salamanca Dioscorides (Salamanca, University Library, 2659)*, «Erytheia» 24, 2003, pp. 125-158, en esp. 128. A las mismas conclusiones sobre la relación genealógica de los códices parece llegar la tesis doctoral de Marie Cronier, *Recherches sur l'histoire du texte du De Materia medica de Dioscoride. I*, Paris, École pratique des hautes études, 2007, pp. 575-586 y 628-656, trabajo al que no he tenido acceso, pero parte de cuyos resultados resume B. Mondrain, *Lettrés et copistes à Corfou au XV<sup>e</sup> et au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, en E. Cuozzo, V. Déroche, A. Peters-Custot, V. Prigent (edd.), *Puer Apuliae. Mélanges offerts à Jean-Marie Martin*, Paris 2008, pp. 463-476, en esp. 473.

Valla y Nicolás Blastos; y, finalmente, en el Ambrosianus se encuentran notas del patriarca veneciano Ermolao Barbaro, muerto en 1493.<sup>16</sup>

A este cuadro de conjunto presentado por Touwaide hay que hacer, no obstante, una observación sobre el lugar de confección del Ambr. L 119 sup.: en verdad, la presencia de Demetrio Mosco en Italia no está atestiguada desde 1478. La biografía de este personaje es más bien oscura y parca en detalles y, aunque Maria Rosa Formentin lo sitúa en Italia ya desde 1483,<sup>17</sup> el verdadero *terminus ante quem* de su llegada a la península italiana es el año 1493, como atestigua una carta de Pietro Bembo dirigida a Δημητρίῳ τῷ Μόσχῳ εἰς Ἐνετίαν en ese año. En 1483 Demetrio copia efectivamente el Marc. gr. VIII 18 (coll. 1020), una colección de rétores, pero en ese manuscrito no hay una indicación precisa de dónde está efectuada la copia, y un dato codicológico llama además nuestra atención: la aparición en el Marcianus de las mismas filigranas que se encuentran en un códice de seguro origen corfiota como es el Salm. 2659, “Flechas cruzadas” y “Ballesta en círculo”,<sup>18</sup> como veremos con más detalle enseguida, apunta antes bien a que el Marc. gr. VIII 18 (coll. 1020) fue copiado por Demetrio cuando se encontraba todavía en Corfú. Por ello creo que la copia de Dioscórides del Ambrosianus de ca. 1480, una de cuyas filigranas es también “Flechas cruzadas”,<sup>19</sup> puede situarse razonablemente en Corfú, dado que su modelo, el Par. gr. 2183, estaba en 1481 en la isla.<sup>20</sup> Eviden-

<sup>16</sup> Ermolao Barbaro preparó, sin duda con ayuda de este Ambrosianus y de otros manuscritos, una traducción latina de Dioscórides que permaneció inédita a su muerte y que fue publicada posteriormente por Gian Battista Cipelli, llamado Egnazio, en Venecia en 1516 (cfr. A. Cataldi Palau, *Gian Francesco d'Asola e la tipografia aldina. La vita, le edizioni, la biblioteca dell'Asolano*, Genova 1998, p. 60, y M. Cortesi, S. Fiaschi, *Repertorio delle traduzioni umanistiche a stampa. Secoli XV-XVI*, I, Firenze 2008, p. 449).

<sup>17</sup> M. R. Formentin, *Il punto su Demetrio Mosco*, «Bollettino della Badia greca di Grottaferrata», n.s. 52, 1998, pp. 235-257, en esp. 237-238, quien sin embargo no incluye al Ambr. L 119 sup. en el elenco de manuscritos elaborados por Demetrio Mosco.

<sup>18</sup> Formentin, *Il punto su Demetrio Mosco*, cit., p. 243 n. 23.

<sup>19</sup> Touwaide, *Une note sur la Thériaque*, cit., p. 451.

<sup>20</sup> Aunque el asunto merecería un estudio más exhaustivo del que podemos realizar aquí, me atrevo a proponer que un número no desdeñable de manuscritos atribuidos a la pluma de Demetrio Mosco y cuya confección Formentin sitúa hipotéticamente en Italia hayan podido ser realizados a principios de la década de los ochenta todavía en Corfú, antes de que Demetrio abandonase la isla jónica en dirección a Italia. Sustentaría esta hipótesis la aparición de la filigrana *Arbalète* 32 o un tipo similar en varios manuscritos de su pluma (Mutin. α. P. 5. 18, Neapol. III D 22, Par. gr. 2157, Vat. Barb. gr. 221, Marc. gr. 604) y el hecho de que varios de esos códices contienen textos galénicos. Veremos enseguida cómo en Corfú y gracias a la labor desarrollada por las familias de los Mosco y los Eparco circularon importantes testimonios de textos médicos griegos. Para la descripción de algunos de los manuscritos mencionados, con señalación de las filigranas, cfr. M. R. Formentin, *Codici di Galeno vergati da Demetrio Mosco*, en *Lingue tecniche del greco e del latino III. Atti del III Seminario Internazionale sulla Letteratura scientifica e tecnica greca e latina* (Trieste 1996), Bologna 2000, pp. 81-88. Por lo demás, la tradición manuscrita de un texto no científico sino literario como son las *Argonáuticas órficas* pone de manifiesto que los textos copiados por los dos hermanos, Demetrio y Jorge Mosco, están estrechamente relacionados o pertenecen al menos a una misma rama textual, lo que indicaría que ambos estaban

temente, la presencia en el manuscrito milanés de anotaciones de Ermolao Barbaro y el hecho de que fuese utilizado como modelo por Giorgio Valla y Nicolás Blastos apuntan a un posterior traslado del Ambrosianus a Venecia.<sup>21</sup> Esta objeción respecto del origen del Ambr. L 119 sup. no afecta, sin embargo, a la tesis de que Constantinopla-Corfú-Venecia parece haber sido, antes de su llegada a Francia, el itinerario del Par. gr. 2183, antígrafo de todos los *Dioscórides* recién mencionados, que luce en su encuadernación las armas de Francisco I y que sirvió de modelo, como ya hemos dicho, para la copia de los tres opúsculos finales de los ff. 179<sup>v</sup>-181<sup>v</sup> del Salm. 2659.

Pero antes de exponer con más detalle cuál es la relación stemmática que emparenta al Par. gr. 2183 y al Salm. 2659 en lo relativo al texto de Dioscórides y del pseudo-Dioscórides, avancemos un dato acerca del tercer manuscrito que conserva los tres opúsculos finales dedicados a los poderes curativos de ciertas plantas y a la composición y uso de la teriaca: se trata del Vat. Pal. gr. 48, un ejemplar de finales del s. XV obra de un copista anónimo, que perteneció a Gian Battista Cipelli (Egnazio), miembro de la academia aldina, y que pudo ser copiado en Venecia. Touwaide considera que el Vaticanus es un apógrafo directo del códice salmantino.

Esta situación de dependencia genealógica – en verdad, de descendencia directa y lineal – entre el Par. gr. 2183, el Salm. 2659 y el Vat. Pal. gr. 48 en lo referente a los tres breves tratados que conservan únicamente estos tres códices se hace extensible al *De materia medica* de Dioscórides y a los *Alexipharmaca* y *Theriaca* del pseudo-Dioscórides, como el propio Alain Touwaide se ha encargado igualmente de demostrar. Efectivamente, en un trabajo aparecido en 2003 el estudioso belga confirmaba<sup>22</sup> que el Par. gr. 2183 constituía el modelo del Salmanticensis para todos y cada uno de los textos que este último transmitía, incluidos los extractos del *De simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis et facultatibus* de Galeno, que en el manuscrito parisino habían sido copiados por una mano posterior a la del cuerpo principal del códice. También las 516 ilustraciones de plantas en color en los ff. 18<sup>v</sup>-121<sup>v</sup> del Salmanticensis y los dibujos de algunos animales en los ff. 50-55<sup>r</sup> son una copia del manuscrito de París,<sup>23</sup> aunque a partir del f. 122 dejan de

ligados a un mismo ambiente y, dado que parece que Jorge no se alejó de Corfú hasta después de 1496 (véase *infra*) y no es seguro que Demetrio llegase a Italia antes de 1493, ese ambiente podría ser precisamente el de la isla de Corfú: cfr. F. Vian, *La tradition manuscrite des Argonautes orphiques*, «Revue d'Histoire des Textes» 9, 1979, pp. 1-46, en esp. 35-36, para la “recensión de los Mosco” del texto órfico.

<sup>21</sup> Touwaide, *Une note sur la Thériaque*, cit., p. 453 situaba en el norte de Italia no sólo la confección del Ambr. L 119 sup., sino también la del Salm. 2659, basándose sobre todo en el dato de que la edición aldina de Dioscórides de 1499 reproduce básicamente el texto del manuscrito de Salamanca. Volveremos sobre este asunto enseguida.

<sup>22</sup> Touwaide, *The Salamanca Dioscorides*, cit., p. 143.

<sup>23</sup> Touwaide, *ibid.*, pp. 136-155, para la correspondencia entre cada una de las ilustraciones de los dos manuscritos. Los dibujos del Par. gr. 2183 están hechos seguramente por diferentes manos y proceden de diversas fuentes, lo que explica su heterogeneidad desde el punto de vista

aparecer en el ejemplar de Salamanca, del mismo modo que desaparecen también los epígrafes en tinta roja para los que se había reservado espacio.

De este modo, el Salm. 2659 se convierte en un calco fiel – aunque incompleto en lo referente a las ilustraciones – de un manuscrito, el Par. gr. 2183, que tras ser producido en Constantinopla en el s. XIV y antes de pasar a Italia a finales del s. XV o principios del XVI estuvo presente en la década de los ochenta del s. XV en la isla de Corfú, en donde Demetrio Triboles extrajo de él una copia cuya consecución podemos situar, gracias a la suscripción del Par. gr. 2182, en la isla jónica el 4 de abril del año 1481.

4. Una vez determinada la relación de parentesco entre los códices Par. gr. 2183 y Salm. 2659, examinemos la identidad del copista del manuscrito de Salamanca a fin de fijar la estación de partida del itinerario del Salmanticensis: Corfú. El Salm. 2659, que carece de suscripción, es obra de un copista al que al principio de estas páginas hemos designado con el nombre de “Juan de Corone”. La razón de esta denominación reside en que Juan copió en 1475 en la localidad peloponesiaca de Corone – ἐν τῇ Κορώνῃ – el actual Bruxellensis 11281, que contiene el léxico de la *Suda*. Edgar Lobel fue el primero en proponer, en 1933, la identificación de “Juan de Corone” con Juan Mosco,<sup>24</sup> en función de la semejanza de la letra del manuscrito de Bruselas con la de los hijos y alumnos de Juan, Jorge y Demetrio Mosco. Tal hipótesis se ha visto reforzada posteriormente gracias a los argumentos de Francesca Bertolo y de David Speranzi, que permiten considerar como prácticamente definitiva la identificación entre estos dos nombres. En primer lugar, Bertolo ha repasado los motivos que hacen plausible la superposición de los dos personajes, presentando una propuesta de cronología y ofreciendo una lista de los manuscritos que los diferentes estudiosos han atribuido en el curso de los años a la mano de Juan.<sup>25</sup> Posteriormente, Speranzi ha profundizado en estos argumentos, identificando nuevos códices de la mano de Juan Mosco y explicando la relación de este personaje con el bizantino Janus Láscaris y el papel desempeñado por este último en el traslado de muchos de los autógrafos de Mosco a Occidente.<sup>26</sup>

Espigando los datos más sobresalientes de su biografía cabe decir que Mosco, de origen espartano, se formó en Constantinopla y trabajó allí amistad con Miguel Apostolio, enseñó en la escuela de Mistra tras la desaparición de Jorge Gemisto

estilístico, el hecho de que existan imágenes duplicadas y las diferencias lingüísticas de los lemas que acompañan a las ilustraciones (en italiano, griego clásico y griego vulgar). En cambio, en el manuscrito de Salamanca todos los dibujos son de un mismo artista y los lemas están escritos siempre en griego clásico.

<sup>24</sup> E. Lobel, *The Greek manuscripts of Aristotle's Poetics*, Oxford 1933, pp. 51-53.

<sup>25</sup> F. Bertolo, *Giovanni di Corone o Giovanni Mosco?*, «Medioevo Greco» 2, 2002, pp. 21-48. A las observaciones que sobre ese trabajo hace D. Speranzi, *Un nuovo codice di “Giovanni di Corone”: lo Strabone Laur. Plut. 28. 40*, «Medioevo e Rinascimento» n.s. 16, 2005, pp. 61-80, en esp. 63 n. 6 y 79 n. 90, debe añadirse que la lista no incluye precisamente el Salm. 2659, en el que Alain Touwaide en 1997 y yo misma en 1998 reconocimos de manera independiente la mano de “Juan de Corone”.

<sup>26</sup> Speranzi, *Un nuovo codice*, cit., y *Per la storia della libreria medicea privata. Il Laur.*, cit.

Pletón, se refugió posiblemente tras la toma de Mistra en Corone<sup>27</sup> y se instaló finalmente en Corfú, en donde dirigió una escuela y en donde tenemos noticias de él al menos hasta 1498. Importante para situar geográficamente la actividad de Juan Mosco es el dato de que no se conocen manuscritos suyos confeccionados con certeza en Italia,<sup>28</sup> si bien sus dos hijos, Jorge y Demetrio, que colaboraron ocasionalmente con el padre en la transcripción de manuscritos, sí estuvieron asentados en Italia, aunque no el mismo período de tiempo: Jorge, maestro de medicina y retórica en Corfú, estuvo de forma ocasional en la península italiana, concretamente en Venecia, como corrector en la imprenta de Aldo Manuzio. Demetrio, por su parte, parece haberse establecido en Italia de forma definitiva, en Venecia y Ferrara, desde una fecha que no conocemos con certeza y, aparte de transcribir manuscritos, se dedicó a la creación literaria y a la enseñanza.

Por tanto, dado que no parece que Juan Mosco, el autor de la copia del Salm. 2659, haya estado nunca en Italia y, dado que su modelo de copia, el Par. gr. 2183, se encontraba en 1481 en Corfú, año en que fue utilizado por Demetrio Triboles para la elaboración del Par. gr. 2182, habrá que pensar que el Salmanticensis fue confeccionado igualmente en la isla jónica.<sup>29</sup> El dato codicológico aportado por las filigranas parece revelador: los ff. 1-6 y 188-191 del manuscrito<sup>30</sup> presentan como filigrana unas flechas cruzadas similares a *Flèche* 14 Harlfinger.<sup>31</sup> Estas marcas del papel son las que aparecen, no por casualidad, en el autógrafo de Dioscórides de 1481 de Demetrio Triboles, el Par. gr. 2182,<sup>32</sup> en el autógrafo de Dioscórides de ca.

<sup>27</sup> Recientemente Rudolf Stefec ha encontrado en el manuscrito facticio New Haven, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library ms. 532 (ff. 599<sup>r</sup>-603<sup>r</sup>) una arenga autógrafa de Juan Mosco que debió de ser pronunciada en Corone entre finales de agosto de 1469 y finales de marzo de 1470 y que estaba dirigida al comandante de flota veneciano Nicolò da Canal. Del discurso se deduce, entre otros datos, que Juan Mosco no dominaba el italiano, lo que quizás le disuadió de establecerse en Italia. Cfr. R. Stefec, *Eine bisher unbekannte griechische Quelle zum ersten venezianisch-osmanischen Krieg 1463-1479*, «Byzantinoslavica» 68, 2010, pp. 353-368, en esp. 353-356.

<sup>28</sup> Bertolo, *Giovanni di Corone*, cit., p. 30.

<sup>29</sup> El Salm. 2659 consta de 191 folios más un folio de guarda al principio y otro al final, aunque faltan los ff. 7, 186 y 187. Todos los folios están numerados en el margen superior derecho con letras griegas, escritas a tinta – ésta era su numeración original –, y debajo de éstas números arábigos, escritos a lápiz en época moderna. La numeración griega comienza desde el primer folio ( $\alpha$ ) hasta el f. 191 ( $\rho\sigma\alpha$ ), aunque los ff. 1-12 y 182-191 están en blanco, sin que sepamos la razón de esta circunstancia. El manuscrito luce una encuadernación común a todos los manuscritos griegos salmantinos procedentes de los Colegios Mayores y que realizó en Madrid el encuadernador de cámara Santiago Martín a principios del s. XIX: cfr. M. López Serrano, *Los libreros encuadernadores de cámara*, «Arte español. Revista de la Sociedad Española de Amigos del Arte» 14, 1942, pp. 7-14.

<sup>30</sup> Esos folios del Salmanticensis tienen un color más claro que el resto pero están paginados por la misma mano que ha numerado con letras griegas todos los folios del códice. Pese a ser los más externos, no tienen nada que ver con la posterior reencuadernación del manuscrito en España, por lo que han de considerarse parte del códice original.

<sup>31</sup> D. y J. Harlfinger, *Wasserzeichen aus griechischen Handschriften*, I-II, Berlin 1974.

<sup>32</sup> Touwaide, *Une note sur la Thériaque*, cit., p. 451.



1480 de Demetrio Mosco, el Ambr. L 119 sup.,<sup>33</sup> y en un manuscrito de Juan Mosco que contiene Estrabón, el Par. gr. 1395.<sup>34</sup> El resto de los folios del Salm. 2659 muestran una ballesta inscrita en un círculo muy similar a *Arbalète* 746 Briquet<sup>35</sup> (Lucca, 1469-1473) y a *Arbalète* 32 Harlfinger (1494 o algo anterior). No parece mera coincidencia el que esta filigrana aparezca igualmente en varios manuscritos autógrafos de Demetrio Mosco, en primer lugar en el Marc. gr. VIII 18 (coll. 1020), que es una copia – como ya hemos indicado – de 1483,<sup>36</sup> pero además en el Neapol. III D 22, con los *Magna Moralia* aristotélicos, y en el Mutin. α P. 5. 18, con el *De simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis et facultatibus* de Galeno.<sup>37</sup>

En el códice Salmanticensis no se encuentran huellas de lectores en forma de glosas o notas marginales, y los únicos añadidos ajenos a la pluma de Juan Mosco son las últimas cuatro líneas del f. 179<sup>r</sup>,<sup>38</sup> en las que David Speranzi ha reconocido la mano del hijo Jorge Mosco.<sup>39</sup>

La isla de Corfú se convierte tras el avance inexorable de los turcos después de la caída de Constantinopla en 1453 y la toma del despotado de Morea y de su capital Mistra en 1460 en refugio de muchos griegos letrados y en centro de una actividad intelectual importante que comporta el estudio y la producción de manuscritos griegos. Su situación geográfica convierte a Corfú en el territorio bizantino más al

<sup>33</sup> Touwaide, *Une note sur la Thériaque*, cit., p. 451.

<sup>34</sup> Cataldi Palau, *Gian Francesco d'Asola*, cit., p. 519.

<sup>35</sup> Ch. M. Briquet, *Les filigranes: dictionnaire historique des marques du papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu' en 1600*, I-IV, Genève 1907.

<sup>36</sup> En el manuscrito Marcianus se encuentra la misma disposición de las filigranas que en el Salmanticensis, a saber, en los fascículos más externos, los primeros y los últimos, la filigrana *Fleche* y en los cuadernos centrales la filigrana *Arbalète*: cfr. Formentin, *Codici di Galeno*, cit., p. 87 y n. 28. También el cambio de filigranas coincide con el ligero cambio de color de los folios (véase *supra*, n. 30), lo que sin embargo no impide considerar unitaria la composición del ejemplar.

<sup>37</sup> Formentin, *Il punto su Demetrio Mosco*, cit., pp. 243, 248 y 249.

<sup>38</sup> Cfr. Martínez Manzano, *Historia del manuscrito Salm. 2659*, cit., p. 16, para la aparición de una mano distinta.

<sup>39</sup> D. Speranzi, *Michele Trivoli e Giano Lascari. Appunti su copisti e manoscritti greci tra Corfù e Firenze*, «Studi Slavistici» 7, 2010, pp. 263-297, en esp. 267 n. 30. Jorge Mosco estuvo asentado en la isla de Corfú buena parte de su vida junto con su padre y ambos colaboran en la transcripción de al menos dos manuscritos: Cantabr. Trinity College R. 9. 18-19 y Vind. Phil. gr. 20. Cfr. Speranzi, *Per la storia della libreria medicea privata. Il Laur.*, cit., p. 210 y n. 110. Para la participación de Juan y de su hijo Jorge en la elaboración de los manuscritos de Estrabón Par. gr. 1395, Par. gr. 1396 y Laur. Plut. 28, 40 cfr. Speranzi, *Un nuovo codice*, cit. La adición realizada por Jorge Mosco en el f. 179<sup>r</sup> del Salm. 2659 corresponde al apartado sobre la serpiente de agua dentro del llamado Libro VII del pseudo-Dioscórides (*Theriaca*). Juan Mosco transcribió el epígrafe «A los mordidos por la serpiente de agua» pero a continuación añadió erróneamente el texto correspondiente al tratamiento para las mordeduras de serpiente con granos como mijo. Al percatarse del desliz, Jorge tachó «serpiente de agua» (ὕδρου) y escribió encima «serpiente con granos como mijo» (κέγγρου) y en el margen inferior del folio copió en cuatro líneas el texto referente al antídoto contra la mordedura de la serpiente de agua que su padre había pasado por alto.

oeste del imperio en extinción, muy próximo a la Tierra de Otranto en la península italiana: Corfú es la “pasarela”, como la denomina Brigitte Mondrain, entre Oriente y Occidente.<sup>40</sup> Del mismo modo que Juan Mosco, como acabamos de ver, se formó en Constantinopla, pero regresó para establecerse en su tierra natal, Esparta, hasta que la amenaza otomana le obligó a fijar su residencia en Corfú, otro coetáneo suyo, Andrónico Eparco, sigue idéntico itinerario: estudia medicina en la década de los 40-50 junto a Juan Argirópulo en el *ξενοδοχεῖον τοῦ Κράλη*, el hospital anexo al Monasterio de San Juan Bautista o Pródromo en Constantinopla, y tras la toma de la ciudad se dirige al Peloponeso y de ahí finalmente a Corfú, llevando siempre consigo su biblioteca.<sup>41</sup> En la isla, Andrónico desarrolla una intensa actividad como médico, oficio que desempeñan también algunos de sus descendientes, como Nicolás Eparco o Jorge Eparco, este último padre del célebre marchante de manuscritos Antonio Eparco. Por ende, la familia de los Mosco y de los Eparco acaban emparentadas, ya que Jorge Eparco, hijo de Andrónico, se casó con una hija de Juan Mosco. Por tanto, estas familias de eruditos establecidas en Corfú tienen a su disposición códices antiguos – bastantes de ellos de contenido médico – muchos de los cuales proceden en última instancia de Constantinopla. En estas circunstancias no extraña, pues, que el Salm. 2659, autógrafo de Juan Mosco, haya tenido como modelo un ejemplar, el Par. gr. 2183, cuya producción situábamos al comienzo de estas páginas en Constantinopla a mediados del s. XIV, en el complejo hospitalario del Monasterio de Pródromo en el distrito de Petra.

Ahora bien, los manuscritos que circularon por Corfú en la segunda mitad del s. XV pertenecientes a la familia de los Eparco, de los Mosco o de otros intelectuales o copistas activos en la isla, como un cierto Abramio o como el varias veces citado Demetrio Triboles, no permanecieron siempre allí sino que tomaron inevitablemente el camino a Occidente. Es hora de preguntarnos de qué modo lo hizo el *Dioscórides* de Salamanca.

5. Una de las vías por la que los manuscritos griegos de Corfú acabaron en algunas de las principales bibliotecas europeas, en especial en la Bibliothèque nationale de Francia y en la Biblioteca Vaticana, es la del negocio de Antonio Eparco, nieto del médico Andrónico, quien recurrió para sus ventas de lotes de manuscritos en Italia y Francia a los fondos de la biblioteca de su familia en Corfú.<sup>42</sup> Y ciertamente, alguno de los *Dioscórides* cuya producción está ligada a Corfú se encuentra en la actualidad en Francia gracias a la intermediación del famoso marchante: es el caso del ya citado Par. gr. 2182, copia de Demetrio Triboles que pasó después a ser propiedad de Eparco, quien lo donó a Francisco I.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>40</sup> Mondrain, *Lettrés et copistes*, cit., p. 467.

<sup>41</sup> B. Mondrain, *Jean Argyropoulos professeur à Constantinople et ses auditeurs médecins, d'Andronic Éparque à Démétrios Angelos*, en C. Scholz, G. Makris (Hrsgg.), *ΠΟΛΥΠΛΕΥΡΟΣ ΝΟΥΣ. Miscellanea für Peter Schreiner zu seinem 60. Geburtstag*, München-Leipzig 2000, pp. 223-250, en esp. 231.

<sup>42</sup> Mondrain, *Les Éparque*, cit., p. 163.

<sup>43</sup> Mondrain, *Janus Lascaris copiste*, cit., p. 420. El propio Eparco hizo un inventario de los títu-

Pero otro de los responsables del traslado de códices corfios a Occidente fue Janus Láscaris. De la intensa biografía de este célebre bizantino hay que destacar aquí la etapa de su vida en la que trabajó en Florencia al servicio de Lorenzo de Medici: entre 1490 y 1492 emprendió por encargo de éste dos viajes por Italia, por el Oriente bizantino ya en manos de los turcos y por las islas griegas bajo dominio veneciano en busca de manuscritos para la biblioteca privada de la familia Medici. De estos viajes se conserva un cuaderno de notas autógrafa del propio Láscaris, en donde éste anotó las diferentes escalas del recorrido y el contenido de los manuscritos que le interesaban, sea para adquirirlos, sea para encargar una copia de ellos. Este cuaderno de notas es el Vat. gr. 1412,<sup>44</sup> un códice de formato pequeño que ha constituido para los investigadores una fructífera fuente de información desde su publicación a cargo de Karl K. Müller en 1884.<sup>45</sup> Una de las etapas del viaje de Láscaris fue Corfú, y no sin razón: parece que Láscaris había establecido previamente contactos con ciudadanos de la isla en la década de los ochenta, en concreto con Andrónico Eparco, con cuya familia estaba emparentado y con quien transcribió algún manuscrito.<sup>46</sup>

En su cuaderno de notas Láscaris anotó los títulos que le interesaban de varias bibliotecas visitadas en Corfú en otoño de 1490, la de la familia de Abramio, la de Andrónico Eparco y la del sacerdote Timoteo Spires (Vat. gr. 1412, ff. 55<sup>v</sup>-57<sup>r</sup>), así como una lista de libros que explícitamente compró en la isla (Vat. gr. 1412, f. 48<sup>v</sup>),<sup>47</sup> pero en ninguna de esas listas figura el nombre de Dioscórides.<sup>48</sup> Es lícito

los que constituían el monto de su donación a Francisco I y que se conserva en una copia autógrafa, Vat. lat. 3958, de 1538. En esa lista – publicada por H. Omont, *Catalogue des manuscrits grecs d'Antoine Éparque*, «Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes» 53, 1892, pp. 95-110, en esp. 103, nrr. 39 y 40 – figuran dos *Dioscórides*: el primero de ellos se identifica con el Par. gr. 2286 y segundo con el Par. gr. 2182 de Triboles. En el margen superior del segundo folio de guarda de este último manuscrito se lee la marca de propiedad de Eparco y la constatación de la donación al Rey: κτήμα Ἀντωνίου τοῦ Ἐπαρχοῦ, ὃ δέδωκεν εἰς εὐχαριστίαν τῷ ἐπιφανεστάτῳ Φραγκίσκῳ βασιλεῖ κραταίῳ Κελτῶν.

<sup>44</sup> S. Gentile, *Lorenzo e Giano Lascaris. Il fondo greco della biblioteca medicea privata*, en G. C. Garfagnini (ed.), *Lorenzo il Magnifico e il suo mondo. Convegno Internazionale di Studi (Firenze, 9-13 giugno 1992)*, Firenze 1994, pp. 177-194, para la cronología de los dos viajes orientales de Láscaris realizados entre 1490 y 1492 por encargo de Lorenzo de Medici y en general para los manuscritos y bibliotecas descritos en el Vat. gr. 1412.

<sup>45</sup> K. K. Müller, *Neue Mittheilungen über Ianos Laskaris und die Mediceische Bibliothek*, «Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen» 1, 1884, pp. 333-412. Una clara explicación del contenido de las diversas listas del Vat. gr. 1412 y de los textos intercalados entre ellas se encuentra en D. Speranzi, *Per la storia della libreria medicea privata. Giano Lascaris, Sergio Stiso di Zollino e il copista Gabriele*, «Italia Medioevale e Umanistica» 48, 2007, pp. 77-111, en esp. 77-82.

<sup>46</sup> Este aspecto de la biografía de Láscaris ha sido analizado por Mondrain, *Janus Lascaris copiste*, cit., p. 425. El manuscrito copiado por Láscaris y Andrónico Eparco es la colección de epigramas del Par. gr. 2891. Otros indicios de la existencia de contactos previos entre Láscaris y los Eparco son que en la escala en Corfú Láscaris fue recibido precisamente por Jorge Eparco, el hijo de Andrónico, e hizo un inventario de una parte de los manuscritos de este último.

<sup>47</sup> Cfr. Müller, *Neue Mittheilungen*, cit., pp. 389-392 y 379-380.

<sup>48</sup> Para la información transmitida en el Vat. gr. 1412 relativa a la biblioteca de la familia de

pensar que la biblioteca de los Medici ya contaba con algún ejemplar del tratado *De materia medica*, por lo que esta obra no estaba entre las prioridades que Láscaris buscaba para Lorenzo el Magnífico. Y ciertamente, si abundamos en este aspecto, veremos que, en el inventario de la Biblioteca Medicea privada que Fabio Vigili redactó en Roma en el palacio del cardenal Giovanni de' Medici (después Papa León X) entre el 1508 y el 1510, figura bajo el ítem 370 un *Dioscórides*, que ha sido identificado con el Laur. Plut. 74, 23, un códice del s. XIV desprovisto de ilustraciones. Este códice había sido pedido años antes en préstamo por Poliziano, de cuya casa fue recuperado a su muerte en 1495.<sup>49</sup> Por tanto, parece que la farmacopea de Dioscórides estaba presente entre los fondos de la Medicea y Láscaris no tuvo necesidad de comprarla para los Medici. Ayudaría a sustentar esta hipótesis el hecho de que en la llamada “lista de Hannover”, que es un elenco de los *Auctores Graeci quos impensis Laurentii Medicis Lascaris ex Peloponneso in Italiam nuper advexit*, es decir, de las “novedades editoriales” que Láscaris introdujo en Florencia, no se cita ningún *Dioscórides*,<sup>50</sup> de lo que se deduciría asimismo que Láscaris

Abramio en Corfú (ἐν Κερκύρα ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Ἀβραμίου) cfr. B. Markesinis, *Janus Lascaris, la bibliothèque d'Avramis à Corfou et le Paris*. gr. 854, «*Scriptorium*» 54, 2000, pp. 302-306. Para la lista de los βιβλία ἡγορασμένα ἐν Κερκύρα cfr. D. F. Jackson, *Janus Lascaris on the Island of Corfu in A. D. 1491*, «*Scriptorium*» 57, 2003, pp. 137-139. Para los folios del Vat. gr. 1412 que mencionan manuscritos de colecciones corfíotas vistas por Láscaris en otoño de 1490 véase asimismo Speranzi, *Michele Trivoli e Giano Lascari*, cit., pp. 268 y 270 sigs., quien se refiere a los casos en los que se han podido individualizar ejemplares examinados y adquiridos por Láscaris en Corfú y en la localidad próxima de Arta en el Epiro. Más recientemente G. Pascale, *Per la tradizione di Temistio nei secoli XV-XVII. I codici recentiores delle Orationes Augustales*, «*Aevum*» 85, 2011, pp. 143-189, en esp. 178-187, ha identificado otro de los manuscritos vistos por Janus Láscaris en 1491 en la isla de Corfú, concretamente en manos de Demetrio Triboles: se trata del hiparquetipo Ω de seis discursos de Temistio del que descienden doce manuscritos *recentiores*. Láscaris consignó su existencia en el Vat. gr. 1412 y mandó hacer una copia de él, el actual Par. gr. 2079. Ω perteneció a Diego Hurtado de Mendoza y desapareció en el incendio de la biblioteca de El Escorial de 1671.

<sup>49</sup> Según la información que proporciona el inventario de la Librería Medicea privada que el 31 de octubre de 1495 redactaron el propio Janus Láscaris y el canciller Bartolomeo Ciai por encargo de la Signoria: cfr. E. S. Piccolomini, *Ricerche intorno alle condizioni ed alle vicende della libreria medicea privata dal 1404 al 1508*, «*Archivio Storico Italiano*» s. 3, 19-21, 1874-1875, pp. 51-94, 102-112, 101-129, 254-281, 282-296, en esp. 93, y E. B. Fryde, *Greek manuscripts in the Private Library of the Medici 1469-1510*, Aberystwyth 1996, p. 629. Correcciones a muchas de las identificaciones llevadas a cabo por Fryde se encuentran en D. F. Jackson, *Fabio Vigili's Inventory of Medici Greek Manuscripts*, «*Scriptorium*» 52, 1998, pp. 199-204. Del Laur. Plut. 74, 23 hay dos apógrafos de época humanista, el Monac. gr. 236 y el Par. Mazarinus 4461, copiados a finales del s. XV por el prolífico copista Juan Escutariotes, que trabajó para la familia de los Medici en Florencia. Cfr. para estos apógrafos Touwaide, *Les deux traités de toxicologie*, cit., pp. 296-297, con señalación de filigranas.

<sup>50</sup> Esta lista fue editada por primera vez por E. G. Vogel, *Litterarische Ausbeute von Janus Lascaris' Reisen im Peloponnes um's Jahr 1490*, «*Serapeum*» 15, 1854, pp. 154-160, y recientemente por D. F. Jackson, *A New Look at an Old Book List*, «*Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica*» 91, 1998, pp. 83-108.

no compró ningún ejemplar del *De materia medica* destinado a la librería de los Medici. Con todo, es difícil saber cómo compaginar esta tesis con un dato aparentemente contradictorio con ella, a saber, que el códice Vat. gr. 1412, que contiene varias listas de libros además de las notas tomadas por Láscaris en el curso de sus viajes, presenta en los ff. 8<sup>v</sup>-10<sup>v</sup> un listado de los *desiderata* de Lorenzo de Medici y su círculo<sup>51</sup> en el que se lee Διοσκουρίδου περὶ ὕλης λόγοι ιζ'.<sup>52</sup>

No obstante, se sabe que en sus viajes por Grecia Láscaris no sólo adquirió manuscritos para la biblioteca privada de la familia Medici, sino también para él mismo, y en aquellos casos en los que no le era posible hacerse con el códice original, encargaba copias. David Speranzi ha demostrado de forma harto convincente la costumbre de Láscaris de encargarse a copistas que encontraba en los diversos lugares que visitaba la copia de unidades modulares con textos que le interesaban y que llegarían a Florencia sin encuadernación.<sup>53</sup> Algunos de estos copistas fueron reclutados por el erudito bizantino para ser instruidos en Florencia y seguir trabajando allí.

En Corfú Láscaris recurrió, tanto en las adquisiciones para los Medici como en sus compras particulares, a los servicios, entre otros, de Juan Mosco<sup>54</sup> y los trabajos recientes de Bertolo y Speranzi han puesto de manifiesto la responsabilidad del humanista bizantino en el paso de gran parte de los autógrafos de Mosco a Occidente.<sup>55</sup> Láscaris supone efectivamente el cauce por el cual algunos manuscritos de Mosco ingresaron en la Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana (adquisiciones realizadas para la familia de los Medici, como los Laur. Plut. 58, 2 y 69, 14), en la Bibliothèque nationale de Francia (es el caso de los Par. gr. 2598 y 2944, propiedad de Láscaris y que pasaron después a la colección de su alumno el cardenal Ridolfi) o

<sup>51</sup> Cfr. Müller, *Neue Mittheilungen*, cit., pp. 346-347, para el modo en que hay que interpretar esta lista de *desiderata*, que parece haber sido confeccionada con ayuda de la lectura de la *Biblioteca* de Focio.

<sup>52</sup> Vat. gr. 1412, f. 9<sup>v</sup>. Cfr. Müller, *Neue Mittheilungen*, cit., p. 369. Probablemente hay que entender, como señala Müller, λόγοι ζ', de modo que la *iota* sea producto de una ditografía y la *dseta* señale los siete libros que convencionalmente conforman el tratado *De materia medica*, formado por los cinco libros originales más los dos tratados toxicológicos del pseudo-Dioscórides. ζ' es el número que figura en la *Biblioteca* de Focio, cod. 178, al hacer referencia a los libros de que consta la obra de Dioscórides.

<sup>53</sup> Speranzi, *Un nuovo codice*, cit. y *Per la storia della libreria medicea privata. Il Laur.*, cit.

<sup>54</sup> Así, por ejemplo, los ff. 2<sup>r</sup>-45<sup>v</sup> y 104<sup>r</sup>-144bis<sup>v</sup> del Laur. Plut. 58, 2 y todo el Laur. Plut. 69, 14 eran en origen un mismo ejemplar autógrafo de Mosco desprovisto de encuadernación y que formaba una unidad todavía a principios del s. XVI. Láscaris encargó esta copia en Corfú y la llevó consigo a Florencia para engrosar el fondo de la biblioteca de los Medici: cfr. Speranzi, *Per la storia della libreria medicea privata. Il Laur.*, cit. También el Par. gr. 2944 (ff. 1-139) es una copia de Mosco comisionada por Láscaris en la isla jónica. Cfr. D. Speranzi, *Giano Lascari e i suoi copisti. Gli oratori attici minori tra l'Atos e Firenze*, «Medioevo e Rinascimento» n.s. 21, 2010, pp. 337-377. Láscaris también encargó copias en Florencia a Miguel Suliardo, que había trabajado en Corfú en el entorno de Mosco. Ambos colaboran en la transcripción del Guelf. Gud. gr. 88. Suliardo se marchó seguramente a Florencia acompañando a Láscaris.

<sup>55</sup> Bertolo, *Giovanni di Corone*, cit., pp. 34-38.

en otras bibliotecas europeas, a las que llegaron por la vía de maestros o discípulos de Láscaris, como es el caso de Demetrio Calcóndilas o Guillaume Budé.

Hemos señalado arriba que Láscaris no cita en su cuaderno de apuntes del Vat. gr. 1412 ningún Dioscórides entre los libros adquiridos por él en Corfú o que despertaran su atención en su visita a las colecciones de algunos ciudadanos de la isla. Sin embargo, el códice Vaticanus, que contiene, como hemos recordado ya, varias listas de libros aparte de los apuntes tomados por Láscaris durante sus viajes,<sup>56</sup> presenta en sus ff. 66<sup>r</sup>-69<sup>r</sup> un πίναξ τῶν βιβλίων τοῦ Λασκάρειος ἅπερ ἔχει παρ' ἑαυτῶ. Y en ese *pínax* «de los libros que Láscaris tiene consigo» se cita un *Dioscórides* en los siguientes términos: Διοσκουρίδης Νίκανδρος con una anotación en el margen que Müller transcribió como ἀντιθές.<sup>57</sup>

Los datos recién expuestos presentan varios problemas, el primero de los cuales concierne a la interpretación del epígrafe πίναξ τῶν βιβλίων τοῦ Λασκάρειος ἅπερ ἔχει παρ' ἑαυτῶ. Müller, el editor del Vat. gr. 1412, consideraba que estas palabras indicarían, no un elenco de los libros de la biblioteca privada de Láscaris, sino de los manuscritos de la Medicea que el docto bizantino tenía en su poder prestados.<sup>58</sup> Por el contrario, Speranzi, que se hace eco de la opinión expresada en 1886 por Pierre de Nolhac,<sup>59</sup> cree que este πίναξ es un elenco de libros que probablemente Láscaris llevaba consigo cuando dejó Florencia en 1495-1496 para trabajar al servicio del rey de Francia Carlos VIII.<sup>60</sup> En verdad, parece que un seguro *terminus post quem* para la datación del πίναξ es la mención en él de dos ejemplares de la *editio princeps* de Apolonio Rodio de 1496,<sup>61</sup> un dato interesante también para comprobar que no todos los libros reseñados por Láscaris eran manuscritos. Si aceptamos la interpretación del estudioso italiano, habrá que pensar, pues, que Láscaris se llevó de Florencia un códice de Dioscórides y otro de Nicandro, o más probablemente uno que contuviese ambos autores. Que el πίναξ en cuestión incluye volúmenes que acompañaron a Láscaris a Francia se deduce del hecho de que en los márgenes aparecen, al parecer en calidad de beneficiarios del préstamo de determinados ejemplares, nombres de personas con las que el docto bizantino tuvo relación en aquel país.<sup>62</sup> No obstante, no todos los nombres anotados por

<sup>56</sup> En los ff. 35<sup>v</sup>-43<sup>r</sup> contiene un elenco de los manuscritos griegos que estaban en poder de la Librería Medicea antes del segundo viaje de Láscaris.

<sup>57</sup> Vat. gr. 1412, f. 66<sup>v</sup>. Cfr. Müller, *Neue Mittheilungen*, cit., p. 408. En este *pínax*, Láscaris ofrece información sobre el material de escritura de los códices sólo cuando se trata de membranáceos, de modo que la ausencia de referencias en este sentido indicaría que los códices son cartáceos. Cfr. D. Speranzi, *Codici greci appartenuti a Francesco Filelfo nella biblioteca di Ianos Laskaris*, «Segno e Testo» 3, 2005, pp. 467-496, en esp. 494 n. 104.

<sup>58</sup> Müller, *Neue Mittheilungen*, cit., pp. 363-364.

<sup>59</sup> P. de Nolhac, *Inventaire des manuscrits grecs de Jean Lascaris*, «Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire» 6, 1886, pp. 251-274, en esp. 251 n. 1.

<sup>60</sup> Speranzi, *Codici greci appartenuti a Francesco Filelfo*, cit., p. 468; Michele Trivoli e Giano Lascari, cit., p. 272, y *Andata e ritorno. Vicende di un Plutarco mediceo tra Poliziano, Musuro e l'Alcina*, «Incontri Triestini di Filologia Classica» 9, 2009-2010, pp. 45-63, en esp. 46-48.

<sup>61</sup> Speranzi, *Codici greci appartenuti a Francesco Filelfo*, cit., p. 468.

<sup>62</sup> Como Guillaume Budé (f. 66<sup>r</sup> μπουδῆ, f. 66<sup>v</sup> budej, f. 68<sup>v</sup> bud), Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples (f.

Láscaris en los márgenes fueron añadidos durante la estancia del bizantino en Francia, ya que las menciones de Demetrio Calcóndilas o Niccolò Tarsi deben haber sido incluidas en Italia.<sup>63</sup>

El segundo problema concerniente al πίναξ de Láscaris —en estrecha relación con lo que se acaba de apuntar— es el de la anotación ἀντιθέξ que acompaña en el margen a la mención de Dioscórides y Nicandro. A la reconstrucción de la palabra en cuestión propuesta por Müller ha hecho John Whittaker una propuesta de corrección que también es compartida por David Speranzi: en lugar del término ἀντιθέξ, que indicaría una trasposición o una permuta – una *Umstellung* en palabras de Müller –, podría leerse el nombre ἀντὼντιος, en nominativo,<sup>64</sup> o bien ἀντὼντιου, en genitivo.<sup>65</sup> Pero en uno u otro caso, esta anotación marginal podría indicar que en el *interim* la farmacopea de Dioscórides cambió de manos, prestada seguramente a un desconocido Antonio.

Lo cierto es que conocemos con bastante precisión de qué libros constaba la colección privada de manuscritos de Janus Láscaris, reconstruida en buena medida gracias al inventario que elaboró su alumno y secretario Mateo Devaris en una fecha posterior a marzo de 1544.<sup>66</sup> La biblioteca lascariana fue comprada después por el cardenal Niccolò Ridolfi.<sup>67</sup> Muerto éste en 1550, la colección acabó en la biblioteca del rey de Francia a través de la reina Catalina de Medici (mujer de Enrique II de Francia), que la heredó de su primo Piero Strozzi. Por esta vía los manuscritos lascarianos se encuentran en la actualidad en la Bibliothèque nationale de Francia. Si se compara el inventario realizado por Devaris de los libros de su maestro con la lista autógrafa de Láscaris del Vat. gr. 1412 se constata que en esta

66<sup>v</sup> fabri), Paolo Emilio da Verona (f. 68<sup>r</sup> πᾶλος), Guillaume Cop (f. 68<sup>r</sup> ἰατρὸς) o Jorge Herónimo (ff. 67<sup>r</sup> y 68<sup>v</sup> γεώργιος). Cfr. J. Whittaker, *Parisinus Graecus 1962 and the writings of Albinus* [1973], en J. Whittaker, *Studies in Platonism and Patristic Thought*, London 1984, nrr. 20-21, pp. 320-354 y 450-456, en esp. 347.

63 f. 66<sup>r</sup> δημήτριος χαλ., f. 66<sup>v</sup> παρσεὺς νικόλαος. Cfr. Whittaker, *ibid.*, p. 347.

64 Whittaker, *ibid.*, p. 347 n. 163.

65 El mismo nombre se encuentra también en el f. 66<sup>r</sup> del Vat. gr. 1412 bajo la abreviatura ἀντὼντιος.

66 Cfr. para esta datación D. Muratore, *La biblioteca del cardinale Niccolò Ridolfi*, I, Alessandria 2009, pp. 157-163. Este inventario, que se conserva en los ff. 99-105 del Vat. gr. 1414 con el título *Lista de libri che furon del signor Lascheri*, fue editado por De Nolhac, *Inventaire des manuscrits grecs de Jean Lascaris*, cit., y revisado después por D. F. Jackson, *An Old Book List Revisited: Greek Manuscripts of Janus Lascaris from the Library of Cardinal Niccolò Ridolfi*, «Manuscripta» 43-44, 1999-2000, pp. 77-133. Para la identificación de un buen número de manuscritos de esa lista N. Papatriantaphyllou-Theodoridi, *O Ιανός Λάσκαρις και οι τύχες της βιβλιοθήκης του*, en Μνήμη Λίνου Πολίτη, Thessaloniki 1988, pp. 117-131.

67 La biblioteca de Ridolfi asumió también libros de otras procedencias, por ejemplo de la colección de Nicolò Leonicensino, el cual tenía dos *Dioscórides* que pasaron a manos de Ridolfi, los Par. gr. 2184 y 2185. En la lista de los libros de Ridolfi del Vat. gr. 1413 (ff. 65-69<sup>v</sup>) aparece un «Dioscorides m.s. in pap.º ligatus», que se identifica con el Par. gr. 2185. Cfr. D. F. Jackson, *A First Inventory of the Library of Niccolò Ridolfi*, «Manuscripta» 45-46, 2001-2002, pp. 49-77, en esp. 73.

última están presentes volúmenes que no fueron registrados por Devaris, mientras otros elencados por éste no aparecen en la lista del Vat. gr. 1412. El *Dioscórides*, según acabamos de ver, figura en el πίνωξ transcrito por Láscaris de los libros que están en su poder pero no en la lista de Devaris.<sup>68</sup>

Por desgracia, no contamos con elementos suficientes de naturaleza paleográfica o codicológica para relacionar el Salm. 2659 copiado en Corfú por Juan Mosco y completado puntualmente por su hijo Jorge con el *Dioscórides* que Láscaris asegura tener consigo en la lista del Vat. gr. 1412. En primer lugar, el ejemplar salmantino no presenta anotación alguna de Láscaris (ni de ningún otro lector); en segundo lugar, tampoco luce el monograma Λ<sup>σ</sup> que se encuentra en ocasiones en el plano anterior de las encuadernaciones originales de los manuscritos lascarianos o en alguno de los folios de guarda,<sup>69</sup> ni el monograma ΛΣΚΡ, que es otro de los rasgos distintivos de los libros de Láscaris; en tercer lugar, la mención Διοσκουρίδης Νικανδρος, con los nombres de los dos autores en la misma línea, haría pensar en un único ejemplar con ambas obras, pero, salvo que supongamos que la mención de Nicandro se refiere a la presencia en el manuscrito de los tratados Περί δηλητηρίων φαρμάκων καὶ τῆς αὐτῶν προφυλακῆς y Περί ιοβόλων – una posibilidad improbable, ya que en el manuscrito estos dos tratados están atribuidos explícitamente a Dioscórides –, éste no es el caso del Salm. 2659.<sup>70</sup>

Pero con independencia de que el Salm. 2659 haya podido pertenecer o no a Janus Láscaris, es lícito que nos preguntemos a continuación por las razones de que se haya perdido la pista del *Dioscórides* que se encontraba en poder del erudito bizantino en torno a 1496, según su propio testimonio. En este sentido hay que

<sup>68</sup> Esta misma situación es compartida por más de treinta manuscritos citados en el Vat. gr. 1412 y que no encuentran una correspondencia inequívoca en la lista de Devaris, por lo que es evidente que no pasaron a manos del cardenal Ridolfi. Señala Speranzi, *Andata e ritorno*, cit., p. 48, que la aparición del *exlibris* de Láscaris o de anotaciones de su mano permitirá quizás encontrar estos manuscritos lascarianos en cualquier biblioteca con fondos manuscritos.

<sup>69</sup> Recordemos, en este sentido, que el Salm. 2659 fue reencuadernado en Madrid a principios del s. XIX.

<sup>70</sup> En este contexto hay que recordar que Dioscórides y Nicandro fueron editados juntos en 1499 por Aldo Manuzio y también que la lista del Vat. gr. 1412 contiene, como se ha señalado, algunos incunables, aunque Láscaris suele indicar expresamente mediante los términos τετυπωμένος o τετυπωμένοι cuando se está refiriendo a textos impresos. No obstante, Láscaris portó a Florencia desde Corfú manuscritos o secciones de manuscritos sin encuadernar y entra dentro de lo posible que reuniese posteriormente a Dioscórides con Nicandro en un mismo volumen. Pero también hay que advertir que varios manuscritos de Dioscórides transmiten junto con el *De materia medica* la paráfrasis en prosa obra de Eutecnio de la *Theriaca* y *Alexipharmaca* de Nicandro (por ejemplo, el célebre Vind. Med. gr. 1, el Neoboracensis M 652, el Bonon. gr. 3632 o el Vat. Chis. gr. 53), de modo que la asociación de Dioscórides con Nicandro desde el punto de vista de la transmisión textual no ha de verse como extraña, dado que además la temática de ambos textos es similar. Señalemos finalmente que el *pinax* de Láscaris del Vat. gr. 1412 presenta una entrada que dice Νικανδρος μετὰ ἐξηγήσεως que no aparece en el elenco elaborado por Devaris y que ha sido identificada recientemente en el manuscrito de Florencia Riccard. 56: cfr. Speranzi, *Andata e ritorno*, cit., p. 48.



tener presente que una de las vías por la que los libros escapaban al control de sus legítimos propietarios era la de los préstamos. Y se sabe que Láscaris prestó con frecuencia sus manuscritos sea a otros estudiosos ávidos de leer una obra en concreto, sea a los editores que querían imprimirlas.<sup>71</sup> El préstamo de códices por su parte está atestiguado, además de por algunas cartas del bizantino, por anotaciones de nombres que se leen – como hemos visto – en los márgenes de algunos lemas del inventario de sus libros del Vat. gr. 1412.

Uno de los editores a los que Láscaris prestó manuscritos fue su antiguo maestro el también bizantino Demetrio Calcóndilas, con quien coincidió en Padua. Así, el Par. gr. 1671, utilizado por Calcóndilas como texto base para la *editio princeps* del *De Homero* de pseudo-Plutarco dentro de su edición florentina de los poemas homéricos de 1488, figuraba en el *pínax* de los libros de Láscaris del Vat. gr. 1412. El hecho de que el códice, que tiene anotaciones de Láscaris, se encuentre entre los ejemplares elencados en la lista de Mateo Devaris del Vat. gr. 1414 y en el inventario de la biblioteca de Ridolfi elaborado también por Devaris en el Par. gr. 3074 indica que, tras utilizarlo, Calcóndilas lo restituyó a su antiguo propietario.<sup>72</sup> En este mismo sentido, otro ejemplo de un manuscrito relacionado con Láscaris y utilizado por Calcóndilas, en este caso para la *editio princeps* de Isócrates aparecida en Milán en 1493 lo ofrece el Par. gr. 2931, propiedad después del cardenal Ridolfi.<sup>73</sup> Y aún podemos añadir un tercer ejemplo, especialmente pertinente para el asunto que estamos tratando aquí: el modelo utilizado por Calcóndilas para su edición milanesa de 1499 del léxico de la *Suda* fue el Bruxellensis 11281, un manuscrito transcrito precisamente por Juan Mosco en Corone en 1475:<sup>74</sup> este libro llegó a Italia quizás gracias a Janus Láscaris.

Sin embargo, Calcóndilas no fue, entre los editores, el único beneficiario de la generosidad de Láscaris: también Aldo Manuzio utilizó códices lascarianos para preparar sus ediciones príncipes, como muestra el Par. gr. 2038, uno de los manuscritos de los que se sirvió Aldo para su edición de los *Rhetores graeci* de 1508-1509.<sup>75</sup>

De lo dicho hasta aquí se desprende que el *Dioscórides* que figuraba entre los libros propiedad de Láscaris alrededor de 1496 pudo desaparecer de entre sus manos como consecuencia de un préstamo, o de una permuta. Consideremos, por tanto, la posibilidad de que ese préstamo fuese realizado precisamente con vistas a la preparación de la *editio princeps* del tratado *De materia medica*.

Cuando Max Wellmann, el editor de *Dióscorides*, abordó el problema de las

<sup>71</sup> Speranzi, *Codici greci appartenuti a Francesco Filelfo*, cit., p. 469.

<sup>72</sup> P. Megna, *Per la storia della princeps di Omero. Demetrio Calcondila e il De Homero dello pseudo Plutarco*, «Studi Medievali e Umanistici» 5-6, 2007-2008, pp. 217-278, en esp. 231-234.

<sup>73</sup> S. Martinelli Tempesta, *Per l'identificazione delle fonti manoscritte dell'editio princeps delle Orazioni di Isocrate: il caso del Panegirico*, «Cuadernos de Filología Clásica. Estudios griegos e indoeuropeos» 16, 2006, pp. 237-267, en esp. 248.

<sup>74</sup> Bertolo, *Giovanni di Corone*, cit., p. 38.

<sup>75</sup> M. Sicherl, *Die Aldina der Rhetores Graeci (1508-1509) und ihre handschriftlichen Vorlagen*, «Illinois Classical Studies» 17, 1992, pp. 109-134.

fuentes manuscritas de la aldina de Dioscórides de 1499, concluyó que su modelo había sido el Marc. gr. 271 (coll. 727).<sup>76</sup> Estudios posteriores han demostrado, sin embargo, que Aldo nunca tuvo acceso a los códices de la Biblioteca Marciana donados por Besarion, de manera que, si queremos dar la razón al editor alemán, habrá que pensar que el modelo utilizado en la imprenta aldina no fue propiamente el Marc. gr. 271, sino otro códice de esa misma rama textual, un apógrafo suyo realizado antes de la donación del cardenal niceno.<sup>77</sup> Los trabajos posteriores de Alain Touwaide han puesto en el punto de mira otro manuscrito, tratando de demostrar que el texto impreso por Aldo está basado en verdad en el ejemplar de Salamanca, aunque éste no fue propiamente el manuscrito utilizado por el editor en la imprenta y la edición introduce además algunas variantes procedentes de otros códices.<sup>78</sup> La aldina no indica quién fue el responsable de la edición, aunque quizás haya que pensar en Nicolò Leoniceno, el docto médico de Ferrara.

6. En el apartado anterior hemos establecido como una posibilidad digna de tenerse en consideración el que el Salm. 2659, copiado por Juan Mosco en Corfú, haya pasado a Italia a través de Janus Láscaris, que pudo quizás llevarlo consigo a Florencia y tenerlo en su poder en torno a 1496. El hecho de que la fuente última de la aldina de 1499 haya sido precisamente el Salmanticensis permitiría ubicar en área véneta la presencia del ejemplar y proponer que fue Láscaris quien lo prestó con ocasión de la preparación de la edición. Sin embargo, los datos que conocemos de la biografía de Láscaris indican que en los años inmediatamente anteriores a la aparición de la aldina de Dioscórides en 1499 Láscaris se encontraba en París. Este dato, sumado al hecho de que los contactos entre el bizantino y Aldo Manuzio están atestiguados principalmente a partir de 1500<sup>79</sup> y a la circunstancia de que el Salm. 2659 no aporta ningún elemento paleográfico o codicológico que permita relacionarlo con Láscaris, hacen poco plausible la hipótesis de un préstamo por parte de este último a la imprenta regentada por Aldo.

Por otra parte, los resultados recabados de la historia sobre la transmisión textual de Dioscórides concluyen – como hemos avanzado más arriba – que el Salm. 2659 fue el modelo directo del Vat. Pal. gr. 48. Este último manuscrito, copiado por una mano desconocida de tipo occidental que en función de las filigranas hay

<sup>76</sup> Wellmann (ed.), *Pedanii Dioscuridis Anazarbei De materia medica*, cit., II, pp. XIII sigs.

<sup>77</sup> Cfr. en este sentido M. Sicherl, *Griechische Erstaussagen des Aldus Manutius. Druckvorlagen, Stellenwert, kultureller Hintergrund*, Paderborn 1997, p. 102.

<sup>78</sup> Touwaide, *Une note sur la Thériaque*, cit., p. 453, y *The Salamanca Dioscorides*, cit., p. 128. El estudioso belga anuncia desde hace tiempo la publicación de un trabajo específico sobre las fuentes de la aldina de Dioscórides (A. Touwaide, *L'édition aldine du Traité de matière médicale de Dioscoride. Sources manuscrites, méthode d'édition, influence*, Firenze), que, según mis conocimientos, no ha aparecido todavía.

<sup>79</sup> El primer testimonio de una relación epistolar entre Láscaris y Aldo es una carta enviada por el bizantino al impresor italiano el 24 de diciembre de 1501. Fue publicada por P. de Nolhac, *Les correspondants d'Alde Manuce. Matériaux nouveaux d'histoire littéraire, 1483-1514*, Roma 1888, pp. 26-28, nr. 24.

que situar a finales del s. XV,<sup>80</sup> fue propiedad del humanista veneciano Gian Battista Cipelli (1478-1553), conocido con el nombre académico de “Egnazio”, un estudioso muy ligado a Aldo Manuzio y a sus sucesores y que asumió en los años inmediatamente posteriores a la muerte del famoso editor la dirección científica de la imprenta.<sup>81</sup> Así pues, en vista de que el Salm. 2659 se encontraba en Venecia a finales del s. XV en el entorno de la imprenta aldina y de que de él se extrajo por esa misma época la copia del Vat. Pal. gr. 48, propiedad de Egnazio, un personaje muy próximo al ambiente de Aldo,<sup>82</sup> podemos dar por segura esta etapa en el *iter Italicum* del Salmanticensis: la escala en Venecia.<sup>83</sup>

7. Dado que no tenemos datos conclusivos para confirmar la participación de Janus Láscaris en el traslado del códice a Occidente, quizás sea más económico tomar en consideración la hipótesis de que fue Jorge Mosco, el hijo de Juan, quien había completado puntualmente – como hemos visto – el manuscrito en el f. 179<sup>r</sup>, la persona encargada de portar consigo el *Dioscórides* salmantino a Venecia, ya que precisamente en torno a 1499, año de la aparición de la *editio princeps* de la famosa farmacopea, Jorge Mosco colaboraba en Venecia en el floreciente negocio de la imprenta. Repasemos los datos que se conocen de la actividad desarrollada por Jorge en su, a lo que parece a todas luces, breve *soggiorno* italiano.

Tres años antes de la aparición de la aldina de Dioscórides, en 1496, todavía encontramos a Jorge Mosco en Corfú,<sup>84</sup> en donde copia varios documentos notariales y en donde transcribe los *Himnos* de Calímaco del Vat. gr. 1379 (ff. 35-57<sup>v</sup>). No obstante, es interesante ver cómo Jorge, desde Corfú, ya mantenía contactos

<sup>80</sup> Touwaide, *Une note sur la Thériaque*, cit., pp. 444-445, y *The Salamanca Dioscorides*, cit., p. 128.

<sup>81</sup> Cataldi Palau, *Gian Francesco d'Asola*, cit., pp. 59-61; E. Mioni, *Cipelli, Giovanni Battista*, en *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, XXV, Roma 1981, pp. 698-702.

<sup>82</sup> Todavía cabe abundar en el hecho de que varios manuscritos transcritos – igual que el Salmanticensis – por Juan Mosco fueron los modelos utilizados por Gian Francesco d'Asola, el sucesor de Aldo en su imprenta veneciana, para varias de sus ediciones. Así, la *editio princeps* de Estrabón aparecida en 1516 tuvo como base el Par. gr. 1395 (cfr. Cataldi Palau, *Gian Francesco d'Asola*, cit., pp. 425 y 518-519, y Speranzi, *Un nuovo codice*, cit. Dado que el Par. gr. 1395 presenta anotaciones autógrafas de Aldo es altamente probable que haya pertenecido al célebre editor antes de pasar a manos de Gian Francesco d'Asola) y la edición de Esquilo de 1518 utilizó como modelo el Guelferbytanus Gud. gr. 88 (cfr. Bertolo, *Giovanni di Corone*, cit., p. 47), en cuya confección colaboró también Miguel Suliardo, un copista – como se ha recordado – activo en Corfú y después en Italia.

<sup>83</sup> Manuscritos transcritos por Juan Mosco circulaban en Venecia en manos del patricio Lorenzo Loredan, alumno de Giorgio Valla: cfr. F. Vendruscolo, *Lorenzo Loredan / ΛΑΥΡΕΝΤΙΟΣ ΛΑΥΡΕΤΑΝΟΣ “copista” e possessore di codici greci*, «Italia Medioevale e Umanistica» 38, 1995, pp. 337-363, en esp. 348-352, con textos de Sófocles, Aristófanes y Esquilo. Véase asimismo A. Tessier, *Un corso veneziano su Sofocle di Giorgio Valla (con un piccolo “addendum” euripideo)*, «Italia Medioevale e Umanistica» 44, 2003, pp. 189-198, en esp. 191.

<sup>84</sup> Cfr. G. Pentogalos, *Γεώργιος Μόσχος, νοτάριος Κέρκυρας στα τελευταία χρόνια του ιε αιώνα*, «Κερκυραϊκά Χρονικά» 23, 1980, pp. 293-302.

con personajes ligados a la imprenta. Así, la procedencia corfiota de la sección de Calímaco de este Vaticanus la conocemos gracias a una nota añadida en el f. 58 por Pietro Candido, el monje de Camaldoli amigo y colaborador de Aldo, quien asegura que Jorge copió para él el texto de Calímaco: «Corcyrae conscripsit mihi Georgius Moschus Callimachi hymnos hosce anno Domini 1496 iii cal. maias». La paginación de la primera parte de este Vaticanus (ff. 1-24 y 35-58) ha sido atribuida a la mano de Aldo Manuzio, quien utilizó el ejemplar como modelo para los *Idilios* de Teócrito y los *Tetrasticha* de Ignacio Diácono; huellas de haber pasado por la imprenta se encuentran también en la sección de Calímaco del códice.<sup>85</sup>

Ahora bien, aunque la mayoría de las referencias bibliográficas sitúan a Jorge como corrector de Aldo, parece que debió de trabajar previamente en la sociedad formada también en Venecia por los cretenses Nicolás Blastos y Zacarías Calierges, de donde saldría tras producirse desavenencias de tipo económico. Así se desprende de una carta que Marco Musuro escribe el 7 de septiembre de 1499 desde Ferrara a su amigo Juan Gregorópulo, que por entonces era corrector en la imprenta de Blastos-Calierges, en la que Musuro pide noticias sobre Jorge e inquiriere si éste estaba todavía en la Serenísima o si había regresado junto a su madre, se entiende que en Corfú.<sup>86</sup> Este último dato indicaría que Jorge Mosco no pretendía prolongar su estancia en Venecia durante mucho tiempo.<sup>87</sup> Por otra parte, de una carta del 18 de julio de 1500 enviada por Filippo Beroaldo el joven desde Bolonia a Aldo en Venecia se deduce que Jorge había dejado Bolonia para ir a Venecia, de donde había partido el año anterior. En una carta sucesiva del 8 de marzo de 1501, enviada por el mismo Beroaldo también a Aldo, se dice que un «Georgius grecus» tiene dificultades económicas y no puede devolver un préstamo que le ha dejado Beroaldo, quien sin embargo se muestra dispuesto, con la mediación de Aldo, a

<sup>85</sup> Cfr. D. Harlfinger, *Specimina griechischer Kopisten der Renaissance. I. Griechen des 15. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin 1974, p. 35, y Speranzi, *Michele Trivoli e Giano Lascari*, cit., p. 280 n. 94.

<sup>86</sup> Cfr. E. Legrand, *Bibliographie hellénique ou description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés en grec par des grecs au XV<sup>e</sup> et XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles*, II, Paris 1885, p. 313; D. J. Geanakoplos, *Byzantium and the Renaissance. Greek Scholars in Venice. Studies in the Dissemination of Greek Learning from Byzantium to Western Europe*, Harvard 1962, pp. 124 y 209 n. 34; Lobel, *The Greek manuscripts*, cit., p. 52; L. Bigliuzzi, A. Dillon Bussi, G. Savino, P. Scapecchi (edd.), *Aldo Manuzio tipografo 1494-1515 (Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, 17 giugno-30 luglio 1994)*, Firenze 1994, p. 22, y Speranzi, *Un nuovo codice*, p. 79. Musuro pregunta en primer lugar por los avances en la edición de Galeno y demuestra conocer la reciente edición de Simplicio y dice a continuación: πρὸς δὲ τούτοις εἰ ὁ κύριος Γεώργιος ὁ Μόσχος παρ' ὑμῖν μένοι, ἢ ἀπῆλθε παρὰ τὴν μητέρα, καὶ, εἰ ἀπῆλθε, διὰ τίν' αἰτίαν; πότερον ὑμῶν διορθωτοῦ μὴ χρηζόντων, ἢ ἐκείνου μὴ στέργοντος οἷσπερ ὑμεῖς αὐτῷ προσεφέρετε;

<sup>87</sup> Una muestra significativa de la colaboración de Jorge Mosco con la sociedad de Blastos-Calierges es el hecho de que entre los libros de la biblioteca de Jorge, de los que se conserva una lista en el verso del primer folio de guarda del Par. gr. 2182 de Dioscórides – varias veces traído a colación en las páginas precedentes –, se incluye la *editio princeps* de la *Terapeútica* de Galeno aparecida en 1500 en Venecia en la imprenta de los dos cretenses: cfr. Mondrain, *Les Éparque, une famille de médecins*, cit., p. 158.

renunciar al dinero a cambio de la copia de un discurso de Demóstenes o de algún otro orador.<sup>88</sup>

Por lo tanto, a la luz de estos datos hay que situar la estancia de Jorge Mosco en el norte de Italia entre una fecha indeterminada *post* 1496 y 1501, sin que tengamos seguridad de que se haya prolongado más tiempo; antes bien, un documento notarial hace de nuevo a Jorge en Corfú en diciembre de 1502.<sup>89</sup> La coincidencia cronológica entre el corto *soggiorno* italiano del hijo de Juan Mosco y la edición de Dioscórides avalaría la tesis de que esta estancia puntual en Italia pudo servir de ocasión propicia para el traslado del Salm. 2659.<sup>90</sup>

8. Llegados al final de estas páginas, son quizás más las dudas que afloran en torno al itinerario primero del Salm. 2659 que las certezas que hayamos podido aportar. Ante la tesitura de si fue Janus Láscaris quien lo llevó consigo a Florencia y lo prestó para la preparación de la Aldina o si pasó directamente a Venecia a través de Jorge Mosco, los datos disponibles hasta ahora nos hacen decantarnos por esta segunda posibilidad. Pero al margen de estos interrogantes, el manuscrito es un testimonio más de la *translatio studiorum* de Oriente a Occidente con ocasión de la extinción del Imperio Bizantino que llevó aparejada consigo una *translatio librorum*. El manuscrito de Salamanca – lo hemos visto – fue producido en un ambiente de médicos y eruditos que encontró a partir de 1460 en la isla de Corfú acomodo para el desarrollo de una floreciente actividad intelectual, fruto de la cual es también la producción de libros. Pero uno de los aspectos en el que no hemos tenido ocasión de insistir es en el hecho de que el Salmanticensis cuenta con un elemento importante para explicar el fin para el que fue realizada la copia y que le confiere un mayor valor: el de las ilustraciones que adornan el texto.<sup>91</sup>

Los manuscritos más famosos de Dioscórides con ilustraciones – pensemos en el Vind. Med. gr. 1, el Neapol. gr. 1, el Par. gr. 2179 o el Neoeboracensis M. 652 – se caracterizan por ser ejemplares pergamínaceos de lujo en los que las ilustraciones

<sup>88</sup> Cfr. De Nolhac, *Les correspondants d'Alde Manuce*, cit., pp. 24-25, y Formentin, *Il punto su Demetrio Mosco*, cit., p. 238 n. 4.

<sup>89</sup> Pentogalos, *Γεώργιος Μόσχος*, cit., p. 300.

<sup>90</sup> Y dado que el traslado de Jorge Mosco a Italia parecía ocasional, el grueso de su biblioteca debió de permanecer en Corfú: Antonio Eparco, su sobrino, es el responsable del traslado de muchos libros de la familia Mosco a Occidente, entre ellos de los manuscritos galénicos autógrafos de Jorge Vat. gr. 281, Vat. gr. 285 y Par. gr. 2276. En su catálogo de 1538 Eparco asegura tener muchos manuscritos de Galeno, aunque no consigna los títulos concretos porque – afirma – se puede disponer de ellos en ediciones impresas: βιβλία τοῦ Γαληνοῦ ἔχομεν πλεῖστα χειρόγραφα, ἅπερ διὰ τὸ εὐρίσκεισθαι τετυπωμένα οὐκ ἀναγράφονται ἐνταῦθα. Cfr. Mondrain, *Les Éparque, une famille de médecins*, cit., pp. 158-159. Los estudios que en un futuro aborden la transmisión textual de los tratados de Galeno podrán dar cuenta seguramente de la existencia de una recensión corfiota para algunas de las obras galénicas en la que aparezcan involucrados Juan, Demetrio y Jorge Mosco.

<sup>91</sup> Una primera aproximación sobre este importante aspecto en la transmisión del *De materia medica* se lee en A. Touwaide, *Un recueil grec de Pharmacologie du X<sup>e</sup> siècle illustré au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle: le Vat. gr. 284, «Scriptorium»* 39, 1985, pp. 13-56, en esp. 20 para el Salm. 2659.

ocupan un amplio espacio en la página y, gracias a que el copista ha dejado blancos *ex professo* para albergarlas, alcanzan de este modo un protagonismo visual notable. En el manuscrito de Salamanca, por el contrario, las figuras son de tamaño más pequeño, se sitúan siempre en los márgenes, están realizadas a partir de una escueta gama cromática de rojos, marrones y verdes y son imágenes más esquematizadas que, sin embargo, permiten una rápida identificación con buena parte de las plantas que representan.<sup>92</sup> Es, en definitiva, un manuscrito hermoso pero sobrio, lo que indica que no era un ejemplar de lujo destinado a la biblioteca de alguna personalidad de relieve, sino concebido más bien para un uso profesional, para la praxis cotidiana de un médico o para la labor de un docente de medicina: la excelente calidad del texto, la pulcritud de la copia y el gran número de ilustraciones, a lo que se añade la síntesis que el Salm. 2659 y su antígrafo el Par. gr. 2183 ofrecen entre la doctrina de Dioscórides y la principal obra de Galeno sobre los medicamentos, el *De simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis et facultatibus*, apuntarían a un profesional riguroso e interesado con fines prácticos en el contenido del manuscrito, rasgos todos ellos perfectamente imaginables en alguien que ha trabajado en ese fructífero centro intelectual en que se convirtió la isla de Corfú en la segunda mitad del s. XV y principios del s. XVI, un *humus* propicio para la producción de códices griegos. Por desgracia, este primer uso práctico para el que estaría concebido el códice – en el ámbito académico de la escuela de medicina de Jorge Mosco o en el de la praxis médica llevada a cabo por distintos miembros de la familia Eparco, siempre en Corfú – se perdió en la biblioteca del Colegio Mayor de San Bartolomé en Salamanca, en donde el Salm. 2659 permaneció durante más de dos siglos como una reliquia bibliográfica y a donde había llegado procedente seguramente de las reuniones conciliares de Trento, un mercado singular de libros que abasteció durante el s. XVI a tantos prelados hispanos y por ende a tantas bibliotecas españolas.

Teresa Martínez Manzano

<sup>92</sup> La copia de Demetrio Triboles del Par. gr. 2182 tiene igualmente ilustraciones, no así la de Demetrio Mosco del Ambr. L 119 sup.

Ῥεῖτε δακρύων, ὀφθαλμοί, κρουνοὺς ἡματωμένους.

Il carme penitenziale di Germano II patriarca di Costantinopoli\*

In queste pagine si propone la nuova edizione di un componimento in decapentasilabi di carattere penitenziale (un carme *katanyktikón*, catanittico, come si illustrerà oltre) che si ritiene possa essere attribuito con ampia probabilità a Germano II, patriarca di Costantinopoli in esilio a Nicea (1222-1240). La *recensio codicum* compiuta da T. Migliorini ha permesso non solo una più fondata costituzione del testo, ma ha fornito anche elementi ulteriori rispetto a quelli noti agli editori precedenti, utili a chiarire alcune questioni fondamentali in merito alla funzione e alla fortuna del componimento.

Prima di presentare l'edizione tradotta e commentata del carme, si espone lo stato della questione.

### 1. *L'editio princeps*

Konstantinos Dapontes (Δαπόντες, Skopelos 1713/14-Monte Athos, Μονὴ Ξηροποτάμου 1784) che, divenuto monaco athonita in età adulta, assunse il nome di Kaisarios, è il primo a stampare il componimento in esame nel secondo volume del suo *Καθρέπτης γυναικῶν*:<sup>1</sup> una silloge a scopo didattico-edificante di poemetti decapentasilabici, ordinati in capitoli intitolati alle principali protagoniste (e ad alcuni protagonisti) della storia biblica, leggendo i quali le donne avrebbero potuto “rispecchiarsi” e dunque perfezionare la propria virtù.<sup>2</sup> Nel capitolo conclusivo del-

\* L'introduzione (§§ 1-5) si deve a S. Tessari, la costituzione del testo, la traduzione e il commento (§§ 6-8) a T. Migliorini. Il lavoro è stato condotto presso l'Università di Padova sotto la guida della professoressa Anna Pontani.

<sup>1</sup> Kaisarios (Konstantinos) Dapontes, *Καθρέπτης γυναικῶν*, I-II, *Ἐν Λιψία τῆς Σαξονίας*, τυπογραφία τοῦ Βρεϊτκόφ, 1766: II, pp. 444 sgg. L'opera è dedicata ad Elena Maurocordato, moglie di Gregorio Callimachi (Grigore Calimah), *ospodaro* di Moldavia tra il 1761 e il 1764 e tra il 1767 e il 1769 e successore del principe Giovanni Maurocordato. Sulla vita del Dapontes un'ampia introduzione si legge nel primo editore di sue opere inedite, K. N. Sathas, *MB*, III (1872), pp. κγ'-ξε'. Vd. anche la voce *Δαπόντες Καϊσαρίος* a cura di V. V. Sfyroera nella *Θρησκευτικὴ καὶ ἠθικὴ ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία*, IV, Athina 1962, coll. 964 sgg. e la voce *Δαπόντες, Κωνσταντῖνος / Καϊσαρίος* a cura di M. M. Meraklis, S. Athini, E. Paradeisi nel *Λεξικὸ νεοελληνικῆς λογοτεχνίας*, Athina 2008<sup>2</sup>, pp. 458, con bibliografia aggiornata. Recente la dissertazione di F. Marousi, *Η γυναίκα στο ἔργο του Καϊσαρίου Δαπόντε «Καθρέπτης γυναικῶν»*, Αριστοτέλειο Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλονίκη 2007, alle cui pp. 12-27 e 37-51 rimando per un'introduzione all'autore e alla sua opera.

<sup>2</sup> Ad esempio si vedano i seguenti titoli: *Susanna*, *Ester*, *Giuditta*, ma anche *Il sacrificio di Iefte*, *I Maccabei*, *Lot*, *Sansone*...

l'opera, dedicato all'ampio racconto in versi dei tre fanciulli ebrei del *Libro di Daniele* (III, 1-30), i quali ricusarono di adorare l'idolo d'oro fatto erigere da Nabucodonosor (pp. 411-456), il Dapontes sospende la narrazione dell'episodio biblico per introdurre un'esortazione al pentimento e alla conversione (motivo frequentissimo del Cristianesimo, specie ortodosso, definito con il termine proprio *κατανυκτικόν*). È in questo punto che Dapontes inserisce il carme di Germano (definito *ὁ Πατριάρχης Γερμανός, ὁ πάλαι, ὁ μέγας*), cui dà il titolo *Θρήνοι Γερμάνου [sic] Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*. Il testo poetico è composto di sei strofe e appare caratterizzato da un *refrain*: *Ῥεῖτε δακρύων, ὀφθαλμοί, κρουνούς ἡματωμένους*. L'indicazione autoriale «il Patriarca Germano, l'antico, il grande», come anche il successivo *Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*, fa senza dubbio riferimento a Germano I, il campione dell'iconodulia (715-730); il componimento, pertanto, sarebbe da collocarsi agli albori dell'innografia bizantina (prospettiva, come vedremo, inesatta).

Del *Καθρέπτis γυναικῶν* non sono state ad oggi indagate le fonti, cosicché non ci è possibile individuare donde il Dapontes abbia tratto i versi di Germano; né essi paiono derivare da alcuno dei codici sinora da noi identificati. È significativo il fatto che la presenza di componimenti letterari bizantini inseriti nello *Specchio* sia limitatissima; oltre a Germano, infatti, l'unico altro poeta citato esplicitamente, e di cui è riportata una pericope testuale, è Costantino Manasse, definito: *ὁ Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ χρονογράφος ὁ λαμπρὸς καὶ εὐφραδῆς ἐκεῖνος*. Proprio dal suo *Chronicon* sono riportati dal Dapontes i vv. 265-276.<sup>3</sup>

La lingua letteraria alta con cui è scritto il testo poetico di Germano e la presenza di alcune dotte allusioni ai miti del mondo greco pagano (in particolare nella quinta strofa, vd. *infra*) lo caratterizzano come un'elaborata opera retorica in versi. D'altra parte, il tema prettamente cristiano della contrizione, dominante nel carme, unitamente agli *exempla* biblici in esso menzionati, lo qualificano come un componimento avvicicabile in parte al genere dell'innografia liturgica, di destinazione quaresimale. Queste due chiavi di lettura, entrambe possibili, spiegano sia le tipologie dei codici latori del testo, sia le prospettive critiche, tra loro diversissime, degli editori successivi al Dapontes. Nei paragrafi seguenti darò conto di ambedue tali angolature, per tentare alla fine una visione d'insieme.

## 2. Il carme in codici miscellanei; K. Horna e Giovanni Cortasmeno

Allo stato attuale della *recensio*, il carme in esame risulta contenuto nei seguenti codici miscellanei, tutti databili tra il terzo quarto del XIII e il XIV secolo:

**B** Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barocc. gr. 131, saec. XIII (3/4), chart., 536 ff.: f. 175<sup>fv</sup> carmen sine titulo ullo et adespotum praebent.

Cfr. H. O. Coxe, *Catalogi codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae. Tomus I recensio-nem codicum Graecorum continens*, Oxonii 1853, col. 217 (carmen Constantino Manassi tribuendum proposuit); N. G. Wilson, *A Byzantine Miscellany: Ms. Barocci 131 described*, «Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik» 27, 1978, pp. 157-179 (carmen Michaeli Italico tribuit).

<sup>3</sup> Dapontes, *Καθρέπτis γυναικῶν*, cit., II, pp. 388 sg.



Si rimanda a Wilson per l'elenco dettagliato del vario contenuto. Basti qui ricordare che nel codice la poesia è assolutamente minoritaria. Alcuni versi sono anonimi (sulla natività della Vergine, εἰς μαθητήν). Come autori di testi poetici figurano: Niceforo Urano (versi in lode di Simeone Metafraste, BHG 1675C, inc. Ἡ γλῶσσα πηγὰς ἢ βλύσασα τῶν λόγων; ἀλφαβητάριον decapentasilabico penitenziale, assegnato però a Simeone Metafraste nel codice, inc. Ἄπο χειλέων λόγους σου ποίους προσοίσω, Λόγε, edito da A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Byzantinà análekta*, «Byzantinische Zeitschrift» 8, 1899, pp. 68 sgg.), Simeone Metafraste (cantanittico decapentasilabico, inc. Ἄπο βλεφάρων δάκρυα, ἀπὸ καρδίας θρήνον, cfr. PG CXIV, coll. 131 sg., I. Vassis, *Initia carminum Byzantinorum*, Berlin-New-York 2005, p. 69), Niceforo Blemmida (122 versi politici: inc. Κάτω καπνός, ἄνω τὸ πῦρ καὶ τὸν καπνὸν λαμπρύνει, editi a partire da questo ms. da J. B. Bury, *An Unpublished Poem by Nicephorus Blemmydes*, «Byzantinische Zeitschrift» 10, 1901, pp. 418-424; versi politici per l'imperatore Giovanni III Duca Vatatzes, per Giovanni figlio di Teodoro II Lascaris, dodecasillabi sul monastero di Sosandra, fondazione del Vatatzes in Magnesia sul Sipilo, editi da A. Heisenberg; Nicephori Blemmydae *curriculum vitae et carmina*, Leipzig 1896, pp. 100-111, 115-119; un epigramma encomiastico, anonimo nel ms., per Giovanni Evangelista – e per l'omonimo imperatore Giovanni, il Vatatzes – pubblicato da P. A. Agapitos, *Blemmydes, Lascaris and Philes*, in M. Hinterberger, E. Schiffer (Hrsgg.), *Byzantinische Sprachkunst*, Berlin 2007, pp. 1-19: 5; componimenti inno grafici: ἡ ἀκολουθία per san Gregorio di Nazianzo, ed. Heisenberg, cit., pp. 122-132, un'altra *akolouthia* per san Gregorio pubblicata da J. B. Bury, *Inedita Nicephori Blemmydae*, «Byzantinische Zeitschrift» 6, 1897, pp. 531-537). Si noti che i ff. 82<sup>r</sup>-105<sup>v</sup> e 156<sup>r</sup>-157<sup>v</sup> sono interamente occupati da questo ms. da Germano II, su cui cfr. il breve cenno in E. Schiffer, *Codex Baroccianus 131 und Codex Coislinianus 178 als Überlieferungsträger von Texten des Patriarchen Germanos II*, in A. Giannouli, E. Schiffer (edd.), *From Manuscripts to Books. Vom Codex zur Edition. Proceedings of the International Workshop on Textual Criticism and Editorial Practice for Byzantine Texts, Vienna, 10-11 December 2009*, Wien 2011, pp. 185-191.

N Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale, Neap. gr. II D 4, saec. XIII ex., chart., 242 ff.: τοῦ Πανιώτου στίχοι πολιτικοὶ ἐπῳδοί: ῥέιτε δακρύων, ὀφθαλμοί, κρουνοὺς ἡματωμένους: ff. 100<sup>r</sup>-101<sup>r</sup>.

Cfr. *Catalogus codicum Graecorum Bibliothecae Nationalis Neapolitanae*, II, recensuit M. R. Formentin, Romae 1995, pp. 5-10.

I ff. 88<sup>v</sup>-102<sup>r</sup> sono integralmente dedicati alla poesia bizantina, in cui la parte predominante spetta ai *Carmina historica* di Teodoro Prodromo (nrr. 11, 12, 42, 40, 39, 49, 29, 63, 58 Hörandner). Figura anche Cristoforo di Mitilene, con l'*epigramma* 73 Kurtz e parte del suo *Sinasario* metrico in giambi (1° settembre-4 novembre, ed. E. Follieri, *I calendari in metro innografico di Cristoforo Mitileneo*, Bruxelles 1980). Il nostro componimento è preceduto dal *Carmen compunctionis* in ottonari – Ὠιδάριον κατασκευτικόν – di Leone VI (ed. F. Ciccolella, *Il carme anacreontico di Leone VI*, «Bollettino dei Classici» 10, 1989, pp. 17-37: 21-24).

V Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 207, saec. XIII, chart., 373 ff.: f. 372<sup>r</sup> sextam stropham tantum carminis praebet, sine titulo ullo.

Cfr. G. Mercati, P. Franchi de' Cavalieri, *Codices Vaticani Graeci. Codices 1-329*, Romae 1923, p. 253 (ubi carmen Michaeli Italico tributum).

In questo codice, il testo del nostro componimento è limitato all'ultima strofa, per la caduta meccanica del foglio antecedente, rilevabile dal fatto che l'attuale 371<sup>v</sup> termina *ex abrupto*. Significativa, oltre alla presenza di Teodoro Prodromo e del *Carmen compunctionis* di Leone VI, una breve sezione occupata da στίχοι penitenziali e di argomento religioso (ff. 367-372<sup>r</sup>): gli autori menzionati sono: Arsenio «Autoriano?» (inc. Ἴτε μοι ξύμπαντες παῖδες, ottonari per la domenica di Pasqua, PG CXL, coll. 937-940), il monaco Bartolomeo Malomytes (due carmi di compunzione in dodecasillabi, cfr. Vassis, *Initia*, cit., pp. 601, 752; vd. anche C. Gallavotti, *Note su testi e scrittori di codici greci*, «Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici» 24, 1987, pp.

29-83: 53), Nicola di Corcira (dodecasillabi: cfr. Vassis, *Initia*, cit., p. 232 in s. *Crucem*, p. 856 in s. *Ioannem Chrysostomum*, p. 877 de *abdicatione sua*), Germano II patriarca (cinque *pentekostaria* decapentasilabici, su cui si veda *infra*, p. 166; a questi segue, al f. 372<sup>r</sup>, il carme oggetto del nostro studio, ma solo, come precisato, limitatamente all'ultima strofa).

C Istanbul, Πατριαρχική βιβλιοθήκη, Παναγία 64, saec. XIII ex., chart.: f. 116<sup>r</sup>, titulus non legitur nisi ]τε δακρύων.

Cfr. *Catalogue des manuscrits conservés dans la Bibliothèque du Patriarcat Oecuménique: les manuscrits du monastère de la Panaghia de Chalki*, par M. Kouroupou et P. Géhin, I, Turnhout 2008, pp. 197-214: 202, nr. 23 (carmen «Michaeli Italico» tributum).

Nel codice la poesia ha limitatissimo spazio; compaiono: quarantasei dei tetrastici giambici di Ignazio Diacono, metropolita di Nicea, parafrasanti le favole di Babrio (tit: Νουθεσία Ἰγνατίου καὶ Βαβρίου, ed. Müller 1897; su Ignazio Diacono cfr. W. Wolska-Conus, *De quibusdam Ignatiis*, «Travaux et Mémoires» 4, 1970, pp. 329-360: 337; in particolare F. Ciccolella, *Cinque poeti bizantini. Anacreontee dal Barberiniano greco 310*, Alessandria 2000, pp. 35-39), Nicola Callicle, *inc.* Ἐγὼ στρατηγὸς πρὸς πανοπλιαν ἄγω (versi dodecasillabi dedicati al mese di marzo, cfr. R. Romano, ed., Nicola Callicle, *Carmi*, Napoli 1980, nr. 37), il *carmen compunctionis* in ottonari di Leone VI, versi alfabetici di Simeone Metafraste (*inc.* Ἄνω τὸ ὄμμα τῆς διανοίας, ed. S. Eustratiades, *Τροπάρια τῆς ἁγίας μεταλήψεως κατ' ἀλφάβητον*, «Ῥωμανὸς ὁ Μελωδός» 1, 13-15, 1993, pp. 422-426), Michele Psello (*de kalendis, nonis et idibus*, in dodecasillabi, nr. 18 Westerink). Ampia parte è occupata da letteratura teologica, specialmente legata alle controversie dogmatiche con i Latini.

Le difficoltà della *recensio* spiegano bene la natura dei due interventi che K. Horna dedicò al nostro carme. Quando nel 1902 lo pubblicò da B nella sua interezza (sei strofe), lo riteneva adespoto e inedito,<sup>4</sup> essendogli sfuggita l'edizione settecentesca di Dapontes. Pochi anni più tardi, però, nel 1905, Horna si corresse in una nota cursoria, nella quale segnalò l'*editio princeps*, indicò come ulteriori testimoni N, V e M (sul quale ultimo vedi *infra*), e riportò tre varianti tratte da N e Dapontes.<sup>5</sup> Non deciffrò V a causa del cattivo stato di conservazione del foglio che lo contiene, e non poté accedere al manoscritto M (custodito a Mosca). Nonostante nei codici da lui consultati manchino le rubriche, o, come in N, sia segnalato Πανιώτης quale poeta,<sup>6</sup> Horna assegnò il carme a Germano II, a cui sono infatti attribuiti i cinque *pentekostaria* (vd. *infra*, p. 166) che attualmente precedono in V i nostri decapentasilabici.

La presenza del componimento di Germano in codici miscelanei ad uso di eru-

<sup>4</sup> K. Horna, *Einige unedierte Stücke des Manasses und Italikos*, «Jahresberichte des kaiserlich-königlichen Sophiengymnasiums in Wien für das Schuljahr 1901/1902», 1902, pp. 3-26: 13 sg.

<sup>5</sup> K. Horna, *Analekten zur byzantinischen Literatur*, «Jahresberichte des kaiserlich-königlichen Sophiengymnasiums in Wien für das Schuljahr 1904/1905» 1905, pp. 3-35: 31.

<sup>6</sup> Ipotesi sull'identità di Πανιώτης (Costantino Manasse? Michele Psello?), cui è anche attribuito un carme di Teodoro Prodromo (nr. 154 Hörandner) nel Laur. S. Marco 318, f. 1<sup>r</sup> e nel Vat. Chis. gr. 11, f. 79<sup>v</sup>, sono formulate recentemente da A. Rhoby, N. Zagklas, *Zu einer möglichen Deutung von Πανιώτης*, «Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik» 61, 2011, pp. 171-177, ove si ritiene Πανιώτης (come Πανίτης) derivato dal nome della località di Panion in Tracia Orientale (cfr. A. Kürzen, *Ostthrakien*, TIB 12, 2008, pp. 562-565: Panion 1). Cfr. anche D. Baldi, T. Migliorini, *Un epigramma inedito di Giorgio Cabasila nel Laur. S. Marco 318*, «Medioevo Greco» 8, 2008, pp. 1-29: 5 n. 22.

diti, assieme ad altra poesia bizantina in lingua dotta (specie anacreontee, carmi in dodecasillabi e decapentasilabi), rivela che esso era letto con interesse dall'élite culturale bizantina del tardo XIII e del XIV secolo. Tale induzione è confermata dal fatto seguente.

Il *refrain* con cui si conclude ognuna delle sei strofe, spesso vergato per esteso come titolo nelle rubriche dei codici N, P e C, si legge due volte (la seconda con *varia lectio*), tra i *marginalia* del ms. Vat. gr. 163 (V della tradizione manoscritta della *Narrazione cronologica* di Niceta Coniata):<sup>7</sup>

- al f. 206<sup>v</sup> (margine sinistro, 7<sup>a</sup> linea dal basso, in corrispondenza del passo Nic. Chon. *Hist.* XVIII 3, 3, p. 569, 7-8 van Dieten ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔδει δούλιον ζυγὸν ὑποδῶναι τὴν τῶν πόλεων πασῶν ἄρχουσαν), in inchiostro rosso e autografo del possessore del codice Giovanni Cortasmeno (1370- 1436/7 c.a.):<sup>8</sup> ῥεῖτε δακρῶν ὀφθαλμοὶ κρουνοὺς ἡματωμένους;
- al f. 218<sup>v</sup> (margine sinistro, linea 1-2 dall'alto, in corrispondenza del passo Nic. Chon. *Hist.* XIX 22, 4, p. 637, 11-12 van Dieten παιάνων τοῖνυν καὶ στεναγμάτων ξύμπας ἐπεπλήρωτο χῶρος), in inchiostro nero e grafia di una mano considerata da van Dieten intermedia tra quella del copista del codice e quella del Cortasmeno:<sup>9</sup> ῥεῖτε δακρῶν ὀφθαλμοὶ πηγὰς ἡματωμένας.

Siamo di fronte a un caso emblematico di citazione di letteratura bizantina a commento di altra letteratura bizantina: per enfatizzare la drammaticità degli eventi narrati da Niceta, gli annotatori del manoscritto ritennero opportuno riportare il ritornello (in due differenti versioni) di un componimento poetico senza dubbio ad essi ben noto. Si osservi che l'espressione «sorgenti insanguinate di lacrime», nel contesto originale del carme, doveva indicare la massima manifestazione della contrizione del peccatore anelante alla conversione: il pianto «insanguinato» è il segno visibile del pentimento; riferiti alla catastrofe di Costantinopoli, *civitas capta*, invece, i due *marginalia* assumono una diversa valenza: le lacrime scorrono per la capitale dell'Impero soggiogata dagli stranieri, punita da Dio per la sua superbia, ripiena essa stessa dei pianti degli sconfitti.

### 3. Il carme come testo religioso e inno liturgico

La tradizione manoscritta sin qui considerata e l'interpretazione di K. Horna, che collocano i versi in una dimensione prevalentemente letteraria/erudita, obliterano

<sup>7</sup> Cfr. I. Dujčev, *Appunti di storia bizantino-bulgara. II. Note marginali dei codici Vatic. gr. 163 e 325* [1935], in *Medioevo bizantino-slavo. I. Saggi di storia politica e culturale*, Roma 1965, pp. 213-220: 215, il primo ad annotare entrambi i *marginalia*; e J.-L. van Dieten, *Einleitung*, in *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, recensuit I. A. van Dieten, Berolini-Novii Eboraci 1975, p. XXIV, che annota solo il *margin.* al f. 206<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> Su Giovanni Cortasmeno, dotto monaco e copista, νοτάριος del patriarcato e poi vescovo di Selimbria, cfr. H. Hunger, *Johannes Chortasmenos, ca. 1370-ca. 1436/37. Briefe, Gedichte und kleine Schriften. Einleitung, Regesten, Prosopographie, Text*, Wien-Köln-Graz 1969.

<sup>9</sup> Van Dieten, *Einleitung*, cit., p. XXIV le attribuisce le note, da lui peraltro non specificate, dal f. 115 (n. 2) in poi.

il saliente aspetto *religioso e liturgico*, la cui primaria importanza appare ben evidente nei tre codici seguenti:

**P** Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris. gr. 2748, saec. XIV, chart., 190 ff.: τοῦ μακαριωτάτου πατριάρχου κυροῦ γερμανοῦ ἕτεροι στίχοι πολιτικοὶ ἐξ ἱστοριῶν συντεθημένοι [scil. ex Veteri Testamento] περὶ κατανύξεως ὠφελιμότητας [sic] πάνυ· ἐπῳδός· ῥεῖτε δακρῦων, ὀφθαλμοί, κρουνοὺς ἡματωμένους; ff. 147<sup>r</sup>-148<sup>r</sup>.

Cfr. H. Omont, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale. Troisième partie: ancien fonds grec*, Paris 1888, p. 34.

Il codice è vergato da Georgios Caloeidàs (Καλοειδᾶς; RGK 2.A-B, nr. 81 e 2.C tav. 43 = f. 142<sup>v</sup>; mss. datati 1371-1389). Il contenuto è per la quasi totalità poetico (fino al f. 151). Figurano: i *Dioptra* di Filippo Monotropo, il carme in esame, giambi alfabetici monostici attribuiti a Gregorio di Nazianzo, versi in lode della Madonna (non meglio precisati da Omont) di Manuele File; significativo il fatto che al f. 190 Omont segnali la presenza come *Anonymi versus theologici, alphab. inc.* Ἀκατάφλεκτε βάτε di un *megalynarion* a ogni evidenza opera di Germano II; si veda *infra*, p. 166).

**M** Mosca, Государственный Исторический музей, Synod. gr. 363 (Vlad. 418), saec. XV, chart., 447 ff.: τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου πατριάρχου Γερμανοῦ τοῦ ἐν Νικαΐα στίχοι πολιτικοὶ κατανυκτικοὶ μετὰ καὶ ἐπῳδοῦ τοῦ κατὰ δεκάδα τιθεμένου: f. 197<sup>r</sup>.

Cfr. Archimandrit Vladimir (Filantropov), *Систематическое описание рукописей Московской Синодальной (Патриаршей) библиотеки*, Сост. архим. Владимир, I, *Рукописи греческие*, Moskva 1894, pp. 627-632; B. L. Fonkič, F. B. Poljakov, *Греческие рукописи Московской Синодальной библиотеки: Палеографические, кодикологические и библиографические дополнения к каталогу архимандрита Владимира (Филантропова)*, Moskva 1993, pp. 136 sg. Contiene pressoché soltanto opere di carattere ascetico, teologico, filosofico. La poesia, prevalentemente penitenziale, è limitata ai ff. 195-197: queste le attribuzioni del codice: Simeone Metafraste (carme decapentasilabico alfabetico, *inc.* Ἀπὸ βλεφάρων δάκρυα, ἀπὸ καρδίας πόνους, *in obitum Constantini VII Porphy.*, Vassis, *Initia*, cit., p. 69), Niceforo Urano (il carme decapentasilabico alfabetico *inc.* Ἀπὸ χειλέων λόγους σου ποίους προσοίσω, Λόγε, cfr. Vassis, *Initia*, cit., p. 71, attribuito a Simeone Metafraste nel catalogo), Ciriaco vescovo di Chonae (seconda metà del X secolo, cfr. M. Lauxtermann, *The Spring of Rhythm*, Wien 1999, pp. 99 sgg., *inc.* Εἰς σπλάγχνα σου ἀπέφυγον. Su [http://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/tech\\_manusc](http://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/tech_manusc) è segnalato erroneamente come autore Ciriaco D'Ancona), <Teodoro di Gangra> (carme alfabetico catanittico, *inc.* Ἀπὸ καρδίας στεναγμούς, cfr. Vassis, *Initia*, cit., p. 69, edito in PG CXVII, coll. 1189-1193 senza indicazione autoriale), Germano II; al f. 244<sup>v</sup> si leggono dodecasillabi *In imaginem s. Gabrielis arch.*, *inc.* Τὸν ἄγγελόν σε τῆς χαρᾶς σπαθηφόρον, attribuiti a Manuele File: Manuelis Philae *Carmina*, ex codicibus Escorialensibus, Florentinis, Parisinis et Vaticanis nunc primum edidit E. Miller, II, Parisiis 1857, II, pp. 382-383).

**Ath** Athos, Μονὴ τῶν Ἰβήρων 975, saec. XV med. (Stathes), chart., 475 ff.: τροπάριον εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ἑορτὴν [scil. τὴν Κυριακὴν τῆς Τυρινῆς]. δομῆστικὸν Νικηφόρου τοῦ Ἡθικοῦ: f. 352<sup>r-v</sup>. Secundam stropham tantum habet, notis musicis instructis.

Cfr. Sp. P. Lampros, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos*, I-II, Cambridge 1895-1900, II, p. 243, nr. 5095; G. Th. Stathes, *Τὰ χειρόγραφα Βυζαντινῆς Μουσικῆς*. Ἅγιον ὄρος, III, Athine 1993, pp. 759-778, nr. 1060.

Manoscritto musicale appartenente alla categoria dei *Μαθηματάρια*, attribuito nel catalogo di Stathes alla mano del noto melurgo e copista Μανουὴλ Χρυσάφης (fl. 1440-1463) e pertanto da lui antedatato alla metà del XV secolo rispetto al XVI secolo proposto dal Lampros. Al f. 336<sup>v</sup> la rubrica introduce una sezione occupata da *sticheri* da intonarsi dalla domenica *del*

*Pubblicano e del Fariseo* (tre settimane prima dell'inizio della Quaresima ortodossa) alla domenica di *tutti i Santi* (prima domenica dopo Pentecoste): Ἀρχὴ σὺν Θεῷ ἁγίῳ τῶν στιχηρῶν τῆς Ἁγίας Μ', ἀρχομένων ἀπὸ τῆς Κυριακῆς τοῦ Τελώνου καὶ Φαρισαίου καὶ καταληγόντων μέχρι τῶν Ἁγίων πάντων, entro cui è antologizzata la seconda strofe del nostro carme].

P, M e Ath appartengono a tipologie di codici molto diverse: il primo, infatti, è una collezione di poesie d'argomento religioso in metri diversi; M antologizza prevalentemente testi in prosa ascetici; Ath, infine, è un manoscritto con notazione musicale, unico tra quelli escussi a far intendere un'esecuzione canora dei nostri decapentasilabi.<sup>10</sup> La funzione che essi assumono in quest'ultimo, a mio avviso, merita l'approfondimento che segue.

#### 4. La cacciata di Adamo, Niceforo Ethikos e Gregorios Stathes

Come si è detto, il codice Ath reca soltanto la seconda strofa, definita τροπάριον nella rubrica; qui compare il tema della cacciata (ἐξορία) di Adamo dall'Eden cui segue il suo pianto di fronte ad esso, motivo extrabiblico, ma onnipresente nell'innografia (si veda il commento ai vv. 12-22). Diversamente da V, la mancanza delle altre strofe non è dovuta a un guasto materiale del manoscritto, ma a una ben precisa scelta del copista. Infatti in Ath i decapentasilabi, provvisti di notazione musicale neumatica nella sua *facies* mediobizantina, sono destinati al canto liturgico: essi sono previsti per la Κυριακὴ τῆς Τυρινῆς (la «domenica dei latticini», detta anche *della cacciata di Adamo* a motivo del principale argomento su cui si impernia la liturgia, subito precedente l'inizio della Quaresima) e svolgono una funzione prettamente didattica: tale pericope appare adattissima per l'apprendimento e l'esercizio della *kalophonía* bizantina: il canto per eccellenza “bello”, melismatico, opera di μαῦστορες (compositori) vissuti tra il tardo XIII e il XVIII secolo.

L'unica indicazione autoriale presente nella rubrica di Ath è quella di Νικηφόρος Ἡθικός. Menzionato da Μανουὴλ Χρυσάφης in una lista di cinque importanti compositori bizantini di contatti calofonici, Niceforo, la cui cronologia non è per altri versi nota, compare tra Ἰωάννης Γλυκὺς (fl. tardo XIII secolo) e Ἰωάννης Κουκουζέλης (fl. 1300-1350). Per questo motivo si ritiene che l'acme della sua attività sia da collocare tra la fine del XIII e l'inizio del XIV secolo.<sup>11</sup> Come melurgo egli, piuttosto conservativo nello stile, predilige melodie di lunghezza contenuta e intervalli disgiunti non di eccessiva ampiezza. La linea melodica del nostro carme è tutta scritta nell'ambito tonale dei modi bizantini II autentico e plagale (con la forma *nenanò* nel finale),<sup>12</sup> raggiunge l'estensione massima di una quinta e mostra una media di 3,048 note per ciascuna sillaba delle 165 del testo greco.

<sup>10</sup> Negli altri codici, infatti, manca qualsiasi indizio che possa far ritenere la “poesia” di Germano un inno *da cantare*: non sono indicati in rubrica neppure i modi musicali su cui le strofe si dovrebbero intonare, segnale che spesso “resiste” anche in manoscritti *non musicali* nelle intestazioni di carmi di cui non è immediata la correlazione con l'innografia.

<sup>11</sup> Cfr. D. E. Conomos (ed.), *The Treatise of Manuel Chrysaphes, the Lampadarios*, Wien 1985, pp. 45, 53. Su Niceforo Ethikos cfr. la voce di E. V. Williams, Ch. Troelsgaard in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, VIII, Oxford 2001, pp. 353 sg.

<sup>12</sup> Come noto, gli otto modi musicali bizantini fondamentali sono denominati I-IV autentico e I-

Nel testo, “rivestito” di musica, molte sillabe sono, secondo l’uso, scritte più volte, per lasciare spazio alla linea neumatica sovrastante, vergata in modo arioso. Nei punti maggiormente melismatici sono aggiunte anche, *more solito*, sillabe o consonanti (es. χε) prive di significato come ausilio per il canto (le cosiddette sillabe calofoniche); oppure alcune parole sono ripetute (le finali κρουνοὺς ἡματομένους sono rese: κρουνοὺς ἡματομεεεεεεεεεεε κρουνοὺς ἡματομενους). Le *martyriai* intermedie (indicanti quale nota debba essere raggiunta in un dato punto del canto e quale modo musicale sia da utilizzarsi da lì in poi), i cosiddetti μεγάλα σημάδια (i «grandi segni» che notano sfumature espressive) e la *phthorà nenanò* sono vergati in inchiostro distintivo (spesso non ben visibile nella riproduzione consultata).

Il contenuto dell’intero manoscritto athonita fu oggetto di studio specifico da parte di Gregorios Stathes, a cui si deve la pubblicazione del *corpus* innografico bizantino in decapentasillabi.<sup>13</sup> All’interno del *corpus* edito trova spazio anche il frammento del componimento di Germano che si legge in Ath, il quale in questo modo ha goduto di una terza edizione a stampa, ad oggi la più recente (1977), ignara però delle due precedenti e realizzata a partire da ben diversi presupposti critici. Il *corpus* in decapentasillabi edito da Stathes, infatti, è formato soltanto da componimenti, tutti di argomento religioso, contenuti in codici con notazione musicale custoditi in biblioteche del Monte Athos, di Atene, di Patmos, della Μονὴ Προυσοῦ (Grecia centrale), di Santa Caterina del Sinai e di Oxford (Bodleian Library). Secondo le indicazioni delle rubriche, inoltre, l’esecuzione dei componimenti è prevista per specifiche ricorrenze del calendario liturgico ortodosso. Le caratteristiche sin qui segnalate li rendono degli “inni” a tutti gli effetti, accomunati da lessico e struttura simili, così precisabili:

- il lessico appare perfettamente sovrapponibile a quello, in gran parte ricavato dalle Scritture, proprio dell’innografia liturgica *non decapentasillabica*. Anzi, da questa spesso attingono copiosamente i decapentasillabi, ricalcandone alla lettera intere espressioni, adattate quanto basta per essere inserite nel metro, o parafrasando inni celebri (ad esempio il proemio dell’*Akathistos* Τῆ ὑπερμάχῳ στρατηγῷ: n. 28).
- i testi sono in maggioranza monostrofici e di lunghezza contenuta, ben adatti ad essere rivestiti di una melodia “fiorita”, che prolunga di molto la durata dell’esecuzione. La loro funzione nella liturgia è infatti analoga a quella degli *sticheri* in metro innografico: brevi componimenti da eseguirsi intercalati ai versetti dei salmi durante la *liturgia horarum*.<sup>14</sup> Nel *corpus* edito, alcuni versi finali dei componi-

IV plagale; essi indicano l’ambito tonale di riferimento di una melodia, la “scala” musicale utilizzata e un ben determinato repertorio di cadenze caratterizzanti ogni singolo modo. La *phthorà nenanò* è segno di modulazione (“distrugge” un modo musicale e segna il passaggio a un altro). Nel caso in esame, essa, collocata all’inizio del v. Ῥεῖτε δακρῦων, ὀφθαλμοί, κρουνοὺς ἡματομένους, fa sì che il canto, da intonarsi nel II modo plagale, sia di genere cromatico, maggiormente adatto a esternare sentimenti di dolore e pentimento.

<sup>13</sup> G. Stathes, *Ἡ δεκαπεντασύλλαβος ὑμνογραφία ἐν τῆ βυζαντινῇ μελοποιίᾳ καὶ ἡ ἔκδοσις τῶν κειμένων εἰς ἔν corpus*, Athine 1977, p. 248.

<sup>14</sup> Vd. il titolo della sezione contenente la strofa sopra ricordata del nostro carne in Ath: Ἀρχὴ

menti decapentasilabici (ad es. n. 68: Ῥάγητε σπλάγχνα, ῤάγητε, ῤεῖτε κρουνοὶ δακρύων, oppure n. 129: Θρήνησον, κλαῦσον, ᾧ ψυχῇ, τοῦ τέλους ἐπελθόντος), parenetici e dal significato concluso in un unico decapentasilabo, parrebbero perfetti come ritornelli, ma nella breve estensione testuale degli inni che essi chiudono, non sono mai ripetuti più di una volta.

Le due caratteristiche sono pienamente rispettate anche nel caso del carme di Germano, ma solo limitatamente alla strofe antologizzata in Ath. Qui il lessico non si allontana da quello tipico dell'innografica liturgica, e il contenuto non si apre a dotte citazioni mitologiche. L'intero carme, inoltre, è ridotto a una dimensione paragonabile a quella degli altri componimenti del *corpus*, con la necessaria conseguenza che il ritornello, ben distinguibile come tale nel resto della tradizione manoscritta, qui appare solamente come l'ultimo verso. Stathes, tuttavia, non conoscendo le altre edizioni del carme e ritenendo parimenti Ath *codex unicus*, considera il frammento testuale da lui pubblicato un componimento autonomo e in sé concluso; sulla base dell'indicazione del manoscritto, che assegna il "tropario" alla domenica τῆς Τυρινῆς, a una "festa" cioè dell'anno liturgico bizantino, lo classifica nel VI gruppo della sua organizzazione tassonomica, quello di Ἐόρτια καὶ πεντηκοστήρια. Infine, poiché, come si è detto, l'unico nome che compare nella rubrica athonita è quello di Niceforo *Ethikos*, Stathes attribuisce i versi a Niceforo, considerandolo sia poeta che compositore della musica (melurgo).<sup>15</sup>

### 5. Il carme: genere letterario e attribuzione. Considerazioni finali

Grazie alla *recensio* condotta, sono in grado di considerare la questione da un punto di osservazione più elevato e di tracciare alcune considerazioni finali.

Per quanto concerne la struttura, il componimento decapentasilabico è formato dalle sei strofe già note al Dapontes, tutte concluse dal medesimo ritornello, lunghe ciascuna da 10 a 13 versi (cfr. il *κατὰ δεκάδα* nella rubrica di M), non legate da acrostico.

Il continuo insistere sui motivi del riconoscimento dei propri peccati e sulla necessità e urgenza del pentimento in vista del giudizio finale dà ragione dell'aggettivo *κατανυκτικός* di M: si tratta infatti di un carme catanittico, penitenziale. Il tema cristiano della compunzione, infatti, le cui radici si ritrovano nella poesia biblica – *Salmi penitenziali* (vd. *infra* il commento ai vv. 5 sg.), le *Lamentazioni* attribuite a Geremia –, è ampiamente presente nella letteratura bizantina, ove *κατανυκτικός* può definire qualsiasi testo, in prosa o in versi. La poesia penitenziale in decapentasilabi, di cui abbiamo molti esempi nei manoscritti sopra elencati, è erede di una

σὺν Θεῷ ἀγίῳ τῶν στιχηρῶν τῆς Ἀγίας Μ', ἀρχομένων ἀπὸ τῆς Κυριακῆς τοῦ Τελώνου καὶ Φαρισαίου καὶ καταληγόντων μέχρι τῶν Ἀγίων πάντων.

<sup>15</sup> Cfr. l'elenco prosopografico che Stathes stampa alle pp. 97-124. Si tratta per Stathes di ποιηταὶ / μελοποιοὶ (μελωδοί), tutti successivi al XIII secolo (Niceforo compare in prima posizione). La terminologia «poeti» / «compositori della melodia» («melodi») costituisce ovviamente un problema, già avvertito dall'autore, ma è naturale esito della prospettiva di Stathes, che deriva il suo *corpus* soltanto da codici musicali.

lunga tradizione in metri diversi. Di Romano il Melodo, ad esempio, ci sono tramandati otto contaci, definiti *κατανυκτικοί* nelle rubriche, la cui destinazione liturgica, seppur a volte incerta, rimanda al periodo quaresimale (sono gli inni 1, 2, 4, 28, 30, 37, 54, 55 e quello su Ninive – appendice al vol. I – dell’edizione Grosdidier de Matons).<sup>16</sup> Nei codici da noi escussi, appare evidente che a motivare l’acostamento del carne di Germano con l’altra poesia lì presente non è né l’identità di metro, né l’epoca degli autori (si leggono, infatti, componimenti innografici, anacreontiche, dodecasillabi, decapentasilabi databili soprattutto dal X secolo in poi), bensì la consonanza tematica: si tratta perlopiù di catanittici.

Per quanto riguarda l’attribuzione, ricordiamo che, escluso il *Paniotes* di N, e il *Niceforo Ethikos* di Ath, la tradizione manoscritta non conosce paternità alternative a quella di Germano. Le supposizioni che si leggono a proposito del carne nelle descrizioni di catalogo di B, V e C (Coxe propone Costantino Manasse, Wilson Michele Italico, ancora Michele Italico Mercati e Franchi de’ Cavalieri, ribadito sulla scorta della precedente bibliografia anche da Kouroupou e Géhin) si spiegano con l’estensione al nostro delle attribuzioni dei testi contigui o, come nel caso di Mercati e Franchi de’ Cavalieri, con una lettura non attenta dell’edizione di Horna, *Unerdierte Stücke*, cit.; per questo tali attribuzioni non paiono probanti.

Rimane il nome di Germano. Per Germano I (715-730), abbiamo visto, propende Dapontes, seguito da due studiosi russi – Demkova e Medvedev –, che hanno investigato la fortuna del carne, nelle sue varie versioni, nel Medioevo slavo<sup>17</sup> (ma in un precedente articolo, a circolazione più limitata, la Demkova aveva optato per Germano II<sup>18</sup>). Della paternità di Germano II si convinse Horna, *Analekten*, cit., p. 31, attribuzione accettata negli *Initia carminum Byzantinorum* del Vassis.<sup>19</sup>

La tradizione manoscritta dei due Germano, è noto, non sempre è precisa nel-

<sup>16</sup> Per i catanittici poetici, con speciale attenzione a quelli in metro anacreontico d’età macedone, vd. Ciccolella, *Cinque poeti bizantini*, cit., pp. XLIX-LIV, con bibliografia. Sui catanittici in decapentasilabi, con storia del genere, cfr. anche Lauxtermann, *Spring*, cit., pp. 31-35.

<sup>17</sup> N. S. Demkova, I. P. Medvedev, “Стиси добръшии къ винѣ слъзиѣи” византийского патриарха Германа (VIII в.) в славянских и древнерусских рукописях [«Versi in lode del pentimento e delle lacrime» del patriarca bizantino Germano (VIII sec.) nei manoscritti slavi e russi medievali], «Palaeoslavica» 10, 2002, pp. 37-53; 38, per l’attribuzione a Germano I. Demkova e Medvedev si convinsero della paternità di Germano I non sulla base della *recensio* delle fonti slave da loro condotta e neppure per motivi stilistici, ma soltanto adducendo l’enorme importanza culturale che le opere del patriarca iconodulo ebbero nel Medioevo slavo; prova a nostro parere non sufficiente.

<sup>18</sup> N. S. Demkova, S. A. Semjačko (Jakunina), “Стиси добрейши” патриарха Германа в южно-славянской рукописи середины XV в. из собрания пермского педагогического института, Грузинская и русская средневековая литературы [«Versi in lode» del patriarca Germano in un manoscritto slavo meridionale del XV sec. nella raccolta dell’Istituto Pedagogico di Perm, Letteratura georgiana e russa medievale], Tbilisi 1992, pp. 93-99.

<sup>19</sup> Vassis, *Initia*, cit., p. 535 (Ὁ πάλα; bibliografia ivi segnalata: Horna, Demkova); p. 10 (Ἀδάμ; bibl. Horna, Demkova e Stathes); p. 583 (Ὁ φιλοσόφρων; bibl. Horna, Demkova); p. 699 (σὺν Ἰωνάθαν) = p. 777 (τὸν Ἰωνάθαν; bibl. Horna, Demkova); p. 713 (Τὰς ἡλιάδας; bibl. Horna, Demkova); p. 66 (Ἄπας ὁ βίος; bibl. Horna, Demkova).



l'apportare indizi che possano discriminarli, come già chiaramente indicato dal Beck.<sup>20</sup> Sebbene, però, l'attività innografica assegnata a Germano I sia quantitativamente di sommo rilievo, possiamo respingere ad ogni evidenza un'attribuzione a lui del carne in esame, per le seguenti motivazioni:<sup>21</sup>

- innanzitutto, carmi anteriori al X secolo integralmente composti in versi “politici” non sono ad oggi attestati;<sup>22</sup>
- sulla base dei repertori lessicografici disponibili, un elemento linguistico potrebbe confermare una datazione ai secoli XII-XIII (vd. n. *ad v.* 16);
- il fatto che l'autore del catanittico, senza eliminarne il carattere religioso, lo arricchisca di riferimenti più letterari, maggiormente inclini all'imitazione della letteratura profana, indulgendo per esempio a citazioni mitologiche, è confacente allo spirito ellenizzante proprio della retorica di età *comnena*.<sup>23</sup>

In favore di un'assegnazione a Germano II, inoltre, vi è l'esplicita rubrica di M (Τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου πατριάρχου Γερμανοῦ τοῦ ἐν Νικαίᾳ στίχοι πολιτικοὶ κατανυκτικοὶ μετὰ καὶ ἐπφοῦ τοῦ κατὰ δεκάδα τιθεμένου).

<sup>20</sup> H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*, München 1959, p. 667.

<sup>21</sup> Una disamina dell'innografia di Germano I, allo stato attuale delle ricerche, ha l'evidente limite di una conoscenza necessariamente ancora troppo sommaria della tradizione manoscritta, il che non ha sinora permesso di giungere a un'edizione critica complessiva. Per le annotazioni seguenti, dunque, limito la mia analisi alla produzione innografica edita, fidando nelle indicazioni autoriali in essa presenti; che questo, poi, sia un azzardo, è sin troppo evidente. La gran parte delle pubblicazioni contenenti inni di Germano è costituita da libri liturgici, il cui scopo non è naturalmente la critica filologica, pur non mancando precisazioni su alcune paternità dubbie. Germano I, il Confessore, è uno degli innografi più prolifici e più celebri, specie come melodo. I suoi irmi (S. Eustratiades, *Εἱρμολόγιον*, Chennevières-sur-Marne 1932, pp. 16, 43, 44, 47, 72, 78, 79, 95, 103, 129, 130, 135, 136, 167, 168, 202, 203, 225, 226, 229), accanto a quelli di Giovanni Damasceno, Cosma di Maiuma e Andrea di Creta, sono tra i più utilizzati dagli innografi successivi come modelli musicali e metrici dei loro canoni (cfr. G. Schirò, *I melodi del VII e VIII secolo artefici dei ritmi dell'innografia canonaria bizantina*, in *Byzance. Hommage à André N. Stratos*, II, *Théologie et philologie*, Athènes 1986, pp. 631-647). Quasi un centinaio gli sticheri idiomeli recepiti dai *Menei*. Quattro canoni dei *Menei* (da intonarsi nei giorni 2 e 13 settembre, 17 gennaio e 16 agosto) parvero spuri a W. Christ e M. Paranikas (*Anthologia Graeca carminum Christianorum*, Lipsiae 1871, p. XLIII). Per uno sguardo d'insieme su questa produzione cfr. Beck, *Kirche*, cit., pp. 474-475 e 667.

<sup>22</sup> Cfr. ad es. W. Hörandner, *Poetry and Romances* in E. Jeffreys, J. Haldon, R. Cormack (edd.), *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies*, Oxford 2008, pp. 894-907: 898.

<sup>23</sup> All'inizio dell'VIII sec., epoca in cui si situa la vita di Germano I, non è ancora sbocciata la rinascenza classicheggiante che vede in Fozio, ma non solo, uno dei suoi rappresentanti più insigni. Un simile ragionamento stilistico conduce P. Speck, *Klassizismus im achten Jahrhundert? Die Homelie des Patriarchen Germanos über die Rettung Konstantinopels*, «*Révue des Études Byzantines*» 44, 1986, pp. 209-227, nell'analisi di un'omelia sulla liberazione di Costantinopoli durante l'assedio arabo del 717, attribuita a Germano I: l'imitazione in essa di tratti stilistici tipici della Seconda Sofistica è, a detta di Speck, troppo estranea allo stile delle opere dell'VIII secolo a noi note; pertanto l'omelia si attaglia a un'epoca più tarda, cioè al IX secolo, intorno alla cui metà la cosiddetta “rinascenza macedone” atticizzante raggiunse l'acme.

La consistenza dell'attività poetica e innografica di Germano II è ancora da chiarire, come a buon diritto ricorda recentemente E. Schiffer, per l'assenza di studi specifici centrati su questo tema;<sup>24</sup> il carme qui studiato, tuttavia, non sarebbe un *unicum* nella produzione del patriarca, poiché ad oggi si possono enumerare i seguenti componimenti in versi a lui ricondotti:

- un *Canone sui sette concili ecumenici*, pubblicato nel *Συναξαριστής τῶν δώδεκα μηνῶν τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ* di Nicodemo l'Agiorita, II, Ἀθήνησι 1868, pp. 364 sgg. e nel successivo *Μέγας συναξαριστής πάντων τῶν ἀγίων* di K. Dukakes, VII, ἐν Ἀθήναις 1893, pp. 222 sg. (ove figura τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου Πατριάρχου Γερμανοῦ τοῦ νέου, da intonarsi nel II modo plagale, su Ὡς ἐν ἡπείρῳ πεζεύσας, il 16 luglio);
- un *megalynarion* alfabetico eptasillabico, *inc.* Ἀκατάφλεκτε βάτε (edito da S. Eustratiades sulla base di cinque codici athoniti e attribuito a «Germano di Costantinopoli», *Ἡ ἀκολουθία τοῦ Μεγάλου Σαββάτου καὶ τὰ μεγαλυνάρια τοῦ Ἐπιταφίου*, «Νέα Σιών» 32, 1975, pp. 273 sgg.), assegnato a Germano II da Ch. Hannick, che lo lesse assieme alla sua notazione musicale nel cod. Vind. Theol. gr. 185, f. 230<sup>v</sup> (H. Hunger, O. Kresten, Ch. Hannick, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, III/2, Wien 1984, p. 372, e Ch. Hannick, *Exégèse, typologie et rhétorique dans l'hymnographie byzantine*, «Dumbarton Oaks Papers» 53, 1999, pp. 207-218: 216, 218). Il breve inno si trova, come riportato *supra*, anche nel ms. P;
- otto *pentekostaria*<sup>25</sup> decapentasillabici, di cui cinque sono scritti in V sul foglio che ora precede quello recante il carme qui oggetto di studio. I πεντηκοστάρια, anonimi in V (vd. *supra*, p. 158), sono assegnati esplicitamente a Germano II dai codd. Vat. Barb. gr. 74, ff. 23<sup>r-v</sup> e Vall. gr. 130, ff. 65<sup>r-v</sup> (32<sup>r-v</sup>); l'attribuzione è confermata da A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, primo a pubblicarne l'intera serie di otto dal Petrop. gr. 139, una Παπαδική del 1752 con notazione musicale.<sup>26</sup> Soltanto il primo *pentekostarion* fu edito sulla base del ms. vallicelliano da Horna, *Analekten*, cit., p. 32.

Il nostro carme, databile dunque con ogni probabilità alla prima metà del XIII secolo, ben conosciuto dagli annotatori del manoscritto V di Niceta Coniata, trovò la sua strada in codici di eruditi, sillogi ascetiche e in (almeno) un codice musicale, non tuttavia nella sua interezza, bensì in quella sola parte che rispondeva alle esigenze di *brevità*, di maggior *semplicità* lessicale e di *pertinenza* ai temi richiesti dalla liturgia di una festa specifica (la domenica τῆς Τυρινῆς).

A Niceforo Ethikos, sulla fine del XIII secolo, spettò il ruolo di melurgo, ovvero

<sup>24</sup> E. Schiffer, *Bemerkungen zu Homilien des Patriarchen Germanos II*, in *Byzantinische Sprachkunst*, cit., pp. 296-307: 296. Ulteriore ostacolo all'interpretazione delle opere poetiche e innografiche di Germano II è la ben nota difficoltà nel ricostruire elementi certi, utili alla chiarificazione del contesto socio-culturale e religioso dell'Impero di Nicea.

<sup>25</sup> I *pentekostaria* sono brevi componimenti da cantarsi all'*orthros*. Il loro nome li connette al Salmo L (LI), dal cui testo trae ispirazione il loro contenuto.

<sup>26</sup> A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Μέθοδος τῶν ὀκτῶ ἤχων*, «Византийский временник» 13, 1906, pp. 488-493: 489.

di compositore della melodia sul testo di Germano, e non, pertanto, quello di poeta-melodo che gli attribuì lo Stathes sulla base del solo Ath.

La storia della tradizione del componimento di Germano ha un'importante prosecuzione nel mondo slavo, a partire dal XIV secolo, studiata in modo dettagliato da Demkova e Medvedev, cui si rimanda per la *recensio* dei manoscritti e per la descrizione del loro contenuto. Basti qui ricordare come, dei venti codici segnalati, tredici offrono una traduzione slava dell'intero componimento, in un contesto di tipo ascetico paragonabile a quello del codice M sopra citato. Gli altri manoscritti, invece, presentano redazioni abbreviate: sono antologizzate solamente la seconda strofa (come in Ath) o la sesta, oppure è presente una rielaborazione che fonde la prima strofa con i versi conclusivi dell'ultima. Come segnalano Demkova e Medvedev, infatti, il rimaneggiamento cui fu sottoposto il catanittico derivò da uno sforzo di redazione, da un tentativo di adattare un erudito componimento letterario bizantino a una breve preghiera destinata a un contesto monastico.

## 6. Edizione

Τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου πατριάρχου Γερμανοῦ τοῦ ἐν Νικαίᾳ στίχοι πολιτικοὶ κατανυκτικοὶ μετὰ καὶ ἐπῳδοῦ τοῦ κατὰ δεκάδα τιθεμένου

- Ὁ πάλα βλύσας ὕδατα πέτρας ἐξ ἀκροτόμου  
καὶ τῆς Μερρᾶς μεταβαλὼν Ἑβραίοις τὴν πικρίαν,  
κοσμοποιέ, τερατουργέ, θεέ μου, πλαστοουργέ μου,  
τῶν ἀκροτάτων ἐφετῶν ἀκρότης ὑπερτέρα,  
5 δακρῶν δεῖξόν μοι πηγὰς τὰ κύκλα τῶν ὀμμάτων,  
τὴν κεφαλὴν μου πλήρωσον ὑδάτων καθαρσίων  
καὶ ποιήσον τὰ βλέφαρα νεφέλας ἀειρρούς·

testes 8 adhuc collati: B (carmen in tribus columnis descriptum), N (in duobus), P (in una), M (in duobus), V (in duobus, vv. 58-71 tantum), C (in tribus), Ath (in una, cum notis musicis syllabisque iteratis, vv. 12-22 tantum), Dap (in una)

ante v. 1 titulum rubro atramento inscriptum τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου – τιθεμένου praebet M, nullo alio insequente versu nisi primo carminis ipsius : titulum litteris rubro atramento signatis τοῦ μακαριωτάτου πατριάρχου κυροῦ γερμανοῦ ἕτεροι στίχοι πολιτικοὶ ἐξ ἱστοριῶν συντεθημένοι περὶ κατανύξεως ὠφελμότατοι (sic) πάνν· ἐπῳδός deinde versum nigro atramento signatum, praeter rubram ρ, ρεῖτε δακρῶν, ὀφθαλμοί, κρουνούς ἡματωμένους habet P : ante v. 1 titulum rubro atramento exaratum τοῦ Πανιῶτου στίχοι πολιτικοὶ ἐπῳδοὶ deinde versum ρεῖτε – ἡματωμένους ostendit N : ὁ Πατριάρχης Γερμανός, ὁ πάλα, ὁ μέγας, θρηνοὶ Γερμάνου (sic) Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Dap, nullo alio insequente versu nisi primo carminis ipsius : post finem monodiae <sup>I<sup>ae</sup></sup> in *astroglenum* (Horna, *Unedierte Stücke*, cit., pp. 3-9) quolibet carminis titulo caret B : post titulum in imagine lucis ope confecta nigra macula celatum, versum repetitum carmini praemissum ρεῖ]τε δακρῶν κτλ. praebet C

[1-11: B, N, M, P, C, Dap]

1 ὕδατα B, N, M, C, Dap : νόματα P πέτρας B, N, M, P, C : πηγὰς Dap 2 μεταβαλὼν B, N, M, P, C (...ἰρρᾶς κτλ.) : μεταλαβὼν Dap 3 θεέ B, N, M, Dap : Χριστέ (breviatum) P, C 4 ἐφετῶν B, N, M, P, C : ἐραστῶν Dap 5 δεῖξόν Horna : δεῖξον B, N, M, P, C, Dap; ...κρῶν κτλ. C τὰ κύκλα B, N, C : τοὺς κύκλους M, P, Dap : ση(μείωσαι) γρ(άφεται) τὰ κύκλα P<sup>ms</sup> 6 τὴν κεφαλὴν B, N, P, C, Dap : καὶ κεφαλὴν M (καὶ breviatum superscriptum litterae quae nunc male conspici potest) 7 καὶ B, N, M, P, C : ἢ Dap (breviatum male interpretatus?) ἀειρρούς B (ρ altera serius addita apparet; sed Horna omisit), N, M, P (ut videtur), C, Dap

- ὁ μολυσμὸς γὰρ τῶν φρενῶν καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ὁ ῥύπος  
 ὑσώπου δεῖται, δέσποτα, τῆς σῆς φιλανθρωπίας  
 10 κάκ τῆς πηγῆς τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν καρδιακῶν ὑδάτων.  
 Ῥεῖτε δακρύων, ὀφθαλμοί, κρουνοὺς ἡματομένους.  
 Ἄδὰμ ὁ πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος ῥίφεις ἐκ παραδείσου  
 ἀπέναντι καθήμενος οὐκ ἔληγε δακρύων·  
 σὺ δέ, ψυχὴ μου, τῆς Ἐδέμ τῶν ἀρετῶν ῥιφείσα,  
 15 οἶμοι πῶς κάθη παίζουσα, χλιδῶσα καὶ τρυφῶσα,  
 ἀφρόνως ἐπαθύρουσα τοῦ βίου τοῖς ὀνειροῖς  
 καὶ ταῖς σκιαῖς τῶν ἡδονῶν ἀλόγως ὀμαρτούσα;  
 Τὰς αὔρας ἄφες τὸ λοιπὸν καὶ μὴ μετεωρίζου·  
 πείσθητι συμβουλευόντι, κλαῦσον ἀπὸ καρδίας,  
 20 ἡσύχαζε καὶ μέμνησο τῶν προημαρτημένων,  
 καὶ πάντως ἔξεις δάκρυα, κὰν ἄνικμος τυγχάνης.  
 Ῥεῖτε δακρύων, ὀφθαλμοί, κρουνοὺς ἡματομένους.  
 Ὁ φιλοσόφρων Ἰωσήφ, ἡ ταπεινὴ καρδία,  
 ὅτε κατήγετο πραθεὶς εἰς Αἴγυπτον ὡς δοῦλος,  
 25 ἐπεὶπερ εἶδε τῆς μητρὸς τὸν τάφον παροδεύων,  
 ἐπάνω ῥίψας ἑαυτὸν τοῦ μνήματος ἐθρήνει,  
 «Ἄν ἐπαισθάνη», τραγῳδῶν, «ψυχὴ μητρὸς, ἂν βλέπης,  
 Ῥαχὴλ, ἰδοῦσα στέναξον ὡς δοῦλον πεπραμένον  
 τὸν Ἰωσήφ τὸν σὸν υἱὸν ἀνδράποδον βαρβάρων  
 30 ὡς πρόβατον ἀγόμενον εἰς χώραν ἄλλοτρίαν».  
 Σὺ δέ, ψυχὴ μου, τῆς σαρκὸς ταῖς ἡδοναῖς πραθεῖσα  
 πῶς παροδεύεις τὴν ὁδὸν ἀδακρυτὶ τοῦ βίου;  
 Ῥεῖτε δακρύων, ὀφθαλμοί, κρουνοὺς ἡματομένους.

8 τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τῶν φρενῶν hoc ordine N, P, C (...]λυσμὸς κτλ.) 9 ὑσώπου (sic) N 11 in duobus columnis distributum (ῥεῖ]τε – ὀφθαλμοί; κρουνοὺς ἡματομένους) versus praebet C

[12-22: B, N, M, P, C, Ath, Dap]

12 ῥίφεις ἐκ παραδείσου B, N, M, P, C : ῥίφεις ἐν παραδείσῳ Ath: ῥιφθεὶς τοῦ παραδείσου Dap 13 ...]έναντι κτλ. C 14 ῥιφείσα B, N, M, P, C, Ath : ῥιφθείσα Dap 15 χλιδῶσα B, N, M, P, C, Dap : χριδῶσα Ath τρυφῶσα B, N, M, P, C, Ath, Dap : τρέφουσα vertere versio slavonica videtur iuxta Demkova 16 ἐπαθύρουσα B, N, M, P, C (...]φρόνως), Dap : ἐπανθηρούσα Ath τοῦ in ras. (parvis signis aliquibus laeva parte relictis) N ταῖς Ath 17 ἀλόγως B, M, P, C, Dap : ἀφρόνως N (procul dubio voce praeecuntis versus repetita), Ath ὀμαρτούσα B, N, M, P, C : ἄμαρτούσα Dap : ὀμιλοῦσα Ath 18 τὰς αὔρας B, N, M, P, C : τὰς ἄβρας Dap : ταῖς αὔρας Ath 19 ...]σθητι κτλ. C 20 ἡσύχαζε B, M, C, Ath : ἡσίχαζε N : ἡσύχασε P : ἡσύχασον Dap 21 δάκρυα ... τυγχάνης (sic) C : δάκρυον ... τυγχάνεις Ath 22 in duobus columnis distributum (ῥεῖ]τε – ὀφθαλμοί; κρουνοὺς ἡματομένους) versus praebet C

[23-46: B, N, M, P, C, Dap]

23 φιλοσόφρων B, N, M, C, Dap : φιλοσόφρων P 24 εἰς Αἴγυπτον ὡς δοῦλος B, M, P, C (...]τε κατήγετο κτλ.), Dap : ὡς δοῦλος ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ N 25 παροδεύων B, N, M, P, C, Dap : παραδεύων Medvedev 27 τραγῳδῶν B, N, M, C (...]επαισθάνη κτλ.) : τραγῳδεῖν P : τραγουδῶν Dap (palam neograecissans) 28 στέναξον B, N, M, P, C : στέναξεν Dap ὡς δοῦλον B, M, P, Dap : εἰς δοῦλον N, C 29 βαρβάρων B, N, M, P, C, Dap : βαρβάρων (sic) Medvedev 30 ἄλλοτρίαν B<sup>2</sup> (cum alpha litterae compendio supra lineam), N, M, P, C (...]ς πρόβατον κτλ.), Dap : ἄλλοτρίων B<sup>1</sup> (cum -ων in lineam) 33 in duobus columnis distributum (ῥεῖ]τε – ὀφθαλμοί; κρουνοὺς ἡματομένους) versus praebet C

- Σὺν Ἰωνάθαν τῷ καλῷ καὶ τὸν Σαοὺλ ἐθρήνει  
 35 ὁ τῆς πραότητος βυθός, Δαυὶδ ὁ προφητάναξ,  
 τὰς κορυφὰς τὰς τῶν ὄρων ἀρώμενος καὶ λέγων·  
 «Μὴ καταβήτω ἕτεός, μὴ σταλαζάτω δρόσος,  
 μηδ' ἐπαυγάση λαμπηδῶν φωτὸς ἡλιοβρύτου,  
 ἐν οἷς κατέπεσεν ἰσχύς καὶ τόξον Ἰωνάθαν».  
 40 Σὲ δέ, τρισάλαστε ψυχὴ καὶ σιδηρὰ καρδία,  
 οὐ συγγενῶν ἢ στέρησις, οὐ φίλων, οὐ γονέων  
 ἐκίνησε πρὸς δάκρυα καὶ σύγχυσιν καὶ πένθος.  
 Τί λέγω φίλων, συγγενῶν; Οὐδὲ σαυτὴν δακρῦεις  
 ἐννοουμένη τὰ πολλὰ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων βάρη  
 45 καὶ τὸ δριμύ τῶν αἰκισμῶν, οὐς μέλλεις ὑποσπῆναι.  
 Ῥεῖτε δακρῦων, ὀφθαλμοί, κρουνοὺς ἡματομένων.  
 Τὰς Ἡλιάδας λέγουσι τῶν λόγων οἱ μυθῶδεις  
 οὕτω θρηνεῖν τὸν ἀδελφόν, οὕτω πενθεῖν ἐκ βάθους,  
 ὡς πῆγνυσθαι τὸ δάκρυον εἰς ἤλεκτρον ἐκείνων.  
 50 Σὺ δέ, δυσδαίμων, τάλαινα ψυχὴ μου, τρισαθλία,  
 πῶς οὕτω μένεις ἀκαμπῆς, ἀμείλικτος, ἀγρία,  
 σαυτὴν ὀρώσα προφανῶς ὥσπερ κυματομένην  
 ἐν ἀγγιστρόφοις ἴλιγξι τῶν ἡδονῶν τοῦ βίου;  
 Πῶς φαίνῃ μᾶλλον εὐχαρῆς, οὐ κατανευγμένη;  
 55 Πῶς ἐπελάθου, τάλαινα, τῶν πρὶν ἀτοπημάτων,

34 σὺν Ἰωνάθαν τῷ καλῷ M, Dap : σὺν Ἰωνάθῃ τῷ καλῷ P : σὺν τούτοις Νάθαν τὸν καλὸν B : σὺν Νά-  
 θαν πάλαι τὸν καλὸν N (in fine versus, qui in columna sinistra inscribitur [non in dextera, ut recisus vi-  
 deatur], littera è tantum conspicitur, cetera, si vero sunt, in imagine impressa legi nequeunt) : σὺν νά-  
 θαν τὸν καλὸν (sic) C : τὸν Ἰωνάθαν τὸν καλὸν Horna 35 προφητάναξ B, N, M, P, C (...]πραότητος  
 κτλ.), Dap : προητάναξ (sic) Medvedev 36 κορυφὰς... ἀρώμενος B, M, P, C : κορυφὰς... ὀρώμενος  
 N, Dap 37 σταλαζάτω N (cum -o pro -ω, ut Byzantii librarii solent) 38 μηδ' Horna, Dap : μὴ δ' B,  
 N, M, P (iuxta Byzantinam scriptionem) : margine sn. exesum praebet C ἐπαυγάση ... φωτὸς ἡλιο-  
 βρύτου P : ἐπαυγάσαι ... φωτὸς ἡλιοβρύτου B, M : ἐπαυγώση ... φωτὸς ἡλιοβρύτου Dap (ἐπαεγώση  
 Medvedev) : ἐπαυγάσοι ... φωτὶ ἡλιοβλύτῳ N, C (sed desinentes syllabas clare legere nequeo) 39  
 Ἰωνάθου P (declinato verbo ut in v. 34) 40 σέ M, Kurtz : σύ B, N, P, C, Dap, Horna τρισάλαστε  
 B, M, P, C, Dap : τριτάλαστε N σιδηρὰ M, C, Horna : σιδηρά B, N, P, Dap 41 ...]συγγενῶν C  
 42 ἐκίνησε B, M, P, C, Dap : ἐκίνησαν N : ἐκίνει σε Horna (certe ut anacolutum pronominis σύ vi-  
 tare) σύγχυσιν B, M, C, Dap : σύγχυσιν N, P 43 σαυτὴν B, M, P : σαυτόν N, C (sed desinentem  
 syllabam bene legere nequeo) : σ' αὐτήν Dap 44 ἐννοουμένη B, N, P, M, C (...]νοουμένη), Dap : ἐν-  
 νοουμένη Medvedev 45 οὐς μέλλεις B, N, M, C : ὦν μέλλεις P, Dap (μέλεις Medvedev) 46 in  
 duobus columnis distributum (ρεῖτε - ὀφθαλμοί; κ]ρουνοὺς ἡματομένους) versus praebet C

[47-57: B, N, M, P, C, Dap]

47 ἡλιάδας B, M, C (ut videtur), Dap (accentum retractum habet Medvedev) : ἰλιάδας N, P θυμώ-  
 δεις vel saltem ...μῶδεις mihi legere videor in C 48 om. Medvedev 49 ἐκείνων B, N, P, C  
 (...]πῆγνυσθαι κτλ.) : ἐκείναις M, Dap 50 δυσδαίμων B, P, C, Dap : δυσδαίμον N, M τρισαθλία  
 B, N, C : παναθλία M, P, Dap 51 post 53 praebet N, C 52 ὥσπερ κυματομένην B, N, M, P, C,  
 Dap : ὑπερκυματομένην Horna 53 ἀγγιστρόφοις B, N, P, C (ἐν deperdito marg. sn. exeso),  
 Dap : ἀγγειστρόφοις M ἴλιγξι B, N, P (an ἔλεγξι?) : ἴλυγξι M : ἴλιγξι (sic) C : ἔλιξι Dap 55 ἐπ-  
 ελάθου B, P, M, C (πῶς deperdito marg. sn. exeso), Dap : ἐπελάθω vel -ε, sed ambo non liquent (vd.  
 v. 9) N; procul dubio signum exaratum est quod compendio ου non respondeat

- ὡς πίτυς μὴ θρηνήσασα τῆς κέδρου πεπτωκυίας;  
 ῥεῖτε δακρύων, ὀφθαλμοί, κρουνούς ἡματωμένους.
- Ἄπας ὁ βίος ὁ παρὼν πέδον ἐστὶ κλαυθμῶνος,  
 ἄπας ὁ βίος ὁ παρὼν ὑπόθεσις δακρύων
- 60 καὶ σπείρειν κεκελεύσμεθα δακρύων τὰς ἐκχύσεις,  
 ἦν ἀγαλλίασιν ἐκεῖ βουλοίμεθα θερίσαι.
- Πῶς οὖν, ἀνόητε ψυχῇ, τὸν τῶν δακρύων χρόνον  
 εἰς μάτην οὕτω δαπανᾷς ἀκαίροις ὁμιλίαις  
 καὶ τὸν τῆς πανηγύρεως καιρὸν καταναλίσκες
- 65 εἰς ἀνόητους προφανῶς καὶ παραλόγους πράξεις,  
 καταμελοῦσα τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ σωτηρίου πάθους;  
 Ζήτηι πεισθεῖσα τὸ λοιπὸν παρὰ θεοῦ δακρύων  
 ὄμβρον ἢ λίμνας ἢ πηγὰς τὰς ψυχοκαθαρτίας  
 καὶ πένθος ἀπαρακλήτων πενθοῦσα καθημέραν
- 70 καὶ τῶν προτέρων μέμνησο σφαλμάτων σου καὶ λέγε·  
 ῥεῖτε δακρύων, ὀφθαλμοί, κρουνούς ἡματωμένους.

56 πίτυς μὴ θρηνήσασα τῆς κέδρου πεπτωκυίας B, P : πίτυς μὴ δακρύουσα τῆς κέδρου πεπτωκυίας N, C : πίτυς μὴ θρηνήσασα τῆς κέδρου πεπτωκυία (sic) M : πίτης μὴ θρηνήσασα τῆς κέρκου πεπτωκείας Dap 57 in duobus columnis distributum (ῥεῖτε – ὀφθαλμοί; κ|ρουνούς ἡματωμένους) versus praebet C

[58-71: B, N, M, P, V, C, Dap]

58 παρὼν... κλαυθμῶνος (sic) Medvedev 59 ἄπας ὁ βί[... marg. exeso V 60 τὰς ἐκχύσεις B, P, M, Dap : ἐν σταγόσι N, V, C (...|σπείρειν κτλ.) 61 ἦν ἀγαλλίασιν B, M, C : ἔν' ἀγαλλίασιν N, P, V (hoc verbo finit versus marg. exeso), Dap 63 quos adhuc στιχηδόν una columna habuerat, exhiñc καταλογάδην, puncto solo interposito, scriptos versus exhibet P : εἰς μάτην οὕτω δαπ... marg. exeso V: εἰς in lacuna marg. sn. exeso deperditum habet C 65 ἀνόητους – παραλόγους B, P, M, Dap : ἀνονήτους ... παραγογούς (sic) N, V (εἰς ἀνονήτους προφανῶς καὶ π... marg. exeso) : clare legere nequeo C 66 πάθους B, M, V : πένθους N, P, C, Dap 67 ζήτηι πεισθεῖσα τὸ λοιπὸν παρὰ θεοῦ δακρύων B, N, M, P, C : ζήτηι λοιπὸν παρὰ θεοῦ δακρύων ἀνευδότητος Dap : ζήτηι πεισθέντα (sic) τὸ λοιπὸν παρὰ θεοῦ δακρύων V (marg. hic non exeso) 68 ὄμβρον ἢ λίμνας ἢ πηγὰς τὰς ψυχοκαθαρτίας B : ὄμβρους ἢ λίμνας ἢ πηγὰς τὰς ψυχοκαθαρτίας M, Dap: ὄμβρους ἢ λίμνας ἢ πηγὰς τὰς ψυχοκαθαρσίους N, V, C : ἀνευδότητος ὄμβρους ἢ λίμνας (sic) ἢ πηγὰς τὰς ψυχοκαθαρσίους P (extra metrum) 69 πένθος ἀπαρακλήτων πενθοῦσα B, M, P, Dap : πένθος ἀπαρακλήτων ἀυχούσα V, C (si recte lego) : πένθει ἀπαρακλήτων ἀυχούσα N καθημέραν B, N, M, V : καθ' ἡμέραν P, C, Dap 70-71 versus in marg. add. P 70 σου B, P, M, Dap : μοι N, V, C 71 omnes (una linea C)

## 7. Traduzione

Versi politici di penitenza con un ritornello messo a ogni decade, scritti dal santissimo patriarca a Nicea Germano <II>

Tu, che un tempo facesti sgorgare l'acqua da una pietra durissima  
 e cambiasti l'amarezza di Mara agli Ebrei,  
 o artefice del mondo, autore di miracoli, Dio mio, mio creatore,  
 somma altezza tra i sommi desideri,  
 5 fa' delle orbite dei miei occhi fonti di lacrime,  
 ricolma la mia testa di acque purificatrici  
 e rendi le palpebre come nubi che sempre scorrono.  
 La bruttura della mente, infatti, e la sordidezza dell'anima  
 hanno bisogno dell'issòpo della tua misericordia, o Signore,  
 10 e di acque del cuore <che zampillano> dalla fontana degli occhi.  
 Fate scorrere, occhi, sorgenti insanguinate di lacrime!

Adamo, il primo uomo, scacciato dal paradiso,  
 seduto di fronte <ad esso> non smetteva di piangere;  
 tu, invece, anima mia, scacciata dall'Eden delle virtù,  
 15 ohimé, come mai te ne stai seduta a sollazzarti, a vivere tra le mollezze e la lascivia,  
 a giocare sconsideratamente con i sogni della vita  
 e a frequentare follemente le ombre dei piaceri?  
 Lascia perdere le arie d'ora in poi e non insuperbire;  
 obbedisci a chi ti porge consiglio, piangi di cuore,  
 20 rimani calma e ricordati dei peccati passati  
 e ti verrà senz'altro da piangere, anche se hai gli occhi secchi.  
 Fate scorrere, occhi, sorgenti insanguinate di lacrime!

Il casto Giuseppe, cuore umile,  
 quando veniva condotto in Egitto per essere venduto come schiavo,  
 25 appena vide per strada la tomba della madre,  
 vi si gettò sopra e levava un lamento funebre,  
 gemendo: «Se puoi sentire, anima della madre, se puoi vedere,  
 Rachele, guarda e gemi su tuo figlio Giuseppe,  
 venduto come uno schiavo, come un prigioniero di guerra dei barbari,  
 30 condotto come una pecora in terra straniera».  
 Tu, invece, anima mia, venduta ai piaceri della carne,  
 come mai percorri la via della vita senza piangere?  
 Fate scorrere, occhi, sorgenti insanguinate di lacrime!

Oltre che sul bel Gionata anche su Saul versava lacrime  
 35 il re profeta Davide, profondamente mite,  
 maledicendo le cime dei monti e dicendo:  
 «Non scenda pioggia, non gocci rugiada,  
 né risplenda brillio di luce raggianti del sole  
 su quelli su cui cadde la forza e l'arco di Gionata».  
 40 Tu, invece, anima tre volte maledetta e cuore di ferro,  
 non dei parenti la perdita, non degli amici, non dei genitori  
 ti commosse fino al pianto, allo smarrimento e al gemito.  
 Ma che dico degli amici o dei parenti? Nemmeno te stessa piangi,  
 al sol pensiero delle molte e gravi accuse

- 45 e delle aspre torture che ti appresti a sostenere.  
Fate scorrere, occhi, sorgenti insanguinate di lacrime!
- I racconti mitici riferiscono che le Eliadi  
tanto piansero il fratello, tanto gemettero dal profondo,  
che le loro lacrime si indurirono in ambra.
- 50 Tu, invece, disgraziata, infelice, sventuratissima anima mia  
come mai te ne stai così inflessibile, inesorabile, crudele,  
pur vedendoti chiaramente, per così dire, travolta dall'onda  
nei rapidi vortici dei piaceri della vita?  
Come mai piuttosto sembri contenta e non compunta?
- 55 Come hai fatto a dimenticare, misera, gli errori di prima,  
come il pino che non piange quando il cedro è abbattuto?  
Fate scorrere, occhi, sorgenti insanguinate di lacrime!
- Tutta la vita presente è una valle di lacrime,  
tutta la vita presente è occasione di pianto
- 60 e siamo costretti a seminare le effusioni di pianto  
se li vogliamo mietere esultanza.  
Come mai, allora, anima sciocca, il tempo delle lacrime  
spendi così invano in frequentazioni sconvenienti  
e sprechi il tempo della festa di Dio
- 65 in occupazioni chiaramente sciocche e irrazionali,  
sprezzando la bella e salvifica passione?  
Stammi a sentire e cerca d'ora in poi da Dio di lacrime  
una pioggia o laghi o fonti che purifichino l'anima  
e prova dolore inconsolabile ogni giorno
- 70 e ricordati dei tuoi peccati passati e di':  
fate scorrere, occhi, sorgenti insanguinate di lacrime!

## 8. Commento

Come s'è detto, il presente componimento si configura, per il suo contenuto, come *katanyktikón*. Elemento retorico comune è l'apostrofe a sé stesso (o, meglio, alla propria anima e al proprio cuore) del parlante, rappresentante di un'individualità non tanto personale, quanto piuttosto collettiva, della comunità dei credenti cristiani, che si riconoscono tutti peccatori e, pertanto, bisognosi della misericordia e del perdono di Dio; è, d'altra parte, il singolo individuo a dover confessare le proprie colpe dinnanzi a Dio e alla comunità. All'interno del tema complessivo della contrizione si distingue quello più particolare del pianto come segno esteriore, visibile, tangibile di compunzione; esso rimanda per es. alla tradizione dei *salmi penitenziali*.<sup>27</sup> Compaiono poi i temi della fugacità della vita e dell'urgenza del pentimento, contrapposto alla socordia del peccatore, che si trastulla ignorantemente nell'imminenza del giudizio.

<sup>27</sup> Cfr. *infra* comm. ad 5-6. Più generalmente Lauxtermann, *Spring*, cit., pp. 32-33 riconduce il pianto al senso di nullità che l'uomo peccatore sente riguardo a sé stesso nei confronti dell'infinita misericordia di Dio.



1-2: si rimanda a due miracoli compiuti da Dio per mezzo di Mosè in favore del popolo ebraico in fuga dall'Egitto verso la terra promessa: il primo (LXX *Ex* XVII 6, ma con il testo di *Dt* VIII 15 τοῦ ἐξαγαγόντος σοι ἐκ πέτρας ἀκροτόμου πηγὴν ὕδατος *qui eduxit rivus de petra durissima* Vulg.; cfr. anche *Ps* 113, 8; ἀκρότομος vale qui semplicemente «duro», come insegna *TGL* I, col. 1343D-1344A *s.v.*) è lo scaturire di una fonte in mezzo al deserto; il secondo (LXX *Ex* XV 23 sgg.) è il raddolcimento della fonte di Mara, amara come dice la parola ebraica stessa.

4: secondo la Demkova, in Demkova, Medvedev, cit. (n. 17), p. 47, questo verso contiene reminiscenze dello ps.-Dionigi l'Areopagita; in realtà non sembrano esservi simili formulazioni nel *corpus Dionysiicum*, pur non essendovi raro il superlativo ἀκρότατος in riferimento a Dio; piuttosto l'idea di altezza inarrivabile connessa alla divinità, come il più eccelso tra i desideri a cui l'uomo dovrebbe aspirare, oltre a provenire dalla tradizione platonica del sommo bene, è in genere comune a tutta l'esegesi patristica: p. es. Gregorio di Nazianzo (*In Canticum Cantorum*, VI, p. 458, 8 Langerbeck) parla della somiglianza dell'uomo creato con Dio come di τὸ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀκρότατόν τε καὶ τελειότατον. τί γὰρ ἂν ὑπέρτερον εὔρεθει τῆς πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ὁμοιώσεως; oppure Gregorio di Nissa (*Orationes viii de beatitudinibus*, PG XLIV, col. 1241, 8), commentando la beatitudine evangelica della fame e della sete di giustizia, chiama τὸ ἀκρότατον τῆς πρὸς τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐπιθυμίας il desiderio più alto rivolto al bene. Gli esempi potrebbero moltiplicarsi; aggiungo solo che una formulazione simile al fraseggio di questo verso germaniano si trova nel più tardo ps.-Io. Damasc. *Vita Barlaam et Joasaph*, p. 6, 4-6 Volk τῆς οὖν ὑπερφυοῦς ταύτης καὶ τῶν ἐφετῶν ἀκροτάτης μακαριότητος ἡξιώθησαν ἐπιτυχεῖν οἱ ἀπ' αἰῶνος ἅγιοι διὰ τῆς τῶν ἀρετῶν ἐργασίας. Nel genere dell'innografia si veda ad esempio l'irmo Οὐρανίας ἀψίδος ὀροφουργέ di Giovanni Damasceno (*Eustratiades, Εἰρμολόγιον*, cit., p. 220), ove il Signore è qualificato come τῶν ἐφετῶν ἡ ἀκρότης.

5-6 δακρῶν - καθαρσίων: l'espressione proviene da un contesto sacro tipicamente lamentatorio, LXX *Ier* VIII 23, 2 τίς δώσει κεφαλῇ μου ὕδωρ καὶ ὀφθαλμοῖς μου πηγὴν δακρῶν; ripreso da vari scrittori cristiani, in particolare da Efrem Siro, le cui opere Germano II sembra aver letto con attenzione, come dimostrano i vv. 23 ss. Più genericamente si può rimandare ai *Salmi penitenziali* per la retorica delle lacrime come necessario segno esteriore di compunzione: cfr. *Ps* VI 7 ἐκοπίασα ἐν τῷ στεναγμῷ μου, λούσω καθ' ἐκάστην νύκτα τὴν κλίνην μου, ἐν δάκρυσί μου τὴν στρωμνὴν μου βρέξω; *Ps* XXXI [XXXII] 3 παλαιώθη τὰ ὀστᾶ μου ἀπὸ τοῦ κράζειν με ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν; *Ps* XXXVII [XXXVIII] 7 ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν σκυθρωπάζων ἐπορευόμεν, 9 ὠρυόμεν ἀπὸ στεναγμοῦ τῆς καρδίας μου, 10 ὁ στεναγμός μου ἀπὸ σοῦ οὐκ ἀπεκρύβη; *Ps* CI [CII] 2 ἡ κραυγὴ μου πρὸς σὲ ἐλθέτω, 6 ἀπὸ φωνῆς τοῦ στεναγμοῦ μου.

7 βλέφαρα - ἀειρρῶους: l'aggettivo composto (con ρ doppia o scempia, non importa, come è noto a causa della pronunzia bizantina) è attestato in una dozzina di passi, dalla *Lettera di Aristeo* 116 fino agli autori bizantini tardi (vd. *TLG online*) e ha lo stesso significato di ἀειρρῶτος; l'ho trovato solo in relazione all'acqua, non nella strana *iunctura* con νεφέλη che, a mia scienza, compare qui soltanto e, probabilmente, va intesa nel senso che le nubi, cariche di pioggia, fanno scorrere continua-

mente acqua. «E copri le mie palpebre di una nebbia che sempre scorre» traduce la versione slava in Demkova, Medvedev, cit. (n. 17), p. 41. L'idea di una corrente fluviale che scorre dalle palpebre compare anche nella monodia di Costantino Siculo per i propri genitori creduti morti in mare, vv. 5-6 βλεφάρων ῥόος χεέσθω ποταμῶν δίκην τρεχόντων (ed. P. Matranga, *Anecdota Graeca*, Romae 1850, pp. 689-92; G. Monaco, *Constantini Siculi Anacreonticum carmen ἀπὸ μουσικῶν μελάθρων*, «Parola del Passato» 6, 1951, pp. 457-463; *L'Anacreontica di Costantino Siculo ἀπὸ μουσικῶν μελάθρων*, «Studi Bizantini e Neollenici» 7, 1953, pp. 153-59).

8 μολυσμός – ῥυπός: dittologia sinonimica non rara negli scrittori ecclesiastici.

9 ὑσσώπου: nella tradizione biblica la pianta dell'issòpo, legata in mazzetti e immersa in qualche liquido, spesso sangue di vittime sacrificali, serviva proprio per le aspersioni lustrali e purificatrici (vd. *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, III, Paris 1912, s.v.); in senso metaforico una simile espressione famosa è quella del salmo penitenziale L (LI), 9 ῥάντιέις με ὑσσώπῳ καὶ καθαρισθήσομαι. Quanto poi a τῆς σῆς φιλανθρωπίας, è genitivo epe-segetico o almeno appositivo (l'issòpo metaforico, ossia la purificazione, consiste nella misericordia di Dio), mentre καρδιακῶν ὑδάτων dipende da δέιται e regge ἐκ τῆς πηγῆς τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν.

καρδιακῶν: l'aggettivo, tipicamente medico, impiegato per le lacrime (qui per metonimia definite “acque”) rimanda alla teoria antica e medievale in base alla quale esse sarebbero una secrezione del sangue e dello pneuma; vd. al riguardo l'informato contributo di M. Peri, *Un caso estremo di «visibile parlare» nei mosaici di S. Apollinare in Classe*, in A. Armati, M. Cerasoli, C. Luciani (edd.), «*Alle gentili arti ammaestra*». *Studi in onore di Alkistis Proiou*, Roma 2010, pp. 41-57: 46 (cfr. anche l'espressione corrente, che mette in relazione il cuore con gli occhi, benché in maniera diversa: “gli occhi sono lo specchio dell'anima”; vd. e.g. Io. Tzetz. *Exeg. in Il.* A 104, schol. 46, 10 Lolos ὀφθαλμὸς γὰρ ψυχῆς κάτοπτρον καὶ δι' αὐτῆς τὰ ἦθη γνωρίζονται).

11 ῥεῖτε – ἡματομένους: il *refrain* è posto in testa al poema in N, P, C (non in B, M, Dap), a guisa, per così dire, di titolo.

δακρῶν ... κρουνούς è immagine barocca amata dagli scrittori ecclesiastici, specialmente in riferimento a patenti esternazioni di dolore. Un'occorrenza in particolare si avvicina a questo ritornello: Mich. Psell. *Poem.* XVII 203 Westerink πέμπουσα κρουνούς αίματοφύρτων δακρῶν; anche qui la compresenza del sangue sia riprende la teoria suddetta sia fa forse riferimento al fatto che gli occhi, dopo tanto pianto, si arrossano.

Nelle versioni slave il ritornello varia così: *Versate, occhi, torrenti insanguinati di la-crime* (redazione completa dell'inno; S. Pietroburgo, RNB, raccolta del Monastero di Kirillo Beloserskij, nr. 26 [1103], ff. 67-69); l'aggettivo «insanguinati» cambia nel *facilior* «perenni» in una redazione abbreviata (Mosca, GIM, raccolta Zabjelina, nr. 420 [313], ff. 370<sup>v</sup>-371<sup>r</sup>), per esigenza di maggiore semplicità secondo Demkova, Medvedev, cit. (n. 17), p. 45.

12 Ἀδὰμ κτλ.: in questa seconda stanza il termine di comparazione è Adamo scacciato dall'Eden (LXX *Gn* III 23-24, con ripresa dell'avverbio ἀπέθαντι), anche se la

Bibbia non trasmette la notizia del suo star seduto in lacrime, una volta fuori dal giardino terrestre. Quest'ultimo particolare si può rinvenire, invece, in tre inni leggibili nel Τριώδιον, proprio per la Κυριακή τῆς Τυρινῆς, «domenica dei latticini», il cui tema precipuo è per l'appunto l'ἐξορία ο ἐκδιώξις τοῦ Ἀδάμ (cfr. *supra*, pp. 161 sgg.): nel *doxastikòn*, II modo plagale, *inc.* Ἐκάθισεν Ἀδάμ, ἀπέναντι τοῦ Παραδείσου, καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν γύμνωσιν θρηγῶν ὠδύρετο; nell'altro *doxastikòn*, II modo plagale, *inc.* Ἐξεβλήθη Ἀδάμ τοῦ Παραδείσου, διὰ τῆς βρώσεως· διὸ καὶ καθεζόμενος ἀπέναντι τούτου, ὠδύρετο; nell'*oikos* del contacio Τῆς σοφίας ὁδηγέ: Ἐκάθισεν Ἀδάμ τότε, καὶ ἔκλαυσεν ἀπέναντι τῆς τρυφῆς τοῦ Παραδείσου (cfr. Follieri, *Initia hymnorum ecclesiae Graecae online*, s.vv.). Cfr. anche Papa Synadinus (XVII sec.), *Χρονικὸ τῶν Σερρῶν*, 4, 7, 15 ed. Odorico: καὶ πῶς ἐκάθισεν Ἀδάμ ἀπέναντι τοῦ παραδείσου καὶ ἔκλαυσε πικρῶς con le note a p. 408.

13 οὐκ ἔλγηε δακρύων: morfologicamente e sintatticamente δακρύων può essere sia gen. pl. di δάκρυον (con υ breve in epica, e.g. Hom. *passim*); sia part. pred. del sogg. da δακρῶ (con υ lunga in ep.); ma, come si sa, le vocali dicrone non valgono più per la loro lunghezza. Un simile costruito è in Plat. *Phaed.* 117d Ἀπολλόδωρος [...] οὐδὲν ἐπαύετο δακρύων.

14-15 Ἐδέμ ... τρυφῶσα: Eden significa in ebraico proprio τρυφή, come sapevano dai lessici di voci ebraiche anche i Greci e come si legge nella LXX (*Gn* III, 23-24 παράδεισος τῆς τρυφῆς). Con il participio successivo τρυφῶσα, quindi, può sussistere un gioco di parole consistente nel contrapporre la *voluptas* divina del paradiso terrestre alla *voluptas* carnale e peccaminosa dell'anima impenitente. Si noti, inoltre, l'art. femm. di Ἐδέμ, come spesso da Filone in poi (forse per influsso del genere di τρυφή?); nonché la *variatio* della costruzione di ῥίπτομαι: prima (v. 12) con ἐκ + gen., qui invece con semplice genitivo, forse per mere ragioni di spazio metrico.

16 ἐπαθύρουσα: il verbo, proprio del XII s., può costituire un indizio di datazione: LBG (*spielen*) riporta, oltre al nostro passo, quelli di Niceph. Basil. *Progymn.* 47, 11 Pignani (già in *TGL s.v.*) e di Niceph. Chrysoberges *Oratio ad Io. X Camaterum* 59, 41 Browning. I dativi sono comitativi.

μετεωρίζομαι: cfr. Ephr. Syr. *Sermo* tom. I<sup>1</sup> (*graece*), p. 254 Assemani ὅτι οὐ δεῖ γελᾶν καὶ μετεωρίζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον κλαίειν καὶ πενθεῖν ἑαυτοῦς. Nel senso di «essere elevato, innalzato, incitato, agitato, psicologicamente pompato, gonfiato, insuperbito» già Ar. *Av.* 1447; Polib. III, 70, 1; Diod. Sic. XI 32 μεμετεωρισμένοι ταῖς νίκαις, ma anche «essere messo in agitazione angosciosa» (Lc 12, 29 καὶ ὑμεῖς μὴ ζητεῖτε τί φάγητε καὶ τί πίητε, καὶ μὴ μετεωρίζεσθε).

19 ἀπὸ καρδίας: a parte il solito riferimento alla teoria menzionata al v. 9, cfr. Theocr. XXIX 4 φιλεῖν ἀπὸ καρδίας; Ar. *Nub.* 86 ἐκ τῆς καρδίας φιλεῖν; con κλαίω vd. un simile contesto di contrizione in Rom. Melod. LII 3, 7-8 Maas-Trypanis κλαύσωμεν τοίνυν ἀπὸ καρδίας, ὄν τρόπον Νινευῖται κατανύζει τὸν οὐρανὸν ἦνοιζαν. Cfr. ἐκ βάθους v. 48 *infra*.

20 προημαρτημένων: il verbo proviene dal lessico paolino (2*Cor* XII 21 πολλοὺς τῶν προημαρτηκότων; XIII 2).

21 ἄνικμος: termine tecnico, indicante l'assenza di umidità in un corpo, usato dai fisici e dai medici; ripreso dai Padri della Chiesa, specialmente dai Cappadoci, assurge a dignità poetica con Psello (*Carm.* XXII 95 Westerink) e Teodoro Prodromo (*Rhod. et Dosiscl.* V 61).

22 φιλοσώφρων Ἰωσήφ: nella terza stanza si fa riferimento al celebre episodio di Giuseppe venduto dai fratelli (LXX *Gn* XXXVII e XXXIX). L'aggettivo φιλοσώφρων rimanda alla castità, per cui Giuseppe si distinse con la moglie di Putifarre, rifiutandone le profferte amorose (LXX *Gn* XXXIX); qualità eminentemente lodata dagli scrittori cristiani, tra cui Origene (*Or.* XXIX, 18, GCS Orig. 2, 392) e Giovanni Crisostomo (*In Gen. hom* LXI, PG LIV, col. 538) e, tra i poeti, Romano il Melodo (*Hymn.* XLIII-XLIV Maas-Trypanis, partic. XLIV 11, 9 μέσων τούτων ἡγωνίζετο ὁ φιλοσώφρων ἀνήρ). L'episodio della tomba della madre, invece, è apocrifo: la prima e unica occorrenza in scritti greci di cui io sia riuscito ad aver contezza è in ps.-Ephraem Syrus, *Sermo in pulcherrimum Ioseph*, pp. 271-272 Phrantzolas.<sup>28</sup> Evidenti sono le sovrapposizioni lessicali con i versi qui commentati; va notato, inoltre, che la versione greca del sermone di ps.-Efreem è in eptasillabi e ottosillabi, gli stessi metri da cui nacque il decapentasilabo in cui è composto il presente carne di Germano.<sup>29</sup>

ταπεινή καρδία: è *iunctura* già presente in LXX *Eccl.* XXV 23, 1.

<sup>28</sup> Così ricavo da *TLG online* e da un controllo di altre fonti bibliografiche sulla figura di Giuseppe, il cui elenco risparmio (un cenno a Efreem Siro già faceva Demkova in Demkova, Medvedev, cit. [n. 17], p. 42 n. 7); mi limito a evidenziare che l'episodio non compare in altri testi della raccolta dei cosiddetti pseudoepigrafi veterotestamentari (vd. e.g. *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha. 1. Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments. 2. Expansions of the "Old Testament" and Legends, Wisdom and Philosophical Literature, Prayers, Psalms, and Odes, Fragments of Lost Judeo-Hellenistic Works*, ed. by J. H. Charlesworth, Garden City, N.Y. 1983-1985). Esso riaffiora soltanto più tardi nel *Libro del giusto* (*Sefer ha-Yashar*), scritto in ebraico probabilmente in area spagnola o italiana meridionale a cavallo tra i secc. XII e XIII, unica fonte letteraria citata per l'episodio di Giuseppe alla tomba della madre da H. M. von Erffa, *Ikonomie der Genesis: die christlichen Bildthemen aus dem Alten Testament und ihre Quellen*, I-II, München 1989-1995: II, p. 434.

<sup>29</sup> Siffatta caratteristica non risalta dalle edizioni di Efreem né a cura di Assemani, né a cura di Phrantzolas, pubblicate *καταλογάδην*, bensì dalla voce bio-bibliografica su Efreem di D. Hemmerdinger-Iliadou in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, IV 1, 1960, col. 805 e dalla recente traduzione inglese dell'archimandrita Ephrem (consultabile presso il sito [http://www.anastasis.org.uk/on\\_joseph.htm](http://www.anastasis.org.uk/on_joseph.htm)). Nondimeno né quest'ultimo né P.-H. Poirier, *Le sermon pseudo-éphremien «In pulcherrimum Ioseph»*. *Typologie et Midrash*, in *Cahiers de Biblia Patristica 2. Figures de l'Ancien Testament chez les Pères*, Strasbourg 1989, pp. 107-122, menzionano altre ricorrenze dell'episodio apocrifo all'infuori di ps.-Efreem e *Sefer ha-Yashar* (da loro citato a partire dal riassunto di L. Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, Philadelphia 1909, II, pp. 20-21 e V, pp. 330-331 n. 59); nessuno poi specifica che la redazione siriana del sermone (in questo caso non efremitiana né forse l'originale della versione greca; vd. ed. *De Iosepho vendito* § 27 in Th. J. Lamy, *Sancti Ephraemi Syri Hymni et Sermones*, III, Mechliniae 1889, coll. 249 sgg.) omette l'episodio. Il redattore greco potrebbe averlo interpolato da una qualche fonte giudaica ormai perduta e indefinibile quanto a lingua originale.

26 ἐπάνω ρίψας ἑαυτὸν τοῦ μνήματος: cfr. ps.-Ephr. Syr. *Sermo in pulcherr. Ioseph*, p. 272, 16 Phrantzolas ἐπάνω τοῦ μνήματος ἔπεσεσ ποθεινῶς.

31 τῆς σαρκὸς ταίς ἡδοναῖς: sintagma diffuso negli scrittori ecclesiastici, con evidente connotazione negativa.

32 παροδεύεις – βίου: anche l'immagine della strada della vita è frequente negli scrittori ecclesiastici.

34 Ἰωνάθαν: nella quarta stanza si accenna all'afflizione di David (2*Sam/Reg* I 17 ss.): dopo la morte di Saul e del suo figlio Giònata, David non esultò, benché il primo dei due gli fosse stato nemico fino all'ultimo, e perché il secondo gli era stato amico fidato; David maledisse così i monti di Gelboé, puniti per l'arroganza di aver dato luogo alla morte di Saul, l'eletto di Dio (cfr. tra gli altri anche Dante, *Pg.* XII 40-42 «O Saùl, come in su la propria spada / quivi parevi morto in Gelboé, / che poi non senti pioggia né rugiada»). Il nome di Giònata, già anticipato dall'emendamento di Horna τὸν Ἰωνάθαν τὸν καλόν effettuato sul passo biblico citato, è senz'altro sensato (Natan, il profeta, compare in scena solo a partire da un punto più avanzato della storia di Davide: 2*Sam* VII 2), nonché confermato dalle traduzioni slave, si rinviene giustamente in M, la cui lezione adottò (P differisce solo nella declinazione alla greca del nome biblico), perché il σύν è trådito concordemente anche da B e N (pure errati con Νάθαν).

35 τῆς πραότητος βυθός: βυθός è accompagnato da un genitivo concernente un difetto negli esempi classici (βυθός ἀτεχνίης Hipp. *Paec.* 7; βυθός φλυαρίας Plat. *Parm.* 130d; βυθός ἀθεότητος Plut. II 757c), ma non sempre in quelli bizantini (cfr. ad esempio l'irno Τριστάτας κραταιοῦς di Giovanni «Damasceno», stampato in Eustratiades, *Εἰρμολόγιον*, cit., 135 p. 95, ove è menzionato l'abisso dell'imperturbabilità – ἀπαθείας βυθός). David è detto mite nella tradizione esegetica, perché non volle mai vendicarsi su Saul, che pure lo perseguitava aspramente.

προφητάναξ: ricorre tra le prime volte in *Physiol.* V 2 Sbordone; nella sua rarità il composto è riferito solo a David, conosciuto sia come re d'Israele sia come profeta, a causa delle allusioni cristologiche nei salmi, per tradizione a lui attribuiti (e.g. *Ps* XXI [XXII] sulle sofferenze del Messia; e lo stesso XC [XCI] citato dal *Fisiologo* per il basilisco).

Δαβίδ: ho scelto per questo nome sacro la grafia delle edizioni critiche dei LXX; B, N, P, M hanno lo ieronimo abbreviato e soprilineato δάδ; Dap ha l'allotropo omofono Δαβίδ.

36-39: la versificazione di parte del lamento di Davide aggiunge qualche particolare assente nel testo dei LXX, come il v. 38; nella sua ricercatezza lessicale il verso si sforza d'essere poetico. Μη δ' è grafia staccata dei codici la quale, pur costituendo particolarità grafica di Germano (ma anche di altri bizantini dopo il 1000, come Eustazio di Tessalonica e Teodoro Prodromo), va preferibilmente unificata, come avviene nell'edizione critica di Niceta Coniata a cura di van Dieten e come opto poco oltre al v. 52 per ὄσπερ. Sul problema vd. in generale E. V. Maltese, *Ortografia d'autore e regole dell'editore: gli autografi bizantini*, «Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neellenici» 32, 1995, pp. 91-121.

ἐπαυγάση: ἐπαυγάζω è verbo raro, comparando da Filone Alessandrino in poi (Filostrato, Nonno, Giorgio Pisida...); vd. LSJ (nel significato «shine» solo Them. Or. IV 52b), TGL, TLG online, LBG («scheinen») con la sola occorrenza di Nic. Seid. *Contr. eccl. gr. et lat.* XXXIII 15 Gahbauer. Circa le varianti testuali, noto che l'aor. congiuntivo di P (ἐπαυγάση) sarebbe il più corretto «classicamente» parlando; ma l'aor. ottativo di B ed M (ἐπαυγάσαι; confermo la lettura di B di Horna, ma solo perché nel nesso in interlineo la prima lettera sembra somigliare più a un α aperto in alto che a un ο) è comparabile con vv. 60-61 *infra*; il fut. ottativo ἐπαυγάσοι di N si può tralasciare. Tutte sono in ogni caso varianti completamente o parzialmente omofone.

λαμπηδών: è parola cara agli scrittori ecclesiastici (vd. Lampe, *s.v.*), specialmente prosastici.

ἠλιοβρύτου: LBG *s.v.*: «von der Sonne strömend, Sonnenlicht verströmend»: φάος Psell. *carm.* XXI 209 Westerink ἔλαμψεν αἰθὴρ ἠλιοβρύτου φάους. La variante con -βλυτ- di N rientra nella categoria delle alternanze grafiche dei composti in -βρυτ-/ -βλυτ-: e.g. esiste μυροβλύτης/μυρόβλυτος ma anche μυροβρύτης/μυρόβρυτος (vd. LBG *s.vv.* che registra anche un omofono ἠλιόβλητος in Psell. *Epitaph.*, MB, V, 1876, p. 76, 17 καὶ τὸ ἀμεμφές ἐκεῖνο καὶ τὸ ἠλιόβλητον κάλλος nel senso attivo di «Sonne ausstrahlend», «che irradia sole», come nel verbo ἠλιοβολέω, e non passivo di «exposed to the sun», «esposto al sole, colpito dal sole», quale già si conosceva da Eur. *Bacch.* 14).

40 τρισάλαστε ψυχή: la grafia maggioritaria τρις- è conforme ad altri composti dallo stesso prefisso, nonché alle rare ricorrenze dell'aggettivo (*Anth. Pal.* XII, 137, 1; XVI 265, 1; Theod. Prodr. *Carm. hist.* II 71 Hörandner e *Epigramm. in Vetus et Novum Test.* 2Reg 146b 1 Papagiannis; Nic. Eug. [?] *Anach.* l. 609 Chrestides). La grafia τριτ- di N, che non costituisce prefisso di altri composti e non pare testimoniata altrove, risente forse dell'influsso di τριτάλας, a mio parere scorrettamente scomposto come se derivasse da un τριτο-.

σιδηρᾶ: il verso politico, libero da ogni riferimento ai modelli antichi di alternanza lunga/breve, prevede nella sua accentuazione di seguire quella delle parole, ammettendo frequentemente l'accento nella dodicesima e quartultima sede metrica, quella appunto di -ρα, ma indipendentemente dal suo essere lunga o breve (vd. ODB *s.v. Political Verse*); ripristino pertanto l'accento circonflesso dell'agg. *contra* l'accentazione acuta di B, N, P, Dap);

45 αἰκισμῶν, οὓς μέλλεις ὑποστήναι: il sintagma, abbastanza raro, compare solo in autori contemporanei a Germano II, come Niceta Coniata, Niceforo Callisto Xantopulo, Neofito Recluso, e alcuni canonici del mese di marzo, maggio, settembre.

47 sgg.: nella quinta stanza ricorre la comparazione con il mito delle Eliadi, elemento pagano che devia dalle restanti citazioni bibliche, ma arricchisce il componimento di quell'erudizione classicheggiante comune all'età paleologa (invero già *comnena* e in parte macedone). Le fonti a cui Germano II può aver attinto sono molteplici, tanto più che tale metamorfosi viene menzionata non di rado dagli auto-

ri bizantini di vari secoli (tra i contemporanei cfr. *e.g.* Nic. Chon. I 14, 1, p. 37, 81-82 van Dieten). Per le fonti greche della metamorfosi delle Eliadi cfr. W. H. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, I, 2, Leipzig 1897, col. 1983, *s.v.* *Heliades* (2).

48 ἐκ βάθους: cfr. LXX *Ps* CXXIX [CXXX] 1 ἐκ βαθέων ἐκέκραζά σε, Κύριε; vd. anche v. 19 ἀπὸ καρδίας.

50 δυσδαίμων: N presenta la grafia δυσδαῖμον per l'intercambiabilità tipicamente bizantina tra /o/ lunga e breve, la cui differenza quantitativa non è sempre ben percepita. In ogni caso entrambe le lezioni (corretta a testo, errata in N) dovrebbero escludere un originario δύσδαιμον, che a rigore sarebbe il vocativo atteso; qui il nominativo ne fa le veci, sostituzione del resto ammissibile.

51: si noti l'accostamento di tre aggettivi iniziati per ἄ-, di cui i primi due con ἄ-privativo sono talora rinvenibili in coppia in alcuni scrittori ecclesiastici.

53 ἀγχιστροφούς: raro tra i classici, l'agg. comincia ad essere impiegato maggiormente nel tardo-antico, in particolare dai Padri della Chiesa e oltre, fino ai contemporanei di Germano II, tra cui Niceta Coniata (vd. *TLG online*).

ἰλιγξι τῶν ἡδονῶν τοῦ βίου: cfr. la simile espressione di un autore del XIII sec. ἡ τῆς πονερᾶς καὶ ὀλεθρίου ἐπιθυμίας ἰλιγγιάς Neoph. *Ellass.* 330, 14 (I. P. Tsiknopulos, *Τὰ ἐλάσσονα τοῦ Νεοφύτου πρεσβυτέρου, μοναχοῦ καὶ ἐγκλείστου*, «Byzantion» 39, 1969, pp. 318-419).

54 εὐχαρῆς – κατανενυγμένη: il primo agg. è comune; il secondo deriva da κατα-νύσσω (*transverbere*, *TGL*, *s.v.*), verbo già biblico (LXX, NT), ripreso con frequenza dai Padri della Chiesa greca; richiama il genere catanittico di questo componimento.

55 ἄτοπημάτων: parola che compare a partire dagli autori tardo-antichi; cfr. *TGL*, *s.v.*

56 ὡς πίτυς – κέδρου πεπτωκίας: è un'eco di LXX *Zach.* 11, 2 ὀλολυξάτω πίτυς, διότι πέπτωκεν κέδρος, ossia una maledizione preconizzata ad Israele per il rifiuto del Messia; l'anima che non si pente corrisponde, dunque, al pino (cipresso nelle traduzioni moderne della *Bibbia*) che non piange per l'imminente disgrazia appena subita dal simile cedro che gli sta accanto: non può stare in piedi chi è in mezzo a chi cade.

58 sgg.: ultima stanza, priva di *comparatio* e riassuntiva dell'argomento complessivo.

ἄπας – κλαυθμῶνος, ἄπας – δακρύων: la *lacrimarum vallis* è un topos ricorrente tolto da LXX *Ps* LXXXIII [LXXXIV] 7; cfr. tra i contemporanei di Germano II *e.g.* Nic. Chon. *Hist.* XIX 3, 9, p. 592, 29 van Dieten κοιλάδα κλαυθμῶνος.

60-61 καὶ σπεῖρειν – θερῖσαι: il riferimento è a LXX *Ps* CXXV [CXXVI] 5-6 come *e.g.* in Nic. Chon. *Hist.* XIX 3, 12, p. 593 van Dieten. Classicamente si vorrebbe ἦν βουλόμεθα; ma per il collasso dei modi e tempi nel greco bizantino, ἦν + ott. si può tollerare, senza dover mettere una dipendente finale ('iv', peraltro omofono ma, se mai, con il cong. in dipendenza da tempi principali), ché la condizionale suona meglio.

63 ἀκαίροις ὁμιλίαις: cfr. l'euripideo φθείρουσιν ἤθη χρήσθ' ὁμιλίας κακαί (fr. 1024 Nauck-Snell, ove sono raccolti i numerosi testimoni indiretti ecclesiastici, tra cui spicca *1Chor* 15, 33).

64 τὸν τῆς πανηγύρεως καιρόν: intendo il tempo in cui il buon cristiano dovrebbe coltivare la fede andando a messa;

πανήγυρις come in neogreco πανηγύρι «festa (patronale)».

66 πάθους: tale lezione, pur minoritaria, confermerebbe il riferimento alla passione di Cristo e, quindi, al sacrificio dell'altare.

67-68 δακρύων / ὄμβρον: *enjambement*.

68: iperboli per indicare grandi quantità di pianto. Delle due lezioni ψυχοκαταρτίας (da ψυχοκατάρτεια) e ψυχοκαθαρσίους (da ψυχοκαθάριστος), ricollegabile al καθαρίων (da καθάρσιος) di v. 6 *supra*, nessuna parrebbe attestata nei lessici e negli indici da me consultati; *TLG online* ha solo καθάρτεια (già in LSJ, limitatamente al passo di Schol. Pind. *Pith.* 3, 139b 3 Drachmann, cui vanno aggiunti Poll. VII 188, 8 Bethe ed Hesch. *Lex. s.v. φοιβήτρια: καθάρτεια*, nr. 681). Ho preferito ψυχοκαταρτίας intesa come *lectio difficilior*, benché i suoi testimoni (3) siano in minoranza rispetto a quelli dell'altra lezione (4).

69 πένθος πενθοῦσα: accusativo dell'oggetto interno. L'agg. ἀπαράκλητος nel senso di «inconsolabile» e in *iunctura* con πένθος si trova e.g. in ps.-Io. Chrys., *In decem virgines*, PG LIX, col. 60 ὃ πένθους ἀπαρακλήτου.

70 τῶν προτέρων μέμνησο σφαλμάτων: riprende il concetto dei peccati passati più volte ripetuto (v. 20 μέμνησο τῶν προημαρτημένων; v. 55 πῶς ἐπελάθου τῶν πρὶν ἀτοπημάτων).

Tommaso Migliorini, Silvia Tessari



## New ideas about the deciphering of the cryptic inscription in the narthex of the Panagia Asinou (Phorbiotissa) church (Cyprus)

The interior of the so-called Panagia Asinou (or Phorbiotissa) church, situated in the Cypriot Troodos mountains near Nikitari, is entirely covered with wall-paintings which vary in age. The earliest group is dated to 1105/6; its frescoes reflect the art of Constantinople which is thought to be the artist's birthplace, and they are among the most important iconographic complexes of Byzantine art from the above mentioned period.<sup>1</sup> This church, however, is not only interesting because of its frescoes but also because of its inscriptions.<sup>2</sup>

Above the door leading from the narthex to the naos the Theotokos as Maria orans with a medallion of Christ in front of her is depicted (fig. 1). This depiction belongs to the first layer of paintings from the beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> century when the church did not have a narthex yet. The narthex of the church was decorated with mural paintings soon after its erection towards the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. The inscription written in the form of an arch above Mary's depiction, however, was added later, namely in the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>3</sup> Ω ΠΟC Ω ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΧΗΝΕΧΕΙC ΤΩΝ ΚΡΙΜΑΤΩΝ ΒΡΕΦΟΚΡΑΤΙΤΕ ΠΑΡΘΕΝΕΙΚΕC ΟΛΕΝΕC. It forms an epigram with two Byzantine twelve-syllable verses<sup>4</sup> followed by a cryptic inscription consisting of several letters:

<sup>1</sup> A. Stylianou, J. A. Stylianou, *The Painted Churches of Cyprus. Treasures of Byzantine Art*, London 1985, pp. 114-140; M. Sacopoulo, *Asinou en 1106 et sa contribution à l'iconographie*, Brussels 1966; Chr. Chatzchristodoulou, D. Myriantheus, *Ο ναός της Παναγίας της Ασίνου*, Leukosia 2002. A detailed study on Asinou edited by Annemarie Weyl Carr at Dumbarton Oaks is in preparation.

<sup>2</sup> W. H. Buckler, (Mrs.) W. H. Buckler, V. Seymour, *The Church of Asinou, Cyprus, and its Frescoes*, «Archaeologia or Miscellaneous Tracts Relating to Antiquity» 83, 1933, pp. 327-350: 335-345; A. Stylianou, J. Stylianou, *Donors and Dedicatory Inscriptions, Supplicants and Supplications in the Painted Churches of Cyprus*, «Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft» 9, 1960, pp. 97-128: pp. 97-99; the metrical inscriptions were recently edited by A. Rhoby, *Epigramme auf Fresken und Mosaiken*, Vienna 2009 (W. Hörandner, A. Rhoby, A. Paul, edd., *Byzantinische Epigramme in inschriftlicher Überlieferung*, I), pp. 341-352 (nr. 232-240).

<sup>3</sup> Ch.G. Chotzakoglou, *Βυζαντινή αρχιτεκτονική και τέχνη στην Κύπρο*, in Th. Papadopoulos (ed.), *Ιστορία της Κύπρου*, III, *Βυζαντινή Κύπρος*, Nicosia 2005, pp. 465-787: 602f.; Rhoby, *Epigramme auf Fresken und Mosaiken*, cit., p. 344.

<sup>4</sup> On the Byzantine twelve-syllable verse (dodecasyllable) P. Maas, *Der byzantinische Zwölfsilber*, «Byzantinische Zeitschrift» 12, 1903, pp. 278-323; A. Rhoby, *Vom jambischen Trimeter zum byzantinischen Zwölfsilber. Beobachtung zur Metrik des spätantiken und byzantinischen Epigramms*, «Wiener Studien» 124, 2011, pp. 117-142.

Ω πῶς ὁ πάντων συνεχῆς τῶν κριμάτων  
βρεφοκρατεῖται παρθενικαῖς ὀλέναις.<sup>5</sup>

The end of the second verse is marked by four dots placed under each other. They are followed by ΦΠΤτΤΘΤΗκΓπ<sup>6</sup>ΠΑττ. Each letter is equipped with a small wave-like roof indicating an abbreviation as is the case in other cryptograms.<sup>7</sup> Apart from that, there are three dots both under the second Tau which is smaller than the other letters and between the fourth Tau and the following Eta. The ligature of Gamma and Pi is written under the Kappa. Between these letters and the following Pi again three dots are depicted.

So far, there have been two attempts to decipher the cryptic inscription. Almost a century ago I. K. Peristianes suggested dissolving it as follows: Φύλαττε τῆς

<sup>5</sup> Rhoby, *Epigramme auf Fresken und Mosaiken*, cit., nr. 233 and fig. 87; cfr. A. Rhoby, *Zur Überlieferung von inschriftlich angebrachten byzantinischen Epigrammen. Ein Beitrag zur Untersuchung von Wort und Bild in Byzanz*, in Chr. Gastgeber, Chr. Glassner, K. Holzner-Tobisch, R. Spreitzer (edd.), *Fragmente. Der Umgang mit lückenhafter Überlieferung in der Mittelalterforschung. Akten des internationalen Symposiums des Zentrums Mittelalterforschung der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien, 19.-21. März 2009, Vienna 2010*, pp. 225-238: p. 232f. Whereas W. Hörandner had the idea to change to συνοχεύς τῶν κτισμάτων (*ibid.*, p. 232 n. 87; cfr. Rhoby, *Epigramme auf Fresken und Mosaiken*, cit., p. 345f.) in the second half of v. 1, D. R. Reinsch (in an e-mail to A. Rhoby on March 16th, 2011) proposes to change to συνοχεύς τῶν κλιμάτων («one you holds together the [four] regions [of the world]»), cfr. Ps.-Origenes, *Fragm. in psalm. 88, 13* (J. Pitra, *Analecta sacra spicilegio Solesmensi parata*, III, Paris 1883, p. 161): Ὁ δεσπότης, ἔφη, πάντων τῶν κλιμάτων, εὐφρανόν τὰ ὄρη ταῦτα τῇ ἐπικλήσει σου, ἐπαγαγὼν ἡμᾶς ἐν αὐτοῖς οἰκοῦντας. For God as συνοχεύς cfr. e.g. Io. Damasc., *Sermo de dormitione BMV* II 2, 36-38 (B. Kotter, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, V, *Opera homiletica et hagiographica*, Berlin-New York, p. 519): Ὁ γὰρ τῶν οὐρανῶν δημιουργός τε καὶ συνοχεύς καὶ παντὸς ἐγκοσμίου τε καὶ ὑπερκοσμίου ὄρατοῦ τε καὶ ἀοράτου τεχνίτης δημιουργήματος κτλ. On the other hand it has to be stressed that there is perhaps no reason to abandon συνεχῆς: Although the adjective literally means «holding together» (cfr. LSJ, s.v.), there are obviously no attestations for this meaning in Ancient and Byzantine Greek; however, there is proof for the existence of the noun συνέχισις with the meaning of «holding together» (cfr. LBG, s.v. [«Zusammenhalten»]). On the problem of the inaccurate interaction of word and image (βρεφοκρατεῖται, but Maria orans) see A. Rhoby, *Metrical Greek Inscriptions in Medieval Churches of Cyprus*, in *Proceedings of the 4<sup>th</sup> International Cypriological Congress, Leukosia, May 2008* (in print).

<sup>6</sup> Also Γη is possible (but less probable).

<sup>7</sup> G. M. Chatzoule, *Αμφίγραπτη εικόνα του Αγ. Νικολάου από την Πτελέα Καστοριάς*, «Byzantina» 18, 1995-1996, pp. 381-403: 391-393; Chr. Walter, *The Apotropaic Function of the Victorious Cross*, «Revue des Études Byzantines» 55, 1997, pp. 193-220; W. Hörandner, *Weitere Beobachtungen zu byzantinischen Figurengedichten und Tetragrammen*, «Nea Rhome» 6, 2009, pp. 291-304; E. Moutafov, *Epigrafikata na Svetia Krust i Krustat kato epigrafski znak*, «Shoumen University Bishop Constantine of Preslav, Studies of the Departments of History and Theology» 6, 2004, pp. 230-247; *Krastove i kriptogrami ot krepostnite steni na srednovekovnia Solun*, «Izkustvovedski Chetenia» 2007 (2008), pp. 145-148; *Kriptogrami i bilingvizum v Paleologovoto izkustvo*, «Patrimonium» 3, 2010, pp. 251-261; *Tipologia na kriptogramite i acrolexa prez srednovekovieto i postvizantiiska period* (in preparation).

**Θεοτόκου Ἡκεσίας Παντοκράτωρ.**<sup>8</sup> This suggestion looks good at first sight but there is Π missing between Φ and ΤτΤ. Moreover, it would be hard to explain the use of Παντοκράτωρ at the end since the image on the chest of Mary is that of Christ Emmanuel. Some years later W. H. Buckler suggested another way of reading the cryptogram: φ(ύλαξον) πιστεύοντας) τ(ούτου) τ(οῦ) τ(όπου) Θ(εο)τ(όκω) ἦκ(έτα)ς τ(ῆ) πα(ν)τ(ο)τ(ρόφω).<sup>9</sup> This is certainly a better way in which to read the cryptic narthex inscription but it is not convincing either. First, Buckler trying to dissolve the cryptogram into two twelve-syllable verses did not pay attention to the fact that her verses are unprosodic, whereas in the actual epigram the prosodic rules of the Byzantine dodecasyllable are regarded.<sup>10</sup> Moreover, it is hard to accept the reading of the symbol (probably the ligature of Γ and π) after Ηκ as Sigma in both suggestions of Peristianes and Buckler.

One quickly discovers that the letters used in the cryptic Asinou inscription do not belong to the well-known cryptograms associated with the images of the True Cross which occur in the later wall-painting tradition (after 14<sup>th</sup> c.).<sup>11</sup> It seems to be quite clear that the abbreviation ΘΤ has to be associated with ΘΕΟΤΟΚΟC or a derivative word as has been already recognised by Peristianes and Buckler.<sup>12</sup> Unlike the two previous scholars who wanted to start the inscription with a verb in its imperative form – Φύλαττε / φ(ύλαξον) – one has to think about ΦΠΤτΤ as a word in connection with the Theotokos. One of her later epithets used in iconography is e.g. Ἡ Φοβερὰ Προστασία.<sup>13</sup> Another epithet known from the hymnographical tradition which contains ΦΠ is e.g. φυλακτήριον πάντων;<sup>14</sup> an interesting list of Theotokos epitheta starting with Phi is offered by a verse of a Theotokos hymn by John Geometres: φωτότοκον, φαόμορφον, φωτοβόλον, φαέθουσαν.<sup>15</sup> However, these four are inappropriate here because they lack the letters Ττ and ΤτΤ respectively.

Based on these considerations the following suggestion for the deciphering of

<sup>8</sup> I. K. Peristianes, *Μονογραφία τῆς ἀρχαίας πόλεως καὶ ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἀσίνης* [νῦν Ἀσί-  
νους], Leukosia 1922, p. 10. The letters of the cryptic inscription were highlighted in bold by  
the authors of this article.

<sup>9</sup> Buckler, *Asinou*, cit., p. 336.

<sup>10</sup> Cfr. Rhoby, *Epigramme auf Fresken und Mosaiken*, cit., p. 345.

<sup>11</sup> Walter, *Apotropaic Function*, cit., pp. 211f.

<sup>12</sup> Also due to the fact that the two preceding verses are dedicated to the Theotokos and that  
the whole inscription is written above her image.

<sup>13</sup> Cfr. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἑρμηνεία τῆς ζωγραφικῆς τέχνης καὶ αἱ κύρια αὐτῆς  
ἀνέκδοτοι πηγαί*, St. Petersburg 1909, p. 228; see also S. Eustratiades, *Ἡ θεοτόκος ἐν τῇ ὕμνο-  
γραφίᾳ*, Paris – Chennevières-sur-Marne 1930, p. 66 (s.v. προστασία). In Greek literature the  
term is first attested in Germanos' I (s. VIII) oration on the annunciation, ed. PG XCVIII, col.  
321B: Χαῖρε, κεχαριτωμένη, θύρα θλιβομένη, καὶ προστασία φοβερὰ κτλ. Cfr. I. Drpić,  
*Kosmos of Verse: Epigram, Art, and Devotion in Later Byzantium*, PhD-thesis, Harvard Univer-  
sity, Cambridge, Ma. 2011, p. 276.

<sup>14</sup> Eustratiades, *ibid.*, p. 83 (s.v. φυλακτήριον).

<sup>15</sup> I. Sajdak (ed.), Ioannis Kyriotis Geometrae *Hymni in SS. Deiparam*, Poznan 1931, p. 78, 22;  
cfr. Eustratiades, *ibid.*, p. 84 (s.v. φωτότοκος).

the cryptogram can be made: <Τὴν> φ(οβερὰν) π(ροσ)τ(ά)τ(ιδα) τ(ὴν) Θ(εο)τ(όκον) ἡκ(ετεύομεν)<sup>16</sup> γ(ονυ)π(ετοῦντες)<sup>17</sup> π(ά)ν(ο)τ(ε). In a modern canon obviously based on earlier hymnographical tradition of Mt Athos one reads the following: Παναμώμητε Δέσποινα, σεπταῖς σου πρεσβείαις, καὶ ἡμῶν προστάτευσον καθικετεύουσα, Ὅν ἐν ταῖς σεπταῖς σου ἀγκάλαις, μητρικῶς ἐβάστασας ὅτι Φοβερὰ Προστάτις πέλεις δούλων σου.<sup>18</sup> The second part of the passage (Ὅν ἐν ταῖς σεπταῖς σου ἀγκάλαις, μητρικῶς ἐβάστασας) reminds of v. 2 of the epigram (βρεφοκρατεῖται παρθενικαῖς ὀλέναις).

The earliest known image of the Theotokos named Φοβερὰ Προστασία in the Orthodox mural-painting is preserved in the Proskynetarion of the Gorgoypekoos at Mt Athos' Docheiariou monastery. Whereas the main epithet of the Panagia is ΓΟΡΓΟΕΠΙΚΟΟΣ, the inscription above the right shoulder of the Theotokos who holds Christ at her knee reads as follows: ΒΡΕΦΟΚΡΑΤΟΥΣΑ Μ(Η)ΤΕΡ Η ΦΟΒΕΡΑ ΠΡΟΤΑΣΙΑ ΤΟ ΠΥΡ ΚΡΑΤΟΥΣΑ ΘΑΥΜΑ ΚΑΙ ΠΩΣ ΟΥ ΦΛΕΓΕΙ ΕΠΙ ΕΤΟΥΣ ΟΑ [7071 = 1562/63] ΗΝ(ΔΙΚΤΙΩΝΟC) ε' ΟΤΑΝ ΕΚΤΗCΑΝ Τ(Η)Ν ΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑΝ ΤΟΥ ΔΟΧΙΑΡΙΟΥ.<sup>19</sup> Just as in the Asinou church the main title of the Panagia differs from her role mentioned by the epithet in the accompanying text. In addition, there is another image of the Theotokos (Hodegetria) with Christ in her left arm above the entrance into the parekklesion of the Phobera Prostaasia in the katholikon (built in 1733) of the Koutloumousiou monastery on Mt Athos (fig. 2). The niche in which the Theotokos with child is depicted is of semicircular form just as the one in the Asinou church.<sup>20</sup> One can also compare the scene of the Theotokos with child at Asinou with the one on a Chilandariou panagiarion (12<sup>th</sup> / 13<sup>th</sup> c.) with the tetragram ΕΩΘC = ΕΛΕΝΗ (ΕΛΕΝΑ) ΩΒΡΕΤΕ<sup>21</sup> ΘΕΟΥ (or ΘΕΙΟΝ?) CΤΑΥΡΟΝ,<sup>22</sup> where the Theotokos is represented

<sup>16</sup> Read ικ(ετεύομεν). This itacist error is possible since similar errors are to be found in the two preceding verses as well.

<sup>17</sup> Also ἡκ(ετικῶς) [read ικ(ετικῶς)] γ(ονυ)π(ετοῦμεν) would be possible. On γονυπετέω + acc. see LSJ, s.v. 2.

<sup>18</sup> Athanasios (Hieromonachos Simonopetrites), *Παρακλητικὸς κανὼν εἰς τὴν κυρίαν ἡμῶν Θεοτόκον τὴν φοβερὰν προστασίαν* [http://voutsinasilias.blogspot.com/2009/07/blog-post\\_4201.html](http://voutsinasilias.blogspot.com/2009/07/blog-post_4201.html)

<sup>19</sup> Philotheos Docheiarites, A. Gklinos, in *Παρουσία Ἱεράς Μονῆς Δοχειαρίου*, Hagion Oros 2001, pp. 197-209; N. Toutos, G. Phousteres, *Ευρετήριο της μνημειακῆς ζωγραφικῆς του Αγίου ὄρους 10<sup>ος</sup>-17<sup>ος</sup> αι.*, Athens 2010, p. 359.

<sup>20</sup> L. Prashkov, *Pamelnitsi na kulturata na Sveta gora – Aton*, Sofia 1987, p. 59. A picture (unfortunately of rather poor quality) of the niche can be found on the webpage quoted in note 18. In the Koutloumousiou monastery, an icon of the Virgin Phobera Prostaasia, which perhaps can be dated to the 16<sup>th</sup> century, is also kept, see P. Huber, *Athos. Wundertätige Ikonen*, Bern 1966, pl. 7; Drpić, *Kosmos of Verse*, cit., p. 276, p. 484 (fig. 73).

<sup>21</sup> «Found» in Old Bulgarian.

<sup>22</sup> For this reading see E. Moutafov, *Epigrafikata na Svetia Krust i Krustat kato epigrafski znak*, «Shoumen University Bishop Constantine of Preslav, Studies of the Departments of History and Theology» 6, 2004, pp. 230-247: pp. 245-247. However, one must not forget that as solution for

in the type of the Μεγάλη Παναγία.<sup>23</sup> It seems to be possible that such an image was the prototype for Asinou; it is not unlikely either that the Asinou verses are connected to a liturgical vessel (e.g. panagiaron) and its role in the holy service. Connection to a liturgical vessel is perhaps also given by the semicircular form of the Asinou image: it reminds of a liturgical vessel's half – e.g. of the paten used in the Ἀκολουθία τῆς ὑπόσεως τοῦ ἄρτου τῆς Παναγίας which appears in Byzantine monasteries of the 10<sup>th</sup> century and especially in the Constantinopolitan Blachernai church<sup>24</sup> – and of the iconographical type of the Panagia, who protects the entrance, the believers and the temple itself with her outstretched arms.

Our cryptic inscription also has to be scrutinised with regards to the epithet of the central image of the Theotokos, namely ΜΗΡ ΘΥ Η ΦΟΡΒΙΟΤΙΣΣΑ (Μ(ήτ)ηρ Θεο)ῦ ἡ Φορβιότισσα).<sup>25</sup> If the epithet was added when the image was made it has to be dated to the early 12<sup>th</sup> century. The μονὴ τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου τῶν Φορβίων is first safely attested in a marginal notice dated to 1145 in the Cod. Par. gr. 1590.<sup>26</sup> So far, the etymology of this epithet has remained unclear. Two solutions have been offered, namely that the word would derive either from φορβειά («horse harness») or φορβή («pasture»).<sup>27</sup> These theories are reasonable but they do not fully correspond with the iconographic type of the Theotokos in the Asinou narthex. Based on our previous observations about the Θεοτόκος ἡ φοβερὰ προστασία another idea for the etymology of the epithet can be offered: Perhaps the original epithet for the Theotokos, who «terribly» protects her incarnated Son and the whole universe with her widely open arms, was Φοβεριώτισσα; later – according to the principle of metathesis – it could have become Φορβιώτισσα. But how can one explain Φορβίων? Perhaps the monastic community founded a cloister in the countryside used for pastures (φορβαί). Thus, their domicile was called μονὴ τῶν Φορβίων («monastery in the pastures»). Φορβίων certainly has to be interpreted as a toponym because the ending -ιώτισσα of Φορβιώτισσα («from the

ΕΩΘΣ, ΕΛΕΝΗ (i.e. Ἑλένη) ΩΦΘΗ ΘΕΟΥ ΤΑΦΟΣ is also possible, cfr. Walter, *Apotropaic Function*, cit., p. 212.

<sup>23</sup> There is an image of the Theotokos inscribed as [Μεγάλη] Παναγ[ία] in the altar room of the church of the Archangel Michael in the Cypriot village of Pedoulas from 1475. See G. A. Soteriou, *Τα βυζαντινὰ μνημεῖα τῆς Κύπρου*, I, *Λεύκωμα*, Athens 1935, p. 147.

<sup>24</sup> E. Moutafov, *ΜΗΤΗΡ ΘΕΟΥ Η ΜΕΓΑΛΗ ΠΑΝΑΓΙΑ – pojava, razprostranenie, vlijanie i chipotezi. ΠΡΟΛΕΓΟΜΕΝΑ*, in G. Kazakov, T. Stepanov (edd.), *Srednovekoven urbanizǎm. Pamet – sakralnost – tradicii / Medieval urbanism: memory – sacrality – traditions*, Sofia 2007, pp. 108-122.

<sup>25</sup> Read Φορβιώτισσα.

<sup>26</sup> C. N. Constantinides, R. Browning, *Dated Greek Manuscripts from Cyprus to the Year 1570*, Nicosia 1993, p. 51 (nr. 4). The μονὴ τῶν Φορβίων is also mentioned in the late 12<sup>th</sup> / early 13<sup>th</sup> century epigram (v. 5: κὰν τῆδε σεπτῶς τῇ μονῇ τῶν Φορβίων) painted next to the depiction of St George on a horse in the church's narthex, ed. Rhoby, *Epigramme auf Fresken und Mosaiken*, cit., nr. 232.

<sup>27</sup> St. Frigerio-Zeniou, *Μονὴ τῶν Φορβίων ἃ Asinou de Chypre*, in *Βουκόλεια. Mélanges offerts à Bertrand Bouvier*, Paris 1995, pp. 191-199.

monastery in the pastures») is an indicator for a toponymical epithet of the Theotokos as is proven by other examples.<sup>28</sup> When the Theotokos was depicted, Φορβιώτισσα («Mary from the monastery in the pastures») could have become Φοβερὰ Προστασία in the imagination of the 12<sup>th</sup> century Constantinopolitan master as well as in the mind of the 14<sup>th</sup> century author of the inscription.

As a result, based on the afore mentioned ideas the church of Asinou is perhaps the earliest example for the Theotokos epithet Φοβερὰ Προστασία / Προστάτις («terrible protection / protectress») in iconography. Of course, the cryptic section after the two verses of the epigram is also part of the Orthodox monastic culture in the Middle Ages, where the monk – the *monachus ludens* – and the artist eagerly prepared cryptic messages for coming generations.

Emmanuel Moutafov, Andreas Rhoby

<sup>28</sup> Ἀθηνιώτισσα, Βλαχερνίτισσα, Γκρεμιώτισσα, Θεραπειώτισσα, Θρονιώτισσα, Κυριώτισσα, Μαυριώτισσα, Μυρτιδιώτισσα, Κυκκώτισσα, Ὀλυμπιώτισσα, Παλαγονίτισσα, Σπηλαιώτισσα, Χρυσάλινιώτισσα etc. See M. Tatich-Djurich, *Ikona Bogoroditse Znamenia*, «Zbornik za Likovne Umetnosti» 13, 1977, pp. 3-23: 4; E. Moutafov, *Epigrafski hipotezi za ikonata "Gospodarka na zhivota"*, «Art Studies Quarterly» 1, 2006, pp. 23-32: 30; *Ikona v ikonite. Chudotvor-nata sv. Bogoroditsa ot Kikos i bulgarskoto vazrozhdensko izkustvo*, «Evropa 2001 – Spisanie za Kultura i Socialna Politika» 3, 2009, pp. 40-43: 43.



Fig. 1. The Theotokos with child above the entrance of the naos of the Asinou church in Cyprus, built in 1105/06 (© Andreas Rhoby).

Fig. 2. The Theotokos with child above the entrance into the parekklesion of the Phobera Prostaia in the katholikon (built in 1733) of the Koutloumousiou monastery, Mt Athos (© Emmanuel Moutafov).







## Su datazione e copista del Taurinensis H. II. 6 (Pasini Lat. 632)\*

La Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria di Torino custodisce due testimoni della traduzione latina di Francesco Filelfo della *Ciropedia* di Senofonte:<sup>1</sup> i codici H. II. 6 (Pasini Lat. 632, *olim* l. VI. 6) e H. II. 7 (Pasini Lat. 633, *olim* l. VI. 7). Poiché il primo<sup>2</sup> è presentato con un'errata datazione al 1467 in tutta la bibliografia a me nota – con la sola eccezione del catalogo settecentesco della biblioteca torinese di

\* Il presente lavoro rientra nell'ambito del progetto *Greek Books in Turin Libraries. Sources and Documents for a New Inquiry in the Classical Background of the Piedmont Elites, XV-XIX Century* (responsabile scientifico: E. V. Maltese) finanziato dalla Regione Piemonte.

<sup>1</sup> Un elenco in D. Marsh, *Xenophon*, in *Catalogus translationum et commentariorum. Medieval and Renaissance Latin Translations and Commentaries. Annotated Lists and Guides*, VII, Washington 1992, pp. 75-196, partic. 121-123; vd. anche S. Fiaschi, *Filelfo e 'i diritti' del traduttore. L'auctoritas dell'interprete ed il problema delle attribuzioni*, in M. Cortesi (ed.), *Tradurre dal greco in età umanistica. Metodi e strumenti. Atti del Seminario di studio Firenze, Certosa del Galluzzo, 9 settembre 2005*, Firenze 2007, pp. 79-138, Appendice: *Repertorium translationum Francisci Philelphi*, pp. 96-133, partic. 127-128. Sui mss. e la tradizione della versione filelfiana della *Ciropedia* vd. l'importante messa a punto di J. De Keyser (*Arundel 163. From Milan via Bruges to London*, in «Scriptorium» 2012, in corso di stampa) che ringrazio anche per alcune preziose osservazioni a questa mia breve nota. Naturalmente rimango l'unico responsabile di quanto qui scrivo.

<sup>2</sup> Il ms., composto da 25 quaternioni e un ternione finale, contiene: lettera dedicatoria a Paolo II (ff. 1<sup>r</sup>-6<sup>r</sup>); Senofonte, *Ciropedia*, trad. Fr. Filelfo lib. I (6<sup>r</sup>-34<sup>v</sup>); II (34<sup>v</sup>-54<sup>v</sup>); III (54<sup>v</sup>-75<sup>v</sup>); IV (75<sup>v</sup>-96<sup>v</sup>); V (97<sup>r</sup>-123<sup>r</sup>); VI (123<sup>v</sup>-141<sup>v</sup>); VII (142<sup>r</sup>-166<sup>r</sup>); VIII (166<sup>v</sup>-201<sup>v</sup>) con l'*explicit* τὸ τῆς ἐνταῦθα παιδείας τέλος; sottoscrizione greca di Gabriele Brebbia (202<sup>r</sup>). I ff. 202<sup>v</sup>-204 sono privi di scrittura. La lettera iniziale di ogni libro è miniata; all'inizio del libro VIII la miniatura è doppia (Tav. 1), affiancandosi a quella della lettera iniziale un riquadro, in parte danneggiato dall'incendio, che pare rappresentare il carro funebre di Ciro. Breve scheda descrittiva da ultimo in *Il teatro di tutte le scienze e le arti. Raccogliere libri per coltivare idee in una capitale di età moderna*, Torino 1559-1861. *Catalogo della mostra Torino, Archivio di Stato, 22 novembre 2011-29 gennaio 2012*, Savigliano 2011, p. 63, nr. 22 (S. Pettenati). Ivi i riferimenti ai precedenti cataloghi (a partire dalla *Recognitione* di G. Torrini, a. 1659) e la bibliografia, cui si possono aggiungere J. W. Bradley, *A dictionary of miniaturists, illuminators, calligraphers, and copyist ...*, I-III, London 1887-1889, s.v. Brebia Gabriello; Bénédectins du Bouveret, *Colophons de manuscrits occidentaux des origines au XVIe siècle*, II, *Colophons signés E-H (3562-7391)*, Friburg 1967, p. 143, nr. 4705.

<sup>3</sup> Torino 1749, II, p. 173 *ad cod.* DCXXXII: «Ad calcem codicis pagella est Graece scripta, qua indicatur, Codicem scriptum fuisse in gratiam Joannis Botti a GABRIELO BREBIA sub GALEATIO MARIA SFORTIA anno ejus dominationis quinto; interpretationem autem factam fuisse, absolutamque a FRANCISCO PHILELPHO anno MCCCCLXVII. die XXII. Septembris. Pagella ab ipso met GABRIELE scripta videtur».

Giuseppe Pasini<sup>3</sup> – non è forse inutile ridiscutere qui la sottoscrizione apposta, in un greco tutt'altro che impeccabile, in calce al codice (f. 202<sup>r</sup>; Tav. 2).

τῷ θεῷ περὶ τῶν πάντων εὐχαριστεῖν διὰ[ | τῷ μὲν ταύτης κτήτορι βίβλου εὖ συνί-  
ειν τε καὶ | εὖ πράττειν ἀεὶ. τῷ δὲ μεταγραφῆ τὴν εἰς τοῦ | θεοῦ δόξαν εἰς αἰῶνα  
καίρειν: –

Ἰπὸ μὲν ὁ γραμματεῦων τῷ μεγαλόψυχῳ ἄρχῳ καὶ τῷ | ὑψιστῷ ἡγεμῶνι κύριῳ Γα-  
λεάκιῳ Μαρίᾳ Σφορτίᾳ | βικεκομήτῃ τῆς ἐκκληοῦς μεδιολάνου πόλιος ἀρχυλῆτῃ  
πέμπτῳ, ὑπὸ δὲ τῷ τοῦ ἔτους πέμπτου μεινὶ τῆς | δεσποτείας ἐννάτῳ, ὁ γαβριήλ  
βρεβίας, τῷ μεγαλοπρεπῇ ἀνδρὶ καὶ πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν ἡγεμονῶν χρησιμώτατῳ χρη-  
ματιστῇ δεσπότη Ἰωάννῃ βοτῷ χαριζόμενος, | ταύτην βίβλον ἔγραψε δωρεὰν εἰς  
τὴν αὐτοῦ Ἰωάννου | χρεῖαν. Ταύτης γὰρ ἐν τῇ βίβλου μεταφόρα ὁ δαίφνηφόρος  
ποιητῆς καὶ χρυσοφόρος ἱππεὺς φραγκισκὸς φιλέλφος τὴν χεῖρα σφὴν ἔσχατην ἐν  
τῷ μεδιολάνῳ ἀπετέθεικε, τῷ ἔτει ἀπὸ τοῦ γενέθλιου χριστιάνου χιλοστῷ, καὶ  
τετρακόσιστῳ, καὶ ἑξάκοστῷ ἐβδόμῳ, τῇ δὲ τοῦ μεινὸς ἡμέρα εἰκοστῇ καὶ δευτέ-  
ρα ἐπιτέμβριου: ~

αὐτὸς ἔτι γαβριήλ ταῦτα | γράμματα ἑλληνικὰ γέγαφε

Il manoscritto è dunque datato al nono mese del quinto anno di regno di Galeazzo Maria Sforza, quinto duca della dinastia,<sup>4</sup> che resse il ducato dal 20 marzo 1466 al 26 dicembre 1476, quando venne assassinato. La data del 22 settembre 1467 si riferisce al compimento della traduzione filelfiana e la parte finale della sottoscrizione che la riporta è la traduzione in greco del colofone<sup>5</sup> che suggella vari codici ed edizioni a stampa – compreso l'altro ms. torinese H. II. 7 (Lat. 633), f. 208<sup>r</sup> – della versione della *Ciropedia*.

Il nome del copista, Gabriele Brebbia, ricorre spesso in documenti milanesi della seconda metà del Quattrocento. Mirella Ferrari, studiando la biblioteca del monastero di Santa Maria Incoronata,<sup>6</sup> distingueva il Gabriele Brebbia copista che sottoscrive l'Ambr. C 227 inf.<sup>7</sup> dal «Gabriel prole satus Brepia» che firma l'Ambr. T 7

<sup>4</sup> Un'analogia formula di datazione – affiancata a quella con l'anno dell'era cristiana – si legge nel colofone dell'edizione del *De verborum significatione* di Sesto Pompeo Festo, uscita a Milano presso Antonio Zaroto (IGI 3847; BMC VI 698-699; GW 9864): «Festi Pompey liber expletus est Mediolani, tertio Nonas Augustas Millesimo Quadringentesimo Septuagesimo Primo. Ad honorem et laudem illustrissimi ac invictissimi Galiaz Mariae Mediolani ducis quinti, ac ducatus sui anno quinto».

<sup>5</sup> «Huic autem Cyri Paedia idem Franciscus Philelphus eques auratus laureatusque poeta extremam imposuit manum Mediolani a.d. XI kal. octobris anno a natali christiano millesimo quadringentesimo sexagesimo septimo».

<sup>6</sup> M. Ferrari, *Un bibliotecario milanese del Quattrocento: Francesco della Croce*, «Ricerche Storiche sulla Chiesa Ambrosiana» 10, 1981, pp. 175-270, partic. § 6 *La biblioteca di S. Maria Incoronata*, pp. 228-261: 234 e n. 185.

<sup>7</sup> Cart., mm. 332 x 233 ca., ff. II. 186. II; contiene le *Collationes* di Giovanni Cassiano. A f. 186<sup>v</sup> la sottoscrizione, in maiuscole, «Per me Gabrielem Brebiam pridie k(a)l(endas) iunias. 1457. ad laudem dei O. M. qui trinus et unus vivit & regnat in saecula benedictus AMHN:-». A f. 1<sup>v</sup> in alto «Iste liber est sancte Mariae Incoronate Mediolani ordinis eremitarum. S(an)c(t)i Aug(us-tin)i observantium lumbardie de nu(mer)o»; fu donato al card. Borromeo nel 1607, teste la nota

sup.<sup>8</sup> e riteneva che «un'altra persona ancora dev'essere il benedettino dello stesso nome che lavora a Milano verso la fine del secolo»,<sup>9</sup> lasciando impregiudicato, in attesa di un esame diretto del codice, se il copista dell'Ambr. C 227 inf. potesse identificarsi con il copista del nostro ms. torinese.<sup>10</sup>

Ora, il Brebbia del Taur. H. II. 6 va identificato con il summenzionato benedettino. La sottoscrizione greca del ms. torinese è della stessa mano che ha integrato in inchiostro rosso, negli spazi appositamente lasciati vuoti, le parole greche (cc. 1<sup>v</sup>, 3<sup>r</sup>, 5<sup>r</sup>, 7<sup>r</sup>-8<sup>v</sup>) nell'esemplare ambrosiano Inc. 149 del commento ai Salmi davidici pubblicato da Gabriele Brebbia a Milano nel 1477.<sup>11</sup> Questa mano ha operato sul-

dell'Olgiati a f. 1<sup>r</sup>. Sul ms. cf., da ultimo, M. Zaggia, *Codici milanesi del Quattrocento all'Ambrosiana: per il periodo dal 1450 al 1476*, in M. Ferrari, M. Navoni (edd.), *Nuove ricerche su codici in scrittura latina dell'Ambrosiana. Atti del Convegno Milano, 6-7 ottobre 2005*, Milano 2007, pp. 331-384: 339, 384 n. 94.

<sup>8</sup> Membr., mm. 200x144, ff. 82; contiene i *Libri IV de institutione principis ad Ladislaum Pannoniarum et Bohemiae regem* di Enea Silvio Piccolomini, copiati per i figli di Francesco Sforza. A f. 81<sup>v</sup> «Sfortigenae magni pronatis principis istum / excripsi Gabriel prole Satus Breppia»; a f. 2 «incorniciatura a bianchi girari con figure di putti musici, in medaglioni visconteo sforzeschi; al piede, stemma col biscione visconteo coronato» (R. Cipriani, *Codici miniati dell'Ambrosiana. Contributo a un catalogo*, Vicenza 1968, p. 125 e tav. 19); vd. anche F. Malaguzzi Valeri, *La corte di Ludovico il Moro*, III, *Gli artisti lombardi*, Milano 1917, p. 122 e fig. 121; M. Salmi, *La Miniatura*, in *Tesori delle Biblioteche d'Italia. Emilia e Romagna*, a cura di D. Fava, Milano 1932, pp. 265-374: 334 n. 4; É. Pellegrin, *La bibliothèque des Visconti et des Sforza, ducs de Milan au XV siècle*, Paris 1955, p. 373; É. Pellegrin, *La bibliothèque des Visconti et des Sforza, ducs de Milan. Supplement avec 175 planches publié sous les auspices de la Société internationale de bibliophilie par les soins de Tammaro de Marinis*, Florence-Paris 1969, pp. 46-47 e la riproduzione del f. 2<sup>v</sup> alla tav. 151. Appartenne in seguito a Marco Antonio Brogiollo (vd. l'annotazione a f. 1<sup>v</sup>) e a Giacomo Filippo Bassi (vd. l'annotazione sul contropiatto anteriore).

<sup>9</sup> Ferrari, *Un bibliotecario*, cit., p. 234 e n. 185, con rimando a BMC, VI, pp. 706, 733 e IGI 8129 (vd. *infra*, n. 11): Ph. Argelati, *Bibliotheca scriptorum mediolanensium seu acta et elogium virorum omnigena eruditione illustrium ...*, I 2, Mediolani 1745, coll. 225-227.

<sup>10</sup> Ferrari, *ibid.*, con rimando a Bénédictins du Bouveret, *Colophons*, II, p. 143, nr. 4705.

<sup>11</sup> IGI 8129; BMC VI 733; Hain 3766; vd. la descrizione del catalogo on-line dell'Ambrosiana <http://office.comperio.it/ambrosiana/incunaboli/detail/?tid=AMBRO:catalogo:789883>; ivi anche ulteriore bibliografia e riproduzione della c. 1<sup>r</sup>, con nel mg. alcuni esempi (solo latini) delle citate annotazioni mss.; cfr. l'*Incunabula short title catalogue* della British Library (<http://istc.bl.uk/search/search.html?operation=record&rsid=1286504&q=0>). Utilizzo la numerazione delle carte apposta a matita nel mg. sup. destro del *recto*. La lettera di dedica a Gregorio Beacque, ricca di dati sull'ambiente in cui opera il Brebbia e sulla rete dei suoi contatti professionali e culturali, è ampiamente sfruttata dall'Argelati (*Bibliotheca*, cit., I 1, coll. 189-190, pp. CCCCLXII-CCCCLXV, DLXVII) che ne riproduce (coll. 189-190), con minimi aggiustamenti, ampi tratti.

La conoscenza del greco – e le numerose connessioni con personaggi legati agli uffici dell'amministrazione ducale, e in particolare alle magistrature delle entrate ordinarie e straordinarie – rendono degna di approfondimento la possibilità che sia da identificare con il nostro copista (che si dichiara, nella sottoscrizione del *Taurinensis*, γραμματεῦον, una possibile resa di *cancellarius*) il Gabriele Brebbia che compare fra i firmatari di una supplica letta in pubblica udienza il 14 dicembre 1462 con la quale i principali componenti della cancelleria ducale chiedevano che la cattedra pubblica di greco fosse conferita a Costantino Lascaris, da quattro anni già docente privato a Milano (E. Motta, *Demetrio Calcondila editore*, «Archivio Storico Lombardo» 20,

l'intero testo dell'incunabolo, sempre in inchiostro rosso, una revisione che non può che essere autoriale,<sup>12</sup> come già suggeriva un'annotazione apposta sul foglio di guardia («Notae in margine videntur scriptae ab ipsomet Gabriel Brebia»).

Il Brebbia<sup>13</sup> entrò nel convento benedettino della congregazione di S. Giustina dei Santi Pietro e Paolo di Gessate<sup>14</sup> il 28 marzo 1479. Lo stesso anno curò e finanziò parzialmente la pubblicazione della *Summula de pacifica conscientia* del francescano Pacifico da Novara.<sup>15</sup>

1893, pp. 143-166: 145-149, partic. 149: fra i supplicanti, tra i quali spiccano i nomi di Pier Candido Decembrio, Cola Montano, Lodrisio Crivelli, Lampugnino Birago, vi è anche un «Gabriel Breppia auditor»); troviamo il medesimo come *Cancellarius intratarum ordinariorum* dal 1° giugno 1464 (C. Santoro, *Gli uffici del dominio sforzesco, 1450-1500*, Milano 1948, p. 69; lettera di nomina del 30 maggio 1464, Reg. duc. 153, c. 440 «Nob. vir Gabriel de Brebia, civis Mediolanensis, a kalendis iunii futuri ad beneplacitum loco nob. viri Bartholomei Rati»; confermato con lettera del 17 febbraio 1467, Reg. duc. 167, c. 225t) e nell'esercizio delle sue funzioni compare in un atto del 2 maggio 1474 (*I registri delle lettere ducali del periodo Sforzesco*, a cura di C. Santoro, Milano 1961, 153: Registro 4°, atto nr. 53).

<sup>12</sup> Ad una rapida scorsa risultano aggiunte e correzioni sopralineari e marginali, sempre in inchiostro rosso, alle carte 1<sup>rv</sup>, 22<sup>r</sup>, 27<sup>r</sup>, 117<sup>v</sup>, 146<sup>r</sup>, 155<sup>v</sup>, 164<sup>v</sup>, 165<sup>r</sup>, 179<sup>r</sup>, 186<sup>r</sup>, 194<sup>v</sup>, 210<sup>r</sup>, 225<sup>r</sup>, 227<sup>r</sup>, 232<sup>r</sup>, 234<sup>r</sup>, 244<sup>r</sup>, 254<sup>r</sup>, 257<sup>v</sup>, 262<sup>v</sup>, 265<sup>v</sup>, 275<sup>r</sup>, 278<sup>v</sup>, 287<sup>v</sup>, 288<sup>v</sup>, 291<sup>rv</sup>, 292<sup>v</sup>, 294<sup>r</sup>, 295<sup>v</sup>, 297<sup>v</sup>, 303<sup>v</sup>, 306<sup>r</sup>, 309<sup>r</sup>, 315<sup>r</sup>, 316<sup>r</sup>, 317<sup>v</sup>, 318<sup>rv</sup>, 319<sup>v</sup>, 321<sup>r</sup>, 325<sup>r</sup>, 339<sup>r</sup>. Alcune di queste sono piuttosto estese (partic. cc. 227<sup>r</sup>, 232<sup>r</sup>, 278<sup>v</sup>, 315<sup>r</sup>).

<sup>13</sup> *Lignum Vitae, Ornamentum & Decus Ecclesiae, in quinque libros divisum in quibus totius Sanctissimae Religionis Divi Benedicti initia; Viri Dignitate Doctrina, Sanctitate, ac Principatu clari describuntur; et Fructus qui per eos S.R.E. accesserunt fusissime explicantur auctore D. Arnaldo Wion ...*, pars prima, liber II, Venetiis, apud Georgium Angelerium, MDXCV, p. 418; *Bibliotheca Sancta* a F. Sixto Senensi ordinis Praedicatorum ex praecipuis Catholicae Ecclesiae Autoribus collecta ... I-II, Venetiis 1575-1574, partic. I, p. 435; A. Possevino, *Apparatus sacer*, I, Venezia 1603, c. 521 (ripreso da *Bibliotheca Sacra in binos syllabos distincta ... labore et industria Jacobi Le Long ...*, II, Parisiis 1723, p. 650); *La nobiltà di Milano*, descritta dal R. P. F. Paolo Morigia de' Gesuati di San Girolamo, Milano 1619, pp. 279-280 (Milano 1595, p. 171: Lib. III § XXVIII); *Ateneo di letterati milanesi*, adunati dall'abate Don Filippo Picinelli, Milano 1670, p. 227; M. Armellini, *Bibliotheca benedectino casinensis, sive scriptorum casinensis congregationis alias S. Justinae Patavinae qui in ea ad haec usque tempora floruerunt Operum, ac Gestorum notitiae*, pars prima, Assisii 1731, p. 178; Argelati, *Bibliotheca*, cit.; G. Mazzucchelli, *Gli scrittori di Italia, cioè notizie storiche e critiche intorno alla vita e agli scritti dei letterati italiani...*, II 4, Brescia 1753-1763, p. 2043; Ch. G. Jöcher, *Allgemeines Gelehrten Lexicon. Fortsetzungen und Ergänzungen* von J. C. Adelung, I, Leipzig 1784, 2216, s.v. *Brebbia Gabriel*; J. François, *Bibliothèque Générale des écrivains de l'ordre de Saint Benoît*, Bourillon 1777-1778, I p. 149; U. Chevalier, *Répertoire des Sources Historiques du Moyen Age. Biobibliographie*, I, Paris 1905-1907, p. 692; R. Grégoire s.v. *Gabriel Brebbia* in *DSAM*, XXXIX-XL (1965), col. 4; C. Fabian, *Personennamen des Mittelalters (PMA). Nomina Scriptorum Medii Aevi*, München 2000<sup>2</sup>, p. 199; C. Cargnoni, A. Gentili, M. Regazzoni, P. Zovatto, *Storia della spiritualità italiana*, ed. P. Zovatto, Roma 2002, p. 202; Th. Wallnig, Th. Stokinger, *Die gelehrte Korrespondenz der Brüder Pez. Text, Regesten, Kommentare*, I, 1709-1715, Wien-Köln-Weimar 2010, pp. 140, 167, 864.

<sup>14</sup> P. Puccinelli, *Chronicon Insignis Abbatiae SS. Petri et Pauli de Glaxiate Mediolani*, Milano 1655; *Le chiese di Milano*, a cura di M. T. Fiorio, Milano 1985, pp. 219-225; A. Frattini s.v. *Pietro in Gessate, chiesa di S.* in *Dizionario della Chiesa ambrosiana*, V, Milano 1992, pp. 2801-2805.

<sup>15</sup> IGI 7130; BMC VI 706-707; Hain 12259. Descrizione, bibliografia e riproduzione di c. 1<sup>r</sup> e

Il ms. torinese è stato allestito per un personaggio di spicco della Milano visconteo-sforzesca: Giovanni Botta, padre di Giacomo, vescovo di Tortona<sup>16</sup> e di Bergonzio,<sup>17</sup> che fu al servizio dei signori di Milano da Filippo Maria Visconti a Giovanni Galeazzo Sforza. Ricoprì le importanti cariche di Referendario generale (dal 1450)<sup>18</sup> e di *Magister intratarum ordinariorum* (dal 1467).<sup>19</sup> Fu inoltre Referendario e tesoriere di Parma,<sup>20</sup> a partire dal 1476 Vicario delle Provvisioni, quindi Questore del reddito del Magistrato ordinario. Ci è conservato il suo testamento, in data 25 marzo 1484.<sup>21</sup> Morì l'ultimo giorno di settembre del 1486.<sup>22</sup>

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del colofone (c. 244<sup>v</sup>) a <http://office.comperio.it/ambrosiana/incunaboli/detail/?tid=AMBRO:catalogo:803163>; cfr. inoltre l'*Incunabula short title catalogue* della British Library (<http://istc.bl.uk/search/search.html?operation=record&rsid=1521388&q=0>). A. Grafton, *The Culture of Correction in Renaissance Europe*, London 2011, pp. 107-108 e n. 70 trascrive il colofone come testimonianza di volume «'in impressione recognitum' – edited in the course of printing».

<sup>16</sup> U. Rozzo *s.v.* Botta Giacomo, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, XIII, Roma 1971, pp. 371-372.

<sup>17</sup> R. Zapperi, D. Ricci Albani *s.v.* Botta Bergonzio, *ibid.*, pp. 362-364.

<sup>18</sup> Assunse la carica il 1° marzo 1450 (Reg. duc. 150 c. 15) e fu confermato nell'ufficio con lettera del 23 dicembre 1466 (Reg. duc. 167, c. 206t): vd. Santoro, *Gli uffici*, cit., p. 68. Come referendario generale ducale sottoscrive un atto del 15 gennaio 1459 (*I registri*, cit., p. 74 (Registro n° 2, atto n° 159). In ragione della copertura di queste importanti cariche dell'amministrazione finanziaria del ducato il Botta è appunto detto dal Brebbia χρηματιστής (non risulta abbia ricoperto la specifica carica di Tesoriere generale).

<sup>19</sup> Dal Reg. duc. 167, c. 277 sappiamo che la lettera di nomina è datata 4 dicembre 1467; ivi è precisato che il nuovo ufficio viene assunto «ultra curam referendarie curie ducalis et officium intratarum salis» (Santoro, *Gli uffici*, cit., p. 66)

<sup>20</sup> Vd. Archivio di Stato di Milano, *Archivio ducale Sforzesco. Registro delle Missive*, II.1, p. 89 e *passim*.

<sup>21</sup> *Istoria genealogica e cronologica delle due nobilissime case Adorna e Botta antichissime e celeberrime l'una in Genova e l'altra in Milano e Pavia*, descritta da Buonaventura De Rossi nobile sarzanese e dedicata da Esso all'illustriss. ed eccell. sig. il sig. marchese Alessandro Botta Adorno, Firenze 1719, p. 212; cfr. anche E. M[otta], *Appunti e notizie*, «Archivio Storico Lombardo», ser. 4, 7, 34, 1907, pp. 256-261 (§ *Testamenti milanesi del Quattrocento con lasciti artistici*), partic. 257.

<sup>22</sup> Su Giovanni Botta, che non ha una sua voce nel *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, la trattazione più ampia rimane quella del De Rossi, cit., pp. 211 sgg., cui rimando.



## *Tyrannus Grecorum*. The Image and Legend of Andronikos I Komnenos in Latin Historiography\*

Few, if any, rulers in twelfth-century Christendom received the amount of attention that the Byzantine Emperor Andronikos I (1183-1185) attracted. Notwithstanding the fact that Andronikos ruled for less than three years, his rise to power,

\* In this study, the term «Latin historiography» denotes texts written by Latins, i.e., authors who unequivocally accepted the ultimate authority of Rome in spiritual matters. Whereas a number of these Latin historians wrote in Latin, others composed their works in Old French. — This article, which I dedicate to my grandparents Savvas and Theophano, was completed during my tenure as a Mellon Postdoctoral Fellow at the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Toronto. I am deeply indebted to Professor Gwenyth Hood, Marshall University, for sending me a copy of her forthcoming edition, translation, and commentary of Peter of Eboli's *Liber ad honorem Augusti*. — Quotations from modern translations are frequently corrected and amended according to my own understanding of the original texts.

Short titles: Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, *Chronicon* = P. Scheffer-Boichorst (ed.), Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, *Chronicon*, Hanover 1874 (MGH SS 23), pp. 631-950; Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica* = J. M. Lappenberg (ed.), Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica Slavorum*, Hanover 1869 (MGH SS 21), pp. 100-250; Brand (tr.) = C. M. Brand (tr.), John Kinnamos, *Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus*, New York 1976; Brand, *Byzantium* = C. M. Brand, *Byzantium Confronts the West, 1180-1204*, Cambridge, MA 1968; Chon. *Hist.* = J. L. van Dieten (ed.), Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, Berlin-New York 1975; *Chronica regia Coloniensis* = G. Waitz (ed.), *Chronica regia Coloniensis*, Hanover 1880 (MGH *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi* 18); *Chronique d'Ernouf* = L. de Mas Latrie (ed.), *La Chronique d'Ernouf et de Bernard le Trésorier*, Paris 1871; Clari, *Conquête* = P. Noble (ed. and tr.), Robert de Clari, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, Edinburgh 2005; *Continuatio Aquicinctina* = D. L. C. Bethmann (ed.), *Continuatio Aquicinctina Sigeberti Gemblacensis*, Hanover 1844 (MGH SS 6), pp. 405-438; *Continuatio Zwetlensis Altera* = W. Wattenbach (ed.), *Annales mellicenses Continuatio Zwetlensis Altera*, Hanover 1851 (MGH SS 9), pp. 541-544; *Continuation* = M. R. Morgan (ed.), *La Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr (1184-1197)*, Paris 1982; Edbury (tr.) = P. W. Edbury (tr.), *The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade: Sources in Translation*, Aldershot 1996; Edbury, *New Perspectives* = P. W. Edbury, *New Perspectives on the Old French Continuations of William of Tyre*, «Crusades» 6, 2010, pp. 107-136; Eustathios, *Capture* = J. R. Melville Jones (ed. and tr.), Eustathios of Thessaloniki, *The Capture of Thessaloniki*, Canberra 1988; Geoffrey of Vigeois, *Pars altera* = L. V. Delisle (ed.), Geoffrey of Vigeois, *Pars altera chronici lemovicensis*, Paris 1878 (RHGF 18), pp. 211-223; Godfrey of Viterbo, *Pantheon* = G. Waitz (ed.), Godfrey of Viterbo, *Pantheon*, Hanover 1872 (MGH SS 22), pp. 107-307; Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique* = R. B. C. Huygens (ed.), Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*, Turnhout 1986; *Historia de expeditione* = *Historia de expeditione Friderici imperatoris*, in A. Chroust (ed.), *Quellen zur Geschichte des Kreuzzuges Kaiser Friedrichs I*, Berlin 1928 (MGH *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum, nova series* 5), pp. 1-115; Ibn Jubayr, *Travels* = R. J. C. Broadhurst (tr.), Ibn Jubayr, *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr, Being the Chronicle of a Mediaeval Spanish Moor concerning his Journey to the Egypt of Saladin, the Holy Cities of Arabia, Baghdad the City of the Caliphs, the Latin*

reign, and downfall struck his contemporaries. In contrast to medieval chroniclers, modern historians have shown little interest in this emperor. Although some scholarly attention has been paid to the Greek sources in order to reconstruct the historical facts of Andronikos's rise to power and rule, the relatively large number of Latin and Old French accounts of his reign have been either completely disregarded by historians or dismissed as «full of imagined conversations and romantic fictions».<sup>1</sup> All these accounts, however, are important not only in giving great insight into how a harsh and oppressive rule was viewed in the Latin world in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, but also in demonstrating what information about the Byzantine Empire was transmitted from the East to the West at the time,

*Kingdom of Jerusalem, and the Norman Kingdom of Sicily*, London 1952; Ibn Jubayr, *Voyages* = M. Gauthier-Demombynes (tr.), Ibn Jubayr, *Voyages*, I-IV, Paris 1949-1965; *Itinerarium peregrinorum* = H. E. Mayer (ed.), *Das Itinerarium peregrinorum: Eine zeitgenössische englische Chronik zum dritten Kreuzzug in ursprünglicher Gestalt*, Stuttgart 1962 (MGH Schriften 18), pp. 291-293; John of Salisbury, *Policraticus* = Clemens C.I. Webb (ed.), John of Salisbury, *Policraticus sive de nugis curialium et vestigiis philosophorum*, I-II, Oxford 1909; Kinn. *Epit.* = A. Meineke (ed.), Ioannis Cinnami *Epitome rerum ab Ioanne et Alexio Comnenis gestarum*, Bonn 1836; *L'estoire de Eracles* = *L'estoire de Eracles empereur et la conquête de la terre d'Outremer*, Paris 1859 (RHC Oc. 2), pp. 1-481; Loud (tr.) = G. A. Loud (tr.), *The Crusade of Frederick Barbarossa: The History of the Expedition of the Emperor Frederick and Related Texts*, Surrey-Burlington, Vt. 2010; Magoulias (tr.) = J. Magoulias (tr.), Niketas Choniates, *O City of Byzantium, Annals of Niketas Choniates*, Detroit 1984; Magnus of Reichersberg, *Chronicon* = W. Wattenbach (ed.), Magnus of Reichersberg, *Chronicon*, Hanover 1861 (MGH SS 17), pp. 439-534; Map, *De nugis* = M. R. James (ed. and tr.), Walter Map, *De nugis curialium*, revised C. Brooke and R. Aubrey Baskerville, Oxford 1983; Maragone, *Annales* = M. L. Gentile (ed.), Bernardo Maragone, *Annales pisani*, Bologna 1936<sup>2</sup>; Minorsky, *Kbāqānī* = V. Minorsky, *Kbāqānī and Andronicus Comnenus*, «Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies» 11, 1945, pp. 550-578; Nederman (tr.) = C. J. Nederman (tr.), John of Salisbury, *Policraticus: of the Frivolities of Courtiers and the Footprints of Philosophers*, Cambridge-New York 1990; Pietro da Eboli, *Liber* = G. Hood (ed. and tr.), Pietro da Eboli, *Book in Honor of Augustus (Liber ad honorem Augusti)*, Tempe, AR 2012, forthcoming; Pontani (tr.) = A. Pontani (tr.), Niceta Coniata, *Grandezza e catastrofe di Bisanzio: narrazione cronologica*, I-II, Milan 1994-1999; Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon* = J. Stevenson (ed.), Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, London 1875 (RS 66); Ralph of Diceto, *Opera* = W. Stubbs (ed.), Ralph of Diceto, *Opera Historica*, I-II, London 1876 (RS 68); Rigord, *Gesta* = E. Charpentier, G. Pon and Y. Chauvin (ed. and tr.), Rigord, *Gesta Philippi Augusti. Histoire de Philippe Auguste*, Paris 2006; Robert of Auxerre, *Chronicon* = O. Holder-Egger (ed.), Robert of Auxerre, *Chronicon*, Hanover 1882 (MGH Scriptores 26), pp. 219-276; Robert of Torigni, *Chronica* = R. Howlett (ed.), Robert of Torigni, *Chronica*, in R. Howlett (ed.), *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I*, I-IV, London 1884-1889 (RS 82): IV; Roger of Hoveden, *Gesta* = W. Stubbs (ed.), Roger of Hoveden, *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi*, I-II, London 1867 (RS 49); Stevenson (tr.) = J. Stevenson (tr.), William of Newburgh, *The History of William of Newburgh (1066-1194)*, London 1856; William of Newburgh, *Historia* = R. Howlett (ed.), William of Newburgh, *Historia rerum Anglicarum*, in R. Howlett (ed.), *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I*, I-IV, London 1884-1889 (RS 82): I-II; Babcock and Krey (tr.) = E. A. Babcock and A. C. Krey (tr.), William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, I-II, New York 1943.

<sup>1</sup> Brand, *Byzantium*, p. 333 n. 103.



and how it travelled. The purpose of this paper is to conduct a thorough analysis of the Latin and Old French accounts of Andronikos's rise to power, reign, and death, illustrate the richness of information that can be obtained from them, and trace the shaping of the Byzantine ruler's image and growth of his legend over time.

Andronikos was a man with a turbulent past. In 1155 he was imprisoned by his cousin and Emperor Manuel I (1143-1180) for conspiring with King Géza II of Hungary (1141-1162) to seize the imperial throne.<sup>2</sup> Following a long imprisonment in Constantinople, Andronikos managed to escape in 1164 and fled to the Russian Prince Yaroslav of Halich.<sup>3</sup> Soon afterwards he was restored to Manuel's favour and was appointed governor of Cilicia.<sup>4</sup> Before long, however, he fell again into disfavour with the emperor and, in 1167, was forced to take refuge at the court of King Amalric of Jerusalem (1163-1174) where he encountered Theodora Komnena, Manuel's niece and widow of King Baldwin III of Jerusalem (1143-1163). A love affair between Andronikos and Theodora ensued, and when Andronikos was informed that Manuel asked King Amalric to surrender him, he and Theodora fled to the court of the Muslim ruler Nur al-Dīn (1146-1174) at Damascus and from there, according to the historian William of Tyre (d. 1186), visited «Persia», presumably the court of the Abbasid Caliph in Baghdad.<sup>5</sup> Andronikos and Theodora then proceeded to the Christian kingdom of Georgia and thence to the court of Saltukh, the Turcoman ruler of Erzerum, before finally finding refuge with Fakhr al-Dīn Bahrām-shāh, the representative of the Turcoman dynasty of the Mengüjek, who furnished his noble guests with a castle on the border with Byzantine Pontos.<sup>6</sup> In early 1180, when Theodora and her two children were seized and sent to Constantinople by the Byzantine governor of Trebizond, Andronikos presented himself to the Emperor Manuel with a chain around his neck begging for pardon. After being made to swear an oath of loyalty to the emperor and his son Alexios whereby he would protect and defend them against all threats, Andronikos was restored to favour once again and appointed governor of Pontos.<sup>7</sup>

At Emperor Manuel's death in September 1180, his son and heir Alexios II (1180-1183) was only twelve years old. The child emperor was left under the guardianship of his mother, Maria of Antioch, while the regency was also shared by the Patriarch of Constantinople Theodosios (1179-1183) and, presumably, Manuel's elder daughter Maria Porphyrogenita, the late emperor's illegitimate son

<sup>2</sup> Chon. *Hist.* pp. 101-106: for an English translation of Choniates's Χρονική διήγησις, see Magoulias (tr.); for an Italian translation, see Pontani (tr.). Cfr. Kinn. *Epit.* pp. 126-130. For an English translation of Kinnamos's work, see Brand (tr.). See also P. Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143-1180*, Cambridge 1993, pp. 197-198.

<sup>3</sup> Chon. *Hist.* pp. 129-132; Kinn. *Epit.* pp. 232-234. See also Minorsky, *Khāqānī*, p. 554.

<sup>4</sup> Chon. *Hist.* pp. 132, 137-138; Kinn. *Epit.* p. 250. See also Minorsky, *Khāqānī*, p. 554.

<sup>5</sup> Chon. *Hist.* pp. 132, 140-142; Kinn. *Epit.* p. 250; Guillaume de Tyr, p. 914; William of Tyre, II, pp. 345-346. See also Minorsky, *Khāqānī*, pp. 554-555.

<sup>6</sup> Chon. *Hist.* p. 142; Kinn. *Epit.* pp. 250-251. See also Minorsky, *Khāqānī*, pp. 555-559.

<sup>7</sup> Chon. *Hist.* pp. 226-228. See also Brand, *Byzantium*, p. 28.

Alexios the *Protostrator*, and his favourite nephew Alexios the *Protosebastos*.<sup>8</sup> The *Protosebastos* Alexios, however, became Maria's lover and the effective ruler of the Byzantine Empire. The *protosebastos* remained committed to Manuel's Western-oriented foreign policy and relied heavily upon the assistance and counsel of the Latins, but his absolute monopoly of power resulted in a conspiracy against him in February 1181, led by Alexios II's half-sister Maria Porphyrogenita. The leaders of the movement also dispatched letters to Andronikos appealing to him for assistance.<sup>9</sup> Since the oath Andronikos had taken before Manuel's death committed him as a guarantor of Alexios II's protection, he advanced upon the imperial capital in the spring of 1182 on the pretext of protecting the interests of the young emperor against the *protosebastos*. Andronikos Angelos, whom the *protosebastos* sent with a large force against the advancing enemy, was roundly defeated while the admiral of the imperial fleet, Andronikos Kontostephanos, defected to Andronikos, who was thus able to seize power.<sup>10</sup> The *Protosebastos* Alexios was immediately captured and subsequently blinded while the Pisan and Genoese inhabitants of Constantinople who had sided with him were massacred by Andronikos's Paphlagonian troops and the Constantinopolitan mob, following Andronikos's rabble-rousing propaganda campaign that galvanised the citizens against the Italian supporters of the *protosebastos*.<sup>11</sup>

On 16 May 1182, Andronikos had Alexios II crowned anew at the Church of *Hagia Sophia*. At the ceremony Andronikos swore to preserve and protect the young ruler whom he lifted onto his shoulders and carried up to the pulpit of the church.<sup>12</sup> It was all an elaborate pretence. Having his own designs on the imperial crown, Andronikos soon afterwards began ridding himself of potential future adversaries. Maria Porphyrogenita and her husband the *kaisar* Renier of Montferrat were murdered – by poisoning, according to rumours reported by the Greek historian Niketas Choniates (1155/7-1217). The Empress Maria of Antioch was arraigned on the charge of conspiring against the state and, following a parody of a trial, strangled. The decree condemning her to death was signed by her not yet fourteen-year-old son.<sup>13</sup> In September 1183 Andronikos was proclaimed co-

<sup>8</sup> Eustathios, *Capture*, pp. 18-19. See also Brand, *Byzantium*, pp. 28-29.

<sup>9</sup> Chon. *Hist.* pp. 224-243; Eustathios, *Capture*, pp. 18-31; Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*, pp. 1013, 1021-1022; Babcock and Krey (tr.), II, pp. 453, 462-463. See also Brand, *Byzantium*, pp. 31-39.

<sup>10</sup> Chon. *Hist.* pp. 228-229, 243-249; Eustathios, *Capture*, pp. 30-33. See also Brand, *Byzantium*, pp. 38-41.

<sup>11</sup> Chon. *Hist.* pp. 249-251; Eustathios, *Capture*, pp. 32-35; Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*, pp. 1023-1024; Babcock and Krey (tr.), II, pp. 464-465; Maragone, *Annales*, p. 73; Robert of Auxerre, *Chronicon*, p. 247. For an extensive discussion of the massacre, see S. Neocleous, *Greeks and Italians in Twelfth-Century Constantinople: Convivencia or Conflict?*, in S. La Porta and B. Crostini (edd.), *Negotiating Co-Existence: Communities, Cultures and "Convivencia" in Byzantine Society*, Trier 2013, forthcoming.

<sup>12</sup> Chon. *Hist.* pp. 264-265; Eustathios, *Capture*, pp. 36-37. See also Brand, *Byzantium*, p. 44.

<sup>13</sup> Chon. *Hist.* pp. 259-260, 267-269; Eustathios, *Capture*, pp. 40-41. See also Brand, *Byzantium*, pp. 45-47.

emperor along with Alexios II.<sup>14</sup> Immediately afterwards, the Emperor Alexios was suffocated; his body, enclosed in a lead coffer, was cast into the sea while his head was «cut off and exhibited to Andronikos».<sup>15</sup>

Andronikos unleashed a reign of terror as soon as he *de facto* seized power in 1182. His purges were directed against the court nobility of Constantinople (often members of the Komnenian clan), generals from among the nobles who had distinguished themselves in war, members of the palace bureaucracy, and any other person of high social rank and importance. Punishments included imprisonment, exile, blinding, and execution, sometimes under simple suspicion of conspiring against Andronikos's regime, sometimes on the accusation of criticising the ruler's actions, sometimes for no apparent reason at all.<sup>16</sup> This, according to the Byzantine historian and archbishop of Thessaloniki, Eustathios (ca. 1115-1195/6), resulted from Andronikos's «suspicious nature (διὰ τὸ φύσει καχύποπτον), deeply rooted in him [...] which led him to think that all men wished to become emperors in his place».<sup>17</sup> Andronikos saw no room for mercy in his reign of terror; as Choniates records, «even women were not spared from his vengeance and abominations; many lost the light of their eyes and suffered hunger, incarnation and physical tortures».<sup>18</sup> The Byzantine historian describes the climate of fear that hovered over Constantinople during Andronikos's reign: «At that time men lived in gloom and despair. Not for many was sleep carefree, soft and ignorant of grief. Settling down at the edge of the eyes, it would fly away, often deceived or frightened away by Andronikos appearing in a nightmare».<sup>19</sup>

By the later months of his reign, with his deep distrust bordering on paranoia, Andronikos was «convinced of everyone's disloyalty» (ἀπιστίαν καταγνοῦς ὄλων).<sup>20</sup> Blaming the Norman invasion of the Byzantine Empire in June 1185 on «those who opposed him, together with their blood relations and favoured near relations», and seeing the growing popular distaste to his regime, Andronikos decided to put to death all those he had imprisoned together with their attendants and kinsmen.<sup>21</sup> A decree to this effect was drawn up in August-September 1185, followed by a list of the condemned that also defined the manner in which each and every one was to be executed: «he was to put some to death by the sword, cast others into the deep of the sea after ripping open their bellies with the sword, and remove others from life by diverse means».<sup>22</sup> As Choniates informs us, «an infinite

<sup>14</sup> Chon. *Hist.* pp. 271-272; Eustathios, *Capture*, pp. 50-51. See also Brand, *Byzantium*, p. 49.

<sup>15</sup> Chon. *Hist.* p. 274; Magoulias (tr.), p. 152; Pontani (tr.), II, pp. 122-123. See also Eustathios, *Capture*, pp. 52-53.

<sup>16</sup> Chon. *Hist.* pp. 257-259, 265-267, 288-289, 292-295, 308-312, 314-315, 323-324, 334-338, 344-345; Eustathios, *Capture*, pp. 36-41, 52-55. See also Brand, *Byzantium*, pp. 47, 53-55.

<sup>17</sup> Eustathios, *Capture*, pp. 54-55.

<sup>18</sup> Chon. *Hist.* p. 324; Magoulias (tr.), p. 178; Pontani (tr.), II, pp. 238-239.

<sup>19</sup> Chon. *Hist.* p. 323; Magoulias (tr.), p. 178; Pontani (tr.), II, pp. 236-239.

<sup>20</sup> Chon. *Hist.* p. 315; Magoulias (tr.), p. 174; Pontani (tr.), II, pp. 218-219.

<sup>21</sup> Chon. *Hist.* pp. 334-338.

<sup>22</sup> Chon. *Hist.* p. 334; Magoulias (tr.), p. 184; Pontani (tr.), II, pp. 262-263. See also Brand, *Byzantium*, pp. 54, 61, 69.

number would be put to death» on the basis of this decree.<sup>23</sup> Andronikos ordered his son Manuel to carry out the edict, but Manuel, who had always been opposed to his father's stern courses, refused – it was precisely for this reason that Andronikos had passed over him and designated his younger son John to succeed him to the throne.<sup>24</sup> Fortunately for the proscribed, Andronikos was to be overthrown before the mass executions could be carried out.

While his popularity was reaching its nadir, Andronikos decided to resort to divination trusting in the abilities of «those who read the signs of the unknown in the waters».<sup>25</sup> He sent his right-hand man, Stephanos Hagiochristophorites, to the seer Seth to ask who would rule after him, or who would depose him. According to Choniates's information, a demonic spirit responded ambiguously with the letters ΙΣ.<sup>26</sup> Having his doubts about the ritual, Choniates asserted that the demon «beclouded with uncertainty what it could not be sure of knowing».<sup>27</sup> Upon learning of the oracle, Andronikos identified Isaak of Cyprus (1184-1191) as the would-be usurper and immediately demanded to know the time of his deposition. The spirit's answer was that it would be before the day of the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross on 14 September. At this response, Andronikos smiled dismissively, asserting that the oracle was nonsense since it was impossible for Isaak to sail from Cyprus and arrive in Constantinople by 14 September. However, John Apotyras, one of Andronikos's agents, suggested that the oracle might have pertained to Isaak Angelos.<sup>28</sup> Isaak was a son of Andronikos Angelos. Following the defeat of the force he had led against Andronikos in the spring of 1182, Andronikos Angelos had returned to Constantinople, where he was accused of sympathising with the enemy, who was his cousin, and deliberately losing the battle against him. Worried by the accusations, Andronikos Angelos and his family escaped from Constantinople and fled to Andronikos's camp.<sup>29</sup> However, a few weeks after Andronikos's successful seizure of control in Constantinople, Andronikos Angelos,

<sup>23</sup> Chon. *Hist.* p. 338; Magoulias (tr.), p. 186; Pontani (tr.), II, pp. 270-271.

<sup>24</sup> Chon. *Hist.* pp. 337-338; Eustathios, *Capture*, pp. 52-53. For Manuel's opposition to his father's extreme courses, see also Brand, *Byzantium*, pp. 46, 67-68, 77.

<sup>25</sup> Chon. *Hist.* p. 339; Magoulias (tr.), p. 187; Pontani (tr.), II, pp. 274-275. Belief in divination was not uncommon among twelfth-century Byzantine rulers. Before Andronikos, Manuel had consulted an oracle inquiring how long the Komnenian dynasty would reign. Since the oracle response was ΑΙΜΑ, in Greek meaning «blood», the first three letters were taken as designating the first initials of the first three Komnenian rulers, i.e., Alexios, John (Ἰωάννης), and Manuel. Since the name of the next emperor would need to begin with the letter Α, Manuel named his son Alexios. See Chon. *Hist.* p. 169.

<sup>26</sup> Chon. *Hist.* pp. 339-340; Magoulias (tr.), p. 187; Pontani (tr.), II, pp. 274-277. Choniates avers that «how he performed the secret rite I would rather learn nor describe, and they who so desire may be informed from another source».

<sup>27</sup> Chon. *Hist.* p. 340; Magoulias (tr.), p. 187; Pontani (tr.), II, pp. 276-277.

<sup>28</sup> Chon. *Hist.* pp. 340-341. See also P. Magdalino, *Prophecy and Divination in the History*, in A. Simpson and S. Efthymiadis (ed.), *Niketas Choniates: a Historian and a Writer*, Geneva 2009, pp. 59-74: 61-63.

<sup>29</sup> Chon. *Hist.* pp. 245-246. See also Brand, *Byzantium*, p. 39.

alarmed at the confinement of Maria of Antioch, was engaged in a conspiracy against his cousin. Once the conspiracy was uncovered, Andronikos Angelos and his sons fled to Syria, where he died.<sup>30</sup> By September 1183, Andronikos Angelos's sons Isaak and Theodoros had returned to Byzantine Asia Minor and were among the leaders of a revolt that broke out in Bithynia.<sup>31</sup> Although Theodoros, who had been in Brusa, was blinded after the city was stormed, his brother Isaak, who had been in Nicaea, eventually distanced himself from the rebels in the city and was, for this reason, spared and sent back to Constantinople, where he lived in his family mansion.<sup>32</sup>

Andronikos had never considered Isaak Angelos as a threat to his throne, and therefore, when Apotyras implied that the oracle might have referred to him, the emperor scorned the suggestion «condemning the man [Isaak] for the effeminacy of his character and contending that he was incapable of any clever enterprise».<sup>33</sup> Hagiochristophorites, however, managed to persuade Andronikos to take preventive action by imprisoning and executing Isaak. The Angeloi family's history of rebellion may have accounted for Hagiochristophorites's mistrust of Isaak. Ironically, Hagiochristophorites's advice to Andronikos to arrest Isaak initiated the chain of events that led to the fulfilment of the oracle. On 11 September, Hagiochristophorites went to the mansion of Isaak to arrest him. While an armed guard was waiting in the courtyard to take Isaak into custody, the nobleman, putting on his armour and mounting a horse, rushed out of the stables and with his sword struck Hagiochristophorites a mortal blow on the head. The rest of the guards dispersed frightened. Following the murder of the imperial agent, Isaak galloped along the capital's main street toward *Hagia Sophia*. As he rode, he brandished his sword shouting that he had killed Hagiochristophorites. Once at *Hagia Sophia*, Isaak took refuge at the pulpit reserved for murderers. The populace who had seen the nobleman riding towards *Hagia Sophia* or learned of his deed by hearsay began to throng to the church, expecting to see him seized and executed by Andronikos.<sup>34</sup> Choniates conveys Isaak's anguish as he was expecting his apprehension: «Isaak passed the whole night, not in discussion about the throne, but in prayer that he not be killed».<sup>35</sup>

At dawn of 12 September, the growing crowd aired the hope that Isaak would be made emperor. The popular riot grew to enormous proportions; the prisons were broken and the political prisoners were set free while Isaak was crowned emperor. Patriarch Basileios Kamateros (1183-1186), the principal member of the pro-Andronikan clergy, was forced, against his will, to confirm the coronation.<sup>36</sup> Leaving *Hagia Sophia*, Isaak and the crowd marched to the Great Palace. Abandoned

<sup>30</sup> Chon. *Hist.* pp. 266-267. See also Brand, *Byzantium*, p. 46.

<sup>31</sup> On the revolt, see Chon. *Hist.* pp. 280-289. See also Brand, *Byzantium*, pp. 49, 52-53.

<sup>32</sup> Chon. *Hist.* pp. 286, 288.

<sup>33</sup> Chon. *Hist.* p. 341; Magoulias (tr.), p. 188; Pontani (tr.), II, pp. 278-279.

<sup>34</sup> Chon. *Hist.* pp. 341-343.

<sup>35</sup> Chon. *Hist.* p. 343; Magoulias (tr.), p. 189; Pontani (tr.), II, pp. 284-285.

<sup>36</sup> Chon. *Hist.* pp. 344-346.

by everyone, Andronikos decided to defend himself alone. Taking a bow, he began firing arrows against the attackers in despair. Realising that he was trying to accomplish the impossible, he attempted to flee by ship, with the intent of sailing to Russia. His ship, however, was constantly forced back to shore by contrary winds. The overthrown ruler was arrested and brought to the palace in chains.<sup>37</sup> The assembled nobility was free to take its personal revenge. Andronikos

was slapped in the face, kicked on the buttocks, his beard was torn out, his teeth pulled out, his head shorn of hair [...] he was even battered by women who struck him in the mouth with their fists, especially by all those whose husbands were put to death or blinded [...] Afterwards, his right hand was cut off [...] and he was cast into [...] prison [...] Several days later, one of his eyes was gouged out, and seated upon a mangy camel, he was paraded through the agora.<sup>38</sup>

Although Isaak may well have intended nothing more than to publicly humiliate Andronikos before casting him into prison for the remainder of his life, the blood-thirsty mob of Constantinople – Choniates names sausage sellers, tanners, cobblers, and tailors on this occasion<sup>39</sup> – was ready to tear the deposed emperor apart despite being the less disadvantaged group by his regime.

Some struck him on the head with clubs, others befouled his nostrils with cow-dung, and still others [...] poured excretions from the bellies of oxen and men over his eyes [...] There were those who pierced his ribs with spits. [...] [Others] pelted him with stones [...] A certain incontinent prostitute, grabbed an earthenware pot filled with hot water and emptied it over his face.<sup>40</sup>

Once at the Hippodrome, Andronikos was suspended by the feet between two columns. The masses «neither kept their hands off Andronikos [...] nor did they spare his flesh, but removing his short tunic, they assaulted his genitals».<sup>41</sup> Eventually, a man pushed his sword into Andronikos's entrails by the throat while certain Latins present there thrust their swords downward into his body, thus ending his life.<sup>42</sup>

### The Latin Historians and the Transmission of Andronikos's Image

Andronikos's story proved very attractive to Latin chroniclers, as testified by the unprecedented number of Latin accounts on the ruler's rise to power and downfall. These narratives survive in histories and chronicles from across the Latin world, namely the Latin East, France, Germany, England, and Italy. Given the complexity and obscurity of some of these sources, a brief survey of them is essen-

<sup>37</sup> Chon. *Hist.* pp. 346-349.

<sup>38</sup> Chon. *Hist.* p. 349; Magoulias (tr.), p. 192; Pontani, II (tr.), pp. 298-301.

<sup>39</sup> Chon. *Hist.* p. 349.

<sup>40</sup> Chon. *Hist.* p. 350; Magoulias (tr.), p. 193; Pontani, II (tr.), pp. 300-301.

<sup>41</sup> Chon. *Hist.* p. 350; Magoulias (tr.), p. 193; Pontani (tr.), II, pp. 302-303.

<sup>42</sup> Chon. *Hist.* pp. 350-351.

tial before embarking on our analysis. The histories and chronicles from the Latin East that will be explored are the *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*,<sup>43</sup> the Old French text known by its nineteenth-century title as *La Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier*,<sup>44</sup> and the Colbert-Fontainebleau and the Lyon *Eracles* Continuations of William of Tyre.<sup>45</sup> The *Historia*, the main and most important narrative source we possess for the crusader states of *Outremer* from their establishment up to 1184, authored by William, archbishop of Tyre, needs no introduction. The Old French *Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier* extends from the early days of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem up to 1227 or 1231, depending on the manuscript. As Peter Edbury recently argued, the surviving versions of this text were put together in the late 1220s and early 1230s.<sup>46</sup> Although the original text on which the later versions were based seems to have been composed by a squire of Balian of Ibelin (d. 1193) in the late 1180s,<sup>47</sup> the account of Andronikos was certainly composed in its final form after 1204. This is testified by the fact that the account has the body of Andronikos be buried near the column from which the Emperor Alexios V (1204) was thrown down in 1204. The part of the *Chronique d'Ernoul* covering the period from 1184 to 1231 was more widely disseminated than the rest of the text, since 44 out of a total of 49 manuscripts containing the Old French Continuation of William of Tyre preserve an account that is virtually identical to it. What actually happened is that while the material from before 1184 was jettisoned, the text covering the period from 1184 to 1231 was appended at the end of the French translation of William's work which, as the original Latin text, ends in 1184.<sup>48</sup> In the late 1230s or early 1240s, an author in the Latin *Outremer* took this continuation and made several amendments to it. The revised text, which survives in only two manuscripts, is known as the Colbert-Fontainebleau Continuation of William of Tyre. Less than a decade later, relying heavily on the Colbert-Fontainebleau Continuation, another author in the Latin East produced what is today known as the Lyon *Eracles* Continuation, which survives in only one manuscript.<sup>49</sup> Finally, an account of Andronikos's reign is also included in an anonymous letter composed by a Westerner who was in the Latin East in late 1189. The letter was sent to the West, the report being preserved today in the *Chronicon* of the German monk Magnus of Reichersberg (d. 1195).<sup>50</sup>

<sup>43</sup> Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*; Babcock and Krey (tr.).

<sup>44</sup> *Chronique d'Ernoul*.

<sup>45</sup> For an edition of the Colbert-Fontainebleau Continuation of William of Tyre, see *L'estoire de Eracles*. For an edition of the Lyon *Eracles* Continuation, see *Continuation*. For a translation of the Lyon *Eracles* Continuation, see Edbury (tr.).

<sup>46</sup> Edbury, *New Perspectives*, pp. 108-109.

<sup>47</sup> P. W. Edbury, *The Lyon Eracles and the Old French Continuations of William of Tyre*, in B. Z. Kedar, J. Riley-Smith and R. Hiestand (ed.), *Montjoie: Studies in Crusade History in Honour of Hans Eberhard Mayer*, London 1994, pp. 139-153: 143.

<sup>48</sup> Edbury (tr.), pp. 139-140; *New Perspectives*, p. 108.

<sup>49</sup> Edbury (tr.), pp. 140-141, 143; *New Perspectives*, pp. 110-111.

<sup>50</sup> Magnus of Reichersberg, *Chronicon*, pp. 511-512; Loud (tr.), pp. 153-155. For a new dating and reinterpretation of this report as well as a discussion of its authorship, see S. Neocleous,

The Italian chroniclers are remarkably silent about Andronikos's seizure of power and reign. The only source from northern Italy referring to Andronikos is the continuation of the *Annales pisani*.<sup>51</sup> Salem Maragone, the continuator of the *Annales pisani*, continued the chronicle of his father Bernardo, who ceased writing in 1175. Their complete work, preserved only in a seventeenth-century Italian translation, stops in the year 1183,<sup>52</sup> that is, only a year after Andronikos's seizure of power. Intriguingly, despite the fact that the Genoese inhabitants of Constantinople were, along with the Pisans, the main victims of the 1182 massacre that accompanied Andronikos's usurpation, the *Annali genovesi* make no reference to the event. Similarly, from southern Italy and Sicily, only one Latin source mentions Andronikos. This is the poem *Liber ad honorem Augusti*, written at the Sicilian court in Palermo in 1196 by Peter (d. ca. 1220), a monk hailing from Eboli in Campania. Written in a very sophisticated style, Peter's *Liber ad honorem Augusti* was composed in honour of the German Emperor Henry VI (1191-1197), who was crowned king of Sicily in Palermo in December 1194.<sup>53</sup> Fortunately, our information on Andronikos circulating in southern Italy and Sicily is supplemented by the work of the Andalusian traveller Ibn Jubayr, who journeyed from his native al-Andalus to Mecca, reached Sicily on his return voyage back home in December 1184, and stayed on the island until February 1185. In his *Rihla* describing his journey, the Andalusian traveller recorded rumours about Andronikos's usurpation of the throne bruited about in Sicily as well as information on the background to the attack of the Sicilian King William II (1166-1189) on the Byzantine Empire in the summer of 1185.<sup>54</sup>

The French and Norman accounts of Andronikos's reign survive in the works of eight chroniclers. Geoffrey de Breuil of Vigeois (d. 1184), a monk of Saint-Martial at Limoges who became abbot at Vigeois in 1170,<sup>55</sup> and the Norman monk Robert of Torigni (d. 1186), who became abbot of Mont-Saint-Michel in 1154, provide the two earliest accounts of Andronikos found in French sources.<sup>56</sup> Or to be more precise, we are dealing with three accounts, since Robert, in fact, incorporated two reports on Andronikos's coup into his chronicle, the first seeming to have been received shortly after the usurper's invasion of Constantinople in 1182 and the second after the murder of Alexios II in 1183 and the appointment of Andronikos's younger son John as co-emperor in the same or the following year.<sup>57</sup> Since

*The Byzantines and Saladin: Opponents of the Third Crusade?*, «Crusades» 9, 2010, pp. 87-106: 88-90, 93-94; *Byzantine-Muslim Conspiracies against the Crusades: History and Myth*, «Journal of Medieval History» 36, 2010, pp. 253-274: 267-268.

<sup>51</sup> Maragone, *Annales*.

<sup>52</sup> P. Classen, *Res gestae, Universal History, Apocalypse: Visions of Past and Future*, in R. L. Benson, G. Constable and C. D. Lanham (edd.), *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, Cambridge, MA 1982, pp. 387-417: 395-396.

<sup>53</sup> Pietro da Eboli, *Liber*.

<sup>54</sup> Ibn Jubayr, *Travels*; Ibn Jubayr, *Voyages*.

<sup>55</sup> Geoffrey of Vigeois, *Pars altera*, pp. 211-223.

<sup>56</sup> Robert of Torigni, *Chronica*.

<sup>57</sup> Robert of Torigni, *Chronica*, pp. 301-302, 307.



Geoffrey completed his work in 1184 and Robert in 1186, these two dates give a *terminus ante quem* for the arrival in France of the first information on Andronikos's seizure of power. The *Chronicon* of the monk Robert (d. 1211) at the Premonstratensian house of Saint-Marien of Auxerre, while dating to the 1200s, was mainly compiled from twelfth-century original sources.<sup>58</sup> The passages on Andronikos are characterised by a high degree of reliability, their core seeming to have been composed shortly after the ruler's downfall. The continuator of the chronicle of Sigebert of Gembloux, housed at the monastery of Anchin in Flanders, wrote his version of Andronikos's reign in the early 1190s, most likely following the Third Crusade (1189-1192).<sup>59</sup> As recently argued, the continuator was most probably the prolific historian Andrew of Marchiennes (d. 1202).<sup>60</sup> Guido de Bazoches (d. 1203), a canon of the church of Châlons-sur-Marne, was a scion of a noble Champenois family and one of the foremost Latin authors of Champagne. In 1190, Guido accompanied Henry II of Champagne (1181-1197) on the Third Crusade to Palestine, returning home only in 1203, the year of his death. His *Cronosgraphia*, a world chronicle which represents his most important work, was composed at the end of his life.<sup>61</sup> Quotations from Guido's *Cronosgraphia*, including his account of Andronikos, were inserted in the chronicle of the later historian of Champagne, Alberic (d. ca. 1252), a Cistercian monk of the abbey of Trois-Fontaines at Châlons-sur-Marne in Champagne.<sup>62</sup> In his *Chronica*, composed between 1227 and 1251, Alberic supplemented Guido's account with additional information on Andronikos's downfall. A French account of Andronikos dating from the 1200s is found in the *Gesta Philippi Augusti* of Rigord (d. ca. 1209), a monk of Saint-Denis who wrote a history of King Philip II of France (1190-1223).<sup>63</sup> Rigord's brief account of Andronikos, authored after the Fourth Crusade, forms part of his introduction to his account of the events leading up to the Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204. The most detailed French account of Andronikos and, indeed, one of the two longest Latin accounts of the ruler's elevation to the throne and downfall, is incorporated into the Old French chronicle of the Fourth Crusade authored by Robert of Clari (d. after 1216).<sup>64</sup> Being a lesser knight from

<sup>58</sup> Robert of Auxerre, *Chronicon*. For the work of Robert of Auxerre, see C. Neel, *Man's Restoration: Robert of Auxerre and the Writing of History in the Early Thirteenth Century*, «Traditio» 44, 1988, pp. 253-274: 259, 274.

<sup>59</sup> *Continuatio Aquicinctina*, pp. 405-438.

<sup>60</sup> L. Shopkow, *Introduction*, in L. Shopkow (tr.), Lambert of Ardres, *The History of the Counts of Guines and Lords of Ardres*, Philadelphia 2001, pp. 1-39: 21.

<sup>61</sup> J. F. Benton, *The Court of Champagne as a Literary Center*, «Speculum» 36, 1961, pp. 551-591: 572-573, 586; T. A. P. Klein, *Editing the Chronicle of Gui de Bazoches*, «The Journal of Medieval Latin» 3, 1993, pp. 27-33; A. Putter, *Knights and Clerics at the court of Champagne: Chrétien de Troyes's Romances in Context*, in S. D. Church and R. E. Harvey (edd.), *Medieval Knighthood. Papers from the Sixth Strawberry Hill Conference 1994*, Woodbridge; Suffolk 1995, pp. 243-266: 258-259.

<sup>62</sup> Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, *Chronicon*, pp. 631-950.

<sup>63</sup> Rigord, *Gesta*. For Rigord's work, see G. M. Spiegel, *The Chronicle Tradition of Saint-Denis: a Survey*, Brookline, MA 1978, pp. 57-58.

<sup>64</sup> Clari, *Conquête*.

Picardy in the army of the Fourth Crusade, Robert must have obtained his information from Frankish residents in Constantinople.

The German and Austrian accounts of Andronikos's reign are included in the *Pantheon* of Godfrey of Viterbo (ca. 1125-shortly after 1191);<sup>65</sup> the *Historia de expeditione Friderici imperatoris*;<sup>66</sup> the continuation of the annals of Melk in Austria for the period 1170-1189;<sup>67</sup> the continuation of the *Chronica Regia Coloniensis* for the period 1176-1199, which was completed at the monastery of Saint Pantaleon in Cologne soon after 1199;<sup>68</sup> the second recension of the same *Chronica*, which was drawn up in the 1220s;<sup>69</sup> and the *Chronica Slavorum* of Arnold of Lübeck (d. 1211/14).<sup>70</sup> Of the above authors, only Godfrey of Viterbo and Arnold of Lübeck are identified by name. Godfrey of Viterbo was educated at the cathedral school at Bamberg and served as a chaplain and notary in the German imperial chancery under Conrad III (1138-1152), Frederick I (1152-1190), and Henry VI. His *magnum opus*, *Pantheon*, which alternates prose and verse, the verse frequently repeating the material of the prose, was drawn up from 1185.<sup>71</sup> Arnold was the abbot of the monastery of Saint John at Lübeck and the continuator of the *Chronica Slavorum* of Helmold of Bosau. His work, covering the period 1172 to 1209, was written, or at least completed, in 1209. The *Historia de expeditione Friderici imperatoris* represents the most complex of the above sources. Its first draft was compiled sometime between 1190 and 1195 in the Passau region on the Bavarian-Austrian border by an anonymous author.<sup>72</sup> Into his account, the anonymous compiler incorporated a contemporary report on Andronikos's reign to which he had access. The German or Austrian origin of the report is suggested by the designation of the Byzantine Empire as *regnum*, even in alternation with the term *imperium* – this is a tendency observed in German authors, who found it hard to stomach that there was a second *imperium* along theirs in Christendom. What is more, Alexios II is twice described as *rex* («king») in the same report.<sup>73</sup>

<sup>65</sup> Godfrey of Viterbo, *Pantheon*, pp. 107-307.

<sup>66</sup> *Historia de expeditione*, pp. 31-32; Loud (tr.), p. 63.

<sup>67</sup> *Continuatio Zwetlensis Altera*, pp. 541-544.

<sup>68</sup> *Chronica regia Coloniensis*.

<sup>69</sup> For the second recension, see H. Stehkämper, *Die Stadt Köln in der Salierzeit*, in O. Engels, F.-J. Heyen and F. Staab (ed.), *Die Salier und das Reich*, III, Sigmaringen, 1991, pp. 75-152: 128; S. Willems, *Verschwörungen und Schwureinigungen der Bewohner von Köln 1074 bis 1119*, Norderstedt 2001, p. 15.

<sup>70</sup> Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica*, pp. 100-250.

<sup>71</sup> L. J. Weber, *The Historical Importance of Godfrey of Viterbo*, «Viator. Medieval and Renaissance Studies» 25, 1994, pp. 153-191: 162-163, 169-170, 180-181; T. Hunt, *Precursors and Progenitors of "Aucassin et Nicolette"*, «Studies in Philology» 74, 1977, pp. 1-19: 13.

<sup>72</sup> Loud (tr.), pp. 4-7.

<sup>73</sup> *Historia de expeditione*, pp. 31-32. The author of one of the two manuscripts preserving the continuation of the *Chronicon Venetum* copied almost verbatim the report on Andronikos's reign incorporated in the *Historia de expeditione Friderici imperatoris*. The continuator seems to have had access either to the *Historia* or more likely to a copy of the report itself. He only eliminated some of the information found in the original report and also made a minor correction to

The English narratives of Andronikos's rise to power and downfall are preserved in the *De nugis curialium* of Walter Map (d. ca. 1209), a Welsh secular clerk and court satirist in the service of King Henry II of England (1154-1189);<sup>74</sup> the *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi et Ricardi Primi* of the royal clerk Roger of Hoveden (d. 1201);<sup>75</sup> the *Historia rerum Anglicarum* of William (d. ca. 1198), a canon of the Augustinian priory of Newburgh;<sup>76</sup> the *Ymagines Historiarum* of Ralph of Diceto (d. 1199/1200), dean of Saint Paul's Cathedral in London;<sup>77</sup> and the *Chronicon Anglicanum*, the parts of which referring to Andronikos were written by Abbot Ralph (d. 1227 or shortly thereafter) of the Cistercian abbey of Coggeshall in Essex.<sup>78</sup> The longest and most detailed English account, which, together with Robert of Clari's narrative, represent the two longest Latin accounts we possess of Andronikos's reign and downfall, is found in the *Gesta Regis* of the royal clerk Roger of Hoveden. Whereas Robert of Clari participated in the Fourth Crusade, Roger accompanied King Richard I (1189-1199) on the Third Crusade to the Holy Land.<sup>79</sup> Although the chronicler remained in Palestine for only three months – from 6 June, when he arrived with Richard, until 25 August 1191, when he left for the West in the entourage of King Philip II of France – he had enough time to gather a large amount of information on the reign of Andronikos which he incorporated in his *Gesta Regis*, completed in 1192/3. Therefore, his account is invaluable for it reveals information circulating in the Latin East six years after Andronikos's execution.

## Andronikos's Past and the Background to His Rise to Power

### The Latin East and Constantinople

As has been noted, the most detailed accounts of Andronikos are those written in the Latin East or those whose authors had gone to the Latin *Outremer* or Constantinople on crusade. Predictably, these narratives furnish considerable information on Andronikos's earlier life as well as a historical background to his usurpation of power. The best informed of these sources is William of Tyre's *Historia*. William denounces Andronikos «as a false and wicked man, ever disloyal to the empire and ever active in sowing the seeds of conspiracies. In the time of the emperor [Manuel] he had suffered chains and imprisonment because of his many crimes. Ignominiously treated, as his merits richly deserved, he became an exile and a fugitive and wandered over the entire East».<sup>80</sup> Referring to Andronikos's stay

the text. His account is therefore of no importance. H. Simonsfeld (ed.), *Chronicon Venetum quod vulgo dicunt Altinate* (MGH SS 14), pp. 1-69.

<sup>74</sup> Map, *De nugis*.

<sup>75</sup> Roger of Hoveden, *Gesta*, I-II.

<sup>76</sup> William of Newburgh, *Historia*; Stevenson (tr.).

<sup>77</sup> Ralph of Diceto, *Opera*.

<sup>78</sup> Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon*.

<sup>79</sup> J. Gillingham, *Roger of Howden*, in A. V. Murray (ed.), *The Crusades: An Encyclopedia*, I-IV, Santa Barbara, CA; Oxford 2006, IV, p. 1046.

<sup>80</sup> Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*, p. 1022; Babcock and Krey (tr.), II, p. 463.

in the Kingdom of Jerusalem in 1167, William relates that, «acting in collusion with Nur al-Dīn, he [Andronikos] treacherously abducted the Queen [Theodora] and carried her off into the enemy country, first to Damascus and later to Persia».<sup>81</sup> While William simply records Theodora's abduction by Andronikos, the situation was far more complicated than implied by the historian. Theodora seems to have genuinely loved Andronikos. Emperor Manuel's letter to King Amalric of Jerusalem by which the Byzantine ruler asked for the surrender of Andronikos had fallen into the hands of Theodora, who immediately informed her lover of the imperial orders.<sup>82</sup> Although Theodora clearly wanted to save Andronikos, she may not have initially intended to follow him into exile. Andronikos, however, as Choniates relates, «tricked Theodora into leaving the security of her household [...]. he asked her to accompany him the distance of a Sabbath day's journey so as to bid him farewell and then dragged her willy-nilly after him».<sup>83</sup> Although William's account of Theodora's «abduction» is largely corroborated by Choniates's testimony, it is only half the truth; the other half, namely the existence of a love affair between Andronikos and Theodora, is concealed by the Latin historian as information of this kind would severely tarnish the reputation of the former queen of Jerusalem and, by extension, the kingdom itself.

The well-informed William of Tyre was aware of the fact that Andronikos was restored to favour and appointed governor of Pontos «about three months before Manuel's death»<sup>84</sup> as well as the background to his usurpation. The historian provides valid and reliable information on the conspiracy of February 1181 among the court nobility, even though he sees it as directed against Alexios II,<sup>85</sup> while in reality it was directed against the regency government of Maria of Antioch and especially the *protosebastos* Alexios. William was nevertheless not oblivious of the *protosebastos's* monopoly of power: the *protosebastos's* attitude is denounced as «one of extreme haughtiness; he regarded no one as superior to himself but managed everything according to his own wishes without consulting the other lords».<sup>86</sup> Moreover, as William records, «it was rumoured that he carried on a criminal liaison with the empress, although, while her husband was lying on his deathbed, she had professed the religious life».<sup>87</sup> The result of Alexios's monopoly of power was that «the princes of the palace, moved by extreme hatred against him [...] summoned Andronikos [...] from Pontos [...] that he might cooperate with them [...] and drive the *protosebastos* [...] from the administration» of the empire.<sup>88</sup> Andronikos arrived in Constantinople «bringing with him innumerable troops of barbarian nations».<sup>89</sup> With the commanders of the imperial troops and fleet, whom

<sup>81</sup> Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*, p. 914; Babcock and Krey (tr.), II, pp. 345-346.

<sup>82</sup> Chon. *Hist.* p. 141.

<sup>83</sup> Chon. *Hist.* pp. 141-142; Magoulias (tr.), p. 81; Pontani (tr.), II, pp. 322-323.

<sup>84</sup> Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*, p. 1022; Babcock and Krey (tr.), II, p. 463.

<sup>85</sup> Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*, p. 1013; Babcock and Krey (tr.), II, p. 453.

<sup>86</sup> Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*, p. 1021; Babcock and Krey (tr.), II, p. 462.

<sup>87</sup> Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*, p. 1021; Babcock and Krey (tr.), II, p. 462.

<sup>88</sup> Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*, pp. 1021-1022; Babcock and Krey (tr.), II, p. 463.

<sup>89</sup> Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*, p. 1022; Babcock and Krey (tr.), II, p. 463.

William mentions by name, defecting to Andronikos, the *protosebastos* was «seized, blinded, and castrated».<sup>90</sup> Although William is correct that the admiral of the imperial fleet, Andronikos Kontostephanos, had gone over to Andronikos, Andronikos Angelos defected to the would-be usurper not when he was sent against him at the head of an imperial contingent, but later, alone with his family.<sup>91</sup> As to the information about Alexios's castration, this is not mentioned by the Greek historians and seems to have been based on rumour circulating in the Latin East. William records that following his seizure of power, Andronikos had Alexios II solemnly crowned and treated Manuel's family with kindness. The historian nonetheless asserts that «it is to be feared that he made this show of courtesy toward these persons in order to hide his treacherous purpose»,<sup>92</sup> possibly an allusion to Andronikos's eventual murder of the imperial family. William recorded nothing more on Byzantine politics as he ended his *Historia* in 1184 while he himself died shortly afterwards.

In his narrative of Andronikos's usurpation of power, William of Tyre provides a very extensive account of the massacre of the Pisan and Genoese inhabitants of Constantinople that accompanied the coup. Indeed, this is the most detailed account of the onslaught we have; this is accounted for by the fact that the historian seems to have received his information directly from Pisans and Genoese who survived the massacre and fled to the Latin East. Notwithstanding the reliability of William's narrative as a source of historical information, the historian's interpretation of the events of 1182 is heavily coloured by his anti-Greek bias that permeates his entire work.<sup>93</sup> For William, the 1182 massacre of the Pisans and Genoese was an attack by all Greeks on all Latins. According to the historian, the motivation behind this atrocity was purely Byzantine hatred of the Latins. As he relates, the Greek nobles (*nobiles*) as well as the rest of the citizens «conceived an insatiable hatred (*odium insatiabile*) toward us [...] and were ever seeking an opportunity [...] to destroy utterly the hated race of the Latins (*invisum Latinorum populum*) [...] that in this way they might satisfy their inexorable animosity (*odium inexorable*)».<sup>94</sup> Whereas William allows that the 1182 massacre was the work of Andronikos's «innumerable troops of barbarian nations», aided by the mob of Constantinople, he nevertheless appears to have also considered the Byzantine nobles blameworthy since they had summoned Andronikos from Pontos and supported his *coup d'état*. The historian's prejudice becomes apparent as he later contradicts himself by admitting that the reason for the Greek nobility's support for Andronikos was its resentment to the *Protosebastos* Alexios's monopoly of power. Besides, the massacre of the Pisans and Genoese was by no means total since only a small part of them were killed. William himself allows that the Italian residents in Constantinople had been informed by certain people – presumably Greek friends

<sup>90</sup> Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*, p. 1023; Babcock and Krey (tr.), II, pp. 463-464.

<sup>91</sup> Chon. *Hist.* pp. 245-246.

<sup>92</sup> Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*, p. 1025; Babcock and Krey (tr.), II, p. 467.

<sup>93</sup> S. Neocleous, *Imaging the Byzantines: Latin Perceptions, Representations, and Memory (c. 1095-c. 1230)*, unpublished doctoral thesis, Trinity College Dublin, 2009, especially pp. 100-102.

<sup>94</sup> Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*, p. 1021; Babcock and Krey (tr.), II, pp. 461-462.

– of the impending attack on them and fled the city.<sup>95</sup> They made their escape by embarking on the Italian-manned galleys of the imperial fleet. These galleys had been employed by the *protosebastos* to defend Constantinople against the advancing Andronikos, and this was precisely the reason the usurper orchestrated an attack on the Italians' families and belongings in Constantinople in revenge. As a number of Pisans and Genoese were already on the galleys serving as marines while others joined them after being informed of the impending attack on them, the ones killed were the elderly and the infirm, who were unable to take flight, a number of women and children, who did not have enough time to flee the city, those few unwilling to abandon their houses, and Latin monks and priests who also stayed behind.<sup>96</sup>

William of Tyre's anti-Greek account of Andronikos's seizure of power is balanced by Roger of Hoveden's narrative, which discloses information circulating in the Latin East in 1191. Roger begins his account of Andronikos's reign by recording details on the liaison between the *Protosebastos* Alexios and the Empress Maria, subscribing to rumours that the empress «loved the *protosebastos* with such a disgraceful and ungovernable passion, that she was ready to put her son Alexios [...] to death, and thereby promote her lover to the imperial throne».<sup>97</sup> These rumours, probably originating in the propaganda against the empress spread either by the nobles who were dissatisfied with her and the *protosebastos's* regency or more likely Andronikos, seem to have been accepted as truth by certain groups in the Latin East. According to Roger, following an assassination attempt by his mother, who «gave him a poisonous draught» that nearly killed him, Alexios II sent a message to his cousin Andronikos relating the «treachery» of his mother and asking him to hurry to come to his aid. When Andronikos approached Constantinople, he demanded that the *protosebastos* be seized and sent to him. This was accordingly done, and the *protosebastos* was blinded and castrated. Subsequently, Andronikos was honourably received in the imperial capital by Alexios, «who valued him as a father».<sup>98</sup>

Interesting and largely accurate details of Andronikos's coronation of Alexios on 16 May 1182 are included in the account by Roger, who relates that «by way of proof of his true faith and affection [...] on a certain day for the celebration of the solemnity, he [Andronikos] carried [...] the emperor on his shoulders from his palace to the church of *Hagia Sophia* and caused him to be crowned there by [...] the patriarch of the city, and, in the presence of all the people, swore fealty (*juravit fidelitatem*) to him»,<sup>99</sup> the oath of fealty being a Western interpretation of the oath Andronikos had taken at the ceremony to preserve and protect Alexios II. Roger makes Andronikos advise Alexios, following the ceremony, «to avenge the injuries his mother had inflicted on him; by Andronikos's counsel, Alexios imprisoned his mother» and soon afterwards «caused her to be tied up in a sack, and an anchor

<sup>95</sup> Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*, p. 1023; Babcock and Krey (tr.), II, p. 464.

<sup>96</sup> For a detailed discussion, see Neocleous, *Greeks and Italians*, cit.

<sup>97</sup> Roger of Hoveden, *Gesta*, I, p. 251.

<sup>98</sup> Roger of Hoveden, *Gesta*, I, pp. 251-252.

<sup>99</sup> Roger of Hoveden, *Gesta*, I, p. 252.

being fastened to her neck, to be drowned in the sea».<sup>100</sup> The information that Alexios was not without blame for his mother's imprisonment and death is not found in any Latin account other than Roger's. Undoubtedly, the emperor was partly responsible for his mother's execution as he had signed the decree condemning her to death, but still one should wonder how accountable a not yet fourteen-year-old boy could be for his actions, and what means may have been used to make him sign his mother's execution warrant. By having Alexios send a message to Andronikos as well as imprison and execute his mother, Roger obviously exaggerates the maturity and self-reliance of the child-emperor. As to the story of Maria of Antioch's submersion in the sea which appears to have gained much credence among the Frankish settlers of the Latin East and Constantinople, this seems to have been based on rumours flowing around Constantinople. Although Choniates, whose testimony should be preferred, relates that Maria was obscurely buried in the sand of the shore near Constantinople, Eustathios reports that the empress's dead body was «thrown into the sea».<sup>101</sup>

Roger furnishes a noteworthy account of the proceedings that led to Andronikos's coronation as co-emperor. As the historian narrates, Alexios gave Andronikos «the power of dispensing justice and exercising his own will among the people». One day, however, Andronikos complained to Alexios that the people «refused to obey him» as «he was neither their emperor nor their lord», and advised the young emperor to replace him with someone else. Alexios insisted that he trusted Andronikos more than anyone else and offered to crown him co-emperor. Andronikos feigned refusal saying: «I am neither worthy of nor fit for such authority; associate a wise man of great influence to you». The more Alexios insisted that he should crown Andronikos co-emperor, the more Andronikos refused, knowing that the emperor would not easily change his mind.<sup>102</sup> Although this story might seem fictitious at first sight, it nevertheless contains an important kernel of truth. The Greek historian Eustathios relates that before his coronation, «in the presence of many groups of people», Andronikos often «put up a screen of falsehoods» and, complaining about «the weight of his responsibilities and the unsupportable burden of his cares», pretended he wished to depart for Paphlagonia.<sup>103</sup> When eventually the Patriarch Basileios, a number of nobles, and the representatives of the mob of the capital requested Andronikos «to accept the imperial power», he said «“Who am I? [...] How could I do this?” And he struck himself and tore his hair and shrank away repeatedly [...] as if what was happening to him was being done against his will».<sup>104</sup> Ultimately, Andronikos «acquiesced with loud groans as if faced with a great disaster».<sup>105</sup> Eustathios's information corroborates Roger's in the essential particulars.

Referring to Andronikos's coronation as co-emperor, Roger grasps the opportu-

<sup>100</sup> Roger of Hoveden, *Gesta*, I, p. 252.

<sup>101</sup> Chon. *Hist.* p. 269; Eustathios, *Capture*, pp. 40-41.

<sup>102</sup> Roger of Hoveden, *Gesta*, I, pp. 252-253.

<sup>103</sup> Eustathios, *Capture*, pp. 42-43.

<sup>104</sup> Eustathios, *Capture*, pp. 48-51.

<sup>105</sup> Eustathios, *Capture*, pp. 50-51.

nity to show off his classical learning with a quotation from Lucan's *Pharsalia* which reflects the Roman author's outlook on the sharing of royal power: «for there is no trust in associates in rule, and all power is averse to a partner therein».<sup>106</sup> This citation, which was popular with historians and moralists in the twelfth century, is taken from a longer passage discussing the occurrences of divided rule in Roman history which had been the occasion for strife.<sup>107</sup> For Roger, the case of Andronikos and Alexios II represented a classic example of the conflicts arising with the sharing of power between two leaders. The chronicler records that «the one [emperor] became jealous of the other, and the thing that pleased the one displeased the other»,<sup>108</sup> a statement which, however, does not reflect the reality of the situation in 1183 Constantinople – Alexios was simply too young for a personality clash between him and Andronikos to have developed. According to Roger, despite mutual envy, Andronikos continued to feign affection for Alexios while at the same time he plotted against him, who, «suspecting nothing of the sort, forbore to take any precautions».<sup>109</sup> Roger takes occasion to quote another phrase, which seems to have been popular with medieval chroniclers, to embellish his account: «for there is no foe more pernicious than an enemy of the disguise of a friend».<sup>110</sup> Finally, «with the sanction of Patriarch Basileios», Andronikos murdered Alexios.<sup>111</sup> Although it cannot be determined whether the patriarch had sanctioned Alexios's assassination, what is documented by Choniates is that following the murder of the young emperor, Basileios, who had been appointed to the patriarchal throne by Andronikos in August 1183, was ready to release the new emperor from the oaths he had sworn to Manuel and his son.<sup>112</sup> Moreover, throughout Andronikos's reign, Basileios remained a loyal instrument of the regime.<sup>113</sup> Eustathios asserts that Andronikos and Basileios «joined one another in a fusion of character and found themselves identical in the choice of action which they made».<sup>114</sup> The Byzantine historians' evidence favours the conclusion that Roger's testimony cannot be lightly dismissed: following Alexios's assassination, «with the advice and assistance of the Patriarch Basileios, Andronikos seized the monarchy of the whole empire and placed the imperial diadem on his head».<sup>115</sup>

<sup>106</sup> «nulla fides regni sociis, omnisque potestas / impatiens consortis erit». Roger of Hoveden, *Gesta*, I, p. 253; D. R. Shackleton Bailey (ed.), Lucanus, *De bello civili libri X*, Stuttgart 1997, p. 4 (I 92-93).

<sup>107</sup> E. M. Sanford, *Quotations from Lucan in Mediaeval Latin Authors*, «The American Journal of Philology» 55, 1934, pp. 1-19: 6. Sanford, however, fails to mention Roger of Hoveden's passage in her discussion. See also R. S. Haller, *The "Knight's Tale" and the Epic Tradition*, «The Chaucer Review» 1, 1966, pp. 67-84: 76.

<sup>108</sup> Roger of Hoveden, *Gesta*, I, p. 253.

<sup>109</sup> Roger of Hoveden, *Gesta*, I, p. 253.

<sup>110</sup> E. Pontieri (ed.), Gaufredo Malaterra, *De rebus gestis Rogerii Calabriae et Siciliae comitis et Roberti Guiscardi ducis fratris eius*, Bologne 1928<sup>2</sup> (*Rerum italicarum scriptores* 5.1), p. 74.

<sup>111</sup> Roger of Hoveden, *Gesta*, I, pp. 253-254.

<sup>112</sup> Chon. *Hist.* p. 276.

<sup>113</sup> Brand, *Byzantium*, p. 48.

<sup>114</sup> Eustathios, *Capture*, pp. 48-49.

<sup>115</sup> Roger of Hoveden, *Gesta*, I, p. 255.



In contrast to the accounts of William of Tyre and Roger of Hoveden, the Old French texts composed in the Latin East in the thirteenth century provide little information on the background to Andronikos's rise to power. The *Chronique d'Ernoul* records that on his deathbed Manuel consulted his councillors as to whom he should appoint as guardian of his son and the empire. The councillors advised that Andronikos, who was held in prison, be released and appointed steward (*bailliu*). Manuel followed the advice and, freeing Andronikos, commanded him to guard the empire and his son «in good faith».<sup>116</sup> The Colbert-Fontainebleau and the Lyon *Eracles* Continuations, acquainted with the Old French translation of William of Tyre's work, correct the *Chronique* recording that «Alexios [the *Protosebastos*] had the guardianship of the empire of Constantinople and the Emperor Manuel's infant son», but he was executed by Andronikos.<sup>117</sup> Both the *Chronique* and the Colbert-Fontainebleau and the Lyon *Eracles* Continuations are in agreement on what happened next, the continuations following almost verbatim the *Chronique*. Andronikos «devised a great treason (*grant traison*); and with the advice of his master secretary (*maistre escrivain*), a man named *Langosse* [i.e. Hagiochristophorites],<sup>118</sup> he had the infant emperor [...] whom he should have looked after in good faith, seized and put in a sack, taken out in a boat on the sea and thrown in and drowned».<sup>119</sup> It is worthwhile to note that despite its inaccuracies, the *Chronique* is more trustworthy on the love affair between Andronikos and Theodora than William of Tyre. According to the Old French chronicle, after Andronikos arrived in the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, he and Theodora «loved each other so much that he took her away to the land of the Saracens, forfeited her dower, and remained there until she died».<sup>120</sup> The mutual love affair, although concealed by the official historian of the Latin kingdom, seems to have been common knowledge in the Latin East.

Robert of Clari provides a valuable insight into the information on Andronikos's rise to the throne circulating among the Franks of Constantinople at the turn of the thirteenth century. The chronicler's first reference to Andronikos occurs in his account of Manuel's reign. According to Clari, Manuel sent Andronikos to Jerusalem to convey Queen Theodora to Constantinople for the festivities for the marriage of his son Alexios. When Andronikos and Theodora set sail for Constantinople, Andronikos «fell in love with the queen [...] and took her by force. When he had done that, he did not dare go back to Constantinople, rather he took the queen and, by force, carried her off to Iconium to the Saracens».<sup>121</sup> Robert not only misplaces the arrival of Andronikos to Jerusalem by eleven years, but, like

<sup>116</sup> *Chronique d'Ernoul*, p. 90.

<sup>117</sup> *L'estoire de Eracles*, p. 17; *Continuation*, p. 26; Edbury (tr.), p. 20.

<sup>118</sup> *Langosse* must derive from the Old French «angoisse» (= «oppression», «violence»). On one occasion, the Colbert-Fontainebleau Continuation renders the phrase «le malisse [...] d'Androine et de Langousse» found in the *Chronique d'Ernoul* as «l'angoisse et la malice [...] d'Androines». *Chronique d'Ernoul*, p. 95; *L'estoire de Eracles*, p. 22.

<sup>119</sup> *Chronique d'Ernoul*, p. 90; *L'estoire de Eracles*, p. 17; *Continuation*, p. 26; Edbury (tr.), p. 20.

<sup>120</sup> *Chronique d'Ernoul*, p. 16.

<sup>121</sup> Clari, *Conquête*, pp. 24-25.

William of Tyre, records that Theodora was abducted by Andronikos without, however, referring to the former queen's affection for him. Did the version propagated by the Kingdom of Jerusalem gain widespread currency? Or did the story of the abduction Robert heard develop independently of official propaganda as it suited Andronikos's negative image? The second scenario seems more likely: as the *Chronique d'Ernouf* demonstrates, William's version did not gain currency even in the Latin East. Following Manuel's death, still according to Clari, «Andronikos the traitor» sent a letter to Alexios II begging for pardon. Alexios, «who was a child, forgot his anger», received Andronikos, and «made him steward of all his land». Becoming «worse than arrogant», however, Andronikos seized the emperor and his mother, murdered them, and «took two very large stones and had them tied to their necks and then had them thrown into the sea». Subsequently, he was «crowned emperor by force». <sup>122</sup> In his chronicle, Clari constantly denounces Andronikos as a traitor (*traitres*), a testimony to the chronicler's aversion to the ruler. <sup>123</sup>

What is most interesting to note about all the sources originating in the Latin East and Constantinople is that despite their differences, none of them, apart from William of Tyre, mentions either that Andronikos seized power by an armed coup or that his assumption of power was accompanied by the massacre of the Pisan and Genoese inhabitants of Constantinople. In contrast, Andronikos is presented as being peacefully appointed to a position of authority in the Byzantine Empire by either Manuel at the end of his reign or Alexios II. The failure of these sources to refer to the 1182 massacre testifies to the fact that it disappeared from the collective memory of *Outremer* as early as the late 1180s, on the eve of the Third Crusade, and in Constantinople at least by 1203. As information on Andronikos's violent rule and gruesome death began to flow from Constantinople, the massacre was ignored and eventually forgotten altogether.

### Italy

Since the work of the Pisan chronicler Salem Maragone, the continuator of the *Annales pisani*, stops in the year 1183, that is, only a year after Andronikos's *coup d'état*, the preserved information relates only to Andronikos's seizure of power. Salem's informants must have been Pisan residents of Constantinople who fled the imperial capital during Andronikos's seizure of power and therefore their accounts were eyewitness. The Pisan chronicler relates that Andronikos, who had done «many evils together with the Turks», invaded Constantinople «with a great multitude» of them and entered the imperial palace «by deception and slyness» (*con inganno et astutia*) as well as «with the advice of the *archons*», i.e., the Greek nobles. <sup>124</sup> Andronikos «blinded two or three of those nobles [...] those were close to the Emperor Alexios» – the «Proto Sebastos» is the only one of Andronikos's

<sup>122</sup> Clari, *Conquête*, pp. 24-25.

<sup>123</sup> Clari, *Conquête*, pp. 24-27, 34-35.

<sup>124</sup> Maragone, *Annales*, p. 73.

victims mentioned by name. Although the emperor himself was spared, this was just a «deception», Salem asserts.<sup>125</sup> Salem's informants were correct about the Byzantine *archontes*' initial support for Andronikos's coup and the *Protosebastos* Alexios's blinding which took place following his downfall. They were, however, wrong about Andronikos's invasion of Constantinople with Turkish assistance in 1182. What seems to have happened is that the Pisans inferred that the alien mercenaries from Asia Minor accompanying the usurper, i.e., the Paphlagonians, were Turks. Distorted rumours of Andronikos's earlier association with Muslim princes seem to have contributed to this belief, hence the accusation against Andronikos of having done «many evils together with the Turks» before his invasion of Constantinople in 1182.

The main importance of Salem's account lies in the fact that his narrative of the massacre of the Pisans and Genoese that accompanied Andronikos's coup is the second most detailed, after that of William of Tyre, while at the same time it lacks the anti-Greek venom found in the narrative of the historian of the Latin East. The Pisan chronicler relates that the Latin inhabitants of Constantinople fled the city by boarding 29 galleys «with the consent of the court and the emperor of Constantinople»<sup>126</sup> – these were, of course, the Latin-manned ships of the imperial fleet fighting for the *protosebastos*'s cause. All Latins who stayed behind, however, were killed by Andronikos: «clerics and laymen, women, young and old».<sup>127</sup> Like William, Salem refers to the Italians' pillage and sack of the towns and monasteries on the islands and coasts of the Marmara and the Aegean in retaliation for the massacre of their relatives and fellow countrymen, without, however, adopting the tone of satisfaction found in the historian of the Latin East: «those who had escaped in the aforesaid galleys, seeing and hearing about the evils that the emperor Andronikos had committed, [...] devastated many [Byzantine] cities and many villages, and many castles, and killed the clerics, monks and nuns, men, women, and children with sword and fire in revenge».<sup>128</sup> As Salem laments in a tone of exaggeration typical of medieval authors, there was never before «such persecution and slaughter of Latin and Greek people».<sup>129</sup> In contrast to William, the Pisan chronicler seems to have borne no resentment towards the Greeks, but blames the Latin massacre entirely on Andronikos, who is denounced as «the worst enemy of the Christian name» (*pezzimo [sic] inimico del nome Christiano*).<sup>130</sup> Salem seems to reflect the attitude of those Pisan and Genoese refugees from Constantinople who, as William of Tyre records, having disapproved of the acts of revenge against the Greeks, abandoned their fellow countrymen sailing directly to Syria.<sup>131</sup>

A picture of the information about Andronikos's past and seizure of power cir-

<sup>125</sup> Maragone, *Annales*, p. 73.

<sup>126</sup> Maragone, *Annales*, p. 73.

<sup>127</sup> Maragone, *Annales*, p. 73.

<sup>128</sup> Maragone, *Annales*, p. 73.

<sup>129</sup> Maragone, *Annales*, p. 73.

<sup>130</sup> Maragone, *Annales*, p. 73.

<sup>131</sup> Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*, p. 1025; Babcock and Krey (tr.), II, p. 467.

culating in southern Italy and Sicily is reflected in the narrative epic of Peter of Eboli and the account of Ibn Jubayr. In *Liber ad honorem Augusti*, while eulogising Emperor Henry VI, who had claimed the kingdom of Sicily on behalf of his wife Constance, a daughter of King Roger II (1130-1154), Peter of Eboli defames Tancred of Lecce (1189-1194), the illegitimate grandson of Roger II, who, following the death of his cousin William II, had been crowned king of Sicily with the support of a group of leading magnates.<sup>132</sup> The powerful chancellor Matthew of Ajello, who had backed Tancred's coup, is portrayed by Peter of Eboli as instructing Tancred to hasten to him «to receive the royal sceptre» and «not [to] let the thought of perjuries delay you [Tancred]». <sup>133</sup> Peter makes Matthew invite Tancred to look upon Andronikos I as a model to emulate:

The glory of ruling (*gloria regnandi*) makes all things permissible.  
If Andronikos, perhaps, swore an oath to his Alexios,  
Still he took the sceptre himself from his murdered nephew.  
As heir to the kingdom, he did not scruple to violate the honour of his oath,  
That old man who was a fugitive under Manuel.<sup>134</sup>

Andronikos, who unhesitatingly committed perjury and became an oath-breaker, eventually killing his own nephew, confident that he was a legitimate heir to the throne and that *gloria regnandi* renders all things permissible, is pointed out as an example to Tancred which he would soon prove keen to imitate. Apart from Andronikos's exile during Manuel's reign, his oath to Alexios II and the subsequent assassination of the boy emperor, Peter of Eboli seems to have been also aware of the massacre of the Pisan and Genoese inhabitants of Constantinople that accompanied Andronikos's seizure of power. An allusion to it is made by Peter later in his work when the personified Wisdom, referring to the downfall of both Andronikos and Tancred, describes the Byzantine ruler as «soaked in the blood of his nephew» and one «to whom Italian blood (*cruor Ytalicus*) was drink and food». <sup>135</sup>

Peter of Eboli's sophisticated and richly associative *Liber ad honorem Augusti* was interested in Andronikos's rise to power and subsequent reign of terror only in order to malign Tancred by bracketing him – unfairly, it must be said – together with his contemporary notoriously wicked Byzantine ruler. In contrast, Ibn Jubayr's *Rihla*, composed around a decade before Peter's poem, is a narrative offering detailed insight into the rumours about Andronikos floating around in the Norman Kingdom of Sicily in the early 1185 when the Andalusian traveller was on the island. Although the diarist's informants were undoubtedly Muslims of Sicily, their information must have been *en rapport* with Latin sources. Following Andronikos's coup, a number of Pisans and especially Genoese seem to have fled to Sicily. Along with

<sup>132</sup> For information on the political situation, see M. Barber, *The Two Cities: Medieval Europe, 1050-1320*, London 1992, pp. 221-222.

<sup>133</sup> Pietro da Eboli, *Liber*, pp. 104-105.

<sup>134</sup> Pietro da Eboli, *Liber*, pp. 104-105.

<sup>135</sup> Pietro da Eboli, *Liber*, pp. 356-357.

persecuted Byzantine nobles who subsequently took refuge at the court of William II, they were trying to recruit the Norman king's support to overthrow Andronikos.<sup>136</sup> A group of former Genoese residents of Constantinople were quick to confirm unhesitatingly that a pretender who arrived at the court of William II claiming to be Alexios II was indeed the young emperor.<sup>137</sup> Therefore, the information on Andronikos, his past, and coup circulating in Sicily must have been transmitted to the island by Pisan and Genoese refugees from Constantinople.

According to Ibn Jubayr's information, when the sovereign of Constantinople died «he left the royal authority to his wife since his son was a minor». One of his cousins, however, «seized power, killed the widow, and imprisoned the son».<sup>138</sup> What follows in Ibn Jubayr's narrative was a story propagated by the Sicilian crown: Alexios II escaped from prison and arrived in Sicily. The pretender's restoration was paraded by King William II as a justification for the invasion of the Byzantine Empire in 1185.<sup>139</sup> Following his information on pseudo-Alexios, Ibn Jubayr returns to Andronikos's past and *coup d'état*. According to the Andalusian traveller, before his usurpation, Andronikos had fallen in love with Alexios II's sister, «who was celebrated for her beauty» – a reference to Andronikos's love affair with Theodora. He was not, however, allowed to marry her because, as Ibn Jubayr explains, marriage between relatives is prohibited by the *Rums*, i.e., the Romans: a term used by Arab authors to describe the Byzantines.<sup>140</sup> For this reason, Andronikos abducted Theodora and took refuge at the court of the Sultan Mas'ūd of Iconium<sup>141</sup> – as the Andalusian traveller explains earlier in his work, the Sultan Kilic Arslan II (1156-1192) of Iconium was commonly known by the name of his father, Mas'ūd I (1116-1155).<sup>142</sup> Obviously, sometime before 1182, Nur al-Dīn's Damascus had been replaced by Iconium in the version of the story of Theodora's abduction circulating among the Latin residents of Constantinople. The story was transmitted by Genoese and Pisan refugees to Sicily in 1182 and was still alive in the oral tradition of the Frankish residents of Constantinople in 1203-1205: Robert of Clari has Andronikos flee with Theodora «to Iconium to the Saracens», not to Nur al-Dīn in Damascus.<sup>143</sup> Andronikos's alleged association with the Turks of Iconium led the Pisans and Genoese to infer that the alien troops from Asia Minor accompanying him in his invasion of Constantinople in 1182 consisted of Seljuk Turks. As Ibn Jubayr relates, in Iconium Andronikos «married his cousin, satisfied his passion, and, taking with him Muslim troops,» invaded Constantinople.<sup>144</sup> This

<sup>136</sup> Eustathios, *Capture*, pp. 56-63; Chon. *Hist.* pp. 296-297.

<sup>137</sup> Ibn Jubayr, *Travels*, p. 354; Ibn Jubayr, *Voyages*, III, pp. 396-397; Eustathios, *Capture*, pp. 62-63.

<sup>138</sup> Ibn Jubayr, *Travels*, p. 354; Ibn Jubayr, *Voyages*, III, p. 396.

<sup>139</sup> Ibn Jubayr, *Travels*, p. 356; Ibn Jubayr, *Voyages*, III, p. 399; Eustathios, *Capture*, pp. 60-63.

<sup>140</sup> Ibn Jubayr, *Travels*, p. 355; Ibn Jubayr, *Voyages*, III, p. 397.

<sup>141</sup> Ibn Jubayr, *Travels*, p. 355; Ibn Jubayr, *Voyages*, III, p. 397.

<sup>142</sup> Ibn Jubayr, *Travels*, p. 240.

<sup>143</sup> Clari, *Conquête*, pp. 24-25.

<sup>144</sup> Ibn Jubayr, *Travels*, p. 355; Ibn Jubayr, *Voyages*, III, p. 397.

is exactly the story we have already encountered in the account of Salem Maragone. Ibn Jubayr, however, provides the additional information that the Turks accompanying Andronikos came from Iconium. Despite, however, what the Pisans and Genose assumed, Kılıç Arslan not only did not assist Andronikos with his coup, but even took advantage of it and the upheaval that followed it to attack, conquer, or destroy a number of Byzantine towns, and eventually also welcomed a number of Andronikos's opponents to his court.<sup>145</sup>

While Andronikos was in Iconium, according to Ibn Jubayr's information, he and Theodora converted to Islam. The ceremony of Andronikos's alleged conversion is described in detail: «they brought him a cross made of gold which had been heated over the fire and he placed it under his feet; this is for them [the Christians] the ultimate mark of renunciation of the Christian faith and the allegiance to the faith of the Muslims».<sup>146</sup> Andronikos's supposed dealings with the sultan of Iconium may have given rise to the wild rumour among the Latins of Constantinople that he had also converted to Islam. It is, nevertheless, not unlikely that Andronikos was confused with his older brother John, who in 1140 defected to the court of Mas'ūd I of Iconium, converted to Islam and married the Seljuk sultan's daughter.<sup>147</sup> The tale of Andronikos's alleged conversion to Islam, transmitted to Sicily by the Italian refugees that fled Constantinople in 1182, found its way also into a French, a German, and an Austrian chronicle through reports originating from the Byzantine capital that reached the West shortly after the ruler's overthrow. Reporting on Andronikos's invasion of Constantinople in 1182, the continuator of the annals of Melk in Austria avowed that Andronikos, «when dwelling among the Turks, had denied the name of Christianity».<sup>148</sup> When recording Andronikos's downfall in 1185, the Anchin continuator in Flanders denounces the Byzantine ruler as an «apostate, who had formerly denied Christianity».<sup>149</sup> Similarly the continuator of the *Chronica Regia Coloniensis* decries Andronikos as «an ally of the Turks» who had «lapsed into paganism, but encouraged by Manuel converted back to Christianity».<sup>150</sup> The myth of Andronikos's purported conversion to Islam was also heard by Walter Map's informant, who, around the time of Andronikos's usurpation, had been in the Latin East, where a number of Italian refugees also fled during the 1182 *coup d'état*.<sup>151</sup> The rumours, however, had been exaggerated in transmission: according to Map's reporter, Andronikos had denied Christ not only once but three times. Before 1182 he had «twice denied Christ to wheedle help from the Turks» while in 1182 he «has denied him the third time, as

<sup>145</sup> Chon. *Hist.* p. 262; Eustathios, *Capture*, pp. 56-57. See also Brand, *Byzantium*, p. 48.

<sup>146</sup> Ibn Jubayr, *Travels*, p. 355; Ibn Jubayr, *Voyages*, III, p. 397.

<sup>147</sup> For John's defection, see Chon. *Hist.* p. 36. See also Minorsky, *Kbāqānī*, p. 562; A. Beihammer, *Defection across the Border of Islam and Christianity: Apostasy and Cross-Cultural Interaction in Byzantine-Seljuk Relations*, «Speculum» 86, 2011, pp. 597-651: 621-622.

<sup>148</sup> *Continuatio Zwetlensis Altera*, p. 542.

<sup>149</sup> *Continuatio Aquicinctina*, p. 423.

<sup>150</sup> *Chronica regia Coloniensis*, p. 131.

<sup>151</sup> Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*, p. 1025; Babcock and Krey (tr.), II, p. 467.

they say».<sup>152</sup> Andronikos's fleeing to Nur al-Dīn at Damascus and the Turcoman prince Fakhr al-Dīn Bahrām-shāh may well represent his first two receipts of help from the «Turks» and, by extension, denials of Christ. Ironically, despite the accusation of conversion to Islam levelled against him, Andronikos, in stark contrast to his brother, not only had never renounced his Christian faith, but also, according to Choniates, boasted that while «passing through nearly all the Gentile nations, he bore and preached the name of Christ before all as though he were an apostle».<sup>153</sup> Andronikos was not pretentious in this assertion. The Persian poet Afḍal al-Dīn Ibrāhīm Khāqānī described him as «the glory of the Apostles» and «the sincere friend of the Messiah»,<sup>154</sup> thus substantiating Andronikos's own words.

Ibn Jubayr does not fail to mention the massacre of the Italian supporters of the *Protosebastos* Alexios that accompanied Andronikos's seizure of power, even though his reference is rather confused. As the Andalusian traveller records, Andronikos's Turkish troops were given free rein over the city and «killed around 50,000 of its *Rum* inhabitants. He [Andronikos] was assisted in this task by the Greeks [*Aghbriqiyun*]».<sup>155</sup> Ibn Jubayr seems to have been unaware of the fact that the *Rums* and those described as Greeks by his informants were one and the same. Being Muslims of Sicily, the Andalusian diarist's informants were certainly familiar with the Greeks. Ibn Jubayr, however, was not. The *Aghbriqiyun* («Greeks») were a race alien to him – the diarist uses the ethnic term *Aghbriqiyun* only once in his work and it is not even spelled out in its entirety but only as *Agbr....n*.<sup>156</sup> Although being aware that the Greeks belonged to the *abl al-kitab*, i.e., «the People of the Book», Ibn Jubayr thought that they «speak Arabic» and «refuse to eat pork».<sup>157</sup> Despite the misunderstanding on the part of the Andalusian traveller, the report of his informants was clearly meant as an account of the massacre of the Pisans and Genoese in Constantinople in 1182 in which the Greek mob of the imperial capital had participated.

Ibn Jubayr closes his narrative of Andronikos's usurpation with fanciful details unique to his account. Following Andronikos's *coup d'état*, «the Muslims made themselves masters of Constantinople» while «all the riches found there, which were innumerable, were transported to the Emir Mas'ūd», i.e. Kılıç Arslan. The Seljuk prince «stationed an army of 40,000 Muslim knights in Constantinople and the city became one with their [the Turks'] country». According to Ibn Jubayr, this story was common knowledge among Christians and Muslims in Sicily and, as the diarist heard, «was brought by ships [...] from Constantinople».<sup>158</sup> The ships mentioned by the Andalusian traveller must have been some of the Italian-manned galleys of the imperial fleet which, loaded with Italian refugees from Constantinople,

<sup>152</sup> Map, *De nugis*, pp. 176-177.

<sup>153</sup> Chon. *Hist.* pp. 333-334; Magoulias (tr.), p. 184; Pontani (tr.), II, pp. 260-263.

<sup>154</sup> Quoted from Minorsky, *Khāqānī*, p. 555.

<sup>155</sup> Ibn Jubayr, *Travels*, p. 355; Ibn Jubayr, *Voyages*, III, p. 397.

<sup>156</sup> Ibn Jubayr, *Travels*, p. 355.

<sup>157</sup> Ibn Jubayr, *Travels*, p. 355; Ibn Jubayr, *Voyages*, III, pp. 397-398.

<sup>158</sup> Ibn Jubayr, *Travels*, p. 356; Ibn Jubayr, *Voyages*, III, p. 398.

fled to Sicily in 1182. The Turks of Iconium who, according to Ibn Jubayr, «made themselves masters of Constantinople» must again be identified with Andronikos's Paphlagonian troops which overran the capital during his coup. It is doubtful, however, whether Pisan and Genoese refugees reported that following Andronikos's invasion of Constantinople «with Turkish troops» and the pogrom that accompanied it, the Byzantine capital was annexed by the Sultanate of Iconium while its riches were transported to the court of the sultan. This part of the story must have been developed during its transmission from the Latins to the Muslims of Sicily. The reports of the Pisans and Genoese in 1182 distorted and mingled with reports of Muslim pilgrims from Spain, according to which in 1183-1184 (Islamic year 579) Kilic Arslan conquered twenty-five Byzantine cities,<sup>159</sup> may well have resulted in the rumours that the Turks of Iconium literally seized Constantinople and its riches. Such a story fitted well into Muslim apocalyptic thought. As Ibn Jubayr asserts, «this conquest if it be true, is one of the greatest portents of the Day of Judgement».<sup>160</sup> From the earliest years of their expansion the Arabs ascribed an eschatological role to Constantinople; the Muslim conquest of the Byzantine capital was regarded as an apocalyptic event associated with the end of the days.<sup>161</sup> Such a conquest, however, did not take place during Andronikos I's reign. It would have to wait until 1453.

### France and Normandy

Information on Andronikos's seizure of power reached France relatively early. Geoffrey of Vigeois, who completed his work in 1184, records that while «Sebastos», i.e., the *Protosebastos* Alexios, who had supported the faction of Alexios II, governed the Byzantine Empire in the minor's name, Andronikos claimed the *imperium* by right of consanguinity. Seizing his kinsman Alexios and his wife, the daughter of the king of France, he captured Constantinople<sup>162</sup> – the fact that Alexios II's murder is not mentioned in Geoffrey's report demonstrates that it was composed before the emperor's assassination in the autumn of 1183. According to Geoffrey, in his bid for the throne, Andronikos had the assistance of a certain «Rumpinum de Montana», i.e., Prince Ruben III of the Armenian Cilicia (1175-1187), «the sultan of Iconium», and many Greek «satraps».<sup>163</sup> The chronicler's Greek «satraps» may well be identified with the Greek nobles who had initially supported Andronikos's coup in their desire to get rid of the *Protosebastos* Alexios. Prince Ruben III of the Armenian Cilicia and the Seljuk sultan of Iconium, Kilic Arslan, however, were Andronikos's enemies rather than allies. As has

<sup>159</sup> Ibn Jubayr, *Travels*, p. 240.

<sup>160</sup> Ibn Jubayr, *Travels*, p. 356; Ibn Jubayr, *Voyages*, III, p. 398.

<sup>161</sup> W. J. Hamblin, *Arab Perspectives on the Fourth Crusade*, in T. F. Madden (ed.), *The Fourth Crusade: Event, Aftermath, and Perceptions*, Aldershot 2008, pp. 167-178: 167-168. Nonetheless, Hamblin's thesis that «by the time of the Fourth Crusade, these apocalyptic traditions about Constantinople had faded» is invalidated by Ibn Jubayr's evidence.

<sup>162</sup> Geoffrey of Vigeois, *Pars altera*, p. 216.

<sup>163</sup> Geoffrey of Vigeois, *Pars altera*, p. 216.



been seen, Kilic Arslan not only did not assist Andronikos with his invasion of Constantinople, but even attacked and conquered a number of Byzantine towns in the immediate aftermath of the coup. Clearly, the story, originating among the Pisan and Genese residents of Constantinople, that Andronikos invaded the imperial capital with the sultan of Iconium was transmitted not only to Italy and Sicily but also to the Latin East where a number of Italian refugees also fled during Andronikos's coup.<sup>164</sup> From *Outremer* the story was transmitted to France, presumably by pilgrims who had been in Jerusalem around the time of Andronikos's coup or shortly thereafter. The transmitters of the story occasionally embellished it, as attested by the introduction of Ruben III of Armenia to the version found in Geoffrey of Vigeois's chronicle. In reality, following the Byzantine defeat at Myriokephalon in 1176, Ruben III had adopted an aggressive policy towards Byzantium and even allied himself with the Seljuk sultan.<sup>165</sup> The Armenian prince's alliance with Kilic Arslan was known in the Latin East.<sup>166</sup> This may well account for the fact that in the distorted story that reached Geoffrey in Vigeois, Ruben was pictured, along with his ally «the sultan of Iconium», as an accomplice in Andronikos's coup.

Whereas the reference to Prince Ruben of the Armenian Cilicia is unique to Geoffrey of Vigeois's account, the myth that Andronikos acted in collusion with the sultan of Iconium gained wide acceptance in the early transmission of Andronikos's story. According to Robert of Torigni's first report on Andronikos's coup, written, as that of Geoffrey, in the Latin East before Alexios II's assassination, Andronikos, «employing the sultan of Iconium and many Saracens, deceitfully entered Constantinople».<sup>167</sup> The story of Andronikos's alleged invasion of Constantinople with the Turks of Iconium, which briefly gained currency among the Franks of the Latin East in the immediate aftermath of the 1182 coup, also circulated among the Latin residents of the Byzantine capital in the second half of the 1180s as indicated by five reports originating in the imperial city that reached the West soon after Andronikos's downfall. One of these reports is French and is incorporated into the account of the Anchin continuator in Flanders who relates that, «taking with him the Saracens of Iconium», Andronikos entered the imperial capital;<sup>168</sup> the other four reports, which will be examined below, are Austrian and German. The story of Andronikos's supposed invasion of Constantinople with the Turks of Iconium, a story spread by the Pisans and Genoese who fled the city in 1182, seems to have been eventually transmitted to the imperial capital from the Latin East after, however, a detail had been erased from the oral tradition. Ironically, this detail is the massacre of the Pisans and Genoese which neither the Anchin continuator nor the four Austrian and German accounts mention.

<sup>164</sup> Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*, p. 1025; Babcock and Krey (tr.), II, p. 467.

<sup>165</sup> W. H. R. Collenberg, *L'Empereur Isaac de Chypre et sa Fille, 1155-1207*, «Byzantion» 38, 1968, pp. 123-179: 132-133.

<sup>166</sup> Roger of Hoveden, *Gesta*, I, p. 254.

<sup>167</sup> Robert of Torigni, *Chronica*, p. 302.

<sup>168</sup> *Continuatio Aquicinctina*, p. 422.

According to Robert of Torigni's first report on Andronikos, the reason for his coup was his resentment of Alexios II's having many Latin companions. Wanting to expel the Latins from the Byzantine Empire, Andronikos entered Constantinople with «the sultan of Iconium and many Saracens» and «killed many Latins while the Latins killed many Saracens. By God's will, however, peace was eventually established between Latins and Saracens».<sup>169</sup> Obviously, the massacre of the Pisan and Genoese allies of the *Protosebastos* Alexios that accompanied Andronikos's seizure of power earned the usurper a reputation as an anti-Latin whose *coup d'état* aimed to drive all the Latins out of the empire. In his second report on Andronikos, Robert relates that while the Latins in Constantinople were massacred «through the cruelty of Andronikos», the papal legate to the imperial capital was slain by «the perfidious Greeks».<sup>170</sup> The murder of the papal legate to Constantinople during the onslaught of the Pisans and Genoese in 1182 is corroborated by Eustathios as well as the historian of the Latin East, William of Tyre.<sup>171</sup> Taken together, Robert of Torigni's two accounts of the 1182 massacre represent the most detailed reference to the event in French sources. Writing at the same time as Robert, Geoffrey of Vigeois only recorded that Andronikos seized Constantinople, slaughtering «countless people of the Gauls».<sup>172</sup> Apart from these two early French sources on Andronikos's coup – completed by 1184 and 1186, their authors never receiving information on Andronikos's reign of terror and downfall – only one other French source, namely Robert of Auxerre's account, refers to the 1182 onslaught. This is accounted for by the fact that in the oral tradition of the Latin East on which not only the majority of the French but also all the English and one of the German chroniclers relied for their information on Andronikos, the massacre was by the late 1180s overshadowed by details on the Byzantine ruler's reign of terror and death that began filtering through.

Robert of Auxerre's account of the 1182 massacre represents the most important of the three French accounts of the onslaught. The chronicler recounts that, following Manuel's death, Andronikos violently advanced on Constantinople and became the guardian of Alexios II. Upon his seizure of power, Andronikos began a rabble-rousing campaign to stir the Greeks into taking action against the Latins, declaring «that the Greeks would be exterminated by the Latins, unless the Latins were exterminated by the Greeks».<sup>173</sup> Eventually, the incited Greeks attacked the Latins and slaughtered or drove them out of the imperial capital.<sup>174</sup> This important background information to the massacre of the Pisan and Genoese residents of Constantinople in 1182 is substantiated by the account of Eustathios of Thessaloniki, who records that Andronikos accused the Italians of being «on the side of the *pro-*

<sup>169</sup> Robert of Torigni, *Chronica*, pp. 301-302.

<sup>170</sup> Robert of Torigni, *Chronica*, p. 307.

<sup>171</sup> Eustathios, *Capture*, pp. 34-35; Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*, p. 1023; Babcock and Krey (tr.), II, p. 465.

<sup>172</sup> Geoffrey of Vigeois, *Pars altera*, p. 216.

<sup>173</sup> Robert of Auxerre, *Chronicon*, p. 247.

<sup>174</sup> Robert of Auxerre, *Chronicon*, p. 247.

*tosebastos* and the Empress Xene [Maria of Antioch], and [...] through them [...] planning harm for the Greeks». <sup>175</sup> Not only is Robert of Auxerre's account of the 1182 massacre corroborated by that of Eustathios, but also Robert is the only Western chronicler that diligently places this event along with Andronikos's seizure of power under the year 1182 and Alexios II's eventual murder under the year 1183 <sup>176</sup> – the rest of the Western chroniclers either mention no years or treat both events under the same year, 1182 or 1183, or even 1181 or 1184. Obviously, Robert drew on a chronicle or annals written very close to the events, even though he plainly inserted additional information he received in the 1200s, specifically after the Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204. <sup>177</sup> Besides his accuracy in dates, Robert, as will become clear, is the best informed of all French chroniclers on Andronikos's reign of terror. All these factors argue in favour of the veracity of his information on the 1182 massacre. Robert's and Eustathios's accounts of the onslaught are of fundamental importance in disclosing what triggered the attack of the Greek mob on the Pisans and Genoese; this was Andronikos's propaganda campaign against the Italian supporters of the *protosebastos*. <sup>178</sup>

A notion encountered in the accounts of Geoffrey of Vigeois and the Anchin continuator of Sigebert is that the Byzantines sanctioned Andronikos's seizure of power since they resented Alexios II, who was partial towards the Franks at the expense of the Greeks. The early Geoffrey of Vigeois concludes his account of Andronikos by relating that the Greeks consented to his seizure of the *imperium* since the young Emperor Alexios was hateful to them for the reason that he greatly loved the Franks. <sup>179</sup> Writing in the second half of the 1180s, the Anchin continuator relates that Alexios II's affection for the Franks and scorn for the Greeks «was the cause of his ruin»; the Greeks, indignant that Alexios II favoured the Franks over them, sent an embassy to his kinsman Andronikos asking him to come to Constantinople and, «as if he were a wise man», represent the emperor. <sup>180</sup> Despite Geoffrey's and the Anchin continuator's claims, Alexios II had never played a significant part in the Byzantine political scene, and it was in actual fact the *Protosebastos* Alexios, and before him the Emperor Manuel, who depended greatly on the Latins for help and counsel. <sup>181</sup> Nevertheless, as already seen, the opposition to the *protosebastos*'s regime was due to his arrogance and monopoly of power rather than to his reliance upon the Latins.

<sup>175</sup> Eustathios, *Capture*, pp. 32-33.

<sup>176</sup> Robert of Auxerre, *Chronicon*, p. 247.

<sup>177</sup> According to Robert, following Andronikos's occupation of the imperial palace, a fire broke out in Constantinople which spread destroying lavish buildings and inestimable wealth. This is obviously a misplaced reference to the disastrous fire of August 1203 which was immediately preceded by an attack of the Constantinopolitan mob on the Italian residents of the Byzantine capital. Robert of Auxerre, *Chronicon*, p. 247. See also Neocleous, *Greeks and Italians*, cit.

<sup>178</sup> For a detailed discussion, see Neocleous, *Greeks and Italians*.

<sup>179</sup> Geoffrey of Vigeois, *Pars altera*, p. 216.

<sup>180</sup> *Continuatio Aquicinctina*, pp. 421, 422.

<sup>181</sup> Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*, pp. 1020-1021; Babcock and Krey (tr.), II, pp. 461-462. See also Brand, *Byzantium*, p. 34.

The notion of Greek resentment to Manuel's and his successor's allegedly holding the Franks in more esteem and affection than the Greeks seems to have been, in fact, originated among the Frankish settlers of the Latin East and Constantinople. For William of Tyre, Manuel's affection (*amor*) for the Latins resulted not only in Greek resentment towards the emperor but even insatiable hatred toward the Latins.<sup>182</sup> Whereas the work of the historian of the Latin East represents the most extreme example of anti-Greek bias, a much more balanced statement on Greek resentment to Manuel's purportedly favouring the Franks over the Greeks is found in the account of Robert of Clari. An apocryphal anecdote circulating among the Frankish settlers of Constantinople and recorded by Robert incorporates the notion that Manuel's people and counsellors «criticised him very much, indeed they had blamed him for this many times, because he was so generous and he loved the Franks so much».<sup>183</sup> The currency of notions, such as the one encountered in Clari's anecdote, among the Franks of Constantinople and, certainly, the Latin East explains why in the versions of Andronikos's coup that reached Geoffrey of Vigeois and the Anchin continuator the Greeks are reported as resenting Alexios II's alleged preference for the Latins over them and sanctioning Andronikos's seizure of power. Indeed, the information of the Anchin continuator himself originated in Constantinople while Geoffrey's earlier report must have been furnished him by a Western pilgrim who had gone to the Latin East. It should be emphasised, however, that in none of the three accounts, namely Clari's, Geoffrey's, and the Anchin continuator's, are the Greeks criticised for their resentment towards their rulers, and certainly Clari's anecdote as well as Geoffrey's and the Anchin continuator's versions of Andronikos's coup lack the anti-Greek venom characterising William of Tyre's account.

Despite some inaccuracies in the Anchin continuator's account of Andronikos's usurpation, the chronicler's informants in Constantinople were, in general, able to obtain information of high reliability. Along with William of Tyre, the Anchin continuator is the only Latin who reports on the fact that the displeased Greeks summoned Andronikos to come to Constantinople, even though the reason was not Alexios II's favouring the Latins over the Greeks as the Flemish chronicler was informed. The Anchin continuator records that the day after invading Constantinople with the help of «the Saracens of Iconium», Andronikos visited the palace and made obeisance to Alexios, this information being substantiated by Choniates.<sup>184</sup> The Flemish chronicler has Andronikos withdraw from the palace, where Alexios received him honourably and entrusted him with his protection, only after examining carefully the imperial court, which for a long time he had yearned for himself.<sup>185</sup> The most fanciful detail found in the Anchin continuator's account is that a few days after his first visit to the court, Andronikos invaded the imperial palace with an army, and «killed all the Greeks, Frankish, and English he found

<sup>182</sup> Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*, pp. 1020-1021; Babcock and Krey (tr.), II, p. 461.

<sup>183</sup> Clari, *Conquête*, pp. 20-21.

<sup>184</sup> *Continuatio Aquicinctina*, p. 422; Chon. *Hist.* p. 255.

<sup>185</sup> *Continuatio Aquicinctina*, p. 422.

there». <sup>186</sup> While untrue, this testimony is probably based on distorted information on the massacre of the Pisans and Genoese in 1182 and the execution of Greek nobles during Andronikos's reign.

The Champenois chronicler Guido de Bazoches first refers to Andronikos's seizure of power in his account of the stopover of Count Philip of Flanders in Constantinople, on the way to the West in 1178, where the count undertook to act as intermediary for a marriage alliance between Manuel and Louis VII of France (1137-1180). <sup>187</sup> In the tradition of the *Chronique d'Ernouf*, Guido has Andronikos be peacefully entrusted with the administration of the Byzantine Empire and the care of Alexios by the dying Manuel. <sup>188</sup> In the *Chronique*, Andronikos was commanded to guard the empire and Alexios «in good faith» (*en boine foi*). <sup>189</sup> Similarly, in Guido's account, Alexios II «was entrusted to him [Andronikos] in good faith (*fidei*)». <sup>190</sup> What is more, the *Chronique* and Guido are the only sources recording that on his stopover in Constantinople in 1178, Philip of Flanders undertook to act as intermediary for the marriage alliance between Manuel and Louis VII of France. <sup>191</sup> This is hardly surprising as Guido accompanied Henry II of Champagne on the Third Crusade to Palestine, where he remained for almost all the rest of his life and also composed his chronicle. It seems that for at least part of his information on Andronikos, Guido relied on the same source of information as the *Chronique d'Ernouf*. It is interesting, however, to note that uniquely in Guido's account, despite Andronikos's being entrusted with the administration of the Byzantine Empire by Manuel, the usurper's violent invasion of Constantinople «with pagan troops» fuses into the narrative as well <sup>192</sup> – Guido's reference to «pagan troops» recalls William of Tyre's statement that Andronikos stormed the imperial capital with «troops of barbarian nations». In Guido's account, however, Andronikos's violent invasion of Constantinople is misplaced in time and associated with the destruction not of the Pisans and Genoese but the Greeks themselves. The story is clearly a hybrid between Andronikos's invasion of Constantinople and the massacre of the Latins in 1182, on the one hand, and the purges against the Greeks during the emperor's reign, on the other.

In his first account of Andronikos in the context of his narrative of the count of Flanders's stopover in Constantinople, Guido denounces the Byzantine ruler as a «traitor» and a «most wicked» man, since, following Manuel's death, he seized the *imperium*, killed Alexios «who had been entrusted to him in good faith», and «committed many other things», which, as the Champenois chronicler informs his reader, he will relate at the appropriate place. <sup>193</sup> Returning to Andronikos's usur-

<sup>186</sup> *Continuatio Aquicinctina*, p. 422.

<sup>187</sup> Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, *Chronicon*, p. 848.

<sup>188</sup> Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, *Chronicon*, p. 848.

<sup>189</sup> *Chronique d'Ernouf*, p. 90.

<sup>190</sup> Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, *Chronicon*, p. 848.

<sup>191</sup> Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, *Chronicon*, p. 848; *Chronique d'Ernouf*, pp. 46-47.

<sup>192</sup> Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, *Chronicon*, p. 850.

<sup>193</sup> Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, *Chronicon*, p. 848.

pation later in his work, Guido decries the ruler as an «inimical man», who deceived Alexios II with «trickery and Pelasgian craft» (*dolis et arte Pelasga*): a phrase taken verbatim from Virgil's *Aeneid*, where it is used with reference to Sinon, the spy who persuaded the Trojans to take the wooden horse into their city.<sup>194</sup> Thus Guido effectively identifies Andronikos with the «perjured (*perjurus*) Sinon»,<sup>195</sup> who, in order to prove his truthfulness to the Trojans and make them take the horse into their city, had assured King Priam that «whatever befalls, I will tell you all truly [...] If Fortune has moulded Sinon for misery, she will not also in her spite mould him as false and lying».<sup>196</sup> Like Sinon, Andronikos was a perjurer and a *proditor* («traitor»)<sup>197</sup> He murdered Alexios II, had intercourse with his wife against her will, seized the palace with its treasures and, as Guido exclaims, «oh, deadly crime, he ascended the imperial throne».<sup>198</sup> From the French chronicler's perspective, Andronikos's usurpation of the throne ranked as the most serious of all his crimes. From a feudal, Latin perspective, a potentate derived his legitimacy from his physical descent and the rightful ruler was one who came to power on the basis of being his father's son while the usurpation of the throne by an outsider was regarded as treason.<sup>199</sup> Already in the mid 1180s, Robert of Torigni had recorded that following his invasion of Constantinople, Andronikos had Alexios, his sister, and mother drowned in the sea and seized power tyrannically (*tyrannice*).<sup>200</sup> In a similar fashion, in his brief account of Andronikos, Rigord of Saint-Denis relates that following the death of the Emperor Manuel, Andronikos, «driven by greed for rule», killed Alexios II by throwing him into the sea and gained the *imperium* «through tyranny» (*per tyrannidem*).<sup>201</sup> In the context of Robert's and Rigord's works, *tyrannice* and *per tyrannidem* clearly have the meaning of «illegitimately». Their fellow countryman the Anchin continuator records that, following his storming of the imperial palace, Andronikos imprisoned the emperor and his mother, and soon afterwards, led them to the sea and had them drowned. Thus taking the imperial crown, he ruled over «the noblest city» not as emperor (*imperator*) but as tyrant (*tyrannus*).<sup>202</sup> Returning to events in the Byzantine Empire later in his chronicle, the Anchin continuator once again denounces Andronikos as a «tyrant».<sup>203</sup> The term *tyrannus* in the Latin world could be used to describe either the «illegitimate» ruler who had no right to power, in other words the usurper, or

<sup>194</sup> Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, *Chronicon*, p. 850; H. Rushton Fairclough (ed. and tr.), Virgil, *Eclagues, Georgics, Aeneid*, London-Cambridge 1978<sup>2</sup>, I, pp. 304-305. This quotation from Book II of *Aeneid* is, to the best of my knowledge, unique among medieval chronicles.

<sup>195</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid*, I, p. 306.

<sup>196</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid*, I, pp. 299-300.

<sup>197</sup> Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, *Chronicon*, p. 848.

<sup>198</sup> Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, *Chronicon*, p. 850.

<sup>199</sup> A. Toynbee, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus and his World*, London 1973, pp. 12-13.

<sup>200</sup> Robert of Torigni, *Chronica*, p. 307.

<sup>201</sup> Rigord, *Gesta*, pp. 376-377.

<sup>202</sup> *Continuatio Aquicinctina*, pp. 422-423.

<sup>203</sup> *Continuatio Aquicinctina*, p. 423.

the legitimate ruler who was, however, wicked and unjust.<sup>204</sup> The Anchin continuator makes the accusation of tyranny against Andronikos in the context of the ruler's elevation to the throne. Therefore, when the chronicler records that Andronikos reigned not as *imperator* but as *tyrannus*, he clearly contrasts the legitimate hereditary ruler with the usurper, Andronikos.

Andronikos's marriage to Alexios II's widow, the twelve-year-old Anna, daughter of Louis VII, was an act that was deplored by French chroniclers. Robert of Torigni condemns the marriage as an «unholy union»<sup>205</sup> while the Anchin continuator describes it as «unlawful».<sup>206</sup> Although not mentioning the marriage, Guido de Bazoches reviles Andronikos for having had intercourse with Anna.<sup>207</sup> In contrast to the rest of the French chroniclers, Rigord of Saint-Denis records that following Alexios II's murder, Anna «lived in holy widowhood».<sup>208</sup> Anna was the only full sibling of King Philip II of France, and it is very unlikely that Rigord, the biographer of her brother, was oblivious of her fate following Alexios II's assassination. Besides, Rigord's informants on Andronikos's rise to power must have certainly informed the chronicler of the *tyrant's* marriage to Anna. However, it would have been rather embarrassing including information of this kind into a work eulogising Anna's brother, King Philip. An interesting detail in Robert of Torigni's account is that Andronikos first asked his son Manuel to marry Alexios II's widow and share the imperial dignity with him. Manuel, however, whom Robert praises as «an honest man», refused and was therefore thrown into prison while his younger brother John was crowned as co-emperor.<sup>209</sup> While it is impossible to determine what gave rise to this story, it is important to underline that although Manuel had never been ordered to marry Anna or imprisoned by Andronikos, Robert's information conceals an element of truth in that Manuel had consistently opposed his father's cruel courses and defied him, and as a result his younger brother was designated as heir to the throne.<sup>210</sup>

### Germany and Austria

Although there exists no German or Austrian account of Andronikos's past and seizure of power as early as the French accounts of Geoffrey of Vigeois and Robert Torigni, the surviving narratives from the Western Empire are not only well informed, but also include details not found in their neighbouring Frankish ones. This is explained by the fact that the information of the majority of them, namely the anonymous report incorporated in the *Historia de expeditione Friderici imperatoris*, the annals of Melk in Austria, Godfrey of Viterbo's *Pantheon*, and the contin-

<sup>204</sup> H. Wieruszowski, *Roger II of Sicily, Rex-Tyrannus, in Twelfth-Century Political Thought*, «Speculum» 38, 1963, pp. 46-78: 54, 56-57.

<sup>205</sup> Robert of Torigni, *Chronica*, p. 307.

<sup>206</sup> *Continuatio Aquicinctina*, p. 423.

<sup>207</sup> Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, *Chronicon*, p. 850.

<sup>208</sup> Rigord, *Gesta*, pp. 376-377.

<sup>209</sup> Robert of Torigni, *Chronica*, p. 307.

<sup>210</sup> Chon. *Hist.* pp. 337-338; Eustathios, *Capture*, pp. 52-53.

uator of the *Chronica Regia Coloniensis*, was derived directly from the Byzantine Empire. This is accounted for by the closer proximity of the German Empire and Austria to Byzantium. The first three of the aforementioned German and Austrian accounts of Andronikos were written in the late 1180s while the account found in the continuation of the *Chronica Regia Coloniensis* seems to have been composed not much later, and certainly by the mid 1190s.

The author of the anonymous report incorporated in the *Historia de expeditione Friderici imperatoris* was correctly informed that Andronikos «had been exiled from the kingdom by Manuel».<sup>211</sup> The continuator of the annals of Melk in Austria similarly records that Andronikos «had been expelled by Manuel from the kingdom of the Greeks».<sup>212</sup> Although Andronikos had voluntarily gone into exile to avoid being arrested by his cousin, the two Austrian accounts are not far from the truth. The story of Andronikos's abduction of Theodora had reached Germany almost fifteen years before Clari heard it in Constantinople: as Godfrey of Viterbo relates in his *Pantheon*, «Andronikos, a cousin of Manuel, seized a certain cousin, with whom he fled to the land of the Turks. There he remained exiled until Manuel's death».<sup>213</sup> According to the same chronicler, «following Manuel's death, he [Andronikos] came to Constantinople with an army of Turks».<sup>214</sup> In a similar vein, the continuator of the annals of Melk in Austria records that Andronikos «seized Constantinople with the help of the Turks»<sup>215</sup> while the anonymous report in the *Historia de expeditione* relates that when on Manuel's death «Alexios held the sceptre of rule, but, being still quite young, ruled through guardians», Andronikos «invaded the empire of Constantinople with the help of the Turks and other peoples».<sup>216</sup> Although the continuator of the *Chronica Regia Coloniensis* does not have a Turkish army accompany Andronikos in his invasion of Constantinople, he nevertheless asserts that the future emperor was «an ally of the Turks».<sup>217</sup> Although German chroniclers could on occasion use the term «Turks» to describe the Muslims of the Ayyubid Empire, they normally employed the term with reference to the Turks of Iconium, as opposed to the term Saracens which was reserved for the subjects of the Ayyubid Empire.<sup>218</sup> Since Godfrey of Viterbo, the continuator of the annals of Melk in Austria, and the author of the report in the *Historia de expeditione* agree that Andronikos invaded Constantinople with an army of Turks,

<sup>211</sup> *Historia de expeditione*, p. 31.

<sup>212</sup> *Continuatio Zwetlensis Altera*, p. 542.

<sup>213</sup> Godfrey of Viterbo, *Pantheon*, p. 262.

<sup>214</sup> Godfrey of Viterbo, *Pantheon*, p. 262.

<sup>215</sup> *Continuatio Zwetlensis Altera*, p. 542.

<sup>216</sup> *Historia de expeditione*, pp. 31-32.

<sup>217</sup> *Chronica regia Coloniensis*, p. 131.

<sup>218</sup> See, for example, A. Hofmeister (ed.), Otto of Saint Blasien, *Chronica*, Hanover 1912 (MGH *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum ex Monumentis Germaniae historicis recusati* 47), p. 42, where Saladin is described as the «king of the Saracens» (*rex Sarracenorum*). See also *Historia de expeditione*, p. 15, where Kilic Arslan is described as the «prince of the Turks» (*princeps Turcorum*).



it is most unlikely that all three chroniclers would use the term with reference to the Ayyubid Empire rather than the Sultanate of Iconium. Even more importantly, as we have seen, the Pisans and Genoese who fled Constantinople in 1182 had propagated the story that Andronikos invaded the Byzantine capital with the Turks of Iconium while it was also rumoured in the imperial city, both before and after 1182, that Andronikos and Theodora had taken refuge at the court of the Seljuk sultan. These are precisely the same tales that eventually found their way into not only French but also German chronicles. The «Turks» of the German accounts are clearly the Turks of Iconium.

The most unusual and colourful German account of Andronikos's seizure of power is found in the chronicle of Arnold of Lübeck. Arnold records that when Manuel died, leaving behind his minor son, «an extraordinary commotion erupted in Constantinople and the entire kingdom».<sup>219</sup> Drawing on Christ's words to his disciples at the Last Supper, «All ye shall be offended because of me this night: for it is written, I will smite the shepherd, and the sheep of the flock shall be scattered abroad» (Mt 26, 31), Arnold relates that «when the shepherd is struck down, the sheep are thrown into confusion and rapacious wolves, lying in wait and keeping quiet in hiding, make their appearance through thefts, destructions and unjust plunders».<sup>220</sup> The analogy between the shepherd and Manuel, on the one hand, and the wolves and Andronikos, on the other, is clear: «Andronikos, a kinsman of the diseased emperor, motivated by the desire to rule, asserted himself as protector of the child and began to reign allegedly holding the throne safe, faithfully, for Alexios». Eventually, however, «with his power increasing, he [Andronikos] began to stir up sedition».<sup>221</sup>

While Arnold's account provides relatively accurate and reliable information on Andronikos's rise to power and subsequent reign of terror, the chronicler nevertheless blends this information with distorted facts and fanciful dialogues. Andronikos's «advisor», i.e., Hagiochristophorites, is portrayed as a monk, who was, however, «in reality a devil, who, clothed with the religious habit, transformed himself into an angel of light»<sup>222</sup> – Arnold draws on the second epistle of Paul to the Corinthians where Paul declares himself unsurprised at false apostles who disguise themselves as apostles of Christ «for Satan himself is transformed into an angel of light» (2Cor 11, 14). The first dramatic dialogue in Arnold's account takes place between the monk and the child emperor. After Maria of Antioch «was drowned and submerged in the sea», Alexios II, unaware of his mother's murder, asks for her, and the monk soothes him by telling him that she is safe. When a few days later the child emperor asks again for his mother, the monk tells him not to be sad about her absence because he will soon go to her. Before long, Alexios II suffered the same fate as his mother while Andronikos married his

<sup>219</sup> Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica*, p. 150.

<sup>220</sup> Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica*, p. 150.

<sup>221</sup> Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica*, p. 150.

<sup>222</sup> Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica*, p. 150.

wife.<sup>223</sup> While Arnold obviously embellished his account of Andronikos with fictitious dialogues and biblical illustrations as he thought appropriate, his information seems to have originated in the Latin East. In the tradition of the sources of the Latin East and Constantinople developed after the mid-1180s, the author makes no reference to Andronikos's violent invasion of Constantinople in 1182 or the massacre that accompanied it, but the emphasis is on Andronikos's becoming protector of the child emperor.<sup>224</sup> As will become clear below, the similarities between Arnold's account and the narratives of the East multiply as the German chronicler's narrative unfolds. Arnold's informants had obviously been in the Latin *Outremer* and may well have been participants in the German Crusade of 1197-1198 to the Holy Land. This hypothesis finds support in the chronicle of Arnold, who informs us that 400 men from Lübeck took the cross and participated in this German expedition.<sup>225</sup>

In contrast to the French chroniclers, two of their German counterparts, Godfrey of Viterbo and the author of the anonymous report in the *Historia de expeditione*, refer to Maria Porphyrogennita and her husband Renier of Montferrat by name as among the victims of Andronikos.<sup>226</sup> The author of the report in the *Historia de expeditione* was even aware of the fact that the couple was murdered by poisoning.<sup>227</sup> German imperial interests in northern Italy account for the fact that the marriage alliance between the houses of Byzantium and Montferrat attracted the attention of the German chroniclers. Godfrey had even been captured by Conrad, Renier's brother, while acting as legate of Frederick I in 1179.<sup>228</sup> Besides, Maria Porphyrogennita was a half-German princess, the offspring of Manuel and his first wife Bertha-Irene of Sulzbach. Again in contrast to the French chroniclers, only two German authors, namely the continuator of the *Chronica Regia Coloniensis* and Arnold of Lübeck, took interest in the fate of the French Anna following Andronikos's coup, recording that she became the wife of the new ruler.<sup>229</sup> What is more, the interest of Arnold of Lübeck is explained by the fact that the chronicler relied for his information about Andronikos on a report directly originating from Frankish settlers of the Latin East who were naturally much concerned for the French empress of Byzantium. Arnold is similarly the only one among German chroniclers who troubled to record the assassination of the Frankish Empress Maria of Antioch. As to the 1182 pogrom of the Pisan and Genoese inhabitants of Constantinople, it is mentioned by only one German chronicler, Godfrey of Viterbo, but is, however, misplaced in time and *not* associated with Andronikos's invasion of the imperial capital in the spring of 1182.

<sup>223</sup> Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica*, p. 150.

<sup>224</sup> Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica*, p. 150.

<sup>225</sup> Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica*, p. 203.

<sup>226</sup> Godfrey of Viterbo, *Pantheon*, p. 262; *Historia de expeditione*, p. 312.

<sup>227</sup> *Historia de expeditione*, p. 312.

<sup>228</sup> Weber, *The Historical Importance*, cit., pp. 164-165.

<sup>229</sup> *Chronica regia Coloniensis*, p. 131; Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica*, p. 150.

Godfrey merely records, when mentioning Andronikos's murder of the imperial family and the destruction of the Greek nobility following his seizure of power, that the ruler «also ordered all the Latins residing in Greece to be killed».<sup>230</sup>

### England

In his *De nugis curialium*, Walter Map sees the Norman Conquest of England in 1066 as the herald of the capture of Jerusalem by the First Crusade in 1099 and Andronikos's seizure of power in 1182 as the harbinger of the Muslim conquest of Jerusalem in 1187. The Welsh satirist records that «Constantinople, which had grown old in continuous peace, was taken and held by means of many, even innumerable, deceits by Andronikos, whose wickedness equalled, if it did not surpass, that of Nero».<sup>231</sup> While the bulk of the *De nugis* was written in the course of 1181 and 1182,<sup>232</sup> this brief passage on Andronikos found in *distinccio V* of *De nugis* was added in the late 1180s or early 1190s as indicated by the reference to the fall of Jerusalem. Andronikos's comparison to the Emperor Nero (54-68), the archetypal wicked tyrant, demonstrates that by this stage Map, as the rest of the Western authors reporting on Andronikos at the time, had received information of the Byzantine ruler's reign of terror, possibly from English participants in the Third Crusade. The use of the past tense suggests that the Welsh satirist was also aware of the fact that Andronikos had been deposed and murdered, even though this is not mentioned as it is not relevant to and would therefore disrupt the flow of the author's argument who goes on to conclude that «thus these two overthrows [the Norman Conquest of England and Andronikos's rise to power] were the prophetesses and harbingers of those of Jerusalem».<sup>233</sup>

Apart from the short passage on Andronikos in *distinccio V* of the *De nugis*, Map inserted an entire chapter dedicated to the Byzantine ruler's usurpation of power in *distinccio II*. The chapter, entitled *De Andronico imperatore Constantinopolitano*, seems to have been composed in the immediate aftermath of Andronikos's coup. Since Map's narrative ends with Andronikos's invasion of Constantinople in 1182, it is clear that information on the subsequent assassination of Alexios II and Andronikos's reign of terror and downfall had not been made available to the author. Although this passage has been dismissed by modern scholarship as «never touching fact at any point»,<sup>234</sup> a closer examination reveals that despite a number of errors and confusions, especially in the rendering of names, Map's account of Andronikos's usurpation is one of the most detailed and informative we possess. Not only does it demonstrate that Map had access to reliable information obtained directly from a reporter in the Latin East, but also includes details which, uniquely, place it in the same tradition of William of Tyre's account of Andronikos's usurpation.

<sup>230</sup> Godfrey of Viterbo, *Pantheon*, p. 262.

<sup>231</sup> Map, *De nugis*, p. 411.

<sup>232</sup> Map, *De nugis*, p. XXV.

<sup>233</sup> Map, *De nugis*, pp. 410-411.

<sup>234</sup> Map, *De nugis*, p. XXXV.

Beginning his account *Of Androneus, Emperor of Constantinople*, from the reign of the Byzantine Emperor John II (1118-1143), Map recounts that following the death of his father, Manuel became emperor despite the fact that his elder brother was alive.<sup>235</sup> Although the Welsh satirist gets the names of Manuel's father and brother wrong, the rest of his information is correct. In actual fact, on his deathbed, John II had chosen his younger son Manuel to be his successor over his older living son Isaak. Since, from the viewpoint of a Westerner, the throne should pass on by primogeniture, «Manuel usurped the *imperium* illegally» and therefore his action was seen as *iniuria*.<sup>236</sup> Eventually, however, according to Map, Manuel «took pity on his brother [...] and gave him a kingdom next door to the [...]. Turks [...] but first took the pledge of an oath». Following the death of Manuel's brother, the brother's son Andronikos, the future emperor, «renewed and reaffirmed the pledge to Manuel».<sup>237</sup> Although Andronikos was a son of Emperor John II's younger brother, and therefore a cousin, not a nephew, of Manuel, Map's information can be clearly identified as a reference to Andronikos's oath to Manuel in 1180 and his appointment as governor of Pontos, this information being recorded only by William of Tyre among Latin chroniclers.

Map was critical of Manuel's accession to the throne since he interpreted the information he received from the East through Western lenses. However, on balance, the Welsh satirist was not able to escape the influence of his informants: all information on Manuel filtering through from Constantinople and the Latin East to the West portrayed the Byzantine ruler in the most favourable light. Map is not an exception. The Welshman relates that «Manuel ruled the empire very prosperously» and on his «invitation» the Byzantine Empire saw a large influx of Latins «from almost every foreign [i.e., Latin] nation»,<sup>238</sup> thus recalling William of Tyre who records that Latins «from every region [...] eagerly came in large numbers to him [Manuel]».<sup>239</sup> One would expect that since Map regarded Manuel's succession as «usurpation», he would be sympathetic to Andronikos who seized power after the death of the emperor. This, however, is not the case, for the Welsh satirist chose to adhere to the information he received which predictably painted Andronikos in the worst possible light.

According to Map's report, when Manuel «died full of days in faith and good circumstances», he «left a son of no more than seven years old in the charge of a Greek, who from his office is called *protosalvator*», i.e., the *Protosebastos* Alexios.<sup>240</sup> This information is echoed by William of Tyre, who relates that by Manuel's testament (*ex testamento*) his son succeeded him under his mother's guardianship while «the affairs of the empire were administered by Alexios the *Protosebastos*».<sup>241</sup> An-

<sup>235</sup> Map, *De nugis*, pp. 174-175.

<sup>236</sup> Map, *De nugis*, pp. 174-175.

<sup>237</sup> Map, *De nugis*, pp. 176-177.

<sup>238</sup> Map, *De nugis*, pp. 176-177.

<sup>239</sup> Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*, p. 1020; Babcock and Krey (tr.), II, p. 461.

<sup>240</sup> Map, *De nugis*, pp. 176-177.

<sup>241</sup> Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*, p. 1020; Babcock and Krey (tr.), II, p. 461.

dronikos, however, according to Map, «pretending that the *protosalvator* is too intimate with the wife of his lord and means to marry her, and that the two have conspired to kill the boy [...] or have already killed him in order to reign themselves», invaded Constantinople.<sup>242</sup> The information on the alleged conspiracy of Maria of Antioch and the *protosebastos* to murder Alexios II has already been encountered in the account of Roger of Hoveden. Walter Map, however, received his information at least eight years before Roger arrived in the Holy Land in 1191. In contrast to Roger, who accepts the story on Maria's conspiracy as true, Map mentions it as propaganda spread by Andronikos while he was advancing towards Constantinople. The Welsh satirist records that the fabricated accusations were broadcasted throughout the islands and provinces neighbouring to Constantinople, and adds that while spreading the rumours that Maria conspired to assassinate Alexios, Andronikos «asserted too with tears that he would be a most faithful protector of that ward [Alexios II]». «Weeping and with every appearance of real sorrow», Andronikos was «believed, and adopted by all as guardian and protector» of Alexios II.<sup>243</sup> This unique information, which could only be obtained by a Latin who had been in *Outremer* around the time of Andronikos's usurpation, is largely corroborated by both Choniates and Eustathios. Choniates records that Andronikos advanced towards Constantinople

seducing and winning over all those he met on the way by his multifarious wiliness and treacherous and fraudulent character; who, unless he had been made of insensate stone or his heart forged on an iron anvil, could have remained unmoved by the flood of tears shed by Andronikos [...] and who could not but succumb to the wiliness of his words, with which he deceptively and, at the same time, enticingly professed his zeal on behalf of the right and expounded on the need to liberate the emperor.<sup>244</sup>

According to Eustathios, Andronikos marched towards the imperial capital «claiming to be the emperor's protector» and even «spreading it about that he himself had been appointed by the late emperor Manuel to share in the burden of the regency».<sup>245</sup> Andronikos's propaganda was most effective. As Roger of Hoveden's account demonstrates, the chronicler's informants in the Latin East accepted the rumours that Maria conspired with the *Protosebastos* Alexios against her son as truth. Similarly, so skilful was Andronikos's propaganda that he convinced at least some circles in the Latin East – as clearly attested by the *Chronique d'Ernoul* and Guido de Bazoches – that Manuel himself had entrusted him with both the guardianship of Alexios II and the regency of the empire.

In the tradition of the accounts of Andronikos's usurpation written before 1185, Map mentions both Andronikos's violent invasion of Constantinople in 1182 and the attack on the Latins that accompanied it. The Welsh satirist denounces An-

<sup>242</sup> Map, *De nugis*, pp. 176-177.

<sup>243</sup> Map, *De nugis*, pp. 176-177.

<sup>244</sup> Chon. *Hist.* pp. 243-244; Magoulias (tr.), p. 137; Pontani (tr.), II, pp. 52-53.

<sup>245</sup> Eustathios, *Capture*, pp. 30-31.

dronikos as «a man of the most wicked daring» who, having already «twice denied Christ to wheedle help from the Turks», in 1182 «denied him the third time» and «collecting a great force of Saracens» invaded Constantinople.<sup>246</sup> According to Map, «so arriving with a great force he [Andronikos] crushed the army sent against him by the *protosalvator*; it was not overcome by skill in war, but sold treacherously to death by its own generals».<sup>247</sup> As has been seen, William of Tyre refers to the defection of the commanders of the imperial troops and fleet to Andronikos. Map's account, however, is unique in mentioning the defeat of the troops sent against the advancing Andronikos by Alexios while also accepting as true the accusations against the commander of the force, Andronikos Angelos, who was charged with deliberately losing the battle. Reporting on the alleged treason, Map sarcastically remarks: «such is Greek faith».<sup>248</sup> Like the rest of the Latin accounts on Andronikos's usurpation written before 1185, Map does not fail to mention the attack on the Pisans and Genoese that accompanied Andronikos's seizure of power, even though he does not mention that the attack turned into a massacre. The Welsh satirist's reference is brief: «out of envy, the Greeks persecuted with extreme hate those people residing in Constantinople, on Manuel's invitation, whom they called Franks».<sup>249</sup> Its importance, however, lies in the fact that together with William of Tyre's account, this is the *only* Latin source that ascribes the attack on the Pisans and Genoese in 1182 to pre-existing Byzantine envy and hatred of the Latins, launching at the same time into a tirade of abuse against the Byzantines: «to such extent was their strength drained away by the Trojan war that since Ajax [...] there is nothing in any Greek to be proud of, nothing excellent: so weak are they that even the dregs of all nations and the very abjects of the people are an object of envy to them».<sup>250</sup> Map uses a wide range of stereotypes to describe the Byzantines: they are «soft (*molles*) and effeminate (*feminei*), voluble (*loquaces*) and deceitful (*dolosi*), of no constancy and valour against an enemy».<sup>251</sup>

Map's fully virulent form of anti-Greek rhetoric, including the notion that the Greeks hated the Latins because of envy, is encountered only in two contemporary sources, both written in the Latin East: William of Tyre's *Historia* and the *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, composed between 1 August 1191 and 2 September 1192 by an anonymous author, possibly an English crusader cleric, in Tyre.<sup>252</sup> This not

<sup>246</sup> Map, *De nugis*, pp. 176-177.

<sup>247</sup> Map, *De nugis*, pp. 176-177.

<sup>248</sup> Map, *De nugis*, pp. 176-177.

<sup>249</sup> Map, *De nugis*, pp. 178-179. «Franks» (Φράγκοι) was a term that the Greeks used to collectively describe the Latins. See Alexander Kazhdan, *Latins and Franks in Byzantium: Perception and Reality from the Eleventh to the Twelfth Century*, in A. E. Laiou and R. P. Mottahedeh (edd.), *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, Washington, DC 2001, pp. 83-100: 89-91.

<sup>250</sup> Map, *De nugis*, pp. 178-179.

<sup>251</sup> Map, *De nugis*, pp. 174-175.

<sup>252</sup> *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, pp. 291-293. See also H. J. Nicholson (tr.), Richard de Templo, *Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta Regis Ricardi*, Aldershot 1997, pp. 6-14, 56-58. For his chroni-

only further corroborates the thesis that Map's informant was a Latin who was in *Outremer* at the time of Andronikos's coup, but also that he was influenced by anti-Greek circles in the Kingdom of Jerusalem. This is not to deny that Map's anti-Greek discourse may well have been informed by the writings of classical authors, such as Virgil's *Aeneid*, with which the Welsh satirist was well acquainted.<sup>253</sup> However, the denunciation of the Greeks as «soft and effeminate» is not found in Map's classical authors, whereas William of Tyre, in the context of his account of Andronikos's usurpation and the massacre that accompanied it, relates that the Greeks' hatred towards the Latins was due to the fact that Manuel «passed over the puny Greeks (*Greculi*<sup>254</sup>) as soft (*molles*) and effeminate (*effeminate*) and entrusted important affairs to the Latins alone».<sup>255</sup> Furthermore, the contrast between the Classical and contemporary Greeks discussed in Map's *De nugis* is also a theme in the *Itinerarium peregrinorum*'s diatribe against the Greeks.<sup>256</sup> These similarities cannot be accidental and support the thesis that Map's invective against the Greeks was triggered, and influenced, by information the Welsh satirist received from the Latin East.

Map's account of Andronikos is the exception rather than the rule among English historians. None of the remaining English accounts on Andronikos, composed in the early 1190s or later, mentions either the ruler's violent invasion of Constantinople or the attack on the Italian inhabitants of the city that accompanied it. In the tradition of the *Chronique d'Ernouf* and Guido de Bazoches, William of Newburgh relates that on his deathbed Manuel entrusted his son who was a minor «under the guardianship of his uncle». Prince Alexios, «dressed in the purple, was

cle, compiled between 1217 and 1222, Richard relied heavily on the *Itinerarium peregrinorum* and Ambroise's *Estoire de la guerre sainte*.

<sup>253</sup> Map, *De nugis*, pp. 84-85, 286-287, 312-315, 404-405.

<sup>254</sup> *Greculus* is a diminutive formed from the ethnic name *Grecus*. Being a diminutive, the term can express a variety of attitudes, from the mildly patronising to the openly contemptuous. The term was first used by Latin classical authors: see N. Petrocheilos, *Roman Attitudes to the Greeks*, Athens 1974, pp. 48-53; H. Hunger, *Graeculus perfidus, ITAΛOΣ ITAMOΣ. Il senso dell'alterità nei rapporti greco-romani ed italo-bizantini*, with an introduction by O. Kresten, Roma 1987.

<sup>255</sup> Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*, p. 1020; Babcock and Krey (tr.), II, p. 461. Cf. S. B. Edgington (ed. and tr.), Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana, History of the Journey to Jerusalem*, Oxford 2007, pp. 254-255; J. Donnadiu (ed. and tr.), Jacques de Vitry, *Historia orientalis. Histoire orientale*, Turnhout 2008, pp. 420-421. The chronicler of the First Crusade Albert of Aachen, who relied for his information on the expedition on oral and written accounts of returning crusaders, is very well disposed towards the Byzantines, but nonetheless does not conceal a report he received where Kilic Arslan I (1092-1107), Seljuk sultan of Rum, describes the Greeks as a *gens mollis et effeminate*. See S. Neocleous, *Is the Contemporary Latin Historiography of the First Crusade and its Aftermath Anti-Byzantine?*, in S. Neocleous (ed.), *Papers from the First and Second Postgraduate Forums in Byzantine Studies: «Sailing to Byzantium»*, Trinity College Dublin, 16-17 April 2007 and 15-16 May 2008, Newcastle 2009, pp. 27-52. James of Vitry, bishop of Acre from 1216 through 1228, portrays Nur al-Din as regarding the Greeks as *molles et effeminatos*. Clearly, this accusation against the Greeks was of eastern origin.

<sup>256</sup> *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, pp. 292-293.

brought up in all the delicacy suited to his age» while his «guardian Andronikos administered the *imperium*». <sup>257</sup> William misplaces the negotiations of the marriage alliance between the Capetians and the Komnenoi after Manuel's death. According to him, «it seemed advisable to the Greek nobles that the daughter of the king of France should be sought in marriage» for Alexios II, «and this was done accordingly. Ambassadors of rank were sent into France, who, on receiving the princess from her father [...] conducted her with much pomp to Constantinople». <sup>258</sup> William has the murder of Alexios II occur when the young emperor «reached adulthood, and she [Anna] had become of marriageable age, and the imperial marriage was in preparation». <sup>259</sup> Andronikos, vilified by William as a «most wicked man» (*homo nequissimus*), «enticing and corrupting the servants of the palace, clandestinely conveyed the youthful emperor, who was his own nephew [...] into a certain island, without the knowledge of the people, to be secretly put to death by some of his accomplices». Immediately afterwards, «assuming the purple, he [Andronikos] took possession of the empire». <sup>260</sup>

Ralph of Diceto must have obtained his information on Andronikos, as his information on the Third Crusade, from his chaplain who participated in the expedition. <sup>261</sup> The story Map's informant had heard in the East, that Andronikos was the son of Manuel's older brother, was also propagated by Ralph's chaplain. In his *Ymaginez Historiarum* the English chronicler relates that following John II's death, his younger son became emperor while «the *primogenitus* vanished having a son Andronikos». <sup>262</sup> In contrast to Map, Ralph records this information without passing judgment on Manuel. While, under other circumstances, a chronicler as sensitive to the principle of primogeniture as Ralph was might have criticised Manuel's elevation to the throne, the negative image of Andronikos transmitted to him allowed no room for sympathy. Following Manuel's death, Andronikos came in Constantinople «feigning peace» and «swore fealty (*fidelitatem juravit*) to Alexios in the Church of *Hagia Sophia*. He put the crown on his [Alexios II's] head in the presence of all and carried him on his shoulders through the middle of the city». <sup>263</sup> As seen, the information about Andronikos's «oath of fealty» to Alexios II and hoisting the child emperor onto his shoulders on the day of his coronation seems to have caught the attention of the English participants in the crusading expedition of Richard I; this event was also recorded by Roger of Hoveden, both Ralph and Roger seeming to have drawn upon a common source in the Latin East for this information. In Ralph's account, the downfall of the *Protosebastos* Alexios is

<sup>257</sup> William of Newburgh, *Historia*, I, p. 224; Stevenson (tr.), p. 516.

<sup>258</sup> William of Newburgh, *Historia*, I, p. 224; Stevenson (tr.), p. 516.

<sup>259</sup> William of Newburgh, *Historia*, I, p. 224; Stevenson (tr.), p. 516.

<sup>260</sup> William of Newburgh, *Historia*, I, p. 224; Stevenson, pp. 516-517. William's knowledge of the Byzantine emperors' association with purple (*sumpta purpura, purpuratus*) is remarkable.

<sup>261</sup> H. Nicholson, *Ralph of Diceto*, in Murray (ed.), *The Crusades*, cit., IV, pp. 1002-1003; Nicholson (tr.), cit., p. 2.

<sup>262</sup> Ralph of Diceto, *Opera*, II, p. 11.

<sup>263</sup> Ralph of Diceto, *Opera*, II, pp. 11-12.



misplaced in time after Alexios II's coronation; according to the chronicler's informant, Andronikos «killed the *protosalvastos* cruelly». The *protosalvastos*'s murder was followed by those of Alexios II's mother, «many he [Andronikos] recognised to be faithful to the emperor Manuel», and finally Alexios himself. Thus, Andronikos «usurped the *imperium*».<sup>264</sup> It seems that even if Ralph ever thought that Andronikos had a better claim to the throne than Alexios II because of being – according to the chronicler's information – the son of Manuel's elder brother, his pretence and, what is more, breaking of an oath of fealty automatically made him guilty of high treason.<sup>265</sup>

Interestingly, the Norman King William II's invasion of the Byzantine Empire in 1185 is presented by Ralph of Diceto as an attempt «to destroy Andronikos, who usurped the empire of Constantinople, having committed such nefarious, atrocious, and detestable deeds».<sup>266</sup> As the expedition was initially successful, the Sicilian armies «avenged Andronikos's most fraudulent deceits».<sup>267</sup> This view seems to reflect Norman propaganda that preceded the king of Sicily's expedition against the Byzantine Empire. During Andronikos's reign, William's court became an asylum for persecuted Byzantine nobles as well as a group of former Latin mercenaries in the Byzantine Empire or holders of other positions in the court of Constantinople who were expelled by Andronikos. All those refugees were endeavouring to recruit the Norman king's support to depose the Byzantine ruler.<sup>268</sup> The ostensible aim of the subsequent Norman invasion of the Byzantine Empire was to topple Andronikos and install a Byzantine pretender on the throne of Constantinople.<sup>269</sup> Since Richard I's crusading army had stopped in Sicily for seven months, from September 1190 until April 1191, before resuming its journey to the Holy Land, it is likely that Ralph's chaplain obtained the information on the Norman expedition of 1185 against Andronikos during his stay on the island. The English chaplain seems to have been taken in by Sicilian propaganda and was led to believe that the attack on Byzantium was not intended to further the king of Sicily's interests but to avenge Andronikos's «detestable deeds».<sup>270</sup>

Ralph of Coggeshall, the last English chronicler who reports on Andronikos, begins his narrative with the ruler's downfall under the title *De crudeli morte Andronici imperatoris*.<sup>271</sup> Ralph of Coggeshall, who, as we know, gathered his information on the English expedition of the Third Crusade from eyewitness reports,

<sup>264</sup> Ralph of Diceto, *Opera*, II, p. 12.

<sup>265</sup> In feudal society, the breaking of an oath of fealty constituted high treason. See M. Billoré, *Introduction*, in M. Billoré and M. Soria (ed.), *La trahison au Moyen Âge: De la monstruosité au crime politique, Ve-XVe siècle*, Rennes 2009, pp. 15-34.

<sup>266</sup> Ralph of Diceto, *Opera*, II, p. 37.

<sup>267</sup> Ralph of Diceto, *Opera*, II, p. 37.

<sup>268</sup> Eustathios, *Capture*, pp. 56-63; *Chon. Hist.* pp. 296-297.

<sup>269</sup> Eustathios, *Capture*, pp. 60-63; *Chon. Hist.* pp. 296-297. See also Brand, *Byzantium*, pp. 161-162.

<sup>270</sup> Ralph of Diceto, *Opera*, II, p. 37.

<sup>271</sup> Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon*, p. 75.

may have also obtained his information on Andronikos from the same sources.<sup>272</sup> With Andronikos's death being the starting point of Ralph's account, the chronicle then proceeds to provide information on the emperor's rise to power and rule. According to it, Andronikos presented himself to «the young emperor, who was related to him by blood» as «guardian and protector», but eventually «seized him with treachery and killed him deceitfully – as it is said, he put him on a ship and caused him to be drowned in the sea».<sup>273</sup> Andronikos, subsequently, «seized his [Alexios's] *imperium* and treasures without delay».<sup>274</sup> The fact that neither William of Newburgh nor Ralph of Diceto or Ralph of Coggeshall mentions either Andronikos's violent invasion of Constantinople in 1182 or the Latin massacre that accompanied it is a clear manifestation of the fact that the three chroniclers received their information from reports of participants in the Third Crusade who had travelled to the Holy Land. Along with the accounts of Roger of Hoveden, the *Chronique d'Ernoult*, Guido de Bazoches, and Arnold of Lübeck, they are placed in the tradition on Andronikos's usurpation developed in the Latin East after the mid-1180s.

The English chroniclers' attitude to Andronikos's marriage to Anna varies from insensitivity to sympathy. The strained relations between Roger of Hoveden's master, Richard I, and Anna's brother, King Philip Augustus, meant that the chronicler had no pity for the widowed empress. Roger seems to have resented the fact that Andronikos married Philip's sister and «made her empress» by «placing the imperial diadem on her head».<sup>275</sup> Roger's fellow countryman Ralph of Diceto only mentions Andronikos's marriage with Anna as a matter of fact.<sup>276</sup> In contrast, however, William of Newburgh and Ralph of Coggeshall echo their Frankish counterparts in their denunciation of it. William relates that following the murder of Alexios II, to complete his «most impious designs», Andronikos «took as wife the destined bride of his nephew, being captivated by her beauty»<sup>277</sup> – despite William's assertion, the reasons of Andronikos's marriage with Anna were political, since the bride was the sister of the king of France. William concludes his account of Andronikos by recounting that «by these means the daughter of the king of France was defrauded of her wished-for and expected marriage [...] and, defiled by a connection with a most wicked man, lost her dignity».<sup>278</sup> Ralph of Coggeshall accuses Andronikos of dishonouring Anna through «abominable sexual intercourses», keeping her «violently among his numerous concubines», and thoroughly depriving her of «imperial dignity».<sup>279</sup> The «numerous concubines» mentioned by the

<sup>272</sup> B. E. Whalen, *Ralph of Coggeshall*, in Murray (ed.), *The Crusades*, cit., IV, p. 1002; Nicholson (tr.), cit., p. 2.

<sup>273</sup> Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon*, p. 75.

<sup>274</sup> Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon*, p. 75.

<sup>275</sup> Roger of Hoveden, *Gesta*, I, pp. 255-256.

<sup>276</sup> Ralph of Diceto, *Opera*, II, p. 12.

<sup>277</sup> William of Newburgh, *Historia*, I, p. 224; Stevenson (tr.), p. 517.

<sup>278</sup> William of Newburgh, *Historia*, I, p. 225; Stevenson (tr.), p. 517.

<sup>279</sup> Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon*, p. 75.

English chronicler were not a figment of his imagination. Andronikos was, indeed, notorious for his philandering way of life. As Choniates relates, the ruler often set out from the imperial capital

with a troupe of courtesans and concubines [...] He was followed [by them], like a cock by barnyard hens, or a he-goat leading the she-goats of the herd, or like [...] Dionysos escorting the Thyades, Sobades, Maenads, and Bacchantes [...] He amused himself in voluptuous entertainments, like Sardanapolos [...] Madly ravenous for sexual intercourse, he truly emulated Heracles in his despoiling of the fifty-one daughters of Thyestes.<sup>280</sup>

Andronikos's reputation as a philanderer seems to have reached England via the Latin East, from where Ralph of Coggeshall's informants and participants in the Third Crusade received their information on the Byzantine ruler. Interestingly, Ralph also records that Andronikos had first ordered his son to marry Anna, but the son refused «because of the detestable crime of his father»,<sup>281</sup> namely the murder of Alexios and the usurpation of the throne. As has been seen, the information that Andronikos had allegedly ordered his son Manuel to marry Anna had reached Robert of Torigni by the mid-1180s, this story seeming to have originated in the Latin East. Robert's version, however, is more detailed than that of Ralph as the Norman chronicler had received his information nearer the events. When Ralph of Coggeshall's informants reached Palestine in 1191, they were able to obtain a more abridged version of the story, the reason presumably being that several details found in Robert's report, the names of Andronikos's two sons as well as John's eventual designation as heir to the throne, had by this time faded.

## Andronikos's Reign

### The Latin East and Constantinople

The reign of terror that Andronikos unleashed following his assumption of power struck the Latins. Roger of Hoveden records that Andronikos «exercised tyranny (*tyrannidem exercebat*) over the people of the empire; and not only over the people, for all the nobles of the empire as well he either put to death, or, depriving them of their eyes or their virility, drove them out of the empire».<sup>282</sup> Isaak Doukas Komnenos, the future ruler of Cyprus, is portrayed as «being in dread of Andronikos, as he saw the tyranny he exercised over the nobles of the empire».<sup>283</sup> Following a digression to the adventures of Isaak of Cyprus, Roger returns to Andronikos's reign of terror and records that, «continuing his tyranny, he sent into banishment the nobles of the empire having gouged out the eyes of some and cut off the limbs of others».<sup>284</sup> Roger's use of the term *tyrannis* in the context of Andronikos's

<sup>280</sup> Chon. *Hist.* pp. 321-322; Magoulias (tr.), p. 177; Pontani (tr.), II, pp. 232-235.

<sup>281</sup> Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon*, p. 75.

<sup>282</sup> Roger of Hoveden, *Gesta*, I, p. 254.

<sup>283</sup> Roger of Hoveden, *Gesta*, I, p. 254.

<sup>284</sup> Roger of Hoveden, *Gesta*, I, p. 256.

reign of terror and its explicit identification as a *tyrannis* over the *populum* and *principes imperii* demonstrate clearly that, in contrast to the French accounts, the word in Roger's narrative comes to mean the cruel and repressive, rather than illegitimate, reign. Roger has the magicians, who later foretold Andronikos's downfall, declare in a didactic tone – which, obviously, the author thought appropriate – that the ruler had been overtaken by the wrongs that he had done while on the throne, namely his «oppressing the innocent and condemning the just blood without a cause».<sup>285</sup> Roger quotes the Constantinopolitan mob as declaring, during the uprising that raised Isaak to the Byzantine throne, that «we should expel this perfidious *Androneous*, who is destroying us and our nation».<sup>286</sup> Eventually, when the overthrown Andronikos is brought in the presence of Isaak, Roger makes the new emperor declare: «By the just judgement of God, you have been overtaken by your wrongs, on account of which you have merited the wrath of God, namely oppressing the innocent, killing your lord Emperor Alexius, and blinding my father and brothers and other nobles of the empire. Therefore, you will die the worst death».<sup>287</sup>

Roger of Hoveden's use of the term *tyrannis* and the chronicler's general approach to Andronikos's oppressive regime strongly suggests that he was influenced by the work *Policraticus* of his contemporary countryman John of Salisbury (d. 1180). The *Policraticus*, completed in 1159, is «commonly acclaimed as the first extended work of political theory written during the Latin Middle Ages».<sup>288</sup> In his work, John exhaustively discusses tyranny, which he defines as «an abuse of the power conceded to man by God»<sup>289</sup> while identifying a tyrant as a prince «who oppresses the republic»<sup>290</sup> and «abuses any power over those subject to him».<sup>291</sup> According to John's political theory, «the prince is the public power and a certain image on earth of the divine majesty»<sup>292</sup> and «is obedient to law, and rules his people by a will that places itself at their service»<sup>293</sup> [...] the prince is said to be an absolutely binding law unto himself, not because he is licensed to be iniquitous, but only because he should be someone [...] who loves justice, cherishes equity, procures the utility of the republic».<sup>294</sup> While the prince is «the image of the deity» and should therefore «be loved, venerated, and respected», the tyrant is «the

<sup>285</sup> Roger of Hoveden, *Gesta*, I, pp. 257-258.

<sup>286</sup> Roger of Hoveden, *Gesta*, I, p. 258.

<sup>287</sup> Roger of Hoveden, *Gesta*, I, p. 260.

<sup>288</sup> Nederman (tr.), p. XV.

<sup>289</sup> John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, II, p. 359; Nederman (tr.), p. 202.

<sup>290</sup> John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, II, p. 364; Nederman (tr.), p. 205.

<sup>291</sup> John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, II, p. 359; Nederman (tr.), p. 202.

<sup>292</sup> John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, I, pp. 235-236; Nederman (tr.), p. 28.

<sup>293</sup> John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, I, p. 235; Nederman (tr.), p. 28. In the manner traditional for a Christian political theorist, John defines «law» as «the gift of God, the likeness of equity, the norm of justice, the image of the divine will». John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, II, p. 345; Nederman (tr.), p. 191. See also the discussion in R. H. Rouse and M. A. Rouse, *John of Salisbury and the Doctrine of Tyrannicide*, «Speculum» 42, 1967, pp. 693-709: 695-696.

<sup>294</sup> John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, I, p. 238; Nederman (tr.), p. 30.

image of depravity» and «is for the most part even to be killed».<sup>295</sup> Citing multiple examples from history, John of Salisbury illustrated that «all tyrants reach a miserable end»<sup>296</sup> as «the mercy of God quelled or curbed the tyranny of all of them».<sup>297</sup> The English scholar argued that «wickedness is always punished by the Lord; [...] sometimes it is His own, and at others it is a human hand, which He employs as a weapon wherewith to administer punishment to the impious».<sup>298</sup> According to John's political thought, it was even «lawful and glorious to kill public tyrants».<sup>299</sup> By the 1180s the *Policraticus* had begun to be disseminated not only in England but also in France.<sup>300</sup> In the 1200s, Robert of Auxerre mentioned and praised the work<sup>301</sup> while a few decades later Alberic of Trois-Fontaines described it as *famosus*.<sup>302</sup> Roger of Hoveden, who mentions John's election as bishop of Chartres in 1176,<sup>303</sup> may well have also been acquainted with the *Policraticus* and John's ideas on tyranny, as attested by the chronicler's portrayal of Andronikos's reign as a repressive regime for which the ruler deserved to «die the worst death».<sup>304</sup>

A year and a half before Roger of Hoveden reached the Holy Land, the anonymous author of the letter preserved in Magnus's chronicle, as the rest of the accounts originating in the Latin East after the mid-1180s, mentioned nothing about the Latin massacre that accompanied Andronikos's rise to power. He did not, however, fail to report on the emperor's purges against his own subjects: «he blinded some, drowned others, and condemned some to perpetual prison or sent them into exile».<sup>305</sup> Alone among Latin authors, the anonymous reporter claims that by these means Andronikos, in fact, «punished those who had committed treason». Among those guilty of treason were Andronikos Angelos and his sons, who «were accomplices to the murder of the Emperor Alexios», but escaped punishment by fleeing to Syria.<sup>306</sup> While obviously ill-informed, the anonymous author and his sources were also downright prejudiced against Isaak, who, when the report was written in late 1189, was doing his best to destroy the German expedition of the Third Crusade which, as he thought, intended to conquer his emp-

<sup>295</sup> John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, II, p. 345; Nederman (tr.), p. 191. On John's doctrine of tyrannicide, see Rouse and Rouse, *John of Salisbury and the Doctrine of Tyrannicide*, cit.

<sup>296</sup> John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, II, p. 379; Nederman (tr.), p. 210.

<sup>297</sup> John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, II, p. 371; J. Dickinson (tr.), John of Salisbury, *The Statesman's Book of John of Salisbury: Being the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Books, and Selections from the Seventh and Eighth Books of the Policraticus*, New York 1963, p. 364.

<sup>298</sup> John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, II, p. 379; Nederman (tr.), p. 210.

<sup>299</sup> John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, II, p. 372; Nederman (tr.), p. 206. The only stipulation was that the assassin should not be bound to the tyrant by an oath or obligation of fealty. Cfr. n. 265 above.

<sup>300</sup> A. Linder, *The Knowledge of John of Salisbury in the Late Middle Ages*, «Studi Medievali» 18, 1977, pp. 315-366: 321-322.

<sup>301</sup> Robert of Auxerre, *Chronicon*, p. 243.

<sup>302</sup> Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, *Chronicon*, p. 844.

<sup>303</sup> Roger of Hoveden, *Gesta*, I, p. 125.

<sup>304</sup> Roger of Hoveden, *Gesta*, I, p. 260.

<sup>305</sup> Magnus of Reichersberg, *Chronicon*, p. 511; Loud (tr.), p. 153.

<sup>306</sup> Magnus of Reichersberg, *Chronicon*, p. 511; Loud (tr.), p. 153.

ire.<sup>307</sup> Isaak's military aggression against the Germans gave rise to the myth that he had allied himself with the Sultan Saladin against them; the most elaborate version of this myth is preserved in the anonymous report in Magnus's chronicle.<sup>308</sup> Although Andronikos Angelos had defected to Andronikos and been even accused of deliberately losing the battle when he had earlier been sent against the advancing would-be usurper at the head of an army, he was certainly not an accessory to the subsequent murder of Alexios II. The anonymous letter represents a perfect example of how information could be misinterpreted or distorted, either intentionally or even by subconscious prejudices, to fit a certain bias.

The Old French texts composed in the Latin *Outremer* in the thirteenth century, namely the *Chronique d'Ernoul*, and the Colbert-Fontainebleau and the Lyon *Eracles* Continuations of William of Tyre, give a rather sketchy account of Andronikos's reign. The *Chronique*, and after it the continuations of William of Tyre almost verbatim, relate that before Alexios II's murder became known, Andronikos «sent for the emperor's relatives, and as soon as they had come he had them put in a chamber where their eyes were gouged out while there were some whose noses and lips he had also cut off [...] That was how he treated most of the emperor's relatives – all those he could find. After that he was crowned and became emperor».<sup>309</sup> This account is obviously a distorted reference to Andronikos's reign of terror against the court nobility of Constantinople, a number of the nobles being indeed members of the Komnenoi family. Intriguingly, a story fairly similar to that of the *Chronique* is recorded by Eustathios of Thessaloniki, according to whom, following Maria of Antioch's execution, Andronikos «calling together an assembly of all the notable men of the most noble families [...] captured them like fishes in a net [...] He condemned some of them in prison, and others were banished from the court [...] while he sent others into perpetual exile abroad»; shortly afterwards a number of the prisoners «were blinded by the steel».<sup>310</sup> Choniates does not mention any summoning by Andronikos of an assembly of the nobles of Constantinople and it seems unlikely that such a gathering took place. Nonetheless, Eustathios's evidence attests to the fact that the Old French texts of the Latin *Outremer* drew on an oral tradition current in the Byzantine Empire. By comparison, Robert of Clari's brief account of Andronikos's purges is more reliable than its Old French counterparts compiled in the Latin East, the Picardian chronicler relating that «once he [Andronikos] was crowned, he had all those arrested whom he knew to be upset that he was emperor; he had their eyes put out and had them killed and they died shamefully».<sup>311</sup>

<sup>307</sup> Neocleous, *The Byzantines and Saladin*, cit., pp. 87-106; *Byzantine-Muslim Conspiracies*, cit., pp. 265-271, 273-274.

<sup>308</sup> Neocleous, *The Byzantines and Saladin*, cit., pp. 88-90, 93-94; *Byzantine-Muslim Conspiracies*, cit., pp. 267-268.

<sup>309</sup> *Chronique d'Ernoul*, pp. 90-91; *L'estoire de Eracles*, pp. 17-18; *Continuation*, pp. 26-27; Edbury (tr.), p. 20.

<sup>310</sup> Eustathios, *Capture*, pp. 40-41.

<sup>311</sup> Clari, *Conquête*, pp.24-27.

Worthy of note is the fact that Andronikos's reputation as a philanderer led to distorted reports among the Franks of Constantinople painting him as a rapist. Clari relates that the ruler «took all the beautiful women that he could find and lay with them forcibly».<sup>312</sup> When recording the overthrown Andronikos's death later in his chronicle, Clari relates that «the women, whose daughters he [Andronikos] had raped», were particularly cruel to him.<sup>313</sup> Due to the mobility of people between Constantinople and the Latin East and the proximity of the two areas, Andronikos's portrayal as a rapist was soon picked up by the Frankish settlers of *Outremer*. According to the *Chronique d'Ernoul* and the continuations of William of Tyre, «while Andronikos was emperor, [...] there was neither a beautiful nun in all the land, nor a daughter of a knight, nor of burgess [...] who was beautiful and whom he did not seize and lie with by force».<sup>314</sup> Clari concludes his account of Andronikos's reign by asserting that the ruler «acted so disloyally that never was there any traitor or any murderer who did as much as he did».<sup>315</sup> In a similar tone, the *Chronique d'Ernoul* affirms that Andronikos «was so hated because of his evil, that no high-ranking man who ever held land [i.e., a ruler] had been so hated by all people as he was».<sup>316</sup>

### The Latin West

Peter of Eboli's *Liber ad honorem Augusti* is the only source from Italy mentioning Andronikos's reign of terror. In *particula LII*, having denounced the Byzantine ruler as crass (*crassus*), the personified Wisdom proceeds to relate that he

[...] added to the slaughter of his own family  
The killing of excellent people of every lineage.<sup>317</sup>

Although brief, Peter's reference summarises Andronikos's persecution of the Komnenoi family as well as other noble families of Constantinople. Significantly, the poet's information must have been first-hand as several members of the Byzantine nobility fled to William II's court in Palermo to escape Andronikos's purges.

Since two of the French and Norman accounts of Andronikos, namely those of Godfrey of Vigeois and Robert of Torigni, were written in the mid-1180s, before information on the emperor's regime reached France, we are left with four French narratives which have something to report on Andronikos's reign of terror. In his brief account of Andronikos which is only intended as a short introduction to his narrative of the Fourth Crusade, Rigord of Saint-Denis refers to the Byzantine

<sup>312</sup> Clari, *Conquête*, pp. 26-27.

<sup>313</sup> Clari, *Conquête*, pp. 34-35.

<sup>314</sup> *Chronique d'Ernoul*, p. 91; *L'estoire de Eracles*, p. 18; *Continuation*, p. 27; Edbury (tr.), p. 20.

<sup>315</sup> Clari, *Conquête*, pp. 26-27.

<sup>316</sup> *Chronique d'Ernoul*, p. 91. Cfr. *L'estoire de Eracles*, p. 18; *Continuation*, p. 27; Edbury (tr.), p. 20.

<sup>317</sup> Pietro da Eboli, *Liber*, pp. 356-357.

ruler's «immense shameful acts» without further clarification.<sup>318</sup> Like the Old French narratives of the Latin *Outremer*, the Anchin continuator records that following the assassination of Alexios II and Maria of Antioch and before his usurpation of the imperial throne, Andronikos killed all the emperor's relatives who remained in Constantinople, a distorted reference to the ruler's reign of terror. Another confused reference is found in Guido de Bazoches's account, according to which, being aware of the hatred his people felt for him on account of his «shameful acts», Andronikos «most violently avenged himself on them». Suddenly entering Constantinople «with pagan troops», he committed bestial acts against the citizens: «some he slew, others he imprisoned, others he forced into exile, and others he slaughtered and ruined».<sup>319</sup> Although a hybrid between Andronikos's purges against the Greeks during his reign and his invasion of Constantinople in 1182, this story yet offers a significant insight into the Byzantine ruler's reign of terror. Among the French chroniclers, Robert of Auxerre is the only one who explicitly mentions that Andronikos's reign of terror was directed against the Byzantine nobility. With his information seeming to be directly originating in Constantinople, Robert records that Andronikos, «the usurper of the *imperium*», killed many and especially those who were of noble birth or powerful.<sup>320</sup> Consequently, he was not only «hated» but also «suspected by all»,<sup>321</sup> an assertion evoking Choniates's statement that «all were suspicious» (ἄπαντας ὑφορώμενοι) of the emperor.<sup>322</sup> Robert makes no attempt to hide his dislike of Andronikos. Even when he comes to report on the Fourth Crusade later in his chronicle, he does not fail to deplore Andronikos once again, decrying him as «evil» (*flagitiosus*).<sup>323</sup>

In contrast to the vast majority of the French and English chroniclers who became aware of Andronikos's reign of terror during or immediately after the Third Crusade, most of their German counterparts derived their information on the Byzantine emperor's rule in the late 1180s from sources originating from Constantinople; this is easily explained by the closer proximity of the German Empire and Austria to the Byzantine Empire. In his prose account of Andronikos's reign, Godfrey of Viterbo relates that following his usurpation of power and assassination of Alexios II, Andronikos «ordered that almost all the nobles of Greece be blinded or killed».<sup>324</sup> In the last three lines of the verse preceding the prose, the chronicler records:

The empire of the Greeks was seized by that (*ille*) tyrant,  
Andronikos, a master in crimes, a man unworthy of remembrance,  
the nobles of the Greeks were slain by his sword.<sup>325</sup>

<sup>318</sup> Rigord, *Gesta*, pp. 376-377.

<sup>319</sup> Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, *Chronicon*, p. 850.

<sup>320</sup> Robert of Auxerre, *Chronicon*, p. 248.

<sup>321</sup> Robert of Auxerre, *Chronicon*, p. 248.

<sup>322</sup> Chon. *Hist.* p. 295; Magoulias (tr.), p. 163; Pontani (tr.), II, pp. 172-173.

<sup>323</sup> Robert of Auxerre, *Chronicon*, p. 265.

<sup>324</sup> Godfrey of Viterbo, *Pantheon*, p. 262.

<sup>325</sup> Godfrey of Viterbo, *Pantheon*, p. 262.



The denunciation of Andronikos as a tyrant in the context of the emperor's purges against the Byzantine nobility suggests that, as in the work of Roger of Hoveden, the term *tyrannus* comes to mean the cruel ruler who abuses his power and oppresses his people. The concept of tyranny as a brutal and oppressive regime was not unknown in Germany, as testified by Bishop Otto of Freising's two great works, which had exerted much influence in twelfth-century Germany as indicated by the number of surviving manuscripts.<sup>326</sup> In his *Chronica* Otto described the brutalities committed by King Roger II of Sicily against the inhabitants of Apulia and Campania during the re-conquest of these provinces in 1138-1139 as «patterned upon the deeds of the ancient Sicilian tyrants»<sup>327</sup> while in his *Gesta Friderici imperatoris* the German bishop recorded that the cities and towns of Apulia had been oppressed by the *tyrannis* of both Roger and his successor, William I (1154-1166).<sup>328</sup>

Writing at much the same time as Godfrey, the continuator of the annals of Melk in Austria recorded that Andronikos «killed an endless multitude of Greeks as well as Latins, profaned sanctuaries, blinded nobles and their wives, and sent them into exile».<sup>329</sup> When, later in his work, the annalist comes to describe Andronikos's downfall, he denounces him not only as «the cruel tyrant of the Greeks» (*crudelis tyrannus Grecorum*) but also «the enemy of the human race».<sup>330</sup> The annalist's denunciation of Andronikos as the «cruel tyrant of the Greeks» points to the Byzantine emperor as a prince who reigned cruelly and abused his power over his subjects. What is more, the continuator's description of the Byzantine ruler as *hostis humani generis* suggests that he may well have been acquainted with the works of classical authors, such as Pliny and Eutropius, or even John of Salisbury's *Policraticus*. In Pliny's *Natural History* the Emperor Nero, whose rule had been recently brought to an end, was decried as *hostis humani generis*<sup>331</sup> while the fourth-century Roman historian Eutropius related that this description was later applied to the Emperor Commodus (180-192) after his death in 192.<sup>332</sup> In the *Policraticus*, thirty years before the continuator of the annals of Melk in Austria composed his account of Andronikos, John of Salisbury, presumably aware of Eutropius's work, referred to Commodus's denunciation as *hostis humani generis*

<sup>326</sup> On the issue of the surviving manuscripts of Otto's two historical works, see Weber, *The Historical Importance*, cit., p. 154.

<sup>327</sup> A. Hofmeister (ed.), Otto of Freising, *Chronica sive Historia de Duabus Civitatibus*, Hanover 1912 (MGH *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum ex Monumentis Germaniae historicis separatim editi* 45), p. 346.

<sup>328</sup> G. Waitz (ed.), Otto of Freising and Rahewin, *Gesta Friderici I imperatoris*, Hanover 1912 (MGH *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum ex Monumentis Germaniae historicis recusis* 18), p. 157.

<sup>329</sup> *Continuatio Zwetlensis Altera*, p. 542.

<sup>330</sup> *Continuatio Zwetlensis Altera*, p. 543.

<sup>331</sup> C. Mayhoff (ed.), C. Plinius Secundus, *Naturalis historia libri XXXVII*, I-VI, Stuttgart 1967-1986: II, p. 17 (Liber 7.8.46).

<sup>332</sup> C. G. Baumgarten-Crusius and H. R. Dietsch (edd.), Eutropius, *Breviarium historiae Romanae*, Leipzig 1883<sup>2</sup>, p. 59 (Liber 8.15).

by his contemporaries and added that «this is perhaps the best and fittest description of a tyrant and the one which explains the real significance of the name».<sup>333</sup> Although there is no manuscript evidence that the *Policraticus* had reached Austria by the late 1180s when the continuator of the annals of Melk composed his account of Andronikos, it is not altogether unlikely that the annalist read a copy of the work in France or even a now lost copy in Austria. While in the works of Pliny and Eutropius the cruel ruler was first portrayed as incarnating the *hostis humani generis*, it was in the *Policraticus* where the phrase was explicitly defined as «the best and fittest description of a *tyrannus*». Moreover, the Melk annalist's denunciation of Andronikos as *tyrannus* and *hostis humani generis* in the context of his gruesome death seems to follow the pattern used by John of Salisbury, whose account of each tyrant is concluded with his «miserable end».<sup>334</sup>

The anonymous author of the report incorporated in the *Historia de expeditione* decries Andronikos as an «irreverent and wicked tyrant» (*impius et scelestus tyrannus*) already when mentioning his exile from the Byzantine Empire during Manuel's reign.<sup>335</sup> Andronikos's denunciation from the outset is aimed at painting him as a man of evil and tyrannical nature whose tyrannical rule was to follow. Upon Manuel's death, the *tyrannus* invaded Constantinople, murdered the imperial family, and «exercised tyranny (*tyrannidem exercuit*) over Greece for almost six years».<sup>336</sup> As the author of the anonymous report relates, «moved by cruelty and envy», Andronikos «sought out almost all the princes of the kingdom with the intention of killing them».<sup>337</sup> Although the author mistakenly records that Andronikos reigned for almost six years, he nevertheless gives an accurate assessment of the emperor's reign: «under him [Andronikos], the empire of Greece was, in consequence [of his exercised *tyrannis*], damaged in many ways; for the King of Hungary and the other kings and princes seized for themselves parts of its land bordering theirs while the army of the king of Apulia ravaged the coastal cities of Greece».<sup>338</sup> The reference to the misfortunes that befell the Byzantine Empire during Andronikos's reign is clearly aimed at illustrating that a tyrant's rule could be nothing but destructive for the state. Like the author of the anonymous report, the Austrian compiler of the *Historia de expeditione* denounces Andronikos as a tyrant, and more specifically «the tyrant of Greece» (*Greciae tyrannus*), when referring to the arrival of the German expedition of the Third Crusade at Nish in the summer of 1189.<sup>339</sup> Andronikos's fame as «the tyrant of Greece» seems to have eventually become widespread in Austria: under the year 1185 the continuator of the *Annals of the Kremsmünster Abbey*, the two continuators of the *Annals of the*

<sup>333</sup> John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, II, p. 371; Dickinson (tr.), cit., p. 364.

<sup>334</sup> John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, II, p. 379; Nederman, p. 210. See especially John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, II, pp. 364-372; Dickinson (tr.), pp. 358-366.

<sup>335</sup> *Historia de expeditione*, p. 31; Loud (tr.), p. 63.

<sup>336</sup> *Historia de expeditione*, p. 32; Loud (tr.), p. 63.

<sup>337</sup> *Historia de expeditione*, p. 32; Loud (tr.), p. 63.

<sup>338</sup> *Historia de expeditione*, p. 32; Loud (tr.), p. 63.

<sup>339</sup> *Historia de expeditione*, p. 30; Loud (tr.), p. 61.

*Admont Abbey*, and the *Annals of Saint Rudbert of Salzburg* record the death of *Andronicus tyrannus Graeciae*.<sup>340</sup>

While the first recension of the continuation of the *Chronica Regia Coloniensis* reports nothing on Andronikos's reign, the more detailed second recension relates that Andronikos, «having seized the *imperium* through trickery, and arresting all those nobles who were of royal blood, many killed, others mutilated; and thus committing many evils, he reigned several years cruelly and tyrannically (*crudeliter et tyrannice*)». <sup>341</sup> In contrast to Robert of Torigni who recorded that Andronikos had Manuel's family drowned and seized power *tyrannice*, whereby *tyrannice* denotes the (illegitimate) means of Andronikos rise to power, the author of the second recension of the *Royal Chronicles* employs the same word in the context of the Byzantine ruler's purges and in association with *crudeliter* to denounce the emperor's repressive reign and cruel exercise of power. In his account, the author of the second recension of the *Chronica Regia* denounces Andronikos as a *tyrannus* three times,<sup>342</sup> the denunciation clearly painting the Byzantine emperor as a *tyrannus* in the way he exercised, rather than gained, the power.

Arnold of Lübeck correctly has Andronikos's purges begin even before Maria of Antioch and Alexios were assassinated. The chronicler records that, «with his power increasing, he [Andronikos] began to stir up sedition and greatly persecuted and murdered those on the side of Alexios [II]. While he elevated those who were on his side, he humiliated or gave over to death those» on the side of the young emperor.<sup>343</sup> Arnold's account is largely corroborated by that of Choniates, who records that once in control of Constantinople, Andronikos «rewarded the Paphlagonians [...] and anyone else who joined him in his rebellion [...] Splendid dignities and magnificent offices were transferred [...] to those who followed after him». <sup>344</sup> Nobles, distinguished generals, and palace bureaucrats «were expelled from house and native city [...] while others were given over to prison [...] and still others had their eyes gouged out». <sup>345</sup> Worth noting are also the similarities between Arnold's account of Andronikos's purges to that of Clari. The German chronicler relates that Andronikos «deprived of life or mutilated or condemned to exile all those whom he feared to be opposed to his reign», <sup>346</sup> whereas in a similar tone Clari states that Andronikos blinded or killed «all those [...] whom he knew to be upset that he was emperor». <sup>347</sup> Arnold makes Andronikos rely on the advice

<sup>340</sup> W. Wattenbach (ed.), *Continuatio Cremifanensis*, Hanover 1851 (MGH SS 9), pp. 544-549: 547; W. Wattenbach (ed.), *Continuatio Admuntensis*, Hanover 1851 (MGH SS 9), pp. 579-593: 586; W. Wattenbach (ed.), *Continuatio Garstensis*, Hanover 1851 (MGH SS 9), pp. 593-600: 594; W. Wattenbach (ed.), *Annales Sancti Rudberti Salisburgenses*, Hanover 1851 (MGH SS 9), pp. 758-810: 777.

<sup>341</sup> *Chronica regia Coloniensis*, p. 131.

<sup>342</sup> *Chronica regia Coloniensis*, pp. 131-132.

<sup>343</sup> Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica*, p. 150.

<sup>344</sup> Chon. *Hist.* p. 257; Magoulias (tr.), pp. 143-144; Pontani (tr.), II, pp. 84-85.

<sup>345</sup> Chon. *Hist.* p. 258; Magoulias (tr.), p. 144; Pontani (tr.), II, pp. 84-85.

<sup>346</sup> Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica*, p. 150.

<sup>347</sup> Clari, *Conquête*, pp. 24-25.

of his monk-advisor to plan his purges: «all those whom that one [the monk] suspected, he [Andronikos] immediately delivered to destruction». <sup>348</sup> In this, the German chronicler again recalls Clari, according to whom, Andronikos's «steward [...] helped him do all these evil acts». <sup>349</sup>

In the majority of the English chroniclers' treatment of Andronikos's reign of terror, the influence of John of Salisbury's *Policraticus* seems more than probable. It has been already argued that Roger of Hoveden may well have been informed by John's work. The well connected cleric and civil servant Map, who was, as John of Salisbury, associated with the court of Henry II of England, almost certainly knew not only his compatriot scholar but also his *Policraticus*. <sup>350</sup> In the *Policraticus*, John portrayed Nero as the tyrant *par excellence* «who surpassed all predecessors and successors with the vileness of his life and the shamelessness of his outrages». <sup>351</sup> In the tradition of John, Map denounces Nero's *malignitas* and *tyrannis*, <sup>352</sup> but also goes a step further by frequently using the ancient tyrant as a yardstick by which to judge, and denounce, twelfth-century contemporaries, one of them being Andronikos, «whose wickedness (*nequicia*) equalled, if it did not surpass, that of Nero». <sup>353</sup> As already argued, by the late 1180s or early 1190s, when this brief passage was added to the *De nugis*, Map must have received information of the Byzantine ruler's reign of terror. Map's comparison of Andronikos to Nero effectively identifies the Byzantine emperor as a tyrant in the way he ruled. Although Map believed that Andronikos had a better hereditary claim to the Byzantine throne than Alexios II, his oppressive rule automatically made him a tyrant in the Welsh satirist's eyes. Andronikos's rise to power and tyrannical rule was considered by Map as such a dark chapter in European history that it was placed on a par with the Muslim conquest of Jerusalem in 1187. Map's correspondent in the Latin East may have even been informed of the fact that during Manuel's reign the Byzantine Empire had acted as a deterrent to Muslim aggression against the crusader states, while Andronikos's tyrannical regime, in addition to being appalling, threw the empire to chaos and led to its seclusion, thus facilitating Saladin's expansion. <sup>354</sup>

In his *Historia rerum Anglicarum*, although he does not make explicit reference to Andronikos's purges, William of Newburgh nonetheless records that the ruler «most insolently abused (*abuteretur*) the power he had usurped». <sup>355</sup> The English chronicler, who seems to have received his information on Andronikos as well as

<sup>348</sup> Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica*, p. 150.

<sup>349</sup> Clari, *Conquête*, pp. 26-27.

<sup>350</sup> Map, *De nugis*, pp. XXX-XXXIII, XXXV-XXXVI, 442-443 n. 3.

<sup>351</sup> John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, II, p. 360; Nederman (tr.), p. 203.

<sup>352</sup> Map, *De nugis*, pp. 406-407.

<sup>353</sup> Map, *De nugis*, pp. 410-411. See also Map, *De nugis*, pp. 442-445, where a French «marquis» is denounced as a *tirannus*, «excessively cruel» and «equal of Nero in crime».

<sup>354</sup> Andronikos's foreign policy was one of seclusion but certainly not «anti-Latin» as is often argued. For a forceful argument against the traditional view that Andronikos was «anti-Latin», see J. Harris, *Byzantium and the Crusades*, London 2003, pp. 111-112, 116-119.

<sup>355</sup> William of Newburgh, *Historia*, I, p. 224; Stevenson (tr.), p. 517.

the Third Crusade from participants in the expedition, decries the Byzantine ruler as a criminal (*sceleratus*) while deploring his «wickedness» (*nequitiam*).<sup>356</sup> When William comes to describe Andronikos's downfall, he labels him as a «most cruel tyrant» (*tyrannus ferocissimus*).<sup>357</sup> The notion of Andronikos's cruelty and abuse of power – according to John of Salisbury's political ideology, tyranny was an abuse of power – as well as the accusation of tyranny against the Byzantine ruler in the context of his downfall suggests that influence of the *Policraticus* may have been at work in William's treatment of the emperor's reign.

It is important to mention in this context that the concept of a *tyrannus* as a wicked ruler who contravened the law and of *tyrannis* as an oppressive regime encountered in English and German-Austrian sources on Andronikos's reign is in close accord with Byzantine ideas on what a τύραννος and τυραννίς were. Indeed, in the vocabulary of Byzantine political theory, the term τύραννος could be used to describe the cruel, immoral and unlawful emperor, who imposed his rule by violence and repressive measures against his subjects, his tyranny (τυραννίς) being the very antithesis of kingship (βασιλεία).<sup>358</sup> Throughout his history, the Byzantine historian Choniates denounces Andronikos as a τύραννος («tyrant») or refers to him as ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων τυραννήσας («the one who tyrannised over the Byzantines») while his reign is condemned as τυραννίς («tyranny»).<sup>359</sup> The Greek historian goes as far as to declare that Andronikos «surpassed by far all tyrants who ever lived». <sup>360</sup> Of course, as in the case of the Latin *tyrannus*, the Greek τύραννος could describe not only the harsh and cruel ruler but also the usurper. In Choniates's *Historia* the accusation of tyranny is widely levelled against individuals who staged an unsuccessful coup against the reigning emperor in an attempt to gain the imperial throne for themselves, or secessionists who, having rebelled against Constantinople, carved out their independent principalities.<sup>361</sup> The em-

<sup>356</sup> William of Newburgh, *Historia*, I, pp. 224-225; Stevenson (tr.), p. 517.

<sup>357</sup> William of Newburgh, *Historia*, I, p. 224; Stevenson (tr.), p. 517.

<sup>358</sup> E. Kountoura-Galake, *Constantine V Kopronymos or Michael VIII Palaiologos the New Constantine? The Anonymous Encomium of Saint Theodosia*, «Σύμμεικτα» 15, 2002, pp. 183-194: 187, 190 nn. 28, 29, 190-191.

<sup>359</sup> Chon. *Hist.* pp. 50, 101, 147, 227, 270, 279, 281, 292, 314, 423, 467, 639. Cf. also Eustathios, *Capture*, pp. 62-63. Eustathios describes Andronikos as τυραννῶν («ruling as a tyrant»).

<sup>360</sup> τυράννουσ ὑπερέλασασ τοὺς πῶποτε, Chon. *Hist.* p. 321; Magoulias (tr.), p. 177; Pontani (tr.), II, pp. 232-233.

<sup>361</sup> Amongst those described as tyrants by Choniates are: Isaak Komnenos, ruler of Cyprus (1184-1191) and self-proclaimed emperor, Chon. *Hist.* pp. 291, 340, 369, 418, 464; Alexios Branas, who rebelled against the Emperor Isaak (1185-1195, 1203-1204) in 1187, Chon. *Hist.* pp. 380, 385; Theodoros Magkafas, the governor of Philadelphia in Byzantine Asia Minor, who proclaimed himself emperor in 1188, Chon. *Hist.* p. 399; Basileios Chotzas, who revolted at Tarsia near Nicomedia in late 1192 or early 1193, Chon. *Hist.* p. 423; Konstantinos Angelos Doukas, Isaak's cousin, who declared himself emperor in 1193, Chon. *Hist.* p. 435; John Komnenos Axouchos, who rebelled against Alexios III (1195-1203) and was proclaimed emperor in 1201, Chon. *Hist.* p. 527; and the kings of Sicily Roger II (1130-1154), William II (1166-1189), and Roger III (1193), Chon. *Hist.* pp. 296, 481. The Byzantines refused to accept the reality of

peror Andronikos, however, falls into neither of these two categories. The charge of tyranny against him has little, if anything, to do with the unpalatable means of his accession to the throne. In Byzantium, the hereditary transmission of imperial power, while a custom, was not established by law. The usurpation of the throne by persons with or even without any consanguinity to the reigning dynasty was a frequent phenomenon and was legitimised at the expense of hereditary succession. Narrating the events that led to Andronikos's seizure of power, Choniates himself refers to «the Roman emperors' frequent practice of ascending the throne through murder and bloodshed».<sup>362</sup> In Byzantium, an emperor who came to the throne by force of arms was no less legitimate than an emperor who succeeded to the throne as his father's son. Byzantine political ideology was unwilling to recognise the hereditary character of the imperial office; an individual's successful seizure of the imperial throne was perceived in itself as a token of divine approval.<sup>363</sup> Indeed, when in his work Choniates records the reign of Alexios III (1195-1203), he never describes the ruler as τύραννος despite the fact that Alexios usurped the imperial power from his brother Isaak II, whom he blinded. Choniates refers to Alexios III only once as τυραννήσας, but this occurs *before* the new emperor's anointment, the word in this context meaning «usurper» as opposed to the overthrown Isaak who, in the same sentence, is described as πρώην ἄναξ («former monarch»)<sup>364</sup> What actually happened is that before the victorious entrance of the usurper (τυραννήσας) Alexios into Constantinople, a crowd gathered in the church of *Hagia Sophia* and «began to chant Alexios's acclamation», thus consenting to the νέα τυραννίς, in this context the new usurpation of power. Several days later Alexios himself entered Constantinople and subsequently *Hagia Sophia*, where «according to custom» he was «anointed and invested with the insignia of sovereignty».<sup>365</sup> Henceforth Choniates refers to him only as *basileus* («emperor»). Andronikos, in contrast, even after his coronation, continued to be decried by the Greek historian as a τύραννος, the reason having to do with the conduct of his reign.<sup>366</sup>

Norman rule in Sicily and Apulia, lost to the Normans only in the eleventh century. Sicily and southern Italy were regarded by the Byzantines as legitimately belonging to their empire. See also Kinn. *Epit.* p. 118, who also describes Roger II as a tyrant. See also Eustathios, *Capture*, pp. 58-63. As Eustathios explains, the rule of the Sicilian king was «a tyranny» since he «had once been subject as δούξ to the ruler of Constantinople».

<sup>362</sup> τὸ διὰ φόνων ἀεὶ καὶ προχύσεως αἵματος τοὺς πλείους τῶν βασιλέων τῆς Ῥωμᾶϊκῆς ἐπιβαίνειν ἀρχῆς, Chon. *Hist.* p. 246; Magoulias (tr.), p. 139; Pontani (tr.), II, pp. 58-59.

<sup>363</sup> G. Dagron, *Emperor and Priest. The Imperial Office in Byzantium*, tr. J. Birrell, Cambridge 2003, pp. 14-15, 37-38, 45; W. Ensslin, *The Government and Administration of the Byzantine Empire*, in J. M. Hussey (ed.), *The Eastern Roman Empire (717-1453)*, I-II, Cambridge 1966-1967: II, pp. 1-54: 2-9; H. St L. B. Moss, *The Formation of the East Roman Empire, 330-717*, *ibid.*, I, pp. 1-41: 14; Toynbee, *Porphyrogenitus*, cit., pp. 12-14.

<sup>364</sup> Chon. *Hist.* p. 456.

<sup>365</sup> Chon. *Hist.* p. 457; Magoulias (tr.), p. 251.

<sup>366</sup> Choniates misses no opportunity to contrast the tyrant Andronikos with a *basileus*. Upon the capitulation of rebellious Nicaea in 1183, Andronikos, «putting aside all noble-minded sentiment (τὸ ἐλευθέριον φρόνημα) and sincerity (τὸ τῆς γνώμης ἀκατήλευτον) befitting an emper-

Among English chroniclers, with the exception of Roger of Hoveden, Ralph of Coggeshall provides the most matter-of-fact information on the reign of Andronikos. The chronicler records that the emperor's «inhumanity and insolence were such that he did not allow any of his people, within the range of his sight, to sit down in the palace, but he had all of them (of whatever rank or position or dignity) stand like slaves, with their mantles taken off».<sup>367</sup> Apart from this apocryphal story, which seems to have been based on distorted reports, Ralph's informants were able to receive a very reliable piece of information on Andronikos's reign: since he seized the *imperium* unjustly, he viewed all the Byzantines with suspicion and thus created an army loyal to him which consisted of foreigners of a «different nation».<sup>368</sup> This evidence, unique to Ralph's narrative, is substantially consistent with the account of the Greek Choniates, who records that Andronikos «was escorted by his bodyguard of barbarian units, pestilent men who delighted in their lack of education and most of whom did not understand the Hellenic tongue. From among such ill-bred companies, he always chose his guards and watchmen».<sup>369</sup> The guard that Andronikos introduced into the imperial palace must have mainly consisted of Paphlagonians, regarded by the Byzantines as wicked and barbarian.<sup>370</sup>

While Ralph of Coggeshall fails to make explicit reference to Andronikos's purges against the Byzantine nobility, he nonetheless conveys to his reader the general tenor of the emperor's reign of terror and unpopularity by denouncing his *inhumanitas*, «the excessive impudence of his actions, and the insolence of his inhuman heart» which resulted in «his life being spiteful and hateful to nearly everybody».<sup>371</sup> In line with his fellow countryman Roger of Hoveden, Ralph considered that Andronikos «deserved» his «horrible and most cruel death» which eventually visited upon him «by the just judgement of God».<sup>372</sup> Ralph does not describe Andronikos as a tyrant or his reign as a tyranny. Nevertheless, the fact that the chronicler places his account of the Byzantine ruler under the rubric *De crudeli morte Andronici imperatoris*, the emperor's cruel death being the central theme around which his rise to power and repressive reign are woven, suggest that Ralph may well have been familiar, if not with the *Policraticus* itself, at least with some of the ideas of John of Salisbury, who illustrated that wicked rulers «wholly merited a cruel end» for «wickedness is always punished by the Lord».<sup>373</sup> When

or (τοῖς βασιλεῦσι προσήκον), perverted mercy», but, soon afterwards, violently avenged himself on the Nicaeans. Following the capture of Brusa, the ruler «did not conduct himself as a meek emperor (ὡς βασιλεὺς πραῦς) and saviour (σώζων) before the Prusaeans [...] but [...] utterly ruined and destroyed the vast majority in manifold and diverse punishments». Chon. *Hist.* pp. 286, 288; Magoulias (tr.), pp. 158-159; Pontani, II, pp. 148-151, 154-157.

<sup>367</sup> Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon*, pp. 75-76.

<sup>368</sup> Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon*, p. 76.

<sup>369</sup> Chon. *Hist.* p. 322; Magoulias (tr.), p. 177; Pontani (tr.), II, pp. 234-235.

<sup>370</sup> Chon. *Hist.* p. 257; Eustathios, *Capture*, pp. 34-35.

<sup>371</sup> Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon*, p. 75.

<sup>372</sup> Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon*, p. 75.

<sup>373</sup> John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, II, p. 379; Nederman (tr.), p. 210.

Ralph wrote his account in the late 1200s and the 1210s, the *Policraticus* was praised in France by Robert of Auxerre. It seems, therefore, unlikely that Ralph had heard nothing of his fellow countryman's work.

## Andronikos's Downfall

### The Latin East and Constantinople

While the story of Andronikos's rise to power and reign of terror piqued the interest of the Latins, the Byzantine ruler's downfall and gruesome death proved to be the most fascinating aspect of his story. As indicated by Roger of Hoveden's account, by 1191 the story of Andronikos's overthrow had already assumed legendary proportions in the Latin East. According to the English chronicler, one of Andronikos's victims was «Andronikos Angelos, who had been chancellor to the emperor Manuel [...] Him and his two sons, the emperor Andronikos caused to be deprived of their sight and virility».<sup>374</sup> Although Andronikos Angelos's son Theodore, who was among the leaders of the revolt of September 1183 in Bithynia, was blinded,<sup>375</sup> Andronikos Angelos himself never suffered blinding. He died in Syria, where he fled following the failed conspiracy against his cousin Andronikos in which he was involved.<sup>376</sup> The second son mentioned by Roger must be identified as Konstantinos Angelos, who, even though he was never blinded, spent his life in prison during Andronikos's reign since he seems to have remained in Constantinople following his father's conspiracy.<sup>377</sup> According to Roger's informants, a third son of Andronikos Angelos, *Ysakus*, was «a learned clergyman», who was residing in Paris «at the time of the prosecution», where he «frequented the schools, that in the instruction of the Latins, he might learn their language and manners».<sup>378</sup> Given the overall reliability of the information Roger was able to obtain in the Latin East, the circulation in the same geographical area of a scenario that posited Isaak as a clerk who dwelt in France during Andronikos's reign of terror is a total mystery.

Upon hearing of the fate of his father and brothers, Isaak – still according to Roger's story – decided to leave Paris and return to the Byzantine Empire. On his journey back to Byzantium he met a «certain religious man» on an island of Greece. The «holy man», who «had a spirit of prophecy», urged Isaak to hasten to Constantinople, foretelling that «the Lord will deliver Constantinople into your hands, and you shall rule over it, and shall be emperor [...] Basileios, the patriarch, and the chief men of the empire are seeking you that they may become your subjects».<sup>379</sup> Roger's account is the only Latin source that includes a prophecy that Isaak would ascend the Byzantine throne. In contrast to the tale that Isaak was a

<sup>374</sup> Roger of Hoveden, *Gesta*, I, p. 256.

<sup>375</sup> Chon. *Hist.* p. 288.

<sup>376</sup> Chon. *Hist.* pp. 266-267. See also Brand, *Byzantium*, p. 46.

<sup>377</sup> Chon. *Hist.* pp. 258-259.

<sup>378</sup> Roger of Hoveden, *Gesta*, I, p. 256.

<sup>379</sup> Roger of Hoveden, *Gesta*, I, pp. 256-257.



cleric studying in Paris, in the story of the «holy man» it is possible to uncover the historical truth lying behind the legendary material. The «holy man» should be identified as the Patriarch of Constantinople Dositheos (1189, 1190-1191), who, as Choniates informs us, had prophesied that Isaak would become emperor.<sup>380</sup> Dositheos was an Orthodox Patriarch of Jerusalem who lived in exile in Constantinople, and before this an ascetic in the Monastery of Studios.<sup>381</sup> Roger's «holy man» is described as having «formerly been archbishop of the city of Tyre» before retiring to become a hermit.<sup>382</sup> Following Isaak's elevation to the throne of Byzantium, the Patriarch Basileios, although having consented under pressure to crown Isaak, eventually became a staunch supporter of the new emperor<sup>383</sup> – this explains why in Roger's story Basileios came to be portrayed as a co-conspirator with Isaak. The new emperor, however, whom his faction pressed to get rid of any persons associated with Andronikos's regime, deposed Basileios, who was succeeded by Niketas Mountanes (1186-1189). Isaak, however, anxious to promote Dositheos to the throne, forced Niketas to abdicate in 1189 and replaced him with his own candidate. As Dositheos's transfer from the throne of Jerusalem to that of Constantinople was uncanonical, opposition to the new patriarch appeared soon after his enthronement and resulted in his being replaced by a monk named Leontios (1189-1190).<sup>384</sup> In Roger's story, following the deposition of the Patriarch Basileios, Isaak «installed another patriarch» – a reference to Niketas – who later abdicated his throne. Isaak immediately sent for the «the holy man», who had predicted his elevation to the throne, and «made him patriarch contrary to the wishes of the canons of the Church of *Hagia Sophia*; in consequence of which there arose a schism among them». As the «holy man» was a «man of peace», he abdicated the patriarchate.<sup>385</sup> All these parallels cannot be accidental. Behind Roger's «holy man» there certainly lies Dositheos.<sup>386</sup>

While the legend of the «holy man» prophesying that Isaak would become emperor never gained wide circulation and is only encountered in Roger's account, the story of the seer Seth foretelling Andronikos's doom was to prove particularly appealing to contemporaries. In Roger's account the seer is replaced by magicians. Whereas in Choniates's account Andronikos sent two deputations to the seer, the

<sup>380</sup> Chon. *Hist.* p. 405.

<sup>381</sup> Chon. *Hist.* p. 405. See also Brand, *Byzantium*, p. 100.

<sup>382</sup> Roger of Hoveden, *Gesta*, I, p. 256.

<sup>383</sup> Brand, *Byzantium*, p. 77.

<sup>384</sup> Brand, *Byzantium*, pp. 77, 100-101.

<sup>385</sup> Roger of Hoveden, *Gesta*, I, p. 260.

<sup>386</sup> Ironically, Dositheos was the very man who, following his re-installation as patriarch of Constantinople by a determined Isaak, predicted that the German Emperor Frederick Barbarossa would conquer Constantinople while on the Third Crusade and went as far to call «the pilgrims of Christ [i.e., crusaders] “dogs”» and «preach that if any Greek should kill a hundred pilgrims, even one who was guilty of the murder of ten [other] men, he would be free and absolved, both from the guilt of his former murders and from all his other sins». *Historia de expeditione*, p. 49; Loud (tr.), p. 77. See also Neocleous, *The Byzantines and Saladin*, cit., pp. 101-102.

first enquiring who would succeed or depose him and the second one when he would be overthrown, Roger describes the emperor having recourse to his *magi*'s powers only once, ordering them to «examine your signs and tell me if there is still any person [...] I need to stand in fear of». Roger's magicians ask «for a boy without guilt [...] to offer in sacrifice to the demons» and «a period of three days» before giving the ruler the answer he asked for. Andronikos immediately gave the magicians «the boy of a widow, [...] whom they killed and, after making lengthened investigation in his blood and entrails by means of their magical arts», discovered «that the end of his [Andronikos's] rule was close at hand, and his death at the gate».<sup>387</sup> While in Choniates's version the seer had disclosed only an ΙΣ, Roger's magicians revealed «that he who was to put him to death was [...] Isaak Angelos».<sup>388</sup>

While the *Chronique d'Ernoul* does not mention the prophecy of Andronikos's downfall, its derivatives, namely the Colbert-Fontainebleau and the Lyon *Eracles* Continuators of William of Tyre, added the story to their texts. According to the two continuations, Andronikos «sent for his astronomers (*astronomiens*) and asked them how long he would live»<sup>389</sup> – Roger's fanciful story of the magicians resorting to human sacrifice to the demons is not mentioned by the continuations. In Roger's version of the story the *magi* asked for «a period of *three* days» before giving an answer while in the continuations of William of Tyre the *astronomiens* «found by their astronomy that he would only live for *three* days». The astronomers, fearing that Andronikos «would do some great evil», had he known he would live for only three days, agreed to tell him instead that he would die in five days. At the news of his immediate downfall, Andronikos «asked who would be the next emperor». The following day the astronomers informed him «that the name of the man was Isaak. On hearing this Andronikos assumed that they meant the duke of Cyprus». With the mass of his army and fleet gathered, the emperor announced publicly that Isaak of Cyprus «intended to seize the empire». *Langosse*, i.e., Hagiochristophorites, however, advised the emperor to kill Isaak Angelos as well, «a young nobleman of the emperor Manuel's kindred [...] who served Andronikos at his court and was held in scorn», as a precautionary measure.<sup>390</sup>

In the two continuations there are a number of details not found in Choniates, namely the foretelling that Andronikos would live for three days and the ruler's mobilisation of all his forces to confront Isaak of Cyprus. Moreover, whereas in Choniates's account Andronikos first inquired who would overthrow him and only later when he would be deposed, in the Old French continuations the two are reversed. Despite these minor differences, however, the continuations' version of the prophecy of Andronikos's downfall proves to be very close, and indeed much closer than that of Roger of Hoveden, to Choniates's. Although the Colbert-

<sup>387</sup> Roger of Hoveden, *Gesta*, I, p. 257.

<sup>388</sup> Roger of Hoveden, *Gesta*, I, p. 257.

<sup>389</sup> *L'estoire de Eracles*, p. 18; *Continuation*, p. 27; Edbury (tr.), p. 20.

<sup>390</sup> *L'estoire de Eracles*, pp. 18-19; *Continuation*, p. 27; Edbury (tr.), pp. 20-21.

Fontainebleau Continuator introduced the prophecy into the text of the *Chronique d'Ernoul* at least five decades after Roger obtained his version in the Latin East, the continuator was nonetheless able to access a much more reliable report, which may have been directly derived from the Empire of Nicaea, the successor of the Byzantine Empire in western Asia Minor, where Choniates concluded his *Historia*.

In Roger's account, upon hearing of his magicians' prophecy, Andronikos sent his chancellor with a company of knights to seize Isaak. Arriving at his house, the emperor's guard found the gates closed. When Isaak was ordered to open them, he mounted his horse and, bursting out of the gates, beheaded the imperial chancellor with his sword. He then proceeded to *Hagia Sophia*, where he threw himself at the feet of the patriarch, who raised him up and crowned him emperor with the acclamations of the Constantinopolitan populace. After Isaak's coronation, the followers of the new emperor attacked the imperial palace.<sup>391</sup> The story recorded by Choniates, that Andronikos took a bow and began firing arrows against his attackers in despair, seems to have become the stuff of legend among the Frankish settlers in the East. Roger relates that while Isaak and his men were attacking the palace, an «enormous raven» sat upon a wall right opposite to Andronikos and «sent forth at him a terrible cawing. Conjecturing that this was an omen of his downfall and ruin», Andronikos seized his bow to shoot the crow. «When he attempted, however, to aim an arrow at the raven, the bow broke».<sup>392</sup> Consistent with the tone adopted in his treatment of Andronikos's reign, Roger makes the ruler lament: «Now I truly know that the day of my ruin is hastening on, and that the ire of God has fallen upon me». Andronikos was immediately seized and delivered to Isaak.<sup>393</sup>

The accounts of Andronikos's downfall found in the *Chronique d'Ernoul*, on the one hand, and the Colbert-Fontainebleau and the Lyon *Eraclès* Continuations of William of Tyre, on the other, differ significantly between themselves. The *Chronique*, which does not contain the story of the astronomers foretelling Andronikos's downfall, relates that *Langosse* urged the emperor to imprison or kill Isaak Angelos as he posed a threat to his reign. Consequently, Andronikos dispatched *Langosse* to summon Isaak into his presence. When Isaak learned of the emperor's order, deeply distressed, he consulted his brother Alexios and his companions, who advised him to go to the palace, offering to accompany him – it should be mentioned here that Isaak's brother Alexios had not yet returned from the East, where he had fled with his family following his father's conspiracy against Andronikos in 1182.<sup>394</sup> Putting on their armours, Isaak, Alexios, and their companions set out for the palace of *Blachernae*, but on their way there they encountered *Langosse* in a narrow street. Isaak immediately killed the imperial agent and cut off

<sup>391</sup> Roger of Hoveden, *Gesta*, I, pp. 258-259.

<sup>392</sup> Roger of Hoveden, *Gesta*, I, p. 259.

<sup>393</sup> Roger of Hoveden, *Gesta*, I, p. 259.

<sup>394</sup> During the first years of Isaak's reign, Alexios was still in Palestine, see Chon. *Hist.* p. 531.

his head. Spurring his horse, he rode through the streets of Constantinople crying: «Lords, come near me, I have killed the devil». With the help of the citizens, he subsequently stormed the imperial palace of *Boukoleon* and garrisoned it with his own men. Putting on the imperial robes, he then went to *Hagia Sophia*, where he was crowned emperor. After his coronation, with the assistance of the people, he attacked the palace of *Blachernae* and seized Andronikos.<sup>395</sup>

In the Colbert-Fontainebleau and the Lyon *Eracles* Continuations of William of Tyre, following the prophecy of the astronomers, *Langosse*, who urged Andronikos to execute Isaak Angelos as a precaution, was sent to seize the nobleman, who lived with his mother. Upon being summoned by *Langosse*, Isaak «took a sword and put it under his surcoat». When he protested his innocence stating that he had always obeyed the emperor's command, he was struck by *Langosse* with a whip. Taking great offence, Isaak took his sword and beheaded the emperor's agent. The citizens of Constantinople immediately began to assemble around Isaak whom they carried to the palace of *Boukoleon*. Seizing the imperial crown housed in the palace, the people then «went to *Hagia Sophia* and had Isaak crowned» while «the cry went through the city: The devil is dead! The devil is dead!» In the meantime, Andronikos attempted to flee Constantinople on a galley, but, unable to pass through the Bosphorus to the Black Sea, had to return back to the capital.<sup>396</sup> While a number of fanciful details found in the *Chronique d'Ernoul*, such as the storming of the palace of *Boukoleon*, were maintained by the compilers of the Colbert-Fontainebleau and the Lyon *Eracles* Continuations of William of Tyre, the rest of the material was revised and added to. As a result, their account of Andronikos's downfall is closer to the official narrative of Choniates.

The story of Andronikos firing arrows against his attackers did not give rise only to the legend of the raven recorded by Roger. According to the Colbert-Fontainebleau and the Lyon *Eracles* Continuations, following his unsuccessful attempt to escape from Constantinople and return to the city, Andronikos, who «was a good archer», lay in wait for Isaak in a concealed position in the palace of *Blachernae* in order to shoot the new emperor while he would be passing in front of the palace, towards which he was marching following the proceedings of his coronation in *Hagia Sophia*. «When Isaak was passing wearing the crown [...] Andronikos took his bow in his hand and fitted an arrow». As in Roger's account, «the bow broke just as Andronikos was taking aim». Subsequently, the emperor was besieged in the palace and seized by the people of Constantinople.<sup>397</sup>

Clari's version of Andronikos's downfall, originating in Constantinople, has certain features in common with the accounts of the Latin East while simultaneously differing significantly from them. According to it, Andronikos «asked his steward who helped him do all these evil acts, if there were any more who were upset that he was emperor»<sup>398</sup> – this recalls Roger's story, whereby Andronikos asked his magi-

<sup>395</sup> *Chronique d'Ernoul*, pp. 91-93.

<sup>396</sup> *L'estoire de Eracles*, pp. 19-20; *Continuation*, pp. 27-28; Edbury (tr.), p. 21.

<sup>397</sup> *L'estoire de Eracles*, p. 20; *Continuation*, p. 28; Edbury (tr.), pp. 21-22.

<sup>398</sup> Clari, *Conquête*, pp. 26-27.

cians if there were still any person he needed to stand in fear of. The emperor's steward replied that «there were three young men in the town who belonged to a family called Angeloi». Andronikos immediately commanded his steward «to go and capture them and to hang them or make them die some horrible death». The steward managed to catch only one and put out his eyes – this is obviously a reference to Theodore – while the other two, Isaak and Alexios, escaped. Isaak fled to Wallachia, but, because of «sheer poverty», was soon forced to return to Constantinople, where he hid in the house of a widow. When news of Isaak's return reached Andronikos, he sent his steward to capture and hang him. Clari provides a vivid account of the dialogues between, first, the steward and the «good woman» who was threatened to be hanged had she not revealed Isaak, secondly, the woman and Isaak, who was informed that the emperor's steward was looking for him, and finally Isaak and the steward. When the steward cried «stinging scum, we will hang you now», Isaak «drew his sword and struck the steward through the head, so he cut it in two right down to the teeth». Taking the horse of the steward and blandishing his sword, Isaak set out for *Hagia Sophia*. Along the way, he cried «I have killed the devil and the murderer who has committed all the shameful deeds perpetrated on the people of this city and others».<sup>399</sup> The phrase «I have killed the devil», which has already been encountered in the *Chronique d'Ernouf* and its derivatives, seems to have first originated in the version of Andronikos's story circulating in Constantinople, from where it was picked up and subsequently incorporated into the versions of the Latin East. Intriguingly, while the story of Andronikos's magicians, or astronomers, foretelling his downfall was in circulation in the Latin East for several decades, as evidenced by Roger's account of 1191 and the Colbert-Fontainebleau and the Lyon *Eracles* Continuations composed around five decades later, it seems to have not gained currency in Constantinople since Clari does not mention it.

While Latin chroniclers in East and West present Isaak as proceeding to *Hagia Sophia*, following his murder of Hagiochristophorites, in order to be crowned emperor, Clari is the only chronicler who conveys that Isaak, in fact, rushed to *Hagia Sophia* seeking asylum and provides an insight into the future ruler's agony and fear of his life following the murder of Andronikos's «steward». Clari recounts that Isaak «came to the church of *Hagia Sophia*, [...] climbed on the altar and embraced the cross because he wanted to save his life». Only after it became «known throughout the city how Isaak had killed this evil devil and this murderer», the citizens, who assembled in *Hagia Sophia*, decided to make «this young man» emperor, agreeing that he was «brave and bold to have carried out such a daring deed».<sup>400</sup> Likewise, Clari was also correctly informed that the patriarch initially refused to crown Isaak and only eventually consented as he was threatened by the mob, even though the chronicler mistakenly ascribes the patriarch's refusal to the fact that he was fearful for his life rather than to his pro-Andronikan stance, of which he was obviously oblivious.<sup>401</sup>

<sup>399</sup> Clari, *Conquête*, pp. 26-29.

<sup>400</sup> Clari, *Conquête*, pp. 28-29.

<sup>401</sup> Clari, *Conquête*, pp. 28-30.

In Clari's version of Andronikos's downfall, the Byzantine ruler, having been informed of Isaak's coronation, went to *Hagia Sophia* through a secret passage and, getting up on the vaults of the church, «took a bow and bent it» to kill the newly crowned emperor. However, «as he bent the bow, the cord broke». Dismayed, Andronikos returned to the palace and then, boarding a galley, tried to flee Constantinople, but a storm drove him back to the city.<sup>402</sup> Again the similarities between Clari's version and that of the Colbert-Fontainebleau and the Lyon *Eracles* Continuations are striking. As with Andronikos's portrayal as a rapist and the phrase «I have killed the devil» put in Isaak's mouth, the story of Andronikos attempting to kill the new emperor with his bow seems to have spread from Constantinople to the Latin East, where it was taken up by the Colbert-Fontainebleau and the Lyon *Eracles* Continuations. In Clari's account, however, even more imaginative details follow. Upon Andronikos's return to Constantinople, some of his followers «led him to an inn and hid him behind the barrels». When the wife of the innkeeper went to make sure that the barrels were properly closed, «she saw Andronikos behind them with all his imperial robes and she recognised him perfectly». Once the innkeeper was informed by his wife that Andronikos was hiding in their inn, he sent a message to a nobleman (*haus bons*) whose father had been killed and his wife raped by Andronikos. The nobleman with his followers arrived at the inn, «captured Andronikos and led him to his palace». The next day the nobleman delivered the deposed emperor to Isaak.<sup>403</sup> The most striking aspect of this tale is that despite being apocryphal, it nonetheless gives a brief glimpse into the reality of Andronikos's reign of terror against the nobility of Constantinople.

Like the events of Andronikos's downfall, his gruesome death also became the stuff of legend. In Roger's account, Isaak handed the deposed emperor over to his torturers with the order to «put out one of his eyes, and to cut off one ear, one hand, and one foot» but «preserve his life and his other limbs for greater torments». Once Isaak's order was executed, the mutilated Andronikos was thrown into prison.<sup>404</sup> To this point, Roger's account accords well enough with that of Choniates. What follows, however, is entirely fictitious. According to Roger, the next day, Andronikos was delivered to torturers who, «scattering straw over him, set fire to his sides and burned him till the whole of his skin was contracted into wrinkles». After a further imprisonment of three days, the overthrown ruler was finally fastened to the tails of horses and dragged through the midst of the city until he died.<sup>405</sup>

In the almost identical accounts of Andronikos's death found in the *Chronique d'Ernoul* and the Colbert-Fontainebleau and the Lyon *Eracles* Continuations, Isaak has Andronikos stripped naked and crowns him in mockery with «a chaplet of garlic stalks». With «his hair crop and shaved in a cross», Andronikos was sat backwards on the back of a donkey «with him holding its tail like a rein» – the

<sup>402</sup> Clari, *Conquête*, pp. 30-33.

<sup>403</sup> Clari, *Conquête*, pp. 32-33.

<sup>404</sup> Roger of Hoveden, *Gesta*, I, p. 259.

<sup>405</sup> Roger of Hoveden, *Gesta*, I, pp. 259-260.

Colbert-Fontainebleau and the Lyon *Eracles* Continuations add that Isaak «gouged out one of his [Andronikos's] eyes but let him keep the other so he would see the shame and the punishment he was to receive». As Andronikos was paraded through the streets of Constantinople, the women threw urine and excrement in his face.<sup>406</sup> While to this point the account of the three Old French texts has some basis in fact, it proceeds to add harrowing details of cannibalism. As related, when the deposed ruler

came outside the city, he was left to the women, and they fell on him [...] and tore him in pieces. Anyone who could have a bit as large as a bean ate it; they took a knife to the bones and removed the flesh and ate it [...] It was said that all those who had eaten any of him or who had been at his death would be saved because they had helped avenge the evil that he had done.<sup>407</sup>

While the emphasis placed on the women's participation in Andronikos's public disgrace is explicable in view of the fact that humiliation by women was particularly degrading in the Middle Ages, the details of cannibalism recorded by the *Chronique d'Ernoul* and its derivatives are rather unfathomable. The story must have begun as an anecdote or «joke» which eventually found its way into the Old French texts of the Latin East. Fabricated tales of cannibalism are found in the medieval romance *Richard Coer de Lyon* where cannibalism is performed with appetite by Richard I himself, who devours Saracen flesh with greedy relish.<sup>408</sup> This «gloriously unapologetic [...] guilt-free, happy cannibalism», as Geraldine Heng has described it, was intended «to embellish, not to condemn, his [Richard's] legend». <sup>409</sup> The king's cannibalism is inflicted against the Muslims, the Christians' enemies, and its depiction is organised «into specific patterns of intelligibility and meaning». <sup>410</sup> Similarly, in the *Chronique d'Ernoul*, the women of Constantinople are not condemned for devouring the deposed Andronikos. On the contrary, the women's cannibalism is depicted as a good one, helping avenge Andronikos's *malisse*.

Clari's account of Andronikos's death is, despite its fanciful elements, the most reliable of those directly originating in the Latin East and Constantinople. As the French chronicler relates, Isaak handed Andronikos over to the people of Constantinople who were, however, unable to decide how to kill the deposed emperor, «some saying that they should burn him, others that he should be boiled in a cauldron [...] others that he should be dragged through the streets». <sup>411</sup> Eventually, a man, exalted by Clari as «wise», said

<sup>406</sup> *Chronique d'Ernoul*, p. 94; *L'estoire de Eracles*, p. 21; *Continuation*, p. 28; Edbury (tr.), p. 22.

<sup>407</sup> *Chronique d'Ernoul*, pp. 94-95; *L'estoire de Eracles*, p. 21; *Continuation*, pp. 28-29; Edbury (tr.), p. 22.

<sup>408</sup> G. Heng, *Empire of Magic: Medieval Romance and the Politics of Cultural Fantasy*, New York 2003, p. 64.

<sup>409</sup> Heng, *Empire of Magic*, cit., p. 65.

<sup>410</sup> Heng, *Empire of Magic*, cit., p. 335 n. 4.

<sup>411</sup> Clari, *Conquête*, pp. 34-35.

I have a camel at home, which is the foulest, ugliest and most disgusting beast in the world. We will take Andronikos, strip him stark naked, tie him to the back of the camel so that his face is right next to its arse; we will lead him like this from one end of the city to the other, then they will all be able to get their revenge on him.<sup>412</sup>

All the people agreed with the «wise man» and, as Andronikos was led through the city,

all those wronged by him came up, stabbing him, tearing at him and striking him, some with knives, others with daggers, still others with swords. And they said: «You hanged my father, you slept with my wife by force!». And the women, whose daughters he had raped, grabbed him by the sideburns and did such shameful things to him that when they came to the other end of the city, he had no flesh left on his body.<sup>413</sup>

The *Chronique d'Ernoul* concludes his accounts of Andronikos by stating that the new Emperor Isaak «was greatly loved by the people of the land because he had avenged on the evil of Andronikos [...] He was especially loved by the abbeyes and there was not a monastery in Constantinople that did not have his image painted above the entrance».<sup>414</sup> Clari adds more information to the *Chronique* providing valuable details about Isaak's images. As the French chronicler relates,

from the day that Isaak became emperor, they painted above the portals of the churches how Isaak had miraculously become emperor, and how Our Lord on one side of him and Our Lady on the other put the crown on his head, and how the angel cut the string of the bow with which Andronikos wanted to shoot him.<sup>415</sup>

Imperial portraits were common in Byzantium. Their function was, to use the words of a modern commentator, to «display the majesty of the Byzantine emperor and thereby magnify his power and that of the empire everywhere an image was placed».<sup>416</sup> Representations of imperial images were even acclaimed in the churches of Constantinople.<sup>417</sup> The position of these images, however, was often uncertain. As Choniates informs us, following the execution of Maria of Antioch, Andronikos ordered her images to «be done over so that she appeared as a shrivelled-up old woman because he was suspicious of the pity elicited by these radiant and very beautiful portrayals, worthy of the admiration of the passers-by and spectators».<sup>418</sup> Following Andronikos's death, «in the city his image had become an

<sup>412</sup> Clari, *Conquête*, pp. 34-35.

<sup>413</sup> Clari, *Conquête*, pp. 34-35.

<sup>414</sup> *Chronique d'Ernoul*, p. 95. See also *L'estoire de Eracles*, p. 22; *Continuation*, p. 29; Edbury (tr.), p. 22.

<sup>415</sup> Clari, *Conquête*, pp. 34-35. Emphasis added.

<sup>416</sup> A. Eastmond, *Between Icon and Idol: the Uncertainty of Imperial Images*, in A. Eastmond (ed.), *Icon and Word: The Power of Images in Byzantium*, Aldershot 2003, pp. 73-85: 73.

<sup>417</sup> Collenberg, *L'Empereur Isaac de Chypre*, cit., p. 137 n. 1.

<sup>418</sup> Chon. *Hist.* pp. 332-333; Magoulias (tr.), p. 183; Pontani (tr.), II, pp. 258-259.



abomination, whether it be the features of his face as one would visualise them or his portrait found on walls and panels; large numbers of the populace abused these and ground them down and scattered them over the city». <sup>419</sup> Although a number of imperial images have been preserved in the frescoes of Byzantine churches, no image of Isaak survives. Neither is mentioned by Byzantine authors. This notwithstanding, Clari's evidence cannot be dismissed. Clari himself may well have seen Isaak's images. Although Isaak was blinded by his brother who succeeded him to the throne, he was never subjected to a *damnatio memoriae*. He even had significant freedom in his comfortable prison and people were able to visit him safely. <sup>420</sup> It is therefore not impossible that Alexios III spared his brother's images in Constantinopolitan churches. However, even if Clari did not see Isaak's images, his informants certainly did. The portrayal of Isaak being crowned by Christ and the Virgin, while impressing a Westerner like Clari, must have appeared monotonous to a Byzantine observer: representations of Byzantine emperors being crowned by Christ, the Virgin, or other saints or archangels were rather common, reflecting the Byzantine emperor's position as God's vicar on earth. The most valuable information in Clari's description of Isaak's images, however, is that they also featured «the angel [who] cut the string of the bow with which Andronikos wanted to shoot him». <sup>421</sup> This iconographic detail must have indeed been an innovation. Given his fortuitous rise to power, Isaak, as Choniates informs us, was «absolutely convinced that he had received the throne from God». <sup>422</sup> The myth that Andronikos had attempted to fire an arrow at him but the cord of his bow broke fitted well Isaak's conviction. Imperial propaganda fed the myth, attributing the breaking of the cord to an angel (in Greek *angelos*), simultaneously alluding to Isaak's family name, Angelos. The myth of Andronikos's downfall and Isaak's elevation to the throne seems to have eventually become a vehicle of imperial propaganda, incorporated into imperial images that served as a visual record of Isaak's miraculous elevation to the throne. Westerners like Clari and his informants were clearly taken in by Byzantine propaganda, accepting without challenge that «Isaak had miraculously (*par miracle*) become emperor». <sup>423</sup>

In their works, Roger of Hoveden, Robert of Clari, the *Chronique d'Ernoul*, and the Colbert-Fontainebleau and the Lyon *Eracles* Continuations paint a favourable picture of Isaak, who freed Constantinople and its citizens from the rule of Andronikos. Roger of Hoveden was so biased in favour of Isaak that when he came to describe Fredrick I's crusade in his work, he recorded that the Byzantine ruler received his German counterpart «with due honour and reverence». The two emperors exchanged «securities for the preservation of peace» and after some

<sup>419</sup> Chon. *Hist.* p. 352; Magoulias (tr.), p. 194; Pontani (tr.), II, pp. 306-307.

<sup>420</sup> D. E. Queller and T. F. Madden, *The Fourth Crusade: The Conquest of Constantinople*, Philadelphia, PA, 1997<sup>2</sup>, p. 34.

<sup>421</sup> Clari, *Conquête*, pp. 34-35.

<sup>422</sup> ἀκριβῶς πεπεισμένον ὡς ἐκ θεοῦ τὸ ἄρχειν ἐδέξατο: Chon. *Hist.* p. 423; Magoulias (tr.), p. 233; Pontani (tr.), II, pp. 472-473.

<sup>423</sup> Clari, *Conquête*, pp. 34-35.

«delays», the cause of which Roger avoids to identify, Isaak provided Frederick «with all the necessities for his and his men's journey».<sup>424</sup> It seems implausible that someone as well-informed as Roger was not aware of Isaak's hostility towards Frederick. Besides, as the chronicler Ralph Niger informs us, the German ruler's routing of Isaak and the sultan of Iconium was common knowledge in the East.<sup>425</sup> Indeed, Roger does refer to Frederick's victory over the Turks of Iconium in considerable detail.<sup>426</sup> As to the German emperor's relations with Isaak, however, the chronicler preferred to conceal the truth than to tarnish the positive image he had built up of the Byzantine ruler.

A very different interpretation of Andronikos's downfall which contrasts with what had been hitherto examined is found in the anonymous report preserved in Magnus's chronicle. The anonymous reporter relates that following the escape of the Angeloi family to the Latin East, the father died there while «two of his sons fled back to the feet of Andronikos, and were immediately blinded».<sup>427</sup> The information about the blinding of two of Andronikos Angelos's sons has already been encountered in the contemporary account of Roger of Hoveden and seems to have been a rumour bruited about in the Latin East. Magnus's report relates that Andronikos Angelos's other two sons, a reference to Isaak and Alexios, «who did not trust in the mercy of Andronikos, fled to Saladin».<sup>428</sup> Isaak, however, soon returned to Constantinople «led by love of his homeland». While «Andronikos had spared him and helped him in many ways, an oracle was consulted and the emperor and [his] *logothete* [i.e., Hagiochristophorites] heard that the throne would pass to the said Isaak, and on the *logothete*'s persuasion they decided that he ought to be blinded».<sup>429</sup> It is interesting to note that, in contrast to all other accounts of Andronikos, the anonymous reporter, whose loathing for Isaak guided his interpretation of Andronikos's reign and downfall, portrays Isaak as the offender and Andronikos as the victim. Despite being allegedly spared and even helped by Andronikos, Isaak – as the oracle revealed – would take his benefactor's throne. «When the *logothete* came to him [Isaak] with the imperial order [...] he [Isaak] had no hesitation about killing him» and, hastening to *Hagia Sophia*, «proclaimed

<sup>424</sup> Roger of Hoveden, *Gesta*, II, p. 88.

<sup>425</sup> R. Anstruther (ed.), Ralph Niger, *Chronica*, London 1851, p. 98.

<sup>426</sup> Roger of Hoveden, *Gesta*, II, pp. 88-89.

<sup>427</sup> Magnus of Reichersberg, *Chronicon*, p. 511; Loud (tr.), p. 153.

<sup>428</sup> Following their father's conspiracy against Andronikos, Isaak and Alexios had fled to Syria, where the former remained for only a year – as has been seen, Isaak returned to Bithynia and was among the leaders of the revolt of September 1183 – and the latter until after his brother's elevation to the throne. The information that the two brothers had been guests at Saladin's court is not mentioned by any account other than Magnus's anonymous report. Magnus's report was written while Isaak was trying to destroy the German expedition of the Third Crusade and its author claimed that a conspiracy between the Byzantine ruler and Saladin against the crusade accounted for the emperor's hostility towards the Germans. In this context, rumours that Isaak had been a guest of Saladin before his elevation to the throne were readily accepted as true. See also Neocleous, *The Byzantines and Saladin*, cit., pp. 103-104.

<sup>429</sup> Magnus of Reichersberg, *Chronicon*, p. 511; Loud (tr.), p. 153.

to the people: “I have killed your enemy”<sup>430</sup> – this is what was later replaced with «I have killed the devil». According to the anonymous report, «the people followed him [Isaak] and he was acclaimed emperor».<sup>431</sup>

Magnus’s reporter’s concluding remarks on Andronikos’s downfall speak volumes of his hostile attitude towards Isaak and sympathy for the overthrown ruler: «he [Isaak] inflicted a most cruel and extraordinary revenge on Andronikos, to whom he had sworn as his lord».<sup>432</sup> As Choniates informs us, Isaak as well as the rest of the extended family of the Angeloi living in Constantinople during Andronikos’s reign had given an oath of loyalty to the emperor, whereby if any one of them committed treason, all of them would be held accountable.<sup>433</sup> Although the possibility that Magnus’s reporter was aware of this oath cannot be completely ruled out, it is even more probable that the Latin reporter simply presumed that Isaak had taken an oath to Andronikos and mentioned it to highlight his treason against «his lord». In feudal Europe and the Latin East, nobles were bound to their lord by an oath of fealty and Latins often assumed, or pretended to assume, that the same was true for the Byzantine Empire. When Latin writers wanted to defame Byzantine rulers who became emperors by deposing their predecessors, they portrayed them as traitors to their lords and even as violators of their oaths to them, even on occasions when an oath had never been sworn.<sup>434</sup> It is therefore very likely that Magnus’s reporter was not aware of the oath that Isaak gave to Andronikos and only recorded that Isaak «had sworn to Andronikos as his lord» in order to further discredit the ruler in the eyes of his readers. Although being the exception to the rule, Magnus’s report demonstrates how prejudice and bias guided the author’s interpretation and presentation of the more or less same information available to his contemporaries.

### The Latin West

In contrast to the detailed narratives of Andronikos’s downfall and death found in the chronicles of Westerners who had themselves travelled to Constantinople or the Latin East on crusade, the majority of the rest of the Western chroniclers furnish rather brief accounts which they managed to obtain from informants who had gone to *Outremer*. The earliest French chroniclers reporting on Andronikos’s downfall are the Anchin continuator, Guido de Bazoches, and Robert of Auxerre.

<sup>430</sup> Magnus of Reichersberg, *Chronicon*, p. 511; Loud (tr.), p. 153.

<sup>431</sup> Magnus of Reichersberg, *Chronicon*, p. 511; Loud (tr.), p. 153.

<sup>432</sup> Magnus of Reichersberg, *Chronicon*, p. 511; Loud (tr.), p. 153.

<sup>433</sup> Chon. *Hist.* p. 343.

<sup>434</sup> In his letter to Pope Innocent III (1198-1216), following his election and enthronement as emperor of the Latin Empire of Constantinople on 16 May 1204, Baldwin IX of Flanders denounced the Byzantine Emperor Alexios V Mourtzouphlos (1204) for having «shut up his lord [Alexios IV (1203-1204)] in prison and [...] snatched away his throne, after having disregarded the sanctity of an oath, fealty, and a covenant». O. Hageneder et al. (edd.), *Die Register Innocenz’ III*, I-XI, Graz-Cologne 1964-2010: VII, pp. 253-262: 255, 256-257 (nr. 152); A. J. Andrea (tr.), *Contemporary Sources for the Fourth Crusade*, Leiden 2000, pp. 98-112: 102, 104.

The Anchin continuator records that Andronikos was slain in the imperial palace «by a certain good knight of royal birth whom he had deceitfully planned to murder». The «good knight», who had been encouraged to this action by the help of his parents and the citizens of Constantinople who hated Andronikos, was to subsequently rule the empire with the consent of the people.<sup>435</sup> Concerned about Anna's fate after Andronikos's execution, the informants of the Anchin continuator reported that the new emperor ordered that the former empress be attended to with due honour,<sup>436</sup> information, which, although not substantiated by any other source, Greek or Latin, must be true – when the French of the Fourth Crusade arrived in Constantinople in 1203 and asked to see Anna, they found her living in the mansion of the Greek nobleman Theodoros Branias, who had become her lover.<sup>437</sup> Guido de Bazoches's account of Andronikos's downfall and death is generally more informative than that of his Flemish counterpart, yet one would perhaps expect even more information from the Champenois chronicler who lived for several years in the Latin East. Guido recounts that the «perfidious» Andronikos was overthrown by Isaak, who was elevated to the *imperium* with the «acclamations of all the people». The new emperor immediately ordered that Andronikos be paraded in public in disgrace. Pulled down and shamefully dragged about the streets, Andronikos was battered, before he was torn into pieces. He was so hated, Guido asserts, that the people's thirst for his blood was not slaked, even though all of it was shed.<sup>438</sup> Of the three early French sources of Andronikos's downfall, Robert of Auxerre is the only one to record that Isaak was ordered to come to the emperor's presence. Upon receiving the imperial order, Isaak, who is described as «a certain man of royal descent», won over the populace of Constantinople who gave their consent to the nobleman's coronation by the patriarch of Constantinople since they hated Andronikos. The newly crowned emperor and the people of Constantinople attacked and seized Andronikos, who, with one of his legs and one of his hands cut off, was led through the streets of the city on a donkey, before his eyes were gouged out and his tongue was cut off.<sup>439</sup> It is interesting to note that in the tradition of the *Chronique d'Ernoult*, all the aforementioned French chroniclers highlight popular resentment against Andronikos and the role that people played in Isaak's elevation to the emperorship.

While quoting Guido's brief account of Andronikos's deposition, public humiliation, and death, Alberic of Trois-Fontaines also incorporates additional information on the Byzantine ruler's downfall into his chronicle. According to it, on the eve of his overthrow, Andronikos cast lots and it was discovered that a certain Isaak would remove him from the *imperium* and give him over to destruction. Andronikos's agents searched throughout Constantinople and all of Greece to find those called «Isaak». There were discovered two with this name, the first being the

<sup>435</sup> *Continuatio Aquicinctina*, p. 423.

<sup>436</sup> *Continuatio Aquicinctina*, p. 423.

<sup>437</sup> Clari, *Conquête*, pp. 66-67.

<sup>438</sup> Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, *Chronicon*, p. 850.

<sup>439</sup> Robert of Auxerre, *Chronicon*, p. 248.

king of Cyprus and the second a young knight who was the scribe of the chancellor or seneschal of the imperial court. As both of them, however, were beyond suspicion, Andronikos cast lots again, but the same thing as before was revealed. At the advice of his chancellor, Andronikos ordered that the scribe Isaak be brought to him and his eyes be gouged out. The chancellor, who must, of course, be identified as Hagiochristophorites, arrived at the house of Isaak's mother and delivered the emperor's message. Isaak hesitated to leave the safety of his house while he took care to conceal his arms under his clothes and keep his sword near him. Irritated at Isaak's delay, the chancellor entered the house, seized him by the hair, and asked him angrily why he did not make haste to come to the emperor. Being «a most excellent young man», Isaak grabbed his sword, cut off the chancellor's head, and with the head placed on his sword went around the city crying out: «Come to me. Come to me. I have killed the devil». Hearing this, the citizens thought that Isaak had killed Andronikos. They immediately got hold of him and led him to *Hagia Sophia*, where they solemnly crowned him emperor. Andronikos tried to defend himself in the palace, which was invaded by Isaak, assisted by all the people. Andronikos tried three times to shoot Isaak with his bow and arrows, but the string of the bow broke all three times. Admitting defeat, Andronikos fled with a ship, but galleys were immediately sent after him and brought him back.<sup>440</sup> Guido's earlier passage on the overthrown emperor's public disgrace and death is tacked on to the end of Alberic's detailed version of Andronikos's downfall.

Alberic of Trois-Fontaines's account, although considerably different from the rest of the narratives originating in Constantinople and the Latin East, nonetheless has several features in common with them. The prophecy about Andronikos's downfall is present in the Champenois chronicler's narrative, even though the magicians or astronomers are replaced with lot-casting. Since the Bible, especially the Old Testament, contains many accounts of lot-casting on various occasions,<sup>441</sup> a biblical influence on Alberic's version of Andronikos's story seems very probable. The introduction of Isaak of Cyprus into the story and his identification with the would-be usurper has already been encountered in the Colbert-Fontainebleau and the Lyon *Eracles* continuators of William of Tyre, which, like Alberic's account, date to the 1130s and 1140s. While in Alberic's account, however, Isaak of Cyprus was considered by Andronikos as being beyond suspicion, in the continuations of William of Tyre he is the prime suspect. In Alberic's account, as in the accounts of the *Chronique d'Ernouf* and its derivatives, Andronikos decides to get rid of Isaak Angelos at the advice of his «chancellor». Like the continuations of William of Tyre, Alberic has Isaak live with his mother. The phrase «I have killed the devil», which, as argued, originated in the version of Andronikos's story circulating in Constantinople, from where it eventually passed to the Latin East and was incorporated into the *Chronique d'Ernouf*, is not absent from Alberic's version. The same is true for the story of Andronikos trying to shoot Isaak with his bow. On the

<sup>440</sup> Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, *Chronicon*, p. 850.

<sup>441</sup> J. Lindblom, *Lot-Casting in the Old Testament*, «Vetus Testamentum» 12, 1962, pp. 164-178.

other hand, certain features, as, for example, Isaak's identification as a scribe in the imperial court is unique to Alberic's account. Notwithstanding differences, however, the remarkable concordance between Alberic's narrative and the accounts originating in the Latin East and Constantinople testifies to the fact that the version of the Champenois chronicler has its origins in the East and represents yet another story of Andronikos's downfall circulating in the Byzantine imperial capital or even more likely the Latin *Outremer*. Alberic must have received it in the form of a written text or an oral report of pilgrims or crusaders returning from the East. Theobald IV, count of Champagne, king of Navarre since 1234, was the leading figure of the Barons' Crusade of 1239 to the Holy Land.<sup>442</sup> The Champenois crusaders who returned to France in 1240 may well have furnished Alberic with the report on Andronikos's downfall.

Record evidence suggests that information on Andronikos's downfall and death reached Germany and Austria directly from Constantinople before it reached France and England via the Latin East. Already by the late 1180s Godfrey of Viterbo related that «only one prince, Isaak, who was of royal descent [...] was spared» by Andronikos, since he «feigned love» for the tyrant. Eventually, however, Andronikos became suspicious of Isaak as well and decided to kill him. One night Isaak was summoned to appear before the ruler, but, foreseeing «the device and deceit», killed the imperial messenger.<sup>443</sup> Apart from Western chroniclers, like Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, who incorporated into their accounts a detailed report on Andronikos's downfall directly originating in the East, Godfrey is the only Western source that mentions the slaying of Andronikos's emissary. Following the killing of the imperial agent, Isaak went to *Hagia Sophia*, where he told the assembled citizens that all the people of Constantinople would be perished «unless the tyrant Andronikos were exterminated». With loud shouts the people seized Andronikos, who «was mutilated limb by limb. One of his eyes was gouged out while the other was preserved to see his torments [...] Stoned by women and people and disgracefully dragged through the streets of the city, he was miserably deprived of his life».<sup>444</sup>

The account of the continuator of the annals of Melk in Austria, although contemporary, is briefer than that of Godfrey of Viterbo. According to it, Andronikos «was driven from the throne by an ordinary knight and, with his limbs cut off one by one, was, half-mutilated, suspended from a tree». Thus, «Isaak seized the kingdom».<sup>445</sup> In marked contrast to the French chroniclers who portray Isaak as a hero who freed the Byzantine Empire from Andronikos, even describing him as a «good knight» and a «most excellent young man», the Austrian continuator of the annals of Melk has no praise for Isaak, who is dismissively described as «an ordinary knight» – it is unlikely that an annalist as well-informed as the continuator of

<sup>442</sup> C. Tyerman, *God's War: a New History of the Crusades*, London 2006, pp. 755-769.

<sup>443</sup> Godfrey of Viterbo, *Pantheon*, p. 262.

<sup>444</sup> Godfrey of Viterbo, *Pantheon*, p. 262.

<sup>445</sup> *Continuatio Zwetlensis Altera*, p. 543.

the annals of Melk was not aware of Isaak's being a member of the extended imperial family or, at least, «high-born», especially given that less informed chroniclers were aware of this. The reason of the annalist's contempt for the new Byzantine ruler is that four years after his elevation to the throne of Byzantium, he tried to destroy the German crusading expedition marching to Jerusalem through the Byzantine Empire. Under the year 1189, reporting on Isaak's hostility towards the Germans, the Austrian annalist returns to the circumstances that led to the ruler's elevation to the imperial throne in 1185 and, although he once again condemns Andronikos as a «tyrant», at the same time makes skilful use of a pun in order to revile Isaak, who came to the throne not «through succession by royal blood but *per casum* (through accident) or more correctly *per occasum* (for ruin)». <sup>446</sup>

The anonymous report included in the *Historia de expeditione Friderici imperatoris* relates that one of the Byzantine princes to be summoned by Andronikos to be murdered was «a certain Isaak [...] the eldest son of another Andronikos». Isaak, however, forewarned of Andronikos's intention to execute him, «rushed upon him [Andronikos] along with the other princes and knights with whom he had conspired». <sup>447</sup> The anonymous report represents the earliest account advancing the notion that there was a conspiracy behind Andronikos's downfall. The growth of the notion that a conspiracy led to Andronikos's downfall must have been due to the same rumours that gave rise to the story found in the *Chronique d'Ernoult* that Isaak, when summoned into Andronikos's presence, informed his companions of the imperial order, and they all secretly armed themselves and went to the palace. The fact that in the German accounts the supposed conspiracy is organised by the nobility is hardly surprising and reflects German norms: the nobles in Germany played a prominent role in the kingdom's politics as the German king was elected by elector princes. <sup>448</sup> Following his apprehension, Andronikos, according to the anonymous report of the *Historia de expeditione*, «was beaten to a pulp, shamefully placed on a camel, and led around the city, with the whole populace showering him with stones and filth». The report concludes that, «brought to the sea gate, [...] he [Andronikos] was beheaded». Drawing upon the Psalms, the anonymous author avers that «thus this wretched man [Andronikos] was "fallen into the ditch which he made"». <sup>449</sup>

The first recension of the continuation of the *Royal Chronicles* has only few things to report on Andronikos's downfall. In line with the anonymous report in the *Historia de expeditione*, it records that the nobles of Constantinople with «a certain Isaak whom Andronikos wanted to murder» conspired against the ruler,

<sup>446</sup> *Continuatio Zwettlensis Altera*, p. 544. In contrast to some of his fellow countrymen who ascribed Isaak's hostility to the German crusading expedition to an alliance between him and Saladin, the continuator of the annals of Melk in Austria assigned the Byzantine Emperor's aggression to the fact that due to his fortuitous rise to power, «he greatly feared the instability of fate [...] [H]e dreaded being brought down by the [same] fate he was elevated».

<sup>447</sup> *Historia de expeditione*, p. 32; Loud (tr.), p. 63.

<sup>448</sup> A. Falk, *Franks and Saracens: Reality and Fantasy in the Crusades*, London 2010, p. 55.

<sup>449</sup> *Historia de expeditione*, p. 32; Loud (tr.), p. 63; Ps. 7, 15.

who «was driven from the throne» and died «a shameful death».<sup>450</sup> In contrast to the brevity of the first recension, the second one provides much more information on Andronikos's downfall. According to it, on a certain day Andronikos «summoned necromancers and astrologers, whose advice he had always used», and inquired «how long he would reign and how he would die». The necromancers and astrologers, «through the invocation of the demons», obtained the information Andronikos desired and, returning to him three days later, revealed the day of his death and that he would be killed «by a certain "Sach"». A frightened Andronikos invited his loyal advisers to ask them if there remained anyone of royal blood in the city called «Sach». «Investigating the matter diligently», the imperial advisers answered that there was none called «Sach» but only «a certain "Tysac" [i.e. Isaak], a good and brave man». A messenger was immediately dispatched to order Isaak to come to Andronikos's presence. When Isaak received the messenger, recognising «the vileness of the tyrant», secretly put on his armour and, «mounting his horse, hasten to go to the palace». On the way there, he unsheathed his sword and beheaded the imperial messenger. With his sword extended, Isaak ran around the city shouting: «Look everyone, I have killed the devil». The people of Constantinople, «both nobility and people of low birth [...] thinking that Isaak had killed the tyrant, proceeded with him to the Church of *Hagia Sophia*». With the senate summoned and in the presence of the patriarch and clergy, the people proclaimed Isaak emperor. «Hearing what happened, the tyrant secretly left the palace» and, getting onto a galley, fled. A fleet was immediately sent by Isaak to chase Andronikos, who was captured and brought back. Brought in the presence of the new emperor and the nobles he had mutilated, Andronikos had his hair and beard torn out. «Tied to the tails of untamed horses», he was «dragged through the city, pursued by children who threw stones and mud on him». Thus Andronikos died and Isaak was elevated to the throne.<sup>451</sup>

As in the case of Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, the account of Andronikos's downfall in the second recension of the continuation of the *Royal Chronicles*, although unique in its own right, has several features in common with the narratives originating in the Latin East. The «necromancers and astrologers» recall the magicians and astronomers in the accounts of Roger of Hoveden and the Colbert-Fontainebleau and the Lyon *Eracles* Continuations. In agreement with the Colbert-Fontainebleau and the Lyon *Eracles* Continuations, Andronikos asked to know «how long he would reign and how he would die». As in Roger's account, in the *Royal Chronicles* the prophecy about Andronikos's downfall is obtained «through the invocation of the demons» while in both accounts the prophecy is delivered to the emperor three days after his request. The phrase «I have killed the devil» has been encountered in the *Chronique d'Ernoult* and its derivatives as well as the account of Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, which, as argued, also originated in the Latin East while the fiction that Andronikos, tied to the tails of horses, was dragged through

<sup>450</sup> *Chronica regia Coloniensis*, p. 131.

<sup>451</sup> *Chronica regia Coloniensis*, pp. 131-132.



the streets of Constantinople, occurs also in Roger of Hoveden's narrative. Finally, the detail that the Constantinopolitans thought that Isaak had slain Andronikos when they heard him crying that he had «killed the devil» has also been found in Alberic's account. All these similarities attest to the Eastern origin of the information of the author of the second recension of the *Chronica Regia Coloniensis*, who may well have obtained his report on Andronikos from crusaders from Cologne who participated in the crusade of the German Emperor Frederick II (1212-1250) which was in the Holy Land from September 1228 until May 1229,<sup>452</sup> i.e., the same time the second recension of the *Royal Chronicles* was being drawn up. A further testimony to the Eastern origin of the report is the fact that Isaak is called «Tyrsac». As the *Chronique d'Ernouf* and Clari's account demonstrate, Isaak was known among the Franks of *Outremer* and Constantinople as *Kyrsac*, a portmanteau of the Greek *Kyr(ios) Isaak* (Lord Isaak).<sup>453</sup> The informant of the author of the second recension of the *Royal Chronicles* got this as «Tyrsac». Finally, Isaak's description as «a good and brave man» also attests to the fact that the author's information on Andronikos came directly from the Frankish East. The German continuator chose to preserve Isaak's positive description found in his informant's original oral or more likely written report. Nonetheless, well aware of Isaak's later hostility towards the Germans of the Third Crusade, the author of the second recension of the *Royal Chronicles* concluded his account of Andronikos's downfall and Isaak's rise to power by adding that the new Byzantine ruler, «in accordance with the innate malice of the Greeks», subsequently «wronged in many ways the Emperor Frederick when he was marching with his pilgrims through Greece», this anti-Greek sentiment being reflected in a number of German accounts reporting on the Third Crusade.<sup>454</sup>

The most fanciful account of Andronikos's downfall we have comes from the pen of Arnold of Lübeck. In it, Andronikos, having exiled, mutilated, or killed those whom he feared to be opposed to his reign, asked his monk-adviser if there remained anyone who plotted against him. The adviser replied that he suspected one of the ruler's kinsmen – obviously a reference to Isaak – «but, because of the high degree of consanguinity» existing between them, it would be inappropriate for the emperor to execute him. The monk nonetheless advised Andronikos to «close him in a monastery, where he will be unable to contrive against you or your reign».<sup>455</sup> This was done accordingly, and when the Byzantine ruler asked again if he needed to worry about anyone else, his adviser told him that he suspected his wife and prompted Andronikos to disguise himself as a priest and confess her. On this advice, Andronikos urged Anna to go and confess her sins. The emperor made sure he arrived in the church before Anna and, having disguised himself as a priest, asked her to confess her sins. When it was made clear that Anna had no sins

<sup>452</sup> Tyerman, *God's War*, cit., pp. 739-755, especially 744.

<sup>453</sup> *Chronique d'Ernouf*, p. 93; Clari, *Conquête*, pp. 26-27.

<sup>454</sup> *Chronica regia Coloniensis*, pp. 131-132.

<sup>455</sup> Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica*, p. 150.

to confess, Andronikos asked her if she sincerely loved her husband. Anna replied that she sincerely and faithfully loved him, but added that had she been married to Alexios to whom she had betrothed herself, she would have loved him more. Hearing this, Andronikos had Anna executed.<sup>456</sup> Anna's execution represents the most imaginative element of Arnold's account, but even the origins of this apocryphal story can be traced to Byzantine popular tales. Eustathios relates that it was rumoured that Anna «sometimes imagined in her dreams that she saw the youth [Alexios] and cried out: "Alexie"». <sup>457</sup> Similar stories may well have passed from the Greeks to the Latins, eventually becoming more outlandish in transmission from teller to teller.

Following Anna's execution, still according to Arnold of Lübeck, «while his [Andronikos's] iniquity was made complete, [...] God, through his just judgement, wanted to put an end to his malice». <sup>458</sup> When Andronikos asked yet again his adviser whether he was secure on his throne, the adviser replied that he was still mistrustful of the ruler's relative they had earlier confined in the monastery and who should be executed. Andronikos immediately sent a messenger to summon his relative into his presence. Upon receiving the imperial message, Isaak was frightened. Knowing that he was summoned to be killed, he invited his friends and acquaintances and, informing them of Andronikos's deputation, asked them to secretly take arms and go with him to the palace. Arriving in the palace, Isaak killed the guards with his companions' help and forced his way into the royal court. When Andronikos chastised him for entering inappropriately the court and asked him to go back, Arnold's Isaak replied: «I will not turn back. I know that after the death of many you now seek to take my life. Therefore, either I will take your life, or you will take mine». The emperor, however, was able to escape through a hidden passage, and arrived at the castle of a nobleman whom he had earlier blinded «for an unjust reason». Andronikos implored the nobleman to show mercy and give him protection. The nobleman let the emperor into his castle, declaring that «although you have exercised unjust power over me, I will, if I can, save your life». He said that knowing that the ruler was already followed near at hand by a huge crowd of people since «he was hateful to everyone». Andronikos's pursuers soon arrived and carried him back to the city. While the overthrown ruler was «dragged through the streets, they inflicted on him indignities of every kind and killed him without mercy». <sup>459</sup>

Even in Arnold's elaborate account of Andronikos, there are several motifs encountered in the narratives of Eastern origin. Andronikos's repeated enquiries to his adviser as to whether there remained anyone who plotted against him recalls Roger of Hoveden's Andronikos, who asked his magicians if there were still any person he needed to stand in fear of, but, even more strongly, Robert of Clari's

<sup>456</sup> Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica*, pp. 150-151.

<sup>457</sup> Eustathios, *Capture*, pp. 52-53.

<sup>458</sup> Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica*, p. 151.

<sup>459</sup> Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica*, p. 151.

Andronikos who «asked his steward», the equivalent of the monk-adviser in Arnold's account, «if there were any more who were upset that he was emperor». <sup>460</sup> Arnold's nobleman, who had been blinded by Andronikos and who features in the story of the emperor's downfall, evokes Clari's nobleman whose father had been killed and whose wife was raped by the ruler. While Arnold's nobleman let Andronikos *into his castle*, Clari's nobleman got hold of the deposed emperor after receiving a message by the innkeeper, and carried him *into his palace* before delivering him to Isaak. <sup>461</sup> Moreover, in the accounts of both Clari and Arnold, Andronikos went to *Hagia Sophia* and the castle of the nobleman, respectively, through a hidden passage. <sup>462</sup> Finally, Arnold's account repeats the story found in the *Chronique d'Ernoul* that Isaak, when summoned into Andronikos's presence, informed his friends and acquaintances of the imperial order, and they secretly took arms and accompanied him to the palace. Clearly, Arnold's account of Andronikos's downfall was yet another version of the Byzantine emperor's overthrow circulating in the Latin East, from where it was transmitted to the West at the closing of the twelfth century, most likely by returning German crusaders from Lübeck, who participated in large numbers in the German Crusade of 1197-1198.

Despite its overly apocryphal details, as, for example, the execution of Anna, Arnold's treatment of Andronikos's downfall is in line with that of several of his English and German contemporary chroniclers, and it evokes ideas encountered in John of Salisbury's *Policraticus*. Arnold makes his nobleman say to Andronikos that «you have exercised unjust power over me» (*iniustam in me exercueris potentiam*). <sup>463</sup> The notion of Andronikos's exercise of unjust power or tyranny over his people and especially the nobles has already been encountered in several of the examined chronicles. The idea that Andronikos's *iniquitas* and *malitia* were punished by God through his just judgement (*iusto iudicio*) has been found in both the accounts of Roger of Hoveden and Ralph of Coggeshall, <sup>464</sup> recalling John of Salisbury's position that «the tyrant [...] [is] extinguished by the just judgement of God» who always punishes *malitia*. <sup>465</sup> Arnold avers that on the day of Andronikos's death, «the innocent blood was avenged», <sup>466</sup> thus evoking Roger's denunciation of the Byzantine ruler as «oppressing the innocent and condemning the just blood». <sup>467</sup> Several decades before Arnold, referring in his *Policraticus* to the execution of the biblical Queen Jezebel, John of Salisbury asserted that by the queen's death the blood of one of her innocent victims was sought out and rhetorically asked: «will not the blood of many other innocents also be demanded?». <sup>468</sup> This is

<sup>460</sup> Clari, *Conquête*, pp. 26-27.

<sup>461</sup> Clari, *Conquête*, pp. 32-33.

<sup>462</sup> Clari, *Conquête*, pp. 30-31.

<sup>463</sup> Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica*, p. 151.

<sup>464</sup> Roger of Hoveden, *Gesta*, I, p. 260; Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon*, p. 75.

<sup>465</sup> John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, II, pp. 378-379; Nederman (tr.), pp. 209-210.

<sup>466</sup> Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica*, p. 151.

<sup>467</sup> Roger of Hoveden, *Gesta*, I, pp. 257-258.

<sup>468</sup> John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, II, p. 379; Nederman (tr.), p. 210.

not, of course, to imply that Arnold had read the *Policraticus*. Although this possibility could not be entirely excluded, what is certainly true is that Arnold's treatment of Andronikos's death reflects ideas about rulership current in Western Europe at the time. The German chronicler concludes his account of Andronikos's downfall by asserting that «the kingdom», i.e., the Byzantine Empire, prospered in the hands of Andronikos's successor.<sup>469</sup> Drawing on the Book of Proverbs, Arnold avows that «by the blessing of the upright the city is exalted, and by the perishing of the impious (*impiorum*) there is jubilation» (Prov 11, 10-11). With his use of Prov 11, 10-11, Arnold effectively portrays the wicked ruler – in this case Andronikos – as *impius*, an identification also made by John of Salisbury.<sup>470</sup>

A question that naturally arises is whether Arnold was aware of the fact that Isaak, whom he portrays as the *justus* successor of the *impius* Andronikos, was the same emperor who tried to obstruct the German expedition of the Third Crusade only few years after his elevation to the throne. In his account of Andronikos, Arnold gets Isaak's name wrong and calls him *Emmanuel*.<sup>471</sup> However, when the chronicler comes to describe the passage of the German crusading expedition through the Byzantine Empire, he does not refer to the Byzantine ruler by name but only as *rex Constantinopolitanus*.<sup>472</sup> Arnold was possibly unaware of the fact that the Byzantine emperor at the time of the Third Crusade was the same man who overthrew Andronikos. It is not, however, improbable that he was aware of this and simply avoided referring to Isaak by name since this would produce complications by contradicting the positive image the chronicler had already built up of the ruler.<sup>473</sup>

With the exception of Roger of Hoveden, the English chroniclers provide little information on Andronikos's downfall. This is of course not surprising. As already seen, their French and German counterparts who had not themselves travelled to the Holy Land on crusade are equally laconic – unless they were fortunate enough to have informants who secured them a detailed report, as in the case of the French Alberic of Trois-Fontaines and the Germans Arnold of Lübeck as well as the author of the second recension of the *Royal Chronicles*. William of Newburgh records that while Andronikos abused the imperial power, a conspiracy against him began to take shape by those persons «who detested his wickedness or disdained his control»<sup>474</sup> – note that in William's account the conspiracy is not orchestrated by the nobles as in the German accounts. The conspiracy against Andronikos, according to William, «gained such a height that a vast number of the

<sup>469</sup> Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica*, p. 151.

<sup>470</sup> John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, II, p. 379; Nederman (tr.), p. 210.

<sup>471</sup> Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica*, p. 151.

<sup>472</sup> Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica*, p. 192.

<sup>473</sup> Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica*, p. 192. In any case, in his relatively informative account of the Third Crusade, Arnold is not particularly critical of Isaak, but blames the Byzantine ruler's fear for the Germans which led to his hostility towards them to the evil advice of the *dux* of Branchevo.

<sup>474</sup> William of Newburgh, *Historia*, I, p. 224; Stevenson (tr.), p. 517.

party suddenly burst furiously into the palace and hurled the most cruel tyrant from the throne». Andronikos was «most justly» put in chains and a new prince was appointed as emperor, «at whose command this criminal [Andronikos] was tortured to death».<sup>475</sup> William's contemporary Ralph of Diceto has nothing more to report than that «the traitor emperor Andronikos was killed» and Isaak became emperor.<sup>476</sup> Writing a few decades later, Ralph of Coggeshall recounted that «by the just judgement of God» Andronikos was arrested by the nobles and the people of Constantinople and suffered «a horrible and most cruel death». By the verdict of the nobles, he was dragged away from the palace, tied to the necks of untamed horses and eventually suspended on the gibbet. Groaning, he breathed out his «miserable spirit».<sup>477</sup> The detail that Andronikos was tied to the necks of horses recalls the accounts of Roger of Hoveden and the second recension of the *Royal Chronicles*, both originating in the Latin East, according to which the deposed ruler was «tied to the tails of horses». The fact that Ralph derived his information from participants in the Third Crusade accounts for the occurrence of the same motif in his narrative.

Because of its complexity, sophistication and uniqueness, Peter of Eboli's treatment of Andronikos's downfall is deliberately the last to be discussed. In *particula LII* of the *Liber ad honorem Augusti* the personified Wisdom reprimands Fortune, whose favourites are those like Tancred, who «took up arms against his lord [Henry VI]», and Andronikos, who killed his nephew, delighted in Italian blood, and killed excellent people of his own and every other lineage.<sup>478</sup> While Fortune's favourites achieve ephemeral success, they are nonetheless doomed to ruin. Wisdom chides Fortune:

May Andronikos be yours [...]
   
[...]

At the end, although the punishment of his guilt was unparalleled,  
His disgraceful death forever lacks an avenger.  
Let that old man be yours, who, snatched up like Ikaros on wings,  
Fell, and in the sea bewails his drowned, floating corpse.  
He fell, as an immense succession of giants once did,  
Who troubled themselves to visit Jupiter's empire.<sup>479</sup>

Having referred to Andronikos's temporary success, which is compared with the ascent of the mythological Ikaros, and the emperor's downfall, which is compared with the fall of the Titans, Wisdom proceeds to mention Tancred's ruin, who «also fell, wretched man, drunk with much gold».<sup>480</sup> Whereas, however, ten verses are

<sup>475</sup> William of Newburgh, *Historia*, I, p. 224-225; Stevenson (tr.), p. 517.

<sup>476</sup> Ralph of Diceto, *Opera*, II, p. 38.

<sup>477</sup> Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon*, p. 75.

<sup>478</sup> Pietro da Eboli, *Liber*, pp. 356-357.

<sup>479</sup> Pietro da Eboli, *Liber*, pp. 356-357.

<sup>480</sup> Pietro da Eboli, *Liber*, pp. 356-357.

dedicated to Andronikos, only two are devoted to Tancred; after all, the «evilness» of Tancred could not compete with that of Andronikos despite the fact that the two rulers are bracketed together by Peter. Before finally proceeding to eulogise her own favourite, Henry VI, whose success will be lasting, Wisdom challenges Fortune:

If you can, snatch Andronikos from the weapons of the citizens [of Constantinople];  
If you can, preserve the realm [Kingdom of Sicily] of that other old man [Tancred].<sup>481</sup>

While in his *De nugis* Walter Map used the ancient tyrant Nero as a yardstick by which to judge contemporary wicked rulers, in Peter's *Liber ad honorem Augusti* the contemporary Andronikos becomes the *exemplum* of the evil monarch.

Although Peter of Eboli's poem suggests nothing more than that Andronikos met an unparalleled death at the hands of the citizens of Constantinople, the full page illustration facing Wisdom's rebuke in *particula LII* of the lavishly illuminated presentation copy of the *Liber*, now Cod. 120.II of the Burgerbibliothek in Bern, conveys more information on the ruler's end. In the centre of the illustration, Wisdom, crowned and richly attired, stands behind the throne of Henry VI, who is depicted in his imperial regalia. Wisdom has her face turned towards the top right corner of the illustration, where Fortune, miserably dressed and with her head veiled, stands with her wheel in which Tancred is entangled. Andronikos's severed head, feet, one of his hands, as well as the rest of his body slashed into two from the waist are depicted on Fortune's side.<sup>482</sup> This is the first visual record of Andronikos's death, drawn only eleven years after his downfall.<sup>483</sup>

While Andronikos met his end in September 1185, his past, usurpation of power, reign of terror, and death were to become the stuff of legend and be discussed by contemporary historians, chroniclers and annalists for several decades. In the pages of their works the Byzantine ruler was universally decried as a tyrant. To be sure, the accusation of tyranny against a ruler was not uncommon in twelfth-century Europe. Indeed, several twelfth-century Christian rulers had been denounced as tyrants. The Byzantine Emperor Alexios I (1081-1118) was condemned as a *tyrannus* by Guibert of Nogent, a French chronicler of the First Crusade,<sup>484</sup> and Ekkehard of Aura, a German chronicler and participant in the ill-

<sup>481</sup> Pietro da Eboli, *Liber*, pp. 356-357.

<sup>482</sup> The illustration (folio 147<sup>r</sup>) is reproduced on page 284 below by kind permission of the Burgerbibliothek Bern.

<sup>483</sup> More elaborate illustrations of Andronikos's death are to be found in fifteenth-century manuscripts containing the Old French continuation of William of Tyre.

<sup>484</sup> R. B. C. Huygens (ed.), Guibert de Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos*, Turnhout 1996 (CCCM 127A), pp. 143, 152; R. Levine (tr.), Guibert of Nogent, *The Deeds of God through the Franks*, Woodbridge 1997, pp. 61, 65.

fated Crusade of 1101,<sup>485</sup> for his alleged treacherous conduct toward the crusaders and his maltreatment of pilgrims travelling to the Holy Land.<sup>486</sup> The leading churchman of the mid twelfth century Bernard of Clairvaux pilloried Roger II of Sicily as a tyrant for his championing of the Anti-pope Anacletus II and usurpation of church rights.<sup>487</sup> The Sicilian king was later damned as a tyrant by King Conrad of Germany, Abbot Wibald of Stavelot and Korvey, and the German author of the *Annales Magdeburgenses* for his usurpation of imperial rights in southern Italy.<sup>488</sup> The same name-calling was applied to Roger by King Conrad's half-brother Bishop Otto of Freising, and for the same reason.<sup>489</sup> Otto, however, went a step further identifying the Sicilian *tyrannus* not only as a usurper but also as a cruel and oppressive ruler. In his *Chronica*, Otto compared Roger's brutalities to those «of the ancient Sicilian tyrants» while in his *Gesta Friderici imperatoris* the German bishop referred to the oppression of the cities and towns of Apulia by the tyranny of both Roger and his successor, William I.<sup>490</sup> The latter was cast as a tyrant by Frederick Barbarossa's chancellor, Rainald of Dassel, in a letter to the German emperor dated 1158.<sup>491</sup> On his turn, the German Emperor Frederick Barbarossa was decried as *Teutonicus tyrannus* by John of Salisbury for causing a schism in the Latin Church.<sup>492</sup> At the time of the Third Crusade, the same ruler was denounced

<sup>485</sup> Ekkehard of Aura, *Hierosolomyta*, Paris 1895 (RHC Oc. 5), pp. 1-40: 38.

<sup>486</sup> Ekkehard of Aura and especially Guibert of Nogent seem to have been influenced by Bohemond of Taranto's propaganda campaign against his political opponent Alexios during his journey to France in 1106. The Norman's propaganda had been intended to marshal an army, the ostensible aim of which was to topple the «illegitimate» Alexios and place the «legitimate» son of the Emperor Romanos IV (1068-1071) on the Byzantine throne as a first step to a crusade to the Holy Land. In fact, however, the real motivation behind Bohemond's diversionary attack on the western provinces of the Byzantine Empire was to relieve the pressure on his newly-established Norman Principality of Antioch, menaced by Alexios who claimed the city for himself. See Neocleous, *Imaging the Byzantines*, cit., pp. 72-77.

<sup>487</sup> Letters of Bernard of Clairvaux, *PL CLXXXII, Ad Pisanos* (nr. 130, dated ca. 1134-1135), col. 285; *Ad Lotharium imperatorem* (nr. 140, dated ca. 1135), col. 295. See also Wieruszowski, *Roger II of Sicily, Rex-Tyrannus*, cit., pp. 53-54, 58-59.

<sup>488</sup> *Letter of Conrad III to Empress Bertha-Irene of Constantinople* (MGH Diplomata 9), pp. 404-406: 406 (nr. 229, dated 16/20 April 1150); Letters of Abbot Wibald of Stavelot and Korvey, *PL CLXXXIX, Ad Emmanuelem imperatorem Constantinopolitanum* (nr. 224, dated 1150), col. 1310; G. H. Pertz (ed.), *Annales Magdeburgenses*, Hanover 1859 (MGH SS 16), pp. 105-196: 164.

<sup>489</sup> Roger is denounced as *tyrannus regni*. Otto of Freising, *Chronica*, cit., pp. 338, 346.

<sup>490</sup> Otto of Freising, *Chronica*, cit., p. 346; Otto of Freising and Rahewin, *Gesta Friderici*, cit., p. 157.

<sup>491</sup> *Letter of Rainald von Dassel to Frederick I*, in H. Sudendorf (ed.), *Registrum oder merkwürdige Urkunden für die deutsche Geschichte*, I-III, Berlin 1849-1854: II, pp. 131-133: 133 (nr. 54).

<sup>492</sup> John of Salisbury's letters of August 1165 to Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, of June 1166 to Bartholomew, bishop of Exeter, and of August 1169 to Baldwin, archdeacon of Totnes: W. J. Millor and C. N. L. Brooke (ed. and tr.), *The Letters of John of Salisbury*, I-II, Oxford 1979, II, pp. 52-53, 102-103, 656-657. Cfr. John of Salisbury's letter of ca. September-October 1167 to Pope Alexander (1159-1181), *ibid.*, pp. 370-379.

as a tyrant by the Byzantine historian Niketas Choniates.<sup>493</sup> Not only had the powerful German Emperor Frederick thwarted Byzantine imperial interests in Italy, but also, as the Byzantines were adamant, he coveted their empire while his real motivation for participating in the Third Crusade was not to march to the Holy Land but to conquer the Byzantine Empire.<sup>494</sup> While Isaak was doing his best to obstruct Frederick's passage through the Byzantine Empire, on his turn the author of the *Itinerarium peregrinorum* in the Latin East deplored the Byzantine ruler's conduct pillorying him as a tyrant.<sup>495</sup> Similarly, Isaak, the ruler of Cyprus at the time of the Third Crusade who imprisoned the shipwrecked crusaders of Richard I's army who were cast on his shore, was condemned as a tyrant by the King of England himself as well as a number of Western chroniclers.<sup>496</sup> Tancred of Lecce was vilified as a tyrant by the author of the *Annals of Marbach* and Lambert, a monk and chronicler at the monastery of Saint Jacob at Liège.<sup>497</sup> For both authors, Henry VI was the legitimate successor to the Sicilian crown. In contrast, in her letters to Pope Celestine III (1191-1198), Eleanor, queen of England, cast Henry VI as a «tyrant» for his «tyrannical usurpation of Sicily, which [...] has been the patrimony of Saint Peter», «the spoliation of churches and the wide-spread oppression of the holy».<sup>498</sup> The queen's vociferous protests against Henry's claims on the Kingdom of Sicily and sacrilegious actions were motivated less by high-mindedness than by expediency, for in fact «the tyrant» held her son Richard I, king of England and distinguished crusader, in prison. Finally, the Byzantine Emperor Alexios III was damned as a tyrant in the three versions of essentially the same letter dated to late August 1203 and composed in the names of the three most senior Frankish leaders of the Fourth Crusade, the counts Baldwin of Flanders, Hugh of Saint Pol, and Louis of Blois.<sup>499</sup> The letter, addressed to Pope Innocent III, to

<sup>493</sup> Ἴδοὺ καὶ ἕτερος τύραννος, ὁ κατάρχων τῶν Ἀλαμανῶν, γέρον καὶ πολλῶν κακῶν ἴδρις («Behold another tyrant, the ruler of the Germans, an old man and skilled in mischief»): J. L. van Dieten (ed.), Niketas Choniates, *Orationes et Epistulae*, Berlin-New York 1973, p. 89. Cfr. Choniates's later unbiased reassessment of Frederick in his *Historia*: Chon. *Hist.* pp. 416-417; Magoulias (tr.), pp. 228-229; Pontani (tr.), II, pp. 456-457. Frederick was extolled as «a man who deserved to enjoy a blessed and perpetual memory [...] [H]is burning passion for Christ was greater than that of any other Christian monarch of his time». The German emperor was even compared to Saint Paul: «following the example of the Apostle Paul, he did not count his life dear unto himself but pressed forward, even to die for the name of Christ. Thus the man's zeal was apostolic, his purpose dear to God, and his achievement beyond perfection».

<sup>494</sup> Neocleous, *The Byzantines and Saladin*, cit., pp. 101-102; Neocleous, *Byzantine-Muslim Conspiracies*, cit., p. 266.

<sup>495</sup> *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, p. 294.

<sup>496</sup> For a detailed discussion, see S. Neocleous, *Imaging Isaak of Cyprus and the Cypriots: Evidence from the Western Historiography of the Third Crusade*, in J. Laszlovszky (ed.), *From Holy War to Peaceful Co-Habitation*, Budapest 2012, forthcoming.

<sup>497</sup> R. Wilmans (ed.), *Annales Marbacenses*, Hanover 1861 (MGH SS 17), pp. 142-180: 164; G. H. Pertz (ed.), *Lambertus Parvus, Annales*, Hanover 1859 (MGH SS 16), pp. 645-650: 650.

<sup>498</sup> See Eleanor's three letters of 1192 to Pope Celestine III in *PL CCVI*, coll. 1262-1265, 1265-1268, 1268-1272.

<sup>499</sup> For the version sent to Pope Innocent III, see *Die Register Innocenz' III*, cit., VI, pp. 358-361: 359 (nr. 210 [211]); Andrea (tr.), cit., pp. 79-85: 81.



Otto of Brunswick, and to «all the Christian faithful», was basically a piece of carefully wrought propaganda: by denouncing Alexios as a tyrant who usurped the imperial throne after blinding the Emperor Isaak, the Frankish barons endeavoured to justify their decision to divert the Fourth Crusade to Constantinople.<sup>500</sup>

While several rulers in twelfth-century Christendom had been denounced as tyrants, the accusation of tyranny against Andronikos is unique. In the aforementioned examples of charges of tyranny against twelfth-century rulers, the tyrant was defined as an «illegitimate» ruler who had usurped power, a recalcitrant oppressor of the Roman Church and author of schismatic dissension, or an opponent of the crusade. None of the aforesaid rulers was denounced as a tyrant because of his abuse of power and oppressive regime over his people. Even Otto of Freising who mentioned in passing the oppression of the cities of Apulia and Calabria by the *tyrannis* of Roger II and William I did so *not* without prejudice and with the aim of accentuating the kings of Sicily's tyrannical usurpation of German imperial rights in southern Italy which was Otto's main concern. Besides, all the above accusations of tyranny had a very clear purpose and agenda, seeking to vilify a state's enemy ruler, condemn sovereigns who harmed the Church or hampered its sanctioned war against the enemies of the faith, defame a ruler in the eyes of others and gain support against them, or justify military action against a ruler. Even more importantly, the accusation of tyranny against other rulers in twelfth century Christendom was not persistent or unanimous. It was sporadic and only levelled by political opponents and a number of historians and chroniclers who echoed them. In other words, none of the aforementioned rulers was universally reviled as a tyrant or went down in European medieval historiography as such. On the contrary, Andronikos was not only unanimously condemned as a tyrant across twelfth-century Christendom, but also the charge of tyranny against him served no purpose and remained free from political bias, in sharp contrast to accusations of tyranny levelled against other rulers which were obviously based on partiality and prejudice.

The Byzantine historian Choniates denounced Andronikos as ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων τυραννῆσας, the tyrant of the Romans, due to his arbitrary and cruel exercise of power over his people, especially the nobility of the empire. In the Latin West, the picture is not uniform. German, English and French chroniclers filtered Andronikos's reign through their own lens and interpreted it, even putting words into the mouths of the characters, to fit their own social and cultural ethos. In a rather traditional and static manner, French chroniclers denounced Andronikos as a *tyrannus* from the dynastic point of view. In other words, French chroniclers condemned Andronikos as a tyrant because of the irregular way in which the power was gained, their attitude reflecting the strict adherence of the French to the principle of dynastic legitimacy. On the contrary, their German and English counterparts, as the Greek Choniates, denounced Andronikos as a tyrant who abused

<sup>500</sup> On the motives of the Fourth Crusaders, see S. Neocleous, *Financial, Chivalric, or Religious? The Motives of the Fourth Crusaders Reconsidered*, «Journal of Medieval History» 38, 2012, pp. 183-206.

imperial power and oppressed his people. This tendency is easily explained. In England John of Salisbury's political theory on tyranny as expressed in his *Polycraticus*, according to which a *tyrannus* was defined as a prince oppressing the republic and abusing his power over his subjects, seems to have begun to influence the outlook of his fellow countrymen. In Germany, unlike France which was an absolute and hereditary monarchy, royal power was in theory not hereditary. More importantly, twelfth-century German chroniclers seem to have been familiar with the concept of tyranny as a harsh and oppressive regime, as testified by Otto of Freising's denunciation of the *tyrannis* of the kings of Sicily over the Apulians and Calabrians while it is not unlikely that the ideas of John of Salisbury's began filtering into Germany, influencing chroniclers. Andronikos was the ruler who fitted into the theories and current trends of what a tyrant was. He provided chroniclers with the perfect example of a tyrant as a wicked ruler. He represented the tyrant *par excellence* in twelfth-century Christendom.

In medieval Europe, historians and chroniclers were naturally more concerned with the internal and external affairs of their home countries, the wars in which their countries were engaged, and the crusades, especially when their rulers or fellow countrymen were involved in the pan-European expeditions. Events in the rest of Europe, as for example the passing of a foreign ruler, or a war involving other countries, would be mentioned in passing, if at all. The Byzantine Emperor Alexios I was the subject of much writing, especially among French chroniclers, only because he was emperor at the time of the First Crusade, a largely Frankish enterprise.<sup>501</sup> The name of Manuel, who was emperor at the time of the Second Crusade, also features prominently in Latin chronicles.<sup>502</sup> The same emperor's involvement in Italian affairs and his «cold war» with the Emperor Frederick I of Germany meant his name did not disappear from Latin chronicles, especially Italian and German, after the end of the Second Crusade. Isaak Angelos, emperor at the time of the Third Crusade, similarly received considerable commentary, especially by German chronicles, since only the German crusading expedition took the overland route to the Holy Land, marching through the Byzantine Empire.<sup>503</sup> Emperor John Komnenos, however, although he ruled for twenty-five years, attracted little attention from Latin chroniclers, with the exception of authors from the Latin East, the fate of which was linked to that of Byzantium. Interestingly, Andronikos who ruled for less than three years received more press than John, perhaps the greatest of the Komnenian emperors. This is largely accounted for by the fact that Andronikos's rise to power, reign, and death shocked and scandalised the Latins. What facilitated the dissemination of information on Andronikos was the mobility of Latins between the West and the Latin East. As has been argued, the few chroniclers, English and French, writing before the mid-1180s received their information on Andronikos from correspondents in the Latin East. However, the main wave of transmission was made possible

<sup>501</sup> Neocleous, *Imaging the Byzantines*, cit., pp. 20-85.

<sup>502</sup> Neocleous, *Imaging the Byzantines*, cit., pp. 107-159.

<sup>503</sup> Neocleous, *Imaging the Byzantines*, cit., pp. 188-236.

through the crusades, first, the Third Crusade only few years after Andronikos's downfall and, subsequently, the German Crusade of 1187, the Fourth Crusade, the Crusade of Frederick II, and the Barons' Crusade. Even in Germany and Austria, where a number of chroniclers did receive their information on Andronikos before the Third Crusade because of their proximity to the Byzantine Empire, subsequent crusades resulted in the transfer, through returning crusaders, of the more detailed and legendary accounts of Andronikos circulating in the Latin East. Had it not been for the crusades, Andronikos would have never received the attention he did in Western chronicles. Therefore, Andronikos's case is also interesting in demonstrating how most information on Byzantium reached the West: via the Latin East and through the crusades.

The examination of Andronikos's image and legend in the Latin accounts answers several of our questions about Byzantine-Latin relations in the late twelfth century: namely, the impact of the 1182 massacre on the Latin world, the Latin perceptions of the Greeks, and the dissemination of Emperor Manuel's image to the West. The 1182 massacre has been variously described as «something that the West could not forgive»,<sup>504</sup> «a landmark in the developing hostility of East and West»,<sup>505</sup> an event that «made a great impression in the West» and after which «there seemed little chance of any reconciliation between Byzantium and the West».<sup>506</sup> However, our examination has demonstrated that only these few accounts written in the Latin East, Italy, France, or England *before* the mid-1185 – the French and English chroniclers receiving their information directly from the Latin *Outremer* – refer to the attack on the Latins that accompanied Andronikos's seizure of power. As to the German chronicles, the massacre never made its way into their pages. More importantly, the massacre of the Genoese and Pisans of Constantinople in 1182 had vanished even from the collective memory of *Outremer* by the early 1190s, as testified by the several Western chroniclers who received their information on Andronikos during the Third Crusade in the Holy Land, either because they themselves participated in the expedition or through other participants. Clari's account attests that the pogrom had been erased even from the historical memory of the Latins of Constantinople by the Fourth Crusade, if not much earlier, as it is not explicitly mentioned by any of the reports originating in the imperial capital that reached Flanders, Germany, and Austria in the second half of the 1180s. The growing consciousness of Andronikos's reign of terror and gruesome death overshadowed the memory of the massacre of the Pisans and Genoese that accompanied his seizure of power. The attack on the Latins in 1182

<sup>504</sup> S. Runciman, *The Eastern Schism: a Study of the Papacy and the Eastern Churches during the XIth and XIIth Centuries*, Oxford 1955, p. 131.

<sup>505</sup> Brand, *Byzantium*, p. 41.

<sup>506</sup> M. Angold, *The Byzantine Empire, 1025-1204: A Political History*, London 1997<sup>2</sup>, p. 319. See also Harris, *Byzantium and the Crusades*, cit., pp. 120, 125. Harris went as far as to advocate that «the patient work of Manuel I over thirty years was undone in a day [...] In the long term, the episode was a disaster for Byzantine relations with Western Europe, the Papacy and the crusader states [...] in 1182, Andronikos had effectively destroyed the empire's standing in the West».

neither made a significant impact on the Latins nor had the far-reaching repercussions for the Byzantine Empire that several modern commentators suggest.

Most of the chroniclers reporting on the massacre of the Pisans and Genoese charge Andronikos and his troops but not the Greeks with the pogrom. Robert of Auxerre, although recording that the Greeks attacked the Latins, does not revile them whatsoever. Not only does he not ascribe the Byzantine attack on the Latins to pre-existing ill feelings towards them, but rather he implies that the Byzantines were the victims of the black propaganda of Andronikos, who manipulated the citizens of Constantinople into believing that the Latins posed a major threat to them, this resulting in the Latin massacre. William of Tyre and Walter Map, whose informant, as argued, was influenced by anti-Greek circles in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, are the only Latin authors who attribute the attack on the Pisans and Genoese in 1182 to pre-existing Greek envy and hatred of the Latins, unleashing at the same time a stream of vituperation against the Byzantines. The only other negative assessment of the Greeks is found in the account of Robert of Torigni, who denounces them as *perfidi* for killing the papal legate to Constantinople during the massacre of the Latins by Andronikos and his «Saracens». The rest of the accounts of Andronikos do not express any anti-Greek sentiments. Even Geoffrey of Vigeois and the Anchin continuator of Sigebert, who record that the Greeks sanctioned Andronikos's seizure of power as they were displeased with Alexios II's bias towards the Franks at the expense of his subjects, air no anti-Byzantine feeling. As demonstrated, the majority of the French and English chroniclers as well as a number of German authors received their information on Andronikos from the Latin East, where they or their correspondents travelled on crusade. The lack of anti-Greek sentiments in their narratives reflects the absence of anti-Greek feelings among the majority of the Frankish settlers of *Outremer*. Any anti-Greek sentiments seem to have been limited to certain ecclesiastical circles in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, as the accounts of William of Tyre and the *Itinerarium peregrinorum* demonstrate, and mirror the antagonism between Greek and Latin ecclesiastics in the Latin East.<sup>507</sup> In contrast to the accounts of William of Tyre and the *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, the *Chronique d'Ernouf* reflects the sentiments of the majority of public opinion in the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. The absence of anti-Greek venom in this vernacular source mirrors a reality. While William of Tyre's anti-Greek sentiment is echoed by only one Western chronicler, namely Walter Map, all the rest of the examined sources reflect the *Chronique d'Ernouf*'s neutrality toward the Byzantines. Far from expressing any anti-Greek sentiments, they

<sup>507</sup> For this antagonism, see B. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States: the Secular Church*, London 1980, pp. 174-179, 181, 185-186; J. Pahlitzsch, *The Greek Orthodox Church in the First Kingdom of Jerusalem (1099-1187)*, in T. Hummel, K. Hintlian and U. Carmesund (ed.), *Patterns of the Past, Prospects for the Future: the Christian Heritage in the Holy Land*, London 1999, pp. 195-212: 199-200, 204-209; J. Pahlitzsch and D. Baraz, *Christian Communities in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem (1099-1187 CE)*, in O. Limor and G. G. Stroumsa (edd.), *Christians and Christianity in the Holy Land: from the Origins to the Latin Kingdoms*, Turnhout 2006, pp. 205-238: 206-207, 209-210.

occasionally betray feelings of sympathy for the Byzantines, innocent victims of Andronikos's cruelty.

The examination of Andronikos's story is further important in helping us to see how the legend of the Emperor Manuel as a pro-Latin emperor spread to the West. To be sure, Manuel was held in high esteem at the papal curia. In his biography of Pope Alexander (1159-1181), Cardinal Boso had exalted Manuel as «the great and mighty emperor of Constantinople» (*magnus et excelsus Constantinopolis imperator*).<sup>508</sup> Manuel was eventually enshrined in the historical memory of the papacy as the Byzantine emperor *par excellence*, a paradigm for succeeding Byzantine rulers to copy. In his letter dated 21 February 1201, Pope Innocent III urged the Byzantine Emperor Alexios III «to imitate in word and deed the devotion to the Apostolic See of your illustrious predecessor, the Emperor Manuel of glorious memory».<sup>509</sup> Manuel was also held in high regard at the Capetian court. The royal chronicler Rigord of Saint-Denis praised the Byzantine ruler as «the most holy emperor» (*imperator sanctissimus*), «renowned for his munificence of every kind».<sup>510</sup> Similarly, in their annals, the Genoese, who had benefited greatly from the sudden interruption of Venetian commerce in Constantinople following Manuel's arrest and incarceration of all the Venetians present in the Byzantine Empire in 1171,<sup>511</sup> lauded the Byzantine ruler for his «liberality [...] wisdom [...] [and] benevolence»,<sup>512</sup> extolled him as «the most blessed emperor», and asserted that «as a result of his death, all Christianity has sustained the greatest ruin and loss».<sup>513</sup> However, it was neither from the papal curia nor from the Capetian court or Pisa that Manuel's image spread to the rest of the West as far as England. Besides papal, Capetian, and Genoese sources praise Manuel, but do not depict him as a pro-Latin emperor whose court thronged with Latins, whom the ruler supposedly valued even more than his own subjects. It was in Constantinople and the Latin East that Manuel's legend as a pro-Latin was developed and it was directly from there that this image was transmitted to the West, along with Andronikos's negative image.

The Western chroniclers that, as I have argued, received their information on Andronikos from the Latin East or Constantinople are, in fact, the same sources we possess that eulogise Manuel. Clearly, on their return back home, the Westerners carried with them not only the story of Andronikos but also the positive image of Manuel. Whereas William of Tyre stated that Latins «from every region [...] eagerly came in large numbers to him [Manuel]»,<sup>514</sup> Walter Map recounted

<sup>508</sup> L. Duchesne (ed.), *Liber pontificalis*, I-III, Paris 1886-1892: II, p. 415; G. M. Ellis (tr.), Boso, *Life of Alexander III*, Oxford 1973, p. 69.

<sup>509</sup> PL CCXVI, col. 1185; J. M. Powell (tr.), *The Deeds of Pope Innocent III*, Washington, DC 2004, p. 93.

<sup>510</sup> Rigord, *Gesta*, pp. 376-377.

<sup>511</sup> On this issue, see D. Jacoby, *Italian Privileges and Trade in Byzantium before the Fourth Crusade: a Reconsideration*, «Anuario de Estudios Medievales» 24, 1994, pp. 349-369: 367.

<sup>512</sup> G. H. Pertz (ed.), *Brevis regni Ierosolymitani historia*, Hanover 1863 (MGH SS 18), pp. 49-55: 51.

<sup>513</sup> G.H. Pertz (ed.), Otobonus, *Annales*, Hanover 1863 (MGH SS 18), pp. 96-114: 99.

<sup>514</sup> Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*, p. 1020; Babcock and Krey (tr.), II, p. 461.

that during Manuel's reign and on his «invitation» Latins «from almost every foreign [i.e., Latin] nation» flooded into the Byzantine Empire.<sup>515</sup> Manuel's purported affection and reliance upon the Latins were legendary in the Latin East and Constantinople. William of Tyre asserted that Manuel «held the Latins in the highest esteem [...] showed toward them lavish generosity» and «entrusted important affairs to the Latins alone».<sup>516</sup> Similarly, Robert of Clari averred that «this emperor loved the Franks very much and trusted them greatly»<sup>517</sup> while Robert of Auxerre related that Manuel «valued so much the Latins that he conducted his campaigns only with them and distinguished them with the highest honours in the [imperial] palace».<sup>518</sup> The Latins of the East were adamant that Manuel's deep affection for them was such that the emperor valued them even more than his own subjects. William of Tyre stated that Manuel depended so entirely on the Latins «that he passed over the puny Greeks».<sup>519</sup> Likewise, according to an anecdote Clari heard in Constantinople, Manuel told his subjects that «I like them [the Franks] and put more trust in them than in you»,<sup>520</sup> whereas the Anchin continuator claimed that Manuel «spurned the Greeks and loved the Latins».<sup>521</sup> William of Tyre, finally, recounted that Manuel «trusted in their [the Latins'] loyalty and abilities».<sup>522</sup> In a similar vein, in issues of major political significance, such as the marriage of his son Alexios, Manuel is presented by Clari as deciding «on the advice of the Franks who were around him»<sup>523</sup> while the Anchin continuator recounted that Manuel «used their [the Latins'] advice and was aided by their help, the knowledge of the [Latin] clergy and the uprightness of the [Latin] laity».<sup>524</sup> Other chroniclers' remarks whose information originated in the Latin East are more concise than those of Walter Map, Robert of Auxerre, and the Anchin continuator, yet equally laudatory. Roger of Hoveden exalted Manuel as «the venerable emperor of Constantinople of pious memory» (*venerabilis et pia recordationis imperator Constantinopolis*).<sup>525</sup> Guido de Bazoches praised the Byzantine ruler as «the most noble emperor» (*nobilissimus imperator*).<sup>526</sup> Ralph of Coggeshall extolled the sovereign as «the most pious emperor» (*piissimus imperator*)<sup>527</sup> while, finally, Arnold of Lübeck described him as «the noble king of the Greeks».<sup>528</sup> Ironically, it was largely thanks to Andronikos that Manuel's image as a noble, venerable, and pious

<sup>515</sup> Map, *De nugis*, pp. 176-177.

<sup>516</sup> Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*, p. 1020; Babcock and Krey (tr.), II, p. 461.

<sup>517</sup> Clari, *Conquête*, pp. 20-21.

<sup>518</sup> Robert of Auxerre, *Chronicon*, p. 246.

<sup>519</sup> Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*, p. 1020; Babcock and Krey (tr.), II, p. 461.

<sup>520</sup> Clari, *Conquête*, pp. 22-23.

<sup>521</sup> *Continuatio Aquicinctina*, p. 421.

<sup>522</sup> Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*, p. 1020; Babcock and Krey (tr.), II, p. 461.

<sup>523</sup> Clari, *Conquête*, pp. 22-23.

<sup>524</sup> *Continuatio Aquicinctina*, p. 421.

<sup>525</sup> Roger of Hoveden, *Gesta*, I, p. 255.

<sup>526</sup> Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, *Chronicon*, p. 848.

<sup>527</sup> Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon*, p. 75.

<sup>528</sup> Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica*, p. 150.

emperor disseminated in the West and found its way into the chronicles. In most of the accounts wherein the information was derived from the Latin East, Manuel received a mention only in the context of Andronikos's story. Andronikos was the villain of the story into which Manuel was inserted as his foil. However, the protagonist remained Andronikos. He was the main character of the story which began when the good emperor Manuel died. Had there been no Andronikos, there would be no Manuel.

Andronikos's story bears witness to the high mobility of people and information between Byzantine and – after 1204 – Latin Constantinople, on the one hand, and the Latin *Outremer*, on the other, as well as to the large movement of Latin crusaders and pilgrims between Latin Europe and Latin East which facilitated the transmission of information from the East to the West. Our investigation has demonstrated the pivotal role that oral channels played in the circulation of information and the significant part oral tradition had in the creation of history in the Middle Ages. Before 1185 Latin reports on Andronikos arriving to France and England from the Latin East mentioned the ruler's violent invasion of Constantinople with Saracen troops and the massacre of the Italians that accompanied it. After 1185, with the collective memory of the Latins of *Outremer* having changed and evolved as new information on Andronikos filtered through it, the massacre disappeared, even though the usurper's violent invasion of Constantinople was to be remembered for another couple of years. Eventually, however, by the early 1190s the oral tradition created a new version of the Byzantine ruler's rise to power, according to which he had been peacefully appointed to a position of authority in the Byzantine Empire as well as guardian of Alexios II. From this new version which gained prominence among the Frankish settlers of both the Latin *Outremer* and Constantinople, the several versions of Andronikos's story found in the chronicles of the Latin East as well as French, English, and German accounts eventually evolved. While each of them is unique and distinct from the rest, they all share certain features in common. Especially, from the early thirteenth century, the longest versions of Andronikos's downfall and death seem to have become more standardised. Some of the details found in the twelfth-century reports of Roger of Hoveden and Arnold of Lübeck, such as the hermit who predicted Isaak's elevation to the throne, or Anna's execution, disappeared, never having gained much popularity. In contrast, Isaak's words «I have killed the devil» appear in all the versions dating after 1204, having been transmitted to the Latin East from Constantinople. This and other similarities in the various versions can be explained by oral transmission. The fact that Andronikos's story continued to circulate in the Latin East as late as the second quarter of the thirteenth century attests to its popularity. Its fate, however, seems to have been linked to that of the crusading movement and the Latin East. Western pilgrims and crusaders were largely responsible for disseminating the story of the tyrant Andronikos as far as England and the northern frontiers of Germany. After the mid thirteenth century the popularity of crusading to the Holy Land declined and, together with it, Andronikos's legend vanished.





## Note all'opera storica di Niceta Coniata. II (pp. 475, 26-576, 95 van Dieten)

Nelle pagine che seguono trovano posto alcune note che ho redatto commentando il testo dell'opera storica di Niceta Coniata, di cui curo la traduzione italiana per la collana di Classici greci e latini della Fondazione Lorenzo Valla. Poiché i tempi di pubblicazione dell'opera non sono immediati, e in considerazione del fatto che le note in questione hanno una dimensione che eccede l'economia del commento perpetuo che ho prodotto a corredo dell'edizione Valla, ne anticipo qui alcune, che ritengo di più generale interesse, e nello stesso tempo particolarmente complesse. La speranza è di indurre gli esperti dei vari campi della bizantinistica, che ho dovuto esplorare per dare fondamento alla traduzione italiana, a proporre prima possibile *addenda et corrigenda*, perché l'opera possa giovarsene. Lo scopo è semplice quanto oneroso: avere uno sguardo d'insieme quanto più vasto sulla cultura bizantina che la prosa di Niceta Coniata esprime con efficacia senza pari.<sup>1</sup>

1. Il «secondo vento di Soave» (pp. 475, 26-481, 94 v. D. = XV 10-11 Valla)

Vari i temi che il XV libro della *Narrazione cronologica* (pp. 453-503 v. D.) presentano alla riflessione storica: la descrizione della vita di corte a Bisanzio alla fine del sec. XII, interessante perché fondata, al pari di quelle di Psello e Anna Comnena, sulla frequentazione diretta dei personaggi rappresentati, alcuni dei quali di singolare carattere (l'imperatore Alessio III, la moglie Eufrosina, il primo ministro Costantino Mesopotamita); le fasi intermedie della vana lotta di Bisanzio contro il Secondo Impero Bulgaro; il processo inarrestabile di disgregazione dell'unità dell'impero, che si manifesta nel ricorrente insorgere dei falsi Alessi; l'irreversibile islamizzazione dell'Asia Minore, di cui sono illustrati fenomeni emblematici, come la conquista di Dadivra.

Mette conto richiamare l'attenzione in particolare sui due capitoli (10-11 nella partizione Valla) dedicati da Niceta alle relazioni di Bisanzio con l'imperatore Enrico VI di Svevia, in quanto hanno esercitato gran peso storiografico. Tali relazioni si

<sup>1</sup> Queste note si riferiscono al III volume di *Grandezza e catastrofe di Bisanzio*, con il quale si concluderà nel 2014 l'edizione italiana della *Narrazione cronologica* di Niceta Coniata presso la Fondazione Lorenzo Valla. Avverto che la traduzione italiana è a cura di Anna e Filippomaria Pontani, mentre a mia cura è la redazione di commento, apparati critici e paratesti. Nel 2015 apparirà l'edizione completamente rinnovata del I volume dell'opera (già edito una prima volta nel 1994; del nuovo commento ho già anticipato alcune annotazioni in *Note all'opera storica di Niceta Coniata* (pp. 4, 83-222, 86 van Dieten), «Medioevo Greco» 10, 2010, pp. 149-166, a cui rimando anche per le abbreviazioni bibliografiche, parzialmente valide per questo secondo contributo). Solo a far data da allora, l'edizione italiana di Niceta Coniata, affidata alla mia cura, potrà considerarsi conclusa.

situano nel biennio 1195-1197, che è il periodo in cui Enrico VI organizzò e avviò la sua “crociata”; è quindi non a caso che l’ultima monografia ad esse dedicata da C. Naumann (*Der Kreuzzug Kaiser Heinrichs VI.*, Frankfurt am Main 1994) si apra ricordando che proprio a Niceta risale l’interpretazione secondo cui scopo di questa crociata tedesca sarebbe stato non la liberazione del Santo Sepolcro, ma la conquista di Bisanzio da parte dell’imperatore d’Occidente. Questa opinione, riconducibile a una semplificata e strumentale lettura dello storico bizantino, finse da vulgata nella storiografia delle crociate e della dinastia sveva, finché E. Traub (*Der Kreuzzugsplan Kaiser Heinrichs VI. im Zusammenhang mit der Politik der Jahre 1195-97*, diss. Jena 1910) e W. Leonhardt (*Der Kreuzzugsplan Kaiser Heinrichs VI.*, diss. Gießen, Borna-Leipzig 1913) la negarono con argomenti solidi, ma non risolutivi (il primo sosteneva che, nei suoi piani politici, Enrico VI aveva assegnato a Bisanzio non il ruolo di nemico da sconfiggere e conquistare, ma quello di chi avrebbe dovuto fornirgli il denaro per finanziare la spedizione; il secondo invece affermava che, progettando la crociata, l’imperatore era mosso da ragioni non religiose, bensì unicamente economiche: cioè dalla volontà di migliorare nel Levante, dove si svolgevano i commerci più redditizi, la posizione delle città siciliane, di cui era appena diventato sovrano; quindi non pensava affatto di diventare imperatore di Bisanzio). La Naumann conviene con la tesi di Traub, aggiungendo però che a suo parere Enrico VI vide nella promozione e realizzazione della crociata soprattutto il mezzo più efficace per compiacere il papa Celestino III e ottenere così da lui l’assenso alla successione al potere del figlio Federico II; ciò gli avrebbe consentito, attraverso la trasformazione della successione imperiale da elettiva a ereditaria, di realizzare definitivamente l’unione della Sicilia al regno tedesco.

Ciò premesso, va detto che questo sovrano (il dantesco «secondo vento di Soave»: *Par.* III 119), di grande importanza nella storia europea, benché eclissato nella coscienza comune dalle figure maggiori del padre Federico I Barbarossa e del figlio Federico II, è oggetto, come del resto tutta la dinastia sveva, di inevitabili dispute storiografiche, essendo i punti di vista ben difformi a seconda che ne trattino studiosi germanici o latini (cfr. Th. Kölzer, *Die Staufer im Süden – eine Bilanz aus deutscher Sicht*, in *Die Staufer im Süden. Sizilien und das Reich*, hrsg. von Th. Kölzer, Sigmaringen 1996, pp. 239-262; E. Pispisa, *Gli Svevi nel Sud. Un bilancio dal punto di vista italiano*, ivi, pp. 228-238; esemplificano le due posizioni le voci biografiche a lui dedicate rispettivamente da Raffaello Morghen nell’*Enciclopedia Italiana* nel 1932 e nel 1993 da Theo Kölzer nel *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, 42, coll. 763-773; per il punto di vista italiano si veda anche F. Giunta, *Sul “furor Theutonicus” in Sicilia al tempo di Enrico VI* [1955], in *Uomini e cose del Medioevo mediterraneo*, Palermo 1964, pp. 35-61). L’incertezza degli studiosi sul giudizio da dare non solo in generale sulla figura di Enrico VI, ma in particolare sugli ultimi due anni del suo governo (1195-1197) – come si è detto, quelli narrati da Niceta –, accresce la difficoltà di valutare correttamente la testimonianza del nostro, già di per sé fonte eccentrica, in quanto antilatino che fornisce notizie spesso irrelate e per giunta usa una lingua assolutamente impervia. Si ritiene comunemente adeguata la sistemazione esegetica e critica data a questi due capitoli di Niceta da Ch. M. Brand, *Byzantium Confronts*

*the West (1180-1204)*, Cambridge, Mass. 1968, pp. 189-194; tenendo conto di tutta la bibliografia disponibile fino al 1968, egli riassume con equilibrio le contrastanti posizioni degli interpreti e ne ricava una sintesi che, riconoscendo come insolubili alcune basilari questioni (ad es. la cronologia dei fatti narrati da Niceta e gli intenti che ispirarono nella realtà la politica orientale di Enrico VI), utilizza i dati sicuri per trarne conclusioni coerenti e verisimili, soprattutto non condizionate dai pregiudizi ideologici che inficiano in misura variamente sensibile le precedenti sistemazioni di questa nostra fonte. Niceta, testimone diretto dei fatti narrati, è fonte imprescindibile e poziore per quanto attiene alla "politica bizantina" di Enrico VI; e poco importa che gli storici tedeschi siano per lo più convinti che, considerando l'intero periodo del suo regno (1190-1197), in nessun momento le sue relazioni con Bisanzio abbiano avuto un gran peso sull'insieme della sua politica (cfr. ad es. H. Jericke, *Kaiser Heinrich VI., der unbekannte Staufer*, Zürich 2008, p. 225). Per quanto riguarda la storia bizantina, invece, P. Schreiner (*Byzanz 565-1463*, München 2008<sup>3</sup>, p. 33) osserva che l'unificazione del regno tedesco con quello normanno realizzata da Enrico VI e l'assunzione del titolo di re di Sicilia nel 1194 produssero per Bisanzio un nemico pericoloso «come da secoli non ce n'erano più stati».

Come si è già detto, i due anni nei quali si situa il racconto di Niceta sono quelli in cui Enrico VI si dedicò con impegno intenso, anche se non assoluto, alla realizzazione di una crociata, che avrebbe dovuto dare compimento a quella (la terza) del padre Federico I, clamorosamente fallita. Pur essendo fuggevolmente evocata una sola volta, la crociata costituisce quindi la cornice e lo sfondo su cui si dipanano i fatti narrati. Nonostante essa abbia avuto uno svolgimento e un esito così fallimentari che neppure viene inclusa nel novero di quelle effettuate (ma la citata monografia della Naumann mostra bene l'infondatezza di tutto questo), la politica orientale di Enrico VI viene sostanzialmente identificata con il proposito e l'impegno che egli mise nel realizzarla. Valutare criticamente fatti e interpretazioni in questo caso è ancora più arduo, poiché Niceta e le altre fonti scrissero di essa dopo l'esito catastrofico della quarta crociata, cioè condizionati da un'esperienza traumatizzante che certamente alterò i ricordi e confuse variamente il giudizio.

A lungo si è detto che l'universalismo imperiale (*dominium mundi*), costitutivo dell'ideologia del Sacro Romano Impero, da tempo rivendicato a sé dalla casa sveva, avrebbe indotto Enrico VI a conquistare l'Impero d'Oriente, a sottomettere la Nuova all'Antica Roma, a farsi incoronare imperatore a Costantinopoli per ripristinare quell'unità dell'Impero Romano che, formalmente spezzata dal 395, già Carlo Magno aveva sognato, ma invano, di ricostituire nella mani dell'imperatore cristiano d'Occidente. In alcuni interpreti questo obiettivo di Enrico si sovrappone o sfuma nel piano di una più alta ambizione, anch'essa già coltivata dal padre Federico I: recuperato l'Oriente scismatico a Roma e alla cristianità, attuando così il piano salvifico spettante al Signore della terra, l'imperatore universale (uno svevo, come era predestinato) avrebbe conquistato Gerusalemme liberandola dagli infedeli e li avrebbe consegnato il suo potere universale a Dio onnipotente, che avrebbe posto fine alla storia terrena dell'umanità, decretando la fine dei tempi e procedendo al giudizio universale, cui sarebbe seguito l'avvento della vita eterna: nei cieli per i sal-

vati e negli inferi per i reietti (questo scenario aveva preso corpo ben presto nel mondo cristiano: è ben noto che profezie apocalittiche relative alla fine dei tempi e all'*Endkaiser* furono elaborate e scritte dai cristiani a partire dal IV-V secolo, a partire cioè dall'apocalisse dello Ps. Metodio; cfr. H. Jacobs, *Weltherrschaft oder Endkaiser? Ziele staufischer Politik im ausgehenden 12. Jahrhundert*, in Kölzer [Hrsg.], *Die Staufer im Süden*, cit., pp. 13-28: 13-14; *Kirchenreform und Hochmittelalter 1046-1215*, München 1994, p. 73). Si può credere che questa prospettiva apocalittica, comune nel basso medioevo, fosse nell'animo di Enrico VI (che ebbe rapporti con Gioacchino da Fiore); quindi si può dire che «nella persona di Enrico VI convivessero [...] il politico che agiva con durezza e senza scrupoli e il visionario che cercava di condurre l'Impero svevo ad altezze mai prima raggiunte» (Kölzer, *DBI*, cit., p. 770); ma ciò non implica che il secondo aspetto prevalesse al punto da indurre il sovrano a concepire l'attuazione di azioni temerarie. La moderna storiografia tedesca, sollecitata in primo luogo di liberare la figura di Enrico dal peso di una vulgata fatta di preconcetti e interpretazioni romantiche, che lo rappresentava come un politico crudelissimo e quasi invasato (come appare dalle pagine di Niceta), grazie a una valutazione meno ideologica delle fonti ha mostrato come l'imperatore svevo, dopo aver finalmente unito all'Impero tedesco il regno di Sicilia, si volse a oriente, e quindi a Bisanzio, nella prospettiva di rafforzare la sua influenza in quella parte del Mediterraneo, dove all'epoca ancora, come si è detto, si svolgeva l'attività commerciale più intensa e generatrice di ricchezza. Non tanto il dominio universale, quanto il controllo di porti e vie di comunicazione avrebbe dato senso allo sforzo sino ad allora sostenuto dai sovrani svevi (lui tra questi) per affermare la supremazia e la vocazione al potere sua e della sua casata (cfr. Jacobs, *Kirchenreform*, cit., p. 176). La realizzazione di una crociata era, all'epoca, il classico mezzo per raggiungere questo scopo. Va infine ribadito, in merito al valore ideologico dell'impresa in Terra Santa (impresa che, come tutte le precedenti, nasceva anche da una temperie millenaristica rinverditasi dal sec. XI), la visione apocalittica legata al concetto di impero universale, che agiva del pari sui coevi imperatori di Bisanzio, messa di nuovo in luce da parte di attenti studiosi del medioevo orientale e occidentale, può aver agito anche su Enrico VI, come agì sul padre Federico I Barbarossa e sul figlio Federico II, anch'essi promotori di ben più famose crociate. I rimandi alla bibliografia specifica presenti nelle note ai singoli passi del testo greco, tradotto in italiano, chiariranno i dettagli di concetti così complessi.

Echi delle ambizioni universalistiche di Enrico VI si colgono in vario modo anche nella coeva pubblicistica occidentale. Nella fonte eccentrica ed ostile al sovrano che qui stiamo trattando – Niceta –, si può pensare che tali echi affiorino là dove egli dice, nel modo involuto che gli è proprio, che Enrico, nella sua fantasia, si misurava con la gloria dei Cesari, degli Augusti, degli Antonini, citati come massimi esempi del potere imperiale romano (che è quello dei primi due secoli). Ma che queste fossero più che altro fantasie, aspirazioni, non propositi, appare con chiarezza quando lo stesso Niceta osserva che, in realtà, nei confronti di Bisanzio, Enrico seppe comportarsi con grande circospezione, consapevole dei rischi che avrebbe corso mettendo in pratica le sue minacce di aggressione. Oggi infatti, come si è

detto, la lunga controversia storiografica sullo scopo cui mirava la politica orientale di Enrico VI si è risolta accreditando l'idea che egli, da accorto politico, non avesse mai avuto intenzione di conquistare Costantinopoli per divenirne imperatore, ma volesse solo sfruttare abilmente le opportunità economiche e finanziarie che l'impero orientale poteva offrirgli al fine immediato di ottenere denaro per la crociata, la quale gli avrebbe consentito di rinsaldare la sua posizione di predominio nel Mediterraneo grazie alle lucrose attività commerciali che si svolgevano nei suoi porti e nei paesi dell'entroterra. Va peraltro precisato che Niceta non dice mai *apertis verbis* che Enrico VI mirava alla conquista di Costantinopoli (come invece si legge con chiarezza in Ottone di San Biagio, per cui vd. oltre); rappresentando il sovrano come un nemico, applicandogli senza sconti il suo pregiudizio antilatino, afferma che una natura irrequieta e malvagia come la sua, impegnata costantemente a creare danni e guai a tutto il mondo, considerato alla stregua di una preda per le sue voglie, appena ebbe raggiunto gli obiettivi prioritari (sicurezza e ampliamento dell'impero ereditato), prese di mira Bisanzio: la minacciò, intimidì, ricattò, guardandosi bene però dal passare a vie di fatto. E ciò pare in linea con quella storiografia tedesca che, come si è detto, ha cercato strenuamente di dimostrare che Enrico VI non era un personaggio violento e crudelissimo, vittima dei suoi sogni di grandezza; egli si sarebbe invece limitato a sfruttare con realismo ed esemplare buon senso le opportunità che la situazione a partire dal 1195 gli offriva (imponendo la signoria feudale sull'Inghilterra e poi su Cipro e l'Armenia, il pagamento dei tributi al Califfato dell'Africa del Nord, minacciando in vario modo Bisanzio e tenendola sotto ricatto). In questa prospettiva di *Realpolitik* la crociata, bandita a Bari nella Pasqua del 1195, appare più che altro come mezzo funzionale alla ripresa delle sue trattative con il papa, dal cui riconoscimento, sia come imperatore del Sacro Romano Impero, sia come re del regno tedesco (che finalmente, dopo il 1194, arrivava sino al Mediterraneo) non poteva ormai più prescindere.

Grandi difficoltà si trovano ancora oggi nell'intendere la sequenza cronologica del racconto di Niceta, in cui le azioni avviate da Enrico VI nei confronti di Bisanzio sono le seguenti: richiesta a Isacco II Angelo di restituire le terre da Durazzo a Tessalonica, conquistate dai Normanni nella spedizione del 1185; richiesta di aiuto militare per la crociata (fornitura di navi); imposizione di un ingente tributo pecuniario da versargli per evitare l'invasione dell'impero ("tassa tedesca"); matrimonio nel 1197 di Irene Angelina, figlia di Isacco II e giovanissima vedova del re normanno Ruggero III, con suo fratello Filippo di Svevia. Il racconto di Niceta, che fu utilizzato dalla storiografia tedesca a partire da Friedrich von Raumer (*Geschichte der Hohenstaufen und ihrer Zeit* [1823], II, Leipzig 1857<sup>2</sup>, p. 390), ebbe la trattazione più ampia nelle due dissertazioni già citate, di E. Traub (1910) e soprattutto di W. Leonhardt (1913), il solo che segue da presso il testo greco, tenendo conto anche della sua complessità retorica e letteraria. L'interpretazione di Leonhardt, rilevando l'evidente parzialità del punto di vista di Niceta insieme ad alcuni errori fattuali (confusioni cronologiche miste a infondati pettegolezzi, come la nascita di Filippo di Svevia da una prostituta), toglie a Niceta il valore che gli si dà a sostegno della teoria per cui scopo ultimo della politica estera di Enrico VI sarebbe stato quello di

impadronirsi dell'Impero romano d'Oriente (quasi che la sua crociata "senza numero" fosse una prefigurazione dell'imminente quarta). Le obiezioni che ha suscitato, in particolare tra i bizantinisti (tra cui *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches von 565-1453*, bearbeitet von F. Dölger, 2. Teil, *Regesten von 1025-1204*, zweite, erweiterte und verbesserte Auflage bearbeitet von P. Wirth, München 1995, nr. 1619), trovano a loro volta obiezioni da parte di medievisti tedeschi anche recenti come H. J. Kirfel, *Weltherrschaftsidee und Bündnispolitik. Untersuchungen zur auswärtigen Politik der Staufer*, Bonn 1959, e Jakobs, *Kirchenreform*, cit., pp. 23-24. Non si può in effetti ignorare che le contorte osservazioni contenute nei *Regesten*, *ibid.*, non confutano il nucleo della tesi di Leonhardt, il quale, criticando Th. Toeche, *Kaiser Heinrich VI.*, Leipzig 1867, osserva a ragione come non si possano fondere insieme due fonti quali Niceta Coniata e Ottone di San Biagio, poiché, fornendo esse notizie diverse, non costituiscono, se giustapposte, un'unità bipartita in cui una fonte sostiene l'altra. Niceta non dice che Enrico VI progettasse la conquista dell'Impero romano d'Oriente e di Costantinopoli, bensì che, se i Bizantini non avessero ceduto alle sue richieste, notificate all'imperatore dai suoi ambasciatori, egli li avrebbe puniti assalendo l'impero. È invece Ottone di San Biagio a scrivere (*MGH SS rer. germ.*, ed. Hofmeister, 1912, § 43, p. 69) che Enrico, arrivato in Puglia e in Calabria, «ad optinendam Greciam imperiumque Constantinopolitanum intendit animum», adducendo a giustificazione l'aiuto di truppe, che Isacco II Angelo gli avrebbe chiesto per affrontare la guerra civile in corso con il fratello Alessio, a lui ribelle perché aspirante al regno. Quest'ultimo particolare, nondimeno, confligge con tutto quello che circa la presa del potere ad opera di Alessio III l'8 aprile 1195 si conosce grazie allo stesso Niceta; il quale sottolinea l'assoluta fiducia che Isacco accordava al fratello, incurante degli inviti alla cautela e all'autotutela che pure gli giungevano da più parti (cfr. *supra* XIV 8, 4 Valla: «era aspro contro coloro che davano questi avvertimenti, quasi che desiderassero cancellare l'indelebile affetto per il fratello [...]»). La soluzione trovata da Leonhardt per sanare le aporie del racconto di Niceta, definita congetturale nei *Regesten*, *ibid.* (ma non potrebbe essere che tale), è a tutt'oggi la sola che dà una *ratio* agli avvenimenti qui narrati, ipotizzandone una confusa e quindi erronea cronologia (di ciò in dettaglio nel commento ai singoli passi).

Il valore storico-letterario di questo ritratto di Enrico VI è esplicitamente apprezzato da Th. Toeche, autore della più documentata biografia dell'imperatore; egli lo giudica superiore a ogni altro in quanto rivela un'originalità di giudizio che neppure la cifra retorica dell'espressione, non immune da semplificazioni e fraintendimenti riesce ad appannare. Invece i due studi recenti di P. Csendes (*Heinrich VI. im Urteil der Zeitgenossen und der Nachwelt*, in Kölzer [Hrsg.], *Die Staufer im Süden*, cit., pp. 83-92: 88; «*Erat autem imperator Hainricus prudens ingenio, facundus eloquio*». *Zur Problematik biographischer Erfassung eines mittelalterlichen Herrschers*, in *Kaiser Heinrich VI. Ein mittelalterlicher Herrscher und seine Zeit*, Göttingen 1998, pp. 34-45) non danno alcun rilievo a questo ritratto, che è fuggacemente citato solo nel primo. Si annovera tra i suoi pregi il fatto che Niceta tramanda un *dictum* dell'imperatore, essendo pochissimi quelli che la tradizione occiden-

tale conserva di lui; ma poiché il *dictum* sfuma in un *topos* ben noto nell'antichità classica (un imperatore deve superare le comuni debolezze fisiche, trascurando cibo e sonno, in quanto deve dedicarsi incessantemente al bene del suo popolo), si può pensare che Niceta lo abbia introdotto per esigenze soprattutto retorico-letterarie, e quindi sia privo di storico fondamento. La sua pertinenza, tuttavia, all'immagine di Enrico VI che Niceta vuole tracciare, presentandolo come asceta della politica (al pari di Baldovino di Fiandra, il giovane e sfortunato primo imperatore latino di Costantinopoli; ma questo tratto di Baldovino ricorre anche nei suoi necrologi di corte: cfr. Csendes, «*Erat autem*», cit., p. 40), ne garantisce almeno la coerenza della verisimiglianza. Enrico VI è andato famoso nei secoli soprattutto per la sua efferata crudeltà, funzionale ad una cinica visione politica, concepita soprattutto come affermazione incondizionata della superiorità del suo casato. L'episodio della morte atroce patita dal nobile siciliano lasciato senza nome (ma si chiamava Guglielmo Monaco di Enna o Giordano di Sicilia), a cui si riconduce la fallita congiura della primavera 1197 contro l'imperatore svevo, è narrata anche da fonti latine. Ma i dettagli a cui indulge Niceta descrivendo per es. il supplizio della corona chiodata che, posta per contrappasso sul capo del ribelle sconfitto, con un congegno gli fu stretta alle tempie e gli perforò il cranio, sono solo del nostro storico e già Toeche osservò che si spiegano pensando alla maggiore abitudine dei bizantini all'esercizio politico della crudeltà. Va ricordato infine che la storiografia tedesca dell'Ottocento si adoperò a dissolvere questa visione vulgata, nel quadro di una generale revisione delle passate ideologie: vd., ad es., *inter alia* Toeche, *Kaiser Heinrich VI.*, cit., pp. 579-582; H. Ottendorff, *Die Regierung der beiden letzten Normanenkönige, Tankreds und Wilhelms III., von Sizilien und ihre Kämpfe gegen Kaiser Heinrich VI.*, Bonn 1899, pp. 73-76. Per converso, il persistere di punti di vista più tradizionali è illustrato nello studio già citato di F. Giunta. Sulla sua immagine di sovrano crudelissimo cfr. anche H. Jericke, *Imperator Romanorum et Rex Siciliae. Kaiser Heinrich VI. und sein Ringen um das normannisch-sizilische Königreich*, Frankfurt am Main 1997, pp. 239-240.

La breve e tragica vita di Irene Angelina, moglie di Filippo di Svevia, è tratteggiata da Ch. Diehl, *Irène Ange, Reine des Romains. Un épisode de la politique allemande en Orient au Moyen-Âge*, in *Choses et gens de Byzance*, Paris 1926, pp. 213-229. Di lei si ricorda in particolare che il suo secondo matrimonio con Filippo di Svevia, imposto, come il primo con Ruggero III di Sicilia, dalla mera ragion di stato, divenne però subito un vero matrimonio d'amore; si determinò pertanto un grande contrasto fra la giovane coppia felice e quelle infelicissime dei loro più stretti parenti, Alessio III e Eufrosina Ducena da un lato, Enrico VI di Svevia e Costanza d'Altavilla dall'altro. Coinvolta dal fratello Alessio IV e dal marito Filippo negli avvenimenti della quarta crociata, come si dirà a suo luogo, Irene visse la sua vita come regina di Germania, avendo cambiato il suo nome in Maria. Morì di parto due soli mesi dopo il controverso assassinio dell'amato marito (27.8.1208), non essendo ancora trentenne, e fu sepolta nel mausoleo degli Svevi nella famosa abbazia imperiale di Lorch, che è, come ognun sa, tra i monumenti più emblematici dell'intera storia tedesca.

## 2. Un eparco bizantino ambasciatore in Sicilia (p. 478, 3-11 v. D. = XV 10, 5 Valla)

Πρὸς ἄπερ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπαυδῶν πρέσβιν ἐς τὸν ῥῆγα πέπομφε τὸν Φιλοκάλην Εὐμάθιον, ἔπαρχον ὄντα τῆς πόλεως. οὗτος δὲ πλούτω ὑπὲρ τοὺς τότε κομῶν ἐκόντως ὑπέδου τὸν πρεσβευτὴν. ἀμέλει καὶ δεῖται τοῦ βασιλέως μετὰ τῶν ἐπαρχικῶν παρασήμων ἐνδοθῆναι οἱ διαπρεσβεύσασθαι. καὶ βασιλεὺς ἐφόδιον, ὅπερ ἤτησε, περιχαρῶς αὐτῷ παρασχόμενος οἰκείους ὀψωνίους τὴν προκειμένην παρήκε στείλασθαι. ὅθεν ἐποφθεῖς καινός τις καὶ ἕξαλλος πρεσβευτῆς οὐ μόνον οὐδὲν τι παρὰ τοὺς πρότερον πρέσβεις τετίμητο, ἀλλὰ καὶ γέλων ὄφλε τῷ ἀήθει του περιβλήματος. (p. 478, 3-11 v. D.)

L'imperatore non acconsentì, e mandò al re come ambasciatore Eumazio Filocalo, eparco della città. Costui, ricco più d'ogni altro del suo tempo, vestì di buon grado i panni del legato. Anzi, chiese all'imperatore che gli fosse concesso di andare in ambasceria con le insegne dell'eparco. L'imperatore, elargitogli volentieri il viatico che chiedeva, lasciò che egli compisse il viaggio a proprie spese. Così, quando si presentò quell'ambasciatore strano e singolare, non solo non ricevette onori speciali rispetto ai suoi predecessori, ma addirittura si meritò lo scherno per l'insolito abbigliamento. (XV 10, 5 Valla)

All'inizio del 1197 (cfr. Dölger-Wirth, *Regesten*, cit., p. 323, nr. 1638; M. Minniti Colonna, *L'imperatore Alessio III Angelo Comneno (1195-1203): l'ascesa al trono e i primi anni di regno*, «Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia di Napoli» 28, 1985-1986, pp. 54-96), Alessio III Angelo inviò come ambasciatore a Enrico VI l'eparco di Costantinopoli Eumazio Filocalo. Quest'uomo, membro di una famiglia nota già al tempo di Alessio I Comneno, era ricchissimo; in tempi economicamente molto grami per l'impero, sostenne in proprio le spese del viaggio, avendo richiesto e ottenuto da Alessio licenza di presentarsi a Enrico VI con la veste solenne prevista dalla sua carica. Eumazio, evidentemente, contava in tal modo di impressionare la corte siciliana con il decoro della sua divisa; superfluo commentare questa sua presunzione, trattandosi di un esempio, tra i molti, del malposto, quanto meno anacronistico senso di superiorità che affliggeva da sempre i bizantini nei confronti del resto del mondo. Non mancano i riscontri, anche interni a Niceta, di come l'ostensione dei sontuosi apparati imperiali e dei cortigiani non solo fosse vana in rapporto allo scopo, ma persino controproducente. Anche stavolta la veste e le insegne proprie dell'eparco parvero ai Tedeschi semplicemente ridicoli, benché questo fatto non pare abbia condizionato l'esito positivo dell'ambasceria bizantina: Niceta (p. 478, 12-14 v. D. = XV 10, 6 Valla) ci dice che Eumazio ottenne dal re "barbaro" una riduzione del tributo da versare (cfr. Dölger-Wirth, *Regesten*, p. 323, nr. 1638; R. Guiland, *Études sur l'histoire administrative de l'Empire Byzantin - L'Éparque*, «Byzantinoslavica» 41, 1980, pp. 145-179).

Sulla carica di eparco, il romano *praefectus Urbi*, che si installò a Costantinopoli nel 359 e sopravvisse con fortuna sempre più calante fino al 1204 (la data è fornita da questo passo di Niceta; in età paleologa fu ripresa in forme diverse) – rimando al vol. II Valla di Niceta Coniata, nota 68 a IX 3, 1 (cui si aggiunga, relativamente all'origine e alla storia più antica della carica, S. Ruciński, *Praefectus Urbi. Le Gar-*



*dien de l'ordre public à Rome sous le Haut-Empire Romain*, Poznan 2009). I dati prosopografici relativi a Eumazio Filocalo sono raccolti da Guiland, *Études*, cit.; di un suo omonimo parente, vissuto al tempo di Alessio I Comneno, illustra un sigillo V. Laurent, *Les sceaux byzantins du Médaillier Vatican*, Città del Vaticano 1962, pp. 55-59, nr. 68, dando ragguagli anche sulla famiglia e sulla carriera del titolare del sigillo, nonché di quella dell'omonimo nostro, di cui si ha solo la menzione di Niceta e, sinora, nessun sigillo.

Delle insegne dell'eparco bizantino si sa poco: derivavano da quelle di età tardoantica (esaustivamente raccolte da A. Chastagnol, *La préfecture urbaine à Rome sous le bas-empire*, Paris 1960, pp. 196-203; vd. anche Ruciński, *ibid.*, pp. 199-214) e sono indicate in dettaglio, all'altezza del X secolo, in Costantino Porfirogenito (*Cer.* II 52, p. 725, 21 Reiske; cfr. Guiland, *Études*, pp. 17-32: 29). Risulta così che l'eparco era il solo dignitario che non indossava l'uniforme militare: la sua "divisa" era costituita da una tunica, un mantello, una sciarpa e calzature particolari; per gli spostamenti in città disponeva di una carrozza a due cavalli preceduta dagli araldi. Nel secolo XI il suo costume ufficiale è descritto in un epigramma di Cristoforo di Mitilene, puntualmente analizzato da N. Oikonomides, di cui dirò tra poco.

Secondo Brand, *Byzantium*, cit., p. 192, Eumazio fu schernito dagli occidentali perché si presentò loro con la toga, la semplice e poco sontuosa veste ufficiale del prefetto di età romana, e destò sconcerto perché in Italia nessuno la portava più da secoli. Questa osservazione è autoschediastica e rivela carenza di senso storico, cui peraltro si rimedia facilmente leggendo il breve saggio scritto da N. Oikonomides (*Η στολή του επάρχου κι ο Σκυλίτζης της Μαδρίτης* [1992], in *Society, Culture and Politics in Byzantium*, ed. E. Zachariadou, Ashgate 2005, nr. VIII). Lo studioso commenta l'abbigliamento dell'eparco rappresentato in una miniatura del famoso manoscritto scorialense di Scilitze (*Matritensis Vitr.* 26-2, f. 43), traendone elementi per sostenerne l'origine costantinopolitana, contro l'opinione corrente che invece lo vuole prodotto nella Sicilia normanna (non è pertinente in questa sede la discussione di tale tesi, come neppure il rimando all'ampia bibliografia sul famosissimo manoscritto e sulle sue miniature; dalla consultazione della rete si apprende che Bente Bjørnholt, University of Sussex, attende allo studio tematico delle miniature e ne prepara un *database*; ma di questi progetti non si hanno ancora riscontri nel mondo degli studi). La miniatura rappresenta l'eparco in modo sommario (è la scena dell'esecuzione capitale dei collaboratori di Michele II nell'assassinio di Leone V; l'imperatore Teofilo dà ordine all'eparco, raffigurato due volte, di eseguire la condanna); ciò nonostante Oikonomides la mette per quanto possibile a confronto con il carne di Cristoforo di Mitilene per l'eparco Giovanni di Amuda/Amida (nr. 30 Kurtz = pp. 27-28 De Groote; per il toponimo e l'equivalenza che introduco vd. Procope de Césarée, *Constructions de Justinien I<sup>er</sup>* (*Περὶ κτισμάτων / De aedificiis*), introduction, traduction, commentaire, cartes et index par †Denis Roques, publication posthume par E. Amato et J. Schamp, Alessandria 2011, pp. 174-175, nota esemplarmente esaustiva). Riporto di seguito il testo greco dell'ultimo editore con traduzione italiana (che nella forma metrica, utile a conferire brio al dettato, si deve a Filippomaria Pontani; dal testo di Kurtz trasse una versione in prosa, non priva di

incertezze e di dubbie soluzioni, già Renata Gentile, a cui devo la cortese segnalazione, pubblicata in Cristoforo di Mitilene, *Canzoniere*, Catania 1983, pp. 75-76). Il carme di Cristoforo sfuggì a Guiland, che pertanto nel suo elenco di eparchi ignora Giovanni di Amuda/Amida (opportunamente integrato da J.-Cl. Cheynet, *L'Éparque: correctifs et additifs*, «Byzantinoslavica» 45, 1984, pp. 50-54: 52, dove però nulla si trova oltre al nudo rimando all'edizione lipsiense del carme).

Εἰς τὸν ἑπαρχὸν Ἰωάννην τὸν Ἀμούδας.

- Ἐπαρχικῇ στολῇ σ[ε ---,]  
 τὸν ἀρετῆς χιτῶσιν ἐστολισμένον,  
 ἔδειξε νῦν ἑπαρχ[ὸν ἀπάσῃ πόλει,]  
 στολῇ δὲ πάντως, ἧ̄ μένεις ἐσταλμένος,  
 5 ἔνδειγμα τῶν σῶν πράξεων, Ἰω[άννη].  
 ὁ λευκὸς οὗτος καὶ μέλας χιτῶν ἄμα  
 ψήφων τὸ διττὸν εὐφυῶς ὑ[πογράφει,]  
 ψήφων ἐκείνων, αἷς δικῶν τὰς πλεκτάνας  
 τέμνεις δικαίως, ἢ δικαστῶν ἀξ[ίτη,]  
 10 ἠττωμένοις μὲν τὴν μέλαιναν ἐξάγων,  
 τοῖς δ' ἐκ νόμου κρατοῦσι τὴν λευκ[ὴν φέρων].  
 τὸ τοῦ τραχήλου σιμικίνθιον δέ σοι  
 τί βούλεται, βέλτιστε, καὶ τί μηνύ[ει;]  
 ἔοικε σειρὰ τῶν πόνων σου τυγχάνειν,  
 15 δι' ἧς κατάγχεις καὶ δαμάζεις πᾶν πά[θος].  
 πέδιλα κιρρά, σφόδρα λαμπρὰ τὴν χροάν,  
 ὠραῖον ὄντα τοὺς πόδας σε δεικν[ύει,]  
 ὡς πρὸς τρίβους κινοῦντα τούτους ἐνθέους.  
 ὁ λευκὸς ἵππος, ὅς σε τοῖς νότοις φέ[ρει,]  
 20 τῆς ἀρετῆς τὸ κοῦφον ἐμφαίνει τάχα  
 ἢ καὶ τὸ λαμπρὸν καὶ διαυγὲς ἐκτ[όπως,]  
 ἐφ' ἧς ὄχη σὺ καὶ τρέχεις θεῖον δρόμον.  
 φάλαρα χαλκᾶ χρυσίῳ κεχρ[ωσμένα]  
 τὴν σὴν φίλοικτον ζωγραφοῦσι καρδίαν·  
 25 χαλκοῦ σε καὶ γὰρ μηνύει [καὶ χρυσοῦ]  
 χορηγὸν ὄντα τοῖς πένησιν εἰς κόρον.  
 τὸ δ' αὖ χιαστὸν σχῆμα τῆς ...  
 ἐγκαρσίως τίς εἰ θελήσειε βλέπειν,  
 ὁ σταυρὸς ἐστίν, ὅς σε τη[ρεῖ ---]  
 30 καὶ τῶν ὀπισθεν ἐξάγει τιθεὶς πρόσω.  
 τί δ', ἂν στ[ερηθῆς ---]  
 μόνων στερηθῆς συμβόλων, οὐ πραγμάτων,  
 καὶ συμβ[όλ---]  
 αὐτὴν ἐκείνην τὴν ἀλήθειαν φέρεις.

ed.: Christophori Mitylenaii *Versuum variorum collectio Cryptensis* edita a Marc De Groot, Turnhout 2012 (CCG 749), pp. 27-28, nr. 30 (cfr. E. Kurtz, *Die Gedichte des Christophoros Mitylenaios*, Leipzig 1903, p. 17, nr. 30)

L'abbigliamento in veste da prefetto / ti dimostra perfetto governante / a tutta la città, mentre tu indossi / lo splendido mantello di virtù: / la veste che ti veste è in ogni caso / [5] pro-

va delle tue imprese, o mio Giovanni. / Quel tuo mantello assieme bianco e nero / ben rappresenta la duplicità / delle pietre con cui tagli i grovigli / dei processi, tu scure di giustizia, / [10] recando agli sconfitti pietra nera / e pietra bianca a chi per legge vince. / Ma il cingolo del collo che vuol dire, / o illustre, cosa vuol significare? / È la catena delle tue fatiche / [15] per soffocare tutte le passioni. / I calzari arancioni, luminosi, / ti mostrano robusto sulle gambe, / che muovi sui sentieri più divini. / Ed il bianco cavallo su cui incedi / [20] forse indica che lieve è la virtù, / splendida e trasparente oltre ogni dire: / tu corri su di lei strade divine. / I finimenti di bronzo, ma dorati, / effigiano il tuo cuore pietosissimo: / [25] denunciano che tu regali a iosa / oro e bronzo ai poveri che incontri. / La forma a x del [– – –], a guardarla / obliquamente, sembra esser la croce, / che ti conserva [– – –] e ti porta / [30] innanzi, ed alle retrovie ti toglie, / Che dunque, se privato [– – –] / perdessi solo simboli, non cose, / e di simboli [– – –] / tu rechi quella vera verità.

Oikonomides ignorava il nostro passo di Niceta, dal quale peraltro non avrebbe potuto trarre nessuna indicazione oggettivamente utile per definire la veste dell'eparco, se non la notizia che, molti decenni dopo il carne di Cristoforo, uno storico di primo rango testimonia la singolarità di questa veste, almeno a giudizio della corte siciliana di Enrico VI. Fermo restando che il poeta bizantino ne spiega con linguaggio altamente retorico il valore simbolico della foggia e dei colori (cfr. vv. 5, 12, 16, 19, 23: la tunica è bianca e nera per simboleggiare il verdetto positivo o negativo che l'eparco, giudice supremo, può emettere; il *simicinizio* del collo simboleggia la lotta che egli sostiene a difesa della sua virtù etc.), Oikonomides, limitandosi all'osservazione oggettiva della miniatura, constata che essa corrisponde a quanto si legge nei versi di Cristoforo. In estrema sintesi si può concludere che, se si vuole avere un'idea visiva della veste dell'altissimo funzionario bizantino che, a detta di Niceta, suscitò l'ilarità della corte siciliana di Enrico VI, la miniatura dello Scilitze di Madrid mette a disposizione un'immagine cronologicamente compatibile, eseguita con buona aderenza alla realtà effettuale, se, come sostiene Oikonomides, la precisione dei suoi dettagli confermati dal carne del Mitileneo, non può che rimandare alla sua esecuzione in ambiente costantinopolitano; è lì, infatti, che l'eparco si vedeva con grande frequenza, con una divisa che a nessuno appariva ridicola. – Si rileva *en passant* che la nuova, recentissima edizione del carne di Cristoforo di Mitilene, opera di De Groot, *ictu oculi*, delude le aspettative. Per es. la discrepanza nel v. 1 con l'edizione di Kurtz (ripristino del dativo della tradizione manoscritta in luogo del nominativo introdotto da Kurtz [non può non aver pesato la questione dello *iota mutum*, la cui rilevanza paleografico-filologica è stata rilanciata proprio da Enrica Follieri, esimia paleografa ed editrice nel 1980 dei *Calendari in metro innografico* dello stesso Mitileneo: cfr. E. F., *Iota mutum: ripristino o eliminazione in alcuni testi bizantini* [1994], in *Byzantina et Italograeca. Studi di filologia e paleografia*, a c. di A. Acconcia Longo, L. Perria, A. Luzzi, Roma 1997, pp. 477-485, nr. XX]) e l'assenza di proposte di integrazione della lacuna, disorientano inutilmente il lettore; quanto ai versi finali 27-33, lasciati senza soccorso critico, restano muti a causa delle materiali mutilazioni. Al v. 12 il termine *σμηκίνθιον* (che appare *primum* al plurale in *At* 19. 12, 2, insieme a *σοῦδάριον*), privo di lemmatizzazione nell'edizione De Groot, ha una storia lessicografica che attende ancora la

sua sistemazione. Tale storia, estendendosi dall'esegesi del termine in età patristica a quella di età umanistico-rinascimentale e poi moderna e contemporanea (TGL, Du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis*, s.v. *semicinctium*; *Glossarium mediae et infimae Graecitatis*, s.v. *σικκίνθιον*; *Lexicon totius Latinitatis* di Forcellini-Furlanetto, t. V, [1871], s.v. *semicinctium*; W. Bauer, *Griechisch-deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der frühchristlichen Literatur*, hrsg. von K. und B. Aland, Berlin-New York 1988<sup>6</sup>, s.v. *σικκίνθιον*), dovrà essere almeno riassunta e spiegata. Non consentendo le mie competenze e la sede in cui scrivo nulla di più di questa avvertenza, mi limito a dichiarare la mia preferenza per il lemma del Forcellini, a cui mi sono ispirata per la resa italiana che ho adottato, guidata anche dalla visualizzazione del "cingolo" suggerita da Oikonomides, cit., p. 423 in base al confronto con la miniatura dello Scilitze di Madrid, di cui si è detto sopra.

### 3. Il poeta di Cos (p. 491, 3-5 v. D.= XV 14, 3 Valla)

᾽Οθεν ὄπερ ἐπὶ τῶν σωματικῶν ἔξεων ὁ Κῶος φησι ποιητής, ὡς εἰς τὸ ἄκρον προελθούσαι φιλοῦσι πρὸς τὸ κάταντες ὡς φιλυπόστροφοι μεταφέρεσθαι, μὴ ἀτρέμας ἔχουσαι μένειν τῷ συνεχεῖ ἀεὶ τῆς κινήσεως, τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ Μεσοποταμίτῃ συμπέτωκεν ἄντικρυς (p. 491, 3-5 v. D.)

Dunque, ciò che l'autore di Cos dice degli stati fisici, cioè che, giunti alla sommità, poi sogliono precipitare a valle, amando compiere tragitti inversi e non potendo mai rimanere fermi e stabili a causa del continuo movimento, proprio questo accadde anche nel caso di Mesopotamita. (XV 14, 3 Valla)

Niceta descrive la rovinosa "caduta" di *status* di Costantino Mesopotamita, potente ministro di Alessio III e contemporaneamente metropolita di Tessalonica, la sede vescovile più prestigiosa dopo Costantinopoli, con il ricorso a una citazione ipocratica: quella dell'*Aforisma* 1, 3, 4 (pp. 458, 10-460, 3 Littré) sull'impossibilità di mantenere immutata una situazione quando ha raggiunto il suo punto ottimale (da cui, in ambito medico, discende il mutamento inevitabile degli stati di salute: dalla malattia alla guarigione, dalla salute alla malattia; è l'antica teoria medica delle ἔξεις corporee). La citazione appare tuttavia mediata da una fonte interposta, costituita da un passo della *Cronografia* di Michele Psello (*Chron.* VI 191), come rivelò in tempi recenti C. Neri nella recensione, apparsa in «Eikasmos» 13, 2002, pp. 423-438: 433-434, a L. Sbardella (ed.), Filita, *Testimonianze e frammenti poetici*, Roma 2000. La "scoperta" di Neri (propiziata dalla disponibilità del *TLG on-line*) supera l'*impasse* in cui si trovò l'editore van Dieten che, pur attribuendo a Ippocrate la sentenza (cfr. *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, Pars altera, Berolini et Nova Eboraci 1975, CFHB XI/2, p. 36, *Index nominum*, s.v. Ἴπποκράτης, speculari a quanto si legge a p. 55: «Κῶος ὁ – Hippocrates, vide s. n.»), nell'apparato delle fonti ammise: «locum non inveni».

Vale la pena di illustrare il motivo per cui questa fonte di Niceta è segnalata nella recensione all'edizione critica dei versi di un poeta alessandrino quale è Filita di Cos. Mi auguro che da quanto mostrerò i filologi classici rafforzino al massimo l'e-

esercizio, a loro connaturale, della prudenza, evitando di cedere, come talora purtroppo accade, alla pratica dell'esercizio filologico tecnicamente plausibile e impeccabile, ma poco sensibile alle aporie derivanti dal fatto che i risultati così raggiunti contrastano palesemente con quanto il buon senso suggerisce.

Il buon senso che aveva guidato van Dieten (e prima di lui H. Wolf, l'editore principe di Niceta, e F. Grabler, il suo miglior traduttore) a ritenere che ὁ Κῶος ποιητής, visto il tenore della citazione, non potesse essere che Ippocrate, fu contestato da D. A. Chrestides, 'Ο «Κῶος ποιητής» του Νικήτα Χωνιάτη, «Ἑλληνικά», 35, 1984, pp. 70-73. Questo studioso, dinanzi all'incapacità sino ad allora da tutti mostrata di individuare il passo preciso di Ippocrate citato da Niceta, osservò che nelle sue opere lo storico bizantino non usa mai il termine ποιητής in riferimento a uno scrittore prosastico, quale è senza ombra di dubbio Ippocrate; pertanto solo per una *petitio principii*, per una sorta di pervicacia gli studiosi si astenevano dal cercare la fonte in autori diversi da Ippocrate. Chrestides, mettendosi proprio su questa strada, riteneva di poter indicare un valido *locus similis* in Filone Alessandrino, *Quod Deus sit immutabilis* 35-36 (II p. 64, 1-10 Cohn-Wendland). Per la difficoltà che questa soluzione a sua volta creava (come spiegare l'incongrua definizione di «poeta di Cos» che Niceta avrebbe affibbiato a Filone?), Chrestides trovava la seguente risposta: poiché i nomi di Filone e di Filita hanno in comune le prime tre lettere, non parrebbe difficile pensare che siano stati confusi, specie se si immagina abbreviata la parte finale del nome. Per altro verso, si poteva pensare che Niceta avesse trovato il passo in questione in uno gnomologio, in cui esso avrebbe potuto figurare con la falsa attribuzione a Filita (o con il nome abbreviato come detto nella prima ipotesi); per cui – dice Chrestides – nella sua opera storica Niceta lo avrebbe presentato con la perifrasi «poeta di Cos» (tale, infatti, è Filita).

Tutte le osservazioni fatte da Chrestides in questo articolo sono soltanto ipotesi che, pur nascendo da un problema reale, sono da definire fantasiose. Le smentì infatti lui stesso in una palinodia nella medesima rivista alcuni anni dopo («Ἑλληνικά» 44, 1996, pp. 307-316); infatti, ampliando la ricerca, aveva trovato che il motivo da lui individuato in Filone (come si è detto, l'impossibilità di mantenere immutata una situazione quando ha raggiunto il suo punto ottimale), in realtà si trova nel suo citato aforisma di Ippocrate, che fu a sua volta ripreso da un gran numero di scrittori successivi, a partire da Plutarco e Galeno.

Tuttavia nel 1999 E. Livrea scrisse sul nr. 67 della «Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik» (pp. 67-68) una nota dal titolo eloquente: *Un nuovo frammento di Filita di Cos*. Di quanto lo studioso mette in campo per avvalorare la sua singolare tesi (riferito *per capita* da Sbardella, p. 164: vd. *infra*), riporto solo un'affermazione liminare (p. 67), che nella sostanza è alla base di tutte le altre formulate da Livrea: «Apparirà peraltro assolutamente impossibile che Niceta Coniata qualifichi il più noto medico greco come ὁ Κῶος ποιητής»; la perentoria affermazione, non ancora suffragata né da un argomento né da una prova, ne acquisirà nel seguito dell'articolo, ma entrambi si riveleranno poi per quel che già ora appaiono, cioè deboli.

Accadde così che L. Sbardella, editore nel 2000 a Roma del volume *Filita*, cit., in cui all'introduzione segue la traduzione e il commento, incluse il passo di Niceta

tra i *dubia* di Filita (nr. 30, p. 96). Nel commento, dopo aver riassunto gli argomenti di Livrea a favore dell'attribuzione, Sbardella ammette che «nessuna di queste argomentazioni è di per sé decisiva», ma conclude che «prese nel loro complesso [...] esse paiono avere un peso certamente non trascurabile», soprattutto se si considera il dato di fondo da cui muove Livrea: «è difficile credere che un intellettuale come Filita, radicato in una realtà culturale dominata dal secolare prestigio della scuola medico-ippocratica, non abbia risentito anche nella sua opera poetica dell'influsso di una così importante tradizione».

Sia come sia, un'altra edizione di Filita vide la luce nel 2002 per i tipi di Brill ad opera di K. Spanoudakis (*Philitas of Cos*). Il passo di Niceta è incluso tra gli *Alleged testimonia* (p. 17), ma nel suo commento Spanoudakis si limita a riferire gli argomenti contrapposti di Chrestides e Livrea, senza ulteriore approfondimento.

Avvenne così che il vero fu “scoperto” solo da un attento recensore dell'edizione di Sbardella: come si è detto, nel su citato «Eikasmos» 2002 C. Neri a proposito del fr. 30 osserva che né Livrea né Sbardella menzionano il passo, che ho prima indicato, della *Cronografia* di Psello («che Niceta senza dubbio conosceva, o di cui condivideva la fonte»), in cui la teoria delle  $\sigma\omega\mu\alpha\tau\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\ \xi\zeta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  è attribuita correttamente ad Ippocrate di Cos (ὁ Κῶος Ἴπποκράτης). Partendo quindi dal fatto che Niceta si riferisce a Ippocrate, «vi sono buone possibilità [...] che anche in Niceta ποιητής vada emendato in Ἴπποκράτης ovvero interpretato nel senso più generale di “autore” (cfr. *LSJ*, s.v. II 2) o addirittura in quello tipicamente bizantino di “operator chymicus, alchymista” (cfr. Du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae Graecitatis*, I 1192) e il singolare frammento eliminato dal *corpus* di Filita».

A questo punto, a integrazione di quanto detto sinora, è da richiamare la persuasiva esegesi che di questo passo di Niceta ha proposto L. R. Cresci, *Funzione stilistica e ideologica della citazione in storici bizantini del XII secolo*, «Eikasmos» 15, 2004, pp. 311-321: 320-321; l'osservazione centrale è la seguente: lo storico riconduce le alterne fortune di Costantino Mesapotamita «a un ritmo di alternanza tra benessere e malessere che ha il primo campo di osservazione e di verifica nello stato dei corpi». Questo principio di carattere medico è espresso in un aforisma attribuito a Ippocrate, «spesso citato in meditazioni poetiche o storico-filosofiche sulla brusca decadenza di stati o imperi giunti al culmine del potere»: e si allegano passi di Giorgio di Pisidia, Michele Psello, Teodoro Metochita. Si conclude pertanto che, dal momento che un principio di così alta ascendenza letteraria viene da Niceta evocato non per spiegare il tracollo di uno stato, bensì «la fine della carriera di un tenace e pervicace arrivistà», pare evidente «lo scarto in direzione ironica da lui operato in questo come in numerosissimi altri casi» (aggiungo io: finora solo sporadicamente rilevati e non ancora tematizzati come sarebbe utile e opportuno).

Se può considerarsi così felicemente concluso il faticoso e accidentato percorso alla ricerca della fonte di Niceta, non altrettanto felici paiono le ragioni per cui si sono incontrate tante difficoltà. È autoevidente che filologi classici (Chrestides, Livrea) e bizantinisti (Cresci) non si muovono su un orizzonte comune. Lo stesso Neri, con meritevole acribia, giunge alla soluzione solo grazie al *TLG on-line*, precluso agli studiosi precedenti, ma non rende conto della fortuna tarda e bizantina della

teoria degli stati fisici; fatto invece ben noto a Cresci: la quale, però, quando in «Orpheus» 18, 1997, pp. 420-434, ne documentava la fortuna nell'articolo *Note critiche sul saggio 67 degli Υπομνηματισμοί di Teodoro Metochita*, non disponendo del TLG on-line, non poté allegare il nostro passo di Niceta.

Né basta dire questo, non potendosi tacere che la “pietra dello scandalo”, la radice del problema, è il termine ποιητής applicato da Niceta a Ippocrate. I filologi classici escludono o riluttano a credere che l'uso antico del termine nell'accezione di “autore” (cfr. *LSJ*, s.v. Π 2, già segnalato da Sbardella) possa essere compatibile con un “autore” quale è Ippocrate, che non è un poeta, un drammaturgo, un oratore, ma uno scienziato che poco o nulla lascia all’“invenzione”, alla *creatività*, diremmo oggi. Né aiuta la constatazione che nel libro VIII 6, 11 Valla (= p. 214, 66 v. D.) Niceta, memore del testo del *Credo*, scriva θεὸν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς ποιητήν. Ma se si vuole in primo luogo considerare l'*usus scribendi* del nostro autore, allora sarà bene ricordare che Kazhdan nel suo inedito lessico semasiologico di Niceta Coniata, nella sezione R 161, s.v. *Production*, non censisce questa nostra occorrenza del termine ποιητής, probabilmente per sfuggire alla difficoltà interpretativa che esso offre, e in merito al termine ποιητής che ricorre a p. 388, 5 v. D. (= XII 10, 23 Valla) contesta l'inclusione tra i nomi propri operata, sulla scia di Bekker, da van Dieten (cfr. *Index nominum*, p. 72: «Ποιητής: homo plebeius quidam sic vocatus [...]»); secondo Kazhdan esso non è un nome proprio: il termine va scritto minuscolo e significa «craftsman, workman», perché, essendo riferito a un ἀγοραῖος, può indicare solo un popolano che di mestiere faceva l'artigiano (riguardo a questo lessico semasiologico segnalo che Andrea Fullin lo ha studiato molto bene nella sua tesi di laurea magistrale, degna senz'altro di pubblicazione, condotta sotto la mia guida e discussa nell'a.a. 2008-2009: *Alexander Kazhdan e la lessicografia di Niceta Coniata*). Concludo notando, per completezza, l'acclarata imperizia filologica di H. J. Magoulias, *O City of Byzantium, Annals of Niketas Choniates*, Detroit 1984, p. 397 n. 1104, che stavolta si manifesta in una nota: trovandosi dinanzi «Poeta» (testo di Bekker e van Dieten) come nome proprio, si chiede se la ragione non esplicitata della sua condanna a morte non sia dovuta al fatto che egli scrisse versi ingiuriosi contro l'imperatore.

#### 4. Niceta e Boncompagno da Signa (p. 549, 4-13 v. D.= XVII 1, 1 Valla)

᾽Ωδε μὲν οὖν ἤλαυνεν ἐς Δεβελτὸν Ἀλέξιος, ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ἐλαυνόμενος. ἦν δ' ἄρα οὐ μόνον χαλεπὸν γυνή καὶ τὸ τῆς συνευνάσεως φίλτρον βλάβειε μάλλον ἢ ὠφελήσσειε, καθά τις ἐγνωμολόγησε κακῶς ἐς βασιλείαν παθῶν προκοίτου γυναικὸς εἰσηγήσεσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ γύννις ἀνὴρ ἀργαλέον καὶ χεῖριστον, καὶ τί οὐκ ἂν ἐπαχθὲς καὶ εἰς κίνδυνον ἐλαῦνον τὸν ἔσχατον τὸ ὑπ' ἐκεῖνον ταττόμενον πείσεται ὃ δὴ καὶ Ῥωμαίοις αὐτοῖς συνενήνεκται, ἀνειμένους καὶ χαλαροὺς καὶ τὸν ἀπολαυστικὸν βίον μεταδιώκοντας δυστυχήσασιν αὐτοκράτορας, τοὺς δ' αὐτοὺς δυσπάλαιστον μὲν τὴν ἀνάγκην, ἀνύποιστον δὲ τὸ περὶ ψυχῆς δέος δι' ὅλου κρίνοντας. (p. 549, 4-13 v. D.)

E così Alessio proseguiva verso Develto, non inseguito da nessuno. Non è solo la donna ad essere una sciagura, né solo l'incanto del letto a danneggiare più di quanto

non giovi (come sentenziò un tale che aveva avuto guai nel suo regno a causa dei consigli di una ancella di camera), ma anche un uomo effeminato è cosa orribile e perniciosissima: quale tribolazione grave ed estremamente rischiosa non subirà la gente a lui sottoposta? Proprio questo accadde agli stessi Romani, che per loro disgrazia si ritrovarono imperatori molli, fiacchi, che perseguivano una vita di piaceri, che ritenevano del tutto ineluttabile il fato e insostenibile correre il rischio per la propria vita. (XVII 1, 1 Valla)

Il detto che la donna è un male pare legato a Solone (fr. 181 Martina), il quale, a chi gli chiedeva di punire i celibi, rispose che «una donna è un difficile peso» (χαλεπὸν φορτίον); la frase seguente sembra invece presentare affinità con una sentenza attribuita ad Epicuro da varie fonti (Diog. Laert. X 118; Clem. Alex. *Paed.* II 10; Porph. *Abst.* I 52; Gal. *In Hipp. epid. comm.* I 4, p. 521 Kühn), anche se Usener sospetta che risalga in realtà a Democrito. La formulazione più vicina al nostro passo è quella di Galeno, dove si dice che, secondo Epicuro, i rapporti sessuali «non solo non giovano mai, ma è tanto se non producono danni». Se è così, rimane tuttavia oscura l'attribuzione della sentenza a un re sventurato, che si legge in questo passo. La frase è resa enigmatica soprattutto dalla singolare espressione πρόκοιτος γυνή, «una cameriera» che, secondo i traduttori da Wolf a Magoulias, corrisponde a quelle κατευνάστριαι con le quali a XVI 22, 8 (= p. 576, 75 v. D.: μετρίοις τῶν κατευνάστριῶν) si dice che Alessio fuggì dalla capitale (Wolf: «mulier/mulierculae», Magoulias: «female chamberlain/female chamberlains», Grabler «Kebsweib» [che però omette la traduzione in XVI 22, 8]). Sulla scia di questa vulgata M. Angold, *Byzantine politics vis-à-vis the Fourth Crusade*, in *Urbs Capta. The Fourth Crusade and its Consequences. La IV<sup>e</sup> Croisade et ses conséquences*, sous la direction d'A. E. Laiou, Paris 2005, pp. 55-68: 63, ipotizza un'allusione da parte di Niceta al fatto che Alessio III nell'ultimo periodo del suo regno si sarebbe sottratto all'influenza della moglie Eufrosina, ai cui legami famigliari e alla cui forza di carattere tutto doveva, cadendo vittima di qualche sconosciuta cortigiana: un passo falso che avrebbe accelerato la sua rovina. Non può non suscitare curiosità e interesse il fatto che il *topos* dell'influenza nefasta che le donne esercitano sui sovrani viene applicato allo stesso Alessio III da Boncompagno da Signa, in un passo del suo trattato *Amicitia*, di cui ora diremo, ma dopo aver premesso sinteticamente qualche indicazione sull'autore. Su Boncompagno da Signa (1165/75-post 1240), *dictator*, ossia maestro di *ars dictaminis*, di grande fama ai suoi tempi, autore di molte opere nelle cui tematiche e nel cui stile si rispecchia la sua originale personalità, che resenta spesso la bizzarria, si vedano i saggi che compongono *Il pensiero e l'opera di Boncompagno da Signa. Atti del Primo Convegno Nazionale (Signa 23-24 febbraio 2001)*, a c. di M. Baldini, Signa 2002; il trattato che ci interessa si legge agevolmente (testo latino, traduzione italiana, utili note di commento) in Boncompagno da Signa, *L'Amicitia*, introduzione di M. Baldini, traduzione e note di C. Conti, Signa 1999; l'inquadramento storico, necessario a intendere i fatti a cui si riferisce Boncompagno, è fornito da M. Gallina, *L'amicizia tradita, ovvero la prigionia in Monferrato di un sovrano bizantino nell'«Amicitia» di Boncompagno da Signa*, «Bollettino Storico-Bibliografico Subalpino» 88, 1990, pp. 337-363: 351-363, in cui si esamina ampiamente so-



prattutto la lettera fittizia di Boncompagno attribuita ai capi crociati che avevano guidato la conquista (Baldovino di Fiandra, il doge di Venezia, il Marchese di Monferrato), diretta ai re e ai popoli cristiani, la quale fu edita da H. Simonsfeld, *Ein Bericht über die Eroberung von Byzanz im Jahre 1204*, «Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiet der klassischen Altertums-Wissenschaft», München 1891, pp. 64-74 (di questa lettera è stato già messo in luce il fatto singolare che della conquista si narrano con dovizia di particolari gli episodi di saccheggio e violenza perpetrati dai Latini, ovviamente taciute da tutte le altre fonti occidentali coeve; e nell'elenco delle nefandezze perpetrate si scorgono vistose coincidenze con la famosa monodia su Costantinopoli del nostro Niceta [XVII 7, 1-8, 4 Valla = pp. 576, 1-582, 84 v. D.], come ha provveduto a segnalare, se non a indagare, lo stesso Simonsfeld, pp. 70-72). Torniamo al discorso iniziale, cioè alla constatazione che da Boncompagno Alessio III è portato come un esempio tra i molti, antichi e recenti, che, nel cap. XXXIII *De orbato amico*, illustrano la sorte di chi «si sottomette alla volontà della donna e ripone tutta la sua speranza in lei» (ed. cit., p. 65). Dopo Adamo, David, Salomone, Sansone (gli occhi dei quali furono ottenebrati dal velo del vano amore e del piacere, il che li rese orbatì, impedì loro di vedere la verità e di conoscere sé stessi), è la volta dell'imperatore bizantino: «Orbato fu Alessio, che, su istigazione della moglie, abbacinò il fratello imperatore Isachio, per cui la città di Costantinopoli fu esposta alla distruzione ed alla rovina» (*ibid.*).

Non sembra che il passo di Boncompagno sia direttamente utile a chiarire il criptico riferimento di Niceta a un sovrano che perse il suo regno a causa di una cameriera. È tuttavia importante constatare che in Occidente era diffusa la notizia circa il carattere risoluto di Eufrosina, che Niceta delinea con grande efficacia, se Boncompagno pone l'imperatore bizantino come unico esempio storico, dopo le classiche figure bibliche note a chiunque, del sovrano vittima della donna di cui si innamora.

Nell'*Amicitia*, oltre che in questo passo, si parla di Alessio III anche nella sezione finale dell'opera (cap. XXXIX *Definitiva sententia Rationis*, §§ 59-71, pp. 79-81 ed. cit.), come esempio dell'impossibilità per i potenti di avere amici veri e fidati. Infatti colui che aveva regnato sul grande impero di Costantinopoli, circondato dalla pompa imperiale e da stuoli di servi e devote autorità (che sono elencate all'interno dello schema retorico dell'*Ubi sunt?* con le loro cariche e dignità greche [talché i filologi hanno da lavorare sulla natura delle traslitterazioni operate con sicurezza e disinvoltura da Boncompagno]), «è ora tenuto prigioniero in Monferrato con il figlio e la moglie» (sulla sorte di Alessio III dopo la sua cattura da parte di Bonifacio di Monferrato, di cui si hanno solo notizie incerte e incomplete, faticosamente ricostruite in studi recenti, rimando alla mia nota di commento a XIX 13, 1 = p. 612, 36-41 v. D.).

La natura e la funzione della presenza dell'ultimo imperatore della dinastia degli Angeli nel bel trattato di Boncompagno è stata già delineata nei suoi elementi costitutivi sia da Gallina, *L'amicizia tradita*, cit., sia da Conti, traduttore e commentatore dell'*Amicitia*. Alle loro osservazioni, che aprono interrogativi molteplici sulla presenza di storia bizantina contemporanea nella cultura letteraria occidentale riguar-

do al complesso e decisivo periodo culminante nella quarta crociata e negli anni incertissimi che la seguirono, si potrà dare seguito e risposta solo con uno studio ampio e paziente, con indagini per le quali non si dispone ancora di un affidabile modello metodologico, ma solo di abbozzi e pionieristici schemi (ne dà un ottimo esempio in questa stessa rivista il saggio di S. Neocleous [*supra*, pp. 195-284], relativo alla presenza del “mito” del terribile Andronico I Comneno nella storiografia latina a lui contemporanea).

Lo studioso, anche quando amplia lo sguardo oltre i confini della sua disciplina, non deve perdere di vista che a lui compete in primo luogo l'approfondimento e la soluzione dei problemi di quella. Che Boncompagno, contemporaneo del nostro Niceta Coniata, echeggi la realtà storico-politica del suo tempo oltre i confini linguistici e culturali nativi, non può certo stupire. Se si considera la sua singolare personalità, la sua verve spesso luciana, il ricorso che nella sua opera retorica fa ad Alessio III, uno dei protagonisti dell'evento storico più significativo del suo tempo (il crollo dell'impero bizantino, il sacco di Costantinopoli), potrebbe apparire ovvio se non obbligato. Tuttavia, oltre a Niceta, una fonte insieme letteraria e storica che ci informi adeguatamente degli eventi dal punto di vista di chi li patì, cioè dei Bizantini, non esiste. Quando Niceta tace, oppure è oscuro (tale è nel riferimento al sovrano che si perse per una *femme de chambre*), nulla sovviene e i nostri pensieri debbono arrestarsi.

Ma C. Conti, il più volte ricordato traduttore dell'*Amicitia*, scrive (p. 78 n. 137): «che Boncompagno con le vicende terrene di Enrico VI e di Alessio III (due imperatori che rappresentavano agli occhi dei contemporanei quasi la personificazione del potere divino sulla terra) intendesse offrire degli *exempla* altamente morali, giusta il carattere della sua opera, è fuori discussione, ma ciò non comporta necessariamente che essi fossero *ficta*: la loro storicità anzi, facilmente verificabile dai contemporanei, doveva rinforzarne il valore. Del resto quando Boncompagno cita fatti contemporanei non inventa né amplifica: gli eventuali *colores* retorici non sono in conflitto con la realtà, tutt'al più fungono da commento ad essa [...]». Queste parole inducono a continuare nella strada che amplia gli orizzonti dello specialista: le fonti occidentali coeve, di qualunque natura siano, devono essere sempre presenti nella mente e nelle letture dei bizantinisti.

##### 5. Il *mitaton* dei Saraceni (p. 553, 91 [sic]-10 v. D. = XVII 2, 4 Valla)

Ἐνεακαιδεκάτην δ' ἄγοντος τοῦ Αὐγουστου μηνός, τῆς ἕκτης ἰνδικτικῶνος τοῦ ἕξα-  
κισχιλιοστοῦ ἑπτακοσιοστοῦ ἑνδεκάτου ἔτους, τινές τῶν Φραγγίσκων (οὔτοι δέ  
εἰσιν οἱ πάλαι Φλαμίονες κικλησκόμενοι) Πισσαίων καὶ Βενετικῶν μοῖραν προσ-  
ειληφότες ὡς εἰς ὄψον ἔτοιμον καὶ πρόχειρον ἔρμαιον τὰ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν δια-  
πλαῖζονται χρήματα. καὶ δὴ τὸ σύνταγμα ἐκεῖνο τὸ πονηρὸν τῆ πόλει προσσχὸν δι'  
ἀλιάδων (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦν τις ὁ προσιστάμενος ὅλως ἐπεισπλέειν σφας τῆ πόλει καὶ αὐ-  
θις ἀνάγεσθαι) τῷ τῶν ἐξ Ἄγαρ συναγωγίῳ λάθρα ἐπεισπίπτουσιν, ὃ φησι Μιτάτον  
ἡ δημῶδης διάλεκτος, καὶ τὰ ἐνόητα μετὰ ξίφους ληστεύουσιν. (p. 553, 91-5 v. D.)

Il 19 agosto dell'anno 6711, sesta indizione, alcuni dei Franceschi (si tratta di coloro che un tempo erano chiamati Fiamminghi) presa con sé una squadra di Pisani e Ve-

neziani, traversarono il mare diretti ai beni dei Saraceni come se andassero verso una pietanza imbandita e un guadagno a portata di mano.

Quella banda di malnati si avvicinò alla Città su dei battelli (e non c'era proprio nessuno ad impedire che essi venissero per mare nella Città e poi ne ripartissero), irruppe furtivamente nel fondaco degli Agareni, che la lingua volgare chiama *Mitaton*, e saccheggiò con la spada in pugno quanto vi si trovava. (XVII 2, 4 Valla)

Sui molteplici significati del latinismo *μύατον* (da *metari*, «misurare» e «piantare tende»), cfr. *ODB s.v.*; in questo passo il termine ha il primo valore ivi indicato: «trading station of foreign merchants», che già in età altomedievale (sec. VIII) era una realtà diffusa nel mondo musulmano, dalla Siria alla Spagna attraverso il Nord-Africa, e si designava propriamente con il termine arabo *funduq* (derivato dal greco *πανδοχείον*, «albergo, locanda», passato in latino come *fundicus*; trovandosi spesso su strade carovaniere, si chiamavano anche *caravanserai* o, in persiano, *khan*): cfr. R. S. Lopez, *Silk Industry in the Byzantine Empire*, «Speculum» 20, 1945, pp. 1-42: 26-28, 33-34 e *passim*; R. I. Burns, SJ, *Baths and Caravanserais in Crusader Valencia*, *ibid.* 46, 1971, pp. 443-458: 444-453; H. M. Willard, *The fundicus, a port facility of Montecassino in Medieval Amalfi*, «Benedictina» 19, 1972, pp. 253-261: 260-261. La legislazione contenuta nel *Libro dell'Eparco* è molto dettagliata sui *mitata* della capitale occupati da mercanti siriani o provenienti dall'Egitto, i primi a instaurare rapporti commerciali con il mondo bizantino (cfr. D. Jacoby, *Byzantine Trade with Egypt from the mid-Tenth Century to the Fourth Crusade*, «Thesaurismata» 30, 2000, pp. 25-77: 64-65, ristampato e più d'una volta rifiuto, da ultimo in *The Expansion of Orthodox Europe. Byzantium, the Balkans and Russia*, ed. by J. Shepard, Ashgate 2007, pp. 107-159: 116-117, con la bibliografia precedente). Questi alloggi speciali riservati ai mercanti stranieri, che avevano il permesso di operare solo in zone lontane dal centro, destinato alle *apothekai* (magazzini) imperiali, erano situati nei sobborghi della città, e prevedevano, accanto a spazi da usare come depositi per le mercanzie, anche quelli per le varie necessità della vita quotidiana e luoghi per l'esercizio del culto. Malgrado qualche tratto comune (soprattutto la localizzazione sulla sponda meridionale del Corno d'Oro, che fu sempre la sede deputata al commercio internazionale), i *mitata* di Costantinopoli sono cosa sostanzialmente diversa dai quartieri (detti anche *concessioni*) occupati dalle colonie mercantili straniere (in primo luogo italiane), che nel medio e tardo periodo bizantino si installarono nella capitale. Ma se quanto ora esposto si può considerare sapere comune e indiscusso, non altrettanto si può dire per l'interpretazione del termine *συναγωγίον*, sul cui valore di moschea, a quanto mi consta, c'è ampio consenso (vd. ad es. P. Magdalino, *Constantinople médiévale. Études sur l'évolution des structures urbaines*, Paris 1996, pp. 88 e n. 223, come già S. W. Reinert, *The Muslim Presence in Constantinople, 9th-15th Centuries. Some Preliminary Observations*, in H. Ahrweiler, A. Laiou [edd.], *Studies on the Internal Diaspora of the Byzantine Empire*, Washington, DC 1998, pp. 125-150: 141-143; ma più cauto e avvertito è il giudizio di O. Remie Constable, *Housing the Stranger in the Mediterranean World*, Cambridge 2003, p. 149); non tutti però ricordano l'antica esitazione di Du Cange (in *Constantinopolis Christiana*, l. II, p. 164: «Cur vero mitaton Saracenicam meskitam vulgo

vocatam dicat Nicetas, non plane video»; il termine greco corrente, ancorché poco attestato, per designare la moschea è *μαγίσδιον/μασγίδιον*: cfr. *LBG s.v.*), essendo peraltro inclini a ritenere che la moschea dei Saraceni incendiata nel 1203 non sia priva di connessione con quella di certo inclusa nel primitivo *mitaton*, verisimilmente rinnovata nel 1188-89 da Isacco II su richiesta del Saladino, e posta anch'essa nei pressi della chiesa suburbana di Santa Irene a Perama e dell'ospedale di Marciano (vd. XVII 2, 6 = 554, 38 v. D.; la rassegna più completa a me nota sulla storia, ancora da scrivere, della presenza di luoghi di culto islamici a Costantinopoli è in R. Khouri Odetallah, *The Mosque of Constantinople: Mythe and Reality*, «Ιστορικογεωγραφικά» 8, 2000, pp. 257-264). Se *mitaton* è il termine latino da sempre corrente nella capitale per designare il luogo in cui i mercanti egiziani e siriani soggiornavano con tutte le loro mercanzie, ritengo che il termine greco *συναγωγίον* usato da Niceta qui, come già sopra XVI 11, 2 Valla (= 525, 20 v. D.) e poco oltre XVII 2, 6 Valla (= 554, 38 v. D.), debba essere la sua forma arcaizzante e indichi pertanto un luogo di raccolta, di confluenza di uomini e cose, come suggerisce la sua stessa radice, e in nessun caso designi invece specificamente il luogo di culto. Per questo ho tradotto «fondaco», italianizzazione dell'arabo *funduk*: termine che, come già si è detto, ha origine a sua volta dal greco *πανδοχεῖον*. Va tuttavia sottolineato che in greco *φούνδαξ*, attestato *semel* in Scilitze continuato, più volte in Michele Attaliata e *semel* nel *Typikòn* del monastero della Kosmosoteira redatto dal sebastocratore Isacco Comneno, pur indicando «above all, a facility for merchants, comprising warehouses and living quarters, and it suggests an institution imported and adapted for use by merchants who traded with the Arabs», ha il valore preciso e diverso di deposito di grano, «state corn exchange»: cfr. P. Magdalino, *The grain supply of Constantinople, ninth-twelfth centuries*, in C. Mango, G. Dagron (edd.), *Constantinople and its Hinterlands*, Aldershot 1995, pp. 35-47: 40, 44-45). Questa mia interpretazione è in linea con l'uso di *συναγωγή* riscontrabile in Niceta, in cui indica sempre «luogo di raccolta», ovvero «accolta, adunanza»; si noti in particolare *Or.* 18, p. 196, 2 αἱ συναγωγαὶ τῶν Ἀρμενίων, che F. Grabler, *Kaisertaten und Menschenschicksale im Spiegel der schönen Rede: Reden und Briefe des Niketas Choniates*, Graz-Wien-Köln-1966, p. 331, traduce: «den Stadtvierteln der Armenien», in riferimento alla comunità armena di Filippopoli. Per l'uso del termine nel greco profano, da cui, credo, Niceta è partito per scegliere questo arcaismo, cfr. *GLNT*, XIII, 1981, coll. 9-16, *s.v.* *συναγωγή*.

#### 6. La gloria di Saladino (p. 576, 78-95 v.D. = XVIII 6, 2 Valla)

Ὅντως λογοποιοὶ ἐξεφάνθησαν καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τάφου διφῶντες ἐκδίκησιν κατὰ Χριστοῦ προδήλως ἐλύττησαν καὶ μετὰ σταυροῦ τὴν τοῦ σταυροῦ κατάλυσιν ἠνομήκασιν, ὃν ἐπινώτιον ἔφερον, τοῦτον πρὸ ποδῶν τιθέναι μὴ φρίττοντες διὰ χρυσίον βραχὺ καὶ ἀργύριον. καὶ μαργαρίτας ἐγκολπιζόμενοι τὸν πολύτιμον μαργαρίτην Χριστὸν ἠθετήκασιν, τοῖς ἐναγεστάτοις τῶν ζώων τὸν παναγέστατον διασπείραντες. οἱ δ' ἐξ Ἰσραὴλ οὐχ οὕτως, ὅτι μὴ καὶ πάνυ φιλανθρώπως καὶ προσηνῶς τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ γένους αὐτῶν προσηνέχθησαν τῆς Σιών κατισχύσαντες. οὔτε γὰρ γυναιξὶ Λατινίσιν ἐπεχερέμισαν, οὔτε τὸ Χριστοῦ κενήριον πολυάνδριον πεσόντων ἔδειξαν, οὔδὲ κάθοδον ἐς ἄδου τὴν πρὸς τὸν ζωηφόρον τάφον εἴσοδον, οὔδὲ θάνα-

τον τὴν ζωὴν, οὐδὲ πτώσιν τὴν ἀνάστασιν, ἀπαξάπασι δ' ἀνέντες τὴν ἔξοδον χρυσί-  
 νους ἀριθμῶ κατ' ἄνδρα βραχέσιν ἀφώριζον τὰ ζωάγρια, τὰ λοιπὰ τοῖς κεκτημένοις  
 παρέντες, κὰν ψάμμω ἦσαν παρόμοια. καὶ τοιῶσδε μὲν τὸ χριστομάχον τοῖς ἄλλο-  
 πίστοις Λατίνοις ἐχρήσατο, μὴ ξίφος, μὴ πῦρ, μὴ λιμόν, μὴ διωγμόν, μὴ γυμνότητα,  
 μὴ συντρίμματα, μὴ πιέσματα μεγαλοψύχως σφίσιν ἐπενεγκόν· ἡμῖν δ' ἐκείνως τὸ  
 φιλόχριστον καὶ ὁμόδοξον προσενήνεκται, ὡς ἐπιτρέχοντες εἶπομεν, μηδὲν ἐπεγ-  
 καλεῖν ἀδίκημα ἔχοντες. (p. 576, 78-95 v. D.)

Si rivelarono dei veri contaftrottole: inseguendo la vendetta del Santo Sepolcro infu-  
 riarono apertamente contro Cristo, e, con la croce, perpetrarono la distruzione della  
 croce che recavano sul dorso, non temendo di gettarsela ai piedi per un po' di oro e  
 di argento. Intascando perle, violarono la preziosissima perla che è Cristo, dissemi-  
 nando tra gli esseri animali più impuri Lui che è l'essere più puro. Gli Ismaeliti non  
 fecero così, se non altro si comportarono con pietà e mitezza nei confronti dei con-  
 nazionali di costoro quando espugnarono Sion. Non nitrirono infatti dietro alle don-  
 ne latine, né fecero del cenotafio di Cristo una fossa comune, né dell'ingresso alla  
 tomba vivificante una discesa all'Ade, né della vita una morte, né della resurrezione  
 una caduta ma diedero il permesso di andarsene a tutti quanti fissando il riscatto a  
 poche monete d'oro per ogni uomo, lasciando ai possessori i beni rimanenti, benché  
 fossero infiniti come la sabbia. In tal modo dunque i nemici di Cristo trattarono i  
 Latini, che erano di un'altra fede, senza infliggere loro (e fu atto magnanimo) né la  
 spada né il fuoco né la fame né l'esilio né la spoliazione né le afflizioni né le vessazio-  
 ni: in ben altra maniera, come abbiamo detto cursoriamente, si comportò invece con  
 noi quel popolo cristiano e concorde nella fede, benché non potesse accusarci di al-  
 cun delitto. (XVIII 6, 2 Valla)

Niceta si riferisce al comportamento giusto e umano tenuto dal sultano Saladino in  
 occasione della presa di Gerusalemme (2 ottobre 1187: cfr. S. Runciman, *Storia del-  
 le Crociate* [1954-1958], II, trad. it. Torino 1966, pp. 677-680), accreditato ben pre-  
 sto da alcune fonti occidentali: fu soprattutto questo fatto che, in contrasto con la  
 fama prevalente di spietato nemico dei Cristiani, addirittura di Anticristo (cfr. D.  
 Jäckel, *Saladin und Antichrist. Das andere Bild vom Ayyubidensultan im 12.  
 Jahrhundert*, in W. Brandes, F. Schmieder [Hrsgg.], *Antichrist. Konstruktionen von  
 Feinbildern*, Berlin 2010, pp. 117-134), gli diede anche quella di sovrano equilibra-  
 to e saggio, di cui nella letteratura italiana antica si trova eco nel Limbo dantesco  
 (*Inf.* IV 129: vd. quanto scrive F. Gabrieli in *Enciclopedia dantesca*, IV, s.v. *Saladi-  
 no*) e in due novelle del *Decameron* (I 3; X 9). La bibliografia su questo tema è am-  
 plissima, per cui si rimanda alla sintesi di H. Möhring, *Saladino* [2005], trad. it. Bo-  
 logna 2007, pp. 115-128, con indicazioni bibliografiche da integrare con quelle  
 presenti nell'articolo di Jäckel prima citato. L'apprezzamento qui mostrato da Ni-  
 ceta per il sovrano ayyubide contrasta con l'opposizione alla politica filomusulma-  
 na e antilatina di Isacco II al tempo della terza crociata, da lui espressa nell'*Orazio-  
 ne* 9 tenuta nell'Epifania del 1190 dinanzi all'imperatore stesso: al riguardo vd. da  
 ultimo D. G. Angelov, *Domestic opposition to Byzantium's alliance with Saladin:  
 Niketas Choniates and his Epiphany oration of 1190*, «Byzantine and Modern  
 Greek Studies» 30, 2006, pp. 49-68 (con la bibliografia precedente); ma sulla natu-  
 ra dei patti sottoscritti dai due sovrani ai danni dei crociati e su quella dei docu-

menti su cui si è sinora basata la storiografia moderna, ved. A. Beihammer, «*Der byzantinische Kaiser hat doch noch nie was zustande gebracht*». *Diplomatische Bemerkungen zum Briefverkehr zwischen Kaiser Isaak II. Angelos und Sultan Saladin von Ägypten*, in K. Belke, E. Kislinger, A. Külzer, M. A. Stassinopoulou (Hrsgg.), *Byzantina Mediterranea. Festschrift für Johannes Koder zum 65. Geburtstag*, Wien-Köln-Weimar 2007, pp. 13-28. Ancora una volta, però, l'umanità dell'infedele nemico è messa in rilievo e lodata quando Niceta vuole condannare senza appello il comportamento disumano che riscontra nei propri (quasi) correligionari: l'immagine del Saladino acquista rilievo non per sé stessa, ma al confronto con il comportamento bestiale dei Latini, come in X 3, 16 Valla (= pp. 288, 64-289, 77 v. D.); l'umanità dei Turchi che soccorrono un perseguitato da Andronico I è sottolineata per dare maggior spicco alla crudeltà disumana dell'imperatore bizantino (un analogo intento traspare nel ritratto positivo del Saladino tracciato da Voltaire nell'*Essai sur les mœurs* nel 1756: cfr. M. Jubb, *The Legend of Saladin in Western Literature and Historiography*, Lewinston-Queenston-Lampeter 2000, pp. 206-207). Va inoltre sottolineato che questo passo di Niceta non è stato mai annoverato tra le fonti più antiche (orientali e occidentali) che testimoniano la nascita della sua "buona fama". – Ad altro momento si rimanda la non secondaria questione, finora mai posta, del motivo per cui le fonti scritte greche (letterarie, tra cui Niceta, e documentarie, queste ultime con una sola eccezione) evitano di chiamare il Salāh al-dīn Yūsuf b. Ayyūb secondo il suo *laqab* con il suo nome, che pertanto in greco non appare mai esplicitamente testimoniato, tranne che almeno in MM III 38 (nella forma del genitivo Σαλαχατινον; *Salachatinus* in un atto greco noto solo in traduzione latina, edito in G. Müller, *Documenti sulle relazioni delle città toscane coll'Oriente cristiano e coi Turchi*, I, Firenze 1879, p. 66, con datazione erronea; ma *Saladinus* in una lettera da lui scritta al Barbarossa nel 1173: cfr. M. Wagendorfer, *Eine bisher unbekannte (Teil)Überlieferung des Saladin-Briefs an Kaiser Friedrich I. Barbarossa*, «*Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*» 65, 2, 2009, pp. 565-584): le fonti greche si riferiscono a lui indicando solo la carica ricoperta di emiro, come Niceta in VI 3, 3 Valla (= p. 161, 53 v. D.). La soluzione della questione, allo stato attuale delle nostre conoscenze, non può essere che speculativa; allo stesso modo ci si dovrebbe muovere nel campo delle ipotesi, per risolvere la perplessità suscitata dal fatto che della presa di Gerusalemme del 1187 Niceta non fa menzione durante la narrazione del regno di Isacco II, mentre di quell'evento epocale in questo passo fornisce un rilevante dettaglio, non sappiamo donde desunto, servendosene a scopi soltanto retorici (a Otto Kresten debbo riscontri bibliografici e puntualizzazioni originali su questo argomento). Si aggiunga per completezza che M. Grünbart, *Nachrichten aus dem Hinterland Konstantinopels: Die Briefsammlung des Mönchs Hierotheos (12. Jahrhundert)*, «*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*» 100, 2007, pp. 57-70: 62, ipotizza nella lettera 102 della raccolta del monaco Hierotheos (121 Darrouzès), che descrive la fuga sulle montagne dei monaci del Monte Gano, attaccati dagli Agareni, un'allusione alla conquista di Gerusalemme da parte di Saladino nel 1187.

## Andronikos Dukas ohne Schatten. Zu Psellos, *Chronographia* VIIc 14, 6-7

Am Ende des siebten Buches seiner *Chronographia* gibt Michael Psellos nach der enkomiasischen Würdigung der Person Kaiser Michaels VII. kurze skizzenhafte Charakteristiken von Konstantinos, dem kleinen Sohn Michaels, von dessen beiden Brüdern und Mitkaisern Andronikos und Konstantios sowie von seinem Onkel Ioannes Dukas. Von Andronikos heißt es dabei an der hier zu behandelnden schwierigen und bisher sehr verschieden interpretierten Stelle (Text nach Impellizzeri):<sup>1</sup>

καὶ ἀδρότερος μὲν τὴν χεῖρα, δεξιὸς δὲ καὶ λεπτὸς περὶ τὰς †σκιὰς† εὐκόλος, τὸ ἦθος οὐ βαθὺ οὐδὲ εἰρωνικὸν ἔχων, ἀλλ' ἐκκείμενον ἅπασιν.

So überliefern beide Handschriften<sup>2</sup> bis auf triviale Abweichungen in P (ἀδρότερος und δοξιὸς), die schon von Sathas<sup>3</sup> (stillschweigend) korrigiert worden sind. Allerdings interpungieren die Handschriften nicht hinter εὐκόλος, wie es Impellizzeri in Übereinstimmung mit allen Herausgebern vor ihm<sup>4</sup> tut, sondern hinter σκιὰς. Impellizzeri setzt kein Interpunktionszeichen hinter λεπτὸς, wie es die Handschriften und die Herausgeber vor ihm tun.

Zu Recht hat Impellizzeri das Wort σκιὰς in *cruces* gesetzt und damit als unverstündlich gekennzeichnet. Ronchey versteht die Stelle anders als im Text von Impellizzeri durch die Interpunktion hinter εὐκόλος vorgegeben und übersetzt: «Di mano un poco grossa, è tuttavia abile e delicato nell'ombreggio». Sie fasst damit δεξιὸς δὲ καὶ λεπτὸς als mit περὶ τὰς σκιὰς zusammengehörig auf. Dagegen wiederum polemisiert Criscuolo in seiner Anmerkung zur Stelle<sup>5</sup> der Ronchey'schen Übersetzung, indem er die Übersetzung von H. Grégoire<sup>6</sup> zitiert: «L'enfant a la

<sup>1</sup> Michele Psello, *Imperatori di Bisanzio (Cronografia)*, introduzione di D. Del Corno, testo critico a cura di S. Impellizzeri, commento di U. Criscuolo, traduzione di S. Ronchey, I-II, [Milano] 1984, 1993<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> cod. Paris. gr. 1712 (= P) und cod. Sinait. gr. 1117 (= S).

<sup>3</sup> K. Sathas (Hrsg.), *Μιχαὴλ Ψελλοῦ Ἐκατονταετηρὶς Βυζαντινῆς Ἱστορίας (976-1077)*, Paris 1874, S. 294.

<sup>4</sup> Außer den oben in Anm. 1 und 3 genannten noch C. Sathas (Hrsg.), *The History of Psellus*, edited with critical notes and indices, London 1899, S. 265 und É. Renauld (Hrsg.), *Michel Psellos, Chronographie ou histoire d'un siècle de Byzance*, texte établi et traduit, I-II, Paris 1926-1928: II, S. 179-180.

<sup>5</sup> II, S. 462 Anm. 449.

<sup>6</sup> Aus dessen Rezension von Bd. II der Ausgabe Renaulds, «Byzantion» 4, 1927-1928, S. 716-728: 727.

main un peu grosse, ce qui ne l'empêche pas d'être adroit et fin, et d'avoir de la facilité pour le dessin [σκιὰς]». Er bemerkt dazu: «Questa interpretazione mi sembra preferibile». Hier also, bei Grégoire und Criscuolo, ist ein Text vorausgesetzt, in welchem einerseits δεξιὸς δὲ καὶ λεπτός mit dem voraufgehenden ἀδρότερος μὲν τὴν χεῖρα zusammengehört und andererseits περὶ τὰς σκιὰς mit dem darauffolgenden εὐκόλος, so wie wohl auch von Impellizzeri intendiert, nur dass bei ihm, vielleicht aufgrund eines Druckversehens, eine Interpunktion nach λεπτός fehlt. Die Übersetzung Renaulds von περὶ τὰς σκιὰς εὐκόλος («Il s'entend bien avec moi au sujet des ombres») lehnt Criscuolo mitsamt der von ihm als «macchinoso» bezeichneten Erklärung<sup>7</sup> ab, ebenso wie die frei paraphrasierende Übersetzung Sewters.<sup>8</sup>

Das Problem aller Übersetzungen, auch der neuesten spanischen,<sup>9</sup> besteht darin, dass sie ἀδρότερος τὴν χεῖρα in nicht-übertragener Bedeutung verstehen und in der Folge σκιὰς als «Zeichnungen, Skizzen». Damit würde Psellos bei der Charakterisierung des Mitkaisers Andronikos eine Fähigkeit hervorheben, die nichts mit kaiserlichen Aufgaben oder für einen Kaiser wichtigen Eigenschaften zu tun hat. Wir wissen nichts davon, dass die Fähigkeit des Zeichnens oder Skizzierens bei der Ausbildung junger Männer im allgemeinen oder gar junger Kaisersöhne in Byzanz jemals irgendeine Rolle gespielt hätte.<sup>10</sup>

Dass an unserer Stelle χεῖρ nicht die physische (plumpe) Hand, sondern metaphorisch «Freigebigkeit» bedeutet, hat als erster Riedinger gesehen;<sup>11</sup> er verweist neben anderen Stellen vor allem auf die überzeugende parallele Charakterisierung des Konstantios, des anderen Bruders Michaels VII., welche Psellos im nächsten Kapitel (VIIc 15, 8-9) gibt: τὴν χεῖρα μέσος, οὐθ' ὑπτιος τὴν παλάμην, οὔτε συγκεκλεικῶς τοὺς δακτύλους («Was Freigebigkeit betrifft, hält er das richtige Maß ein, und weder ist seine Hand verschwenderisch geöffnet noch sind die Finger kleinlich geschlossen»). Aus der *Chronographia* kann man außerdem auf VI 4, 13-14 verweisen, wo es von Theodora heißt ἀφειδῆς ἦν τὴν χεῖρα. Ein schönes Beispiel für den Gebrauch des Adjektivs ἀδρός in dieser übertragenen Bedeutung findet sich bei Manuel Holobolos als Lob für Kaiser Michael VIII. Palaiologos:<sup>12</sup> τὸ τῆς χειρὸς περὶ τὰς δόσεις ἀδρόν.

Damit ist jedoch die an σκιὰς hängende Schwierigkeit noch nicht gelöst. Mit sei-

<sup>7</sup> Wie oben Anm. 4: S. 180, Anm. 1.

<sup>8</sup> E. R. A. Sewter, *Fourteen Byzantine Rulers. The Chronographia of Michel Psellus* translated, with an introduction, London 1966, S. 374: «His hands are somewhat large, but he is clever with them and has a delicate touch.»

<sup>9</sup> Miguel Pselo, *Vidas de los emperadores de Bizancio*, introducción, traducción y notas J. Signes Codoñer, Madrid 2005, S. 470: «Tiene una mano algo gruesa, pero es diestro con ella, así como delicado y ágil en el dibujo.»

<sup>10</sup> Bereits zu Recht kritisiert von U. Albin, *Andronico Duca, maestro nel disegno?*, «Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica» 78, 1985, S. 101-102.

<sup>11</sup> J.-C. Riedinger, *Remarques sur le texte de la Chronographie de Michel Psellos* (2), «Revue des Études Byzantines» 64-65, 2006-2007, S. 205-253: 247-248.

<sup>12</sup> M. Treu (Hrsg.), *Manuelis Holoboli Orationes*, Potsdam 1906, S. 21, 11.



ner Kritik hat Riedinger zwar auch in dieser Beziehung Recht, indem er σκιας «certainement le mot le plus étrange du livre» nennt, die von ihm vorgeschlagene Lösung aber ist nicht akzeptabel: Riedinger nimmt wie Renauld, Grégoire und Criscuolo δεξιός δὲ καὶ λεπτός zusammen mit dem vorangehenden ἀδρότερος μὲν τὴν χεῖρα und interpretiert unter Verweis auf Stellen im Corpus Hippocraticum, wo λεπτός und λεπτότης sowie an anderer Stelle δεξιός zusammen mit dem Wort διαίτα gebraucht sind: «la générosité d'Andronic montre une certaine largesse, mais avec habilité et rigueur». Er versteht andererseits, ebenso wie Renauld, Grégoire und Criscuolo, auch περὶ τὰς σκιας εὐκόλος als zusammengehörige Wendung, aber für das von ihm zu Recht als unverständlich eingestufte τὰς σκιας schlägt er vor, τὰς κακίας zu konjizieren und zu interpretieren «Andronic accepte d'une humeur égale les torts qu'on lui fait». Damit werde die auch bei anderen Kaisern als positive Eigenschaft hervorgehobene Langmut (ἀνεξικακία) gepriesen. Doch kann κακία wohl kaum bedeuten «les torts qu'on lui fait». Außerdem, welches Unrecht oder welcher Schaden sollte das denn sein? Was hätte man dem etwa 18jährigen Andronikos angetan? Eine derartig vage Aussage wäre in dieser Kurzcharakteristik am Ende von Buch VII wenig sinnvoll.

Vielmehr gehören als Aussagen jeweils zusammen (das hat Ronchey richtig gesehen):<sup>13</sup> ἀδρότερος μὲν τὴν χεῖρα· δεξιός δὲ καὶ λεπτός, περὶ τὰς σκιας einerseits und andererseits εὐκόλος τὸ ἦθος, οὐ βαθὺ οὐδὲ εἰρωνικὸν ἔχων· ἀλλ' ἐκκείμενον ἅπασιν. Dass ἦθος dabei sowohl als *accusativus Graecus* in Bezug auf εὐκόλος als auch als (gedachter) Objektsakkusativ in Bezug auf ἔχων fungiert, entspricht ganz Psellos' üblichem stilistischen Vorgehen; er pflegt in solchen Fällen ein schon einmal vorher (selbst in einem anderen Kasus) genanntes Substantiv nicht in der unmittelbar folgenden Wendung mit einem Personalpronomen wieder aufzunehmen, sondern überlässt das der Kombinationsgabe des Lesers oder Hörers.

Nur, was verbirgt sich hinter τὰς σκιας? Die anderen, zeitlich vor Riedinger liegenden Versuche, Andronikos von den Schatten zu befreien und das unverständliche τὰς σκιας durch etwas Sinnvolles zu ersetzen, gingen alle von der falschen Voraussetzung aus, mit τὴν χεῖρα sei die physische Hand des Andronikos gemeint. Sykutris<sup>14</sup> schlägt τὰς σκέψεις vor, Reinach<sup>15</sup> τὰς ἀσκήσεις, Albini<sup>16</sup> τὰ ἰσχύια (verbunden mit εὐκόλος), van Dieten<sup>17</sup> schlägt vor, σκιας unangetastet zu lassen und statt περὶ τὰς σκιας zu schreiben ὑπὲρ τὰς σκιας («leichter als Schatten»).

<sup>13</sup> Der griechische Text im Folgenden mit der Interpunktion der Handschriften. Das Komma hinter λεπτός bezeichnet nicht das Ende einer Sinneinheit, sondern lediglich die Atempause zwischen den Prädikatsnomina und der zu ihnen gehörenden Präpositionalbestimmung.

<sup>14</sup> J. Sykutris, rez. Michel Psellos, *Chronographie ou histoire d'un siècle de Byzance* (976-1077). Tome I. Texte établi et traduit par Émile Renauld, Paris 1926, «Byzantinische Zeitschrift» 27, 1927, S. 99-105: 104.

<sup>15</sup> Bei Grégoire, wie oben Anm. 6 und bei Renauld, wie oben Anm. 4.

<sup>16</sup> Wie oben Anm. 10.

<sup>17</sup> J.-L. van Dieten, *Textkritisches zu Psellos: Chronographie II* 167, 16 ff. Renauld, «Byzantina» 13, 1985, S. 565-588: 583.

Mein Vorschlag geht dahin, statt τὰς σκιὰς zu konjizieren τὰς δίκας («die Gerichtsverfahren»). Die paläographische Differenz zu τὰς δίκας ist minimal, und wir gewinnen mit δεξιὸς δὲ καὶ λεπτὸς περὶ τὰς δίκας eine Aussage, welche eine Kernaufgabe eines byzantinischen Kaisers, auch eines jungen, zu diesem Zeitpunkt etwa 18 bis 19 Jahre alten Mitkaisers, betrifft, nämlich dem kaiserlichen Gericht vorzusitzen. Die Aussage steht außerdem in einem sinnvollen, durch die Korrelation von μὲν – δὲ geforderten gegensätzlichen Zusammenhang mit der vorangehenden Aussage über die Freigebigkeit des Andronikos, denn die Prozesse, um die es hier geht, betreffen den Fiskus. Hier, so Psellos, war Andronikos im Gegensatz zu seiner privaten Freigebigkeit nicht freigebig, sondern raffiniert und genau. Ein Beispiel dafür, dass ein Kaiser, in diesem Fall Konstantinos IX. Monomachos, in einem solchen Prozess, den der Fiskus (τὸ βασιλικὸν ταμεῖον καὶ ὁ δημόσιος) führte, als Gerichtsherr eine Rolle spielte, gibt Psellos in *Chronogr.* VI 170-172. An unserer Stelle ist es der Mitkaiser Andronikos, dem sein Bruder Michael ebenso wie dem anderen Bruder Konstantios Anteil an den kaiserlichen Aufgaben gegeben hatte, wie Psellos wenige Kapitel zuvor in *Chronogr.* VIIc 10, 3-5 ausdrücklich betont:<sup>18</sup> ἀλλὰ μερίζει ἐκατέρῳ τὰς βασιλείους διατριβὰς· καὶ ἐς αὐτεξούσιον ἡγεμονίαν καθίστησιν («sondern weist jedem von ihnen einen Teil der kaiserlichen Aufgaben zu und lässt sie völlig selbstbestimmte kaiserliche Macht ausüben»). Andronikos verhält sich in dieser Beziehung ganz im Sinne seines kaiserlichen Bruders. Dieser hatte schon als ganz junger Mann juristischen Scharfsinn bewiesen, als ihn sein Vater Konstantinos X. Dukas auf die Probe stellte: *Chronogr.* VIIa 21, 9-11: δοκιμάζει γενναίως εἰ προσήκων τῇ βασιλείᾳ γένοιτο· καὶ ἐρωτᾷ τοῦτον τομὴν πολιτικῆς ὑποθέσεως. ὁ δὲ καὶ διαγινώσκει τὸ ζήτημα· καὶ ἔννομον ποιεῖται ἀπόφασιν («unterzog er ihn einer schwierigen Prüfung, ob er für das Kaiseramt geeignet sei, und fragte ihn nach der Lösung eines zivilrechtlichen Falles. Dieser aber erkannte das Problem und fällte eine mit dem Gesetz konforme Entscheidung»). Michaels sorgfältige Aufmerksamkeit gegenüber allem Fiskalischen thematisiert Psellos in *Chronogr.* VIIc 2, 15-17 πᾶσαν τὴν φόρου συντέλειαν διηκριβωκῶς, συντάξεις τὴν καὶ πρυτανεῖαν· καὶ ἐς ὅσα φέροιτό τι τῶν δημοσίων· καὶ ἀφ' ὧν ἐγγέειτο αὐθις εἰς τὰ δημόσια («und der ein genaues Wissen auf dem gesamten Gebiet des Steuerwesens erlangt hat, nämlich über steuerliche Abgaben und Gerichtskassen und darüber, wofür aus der Staatskasse etwas gezahlt wird und von wo wiederum in die Staatskasse etwas einfließt»). Auch in der Portraitskizze des Onkels Ioannes Dukas (*Chronogr.* VIIc 16, 15-16) betont Psellos dessen Fähigkeiten auf dem Gebiet der Gerichtsverhandlungen und der fiskalischen Angelegenheiten: ἐλάττων δὲ τὰ πολιτικὰ· καὶ ὅσα ἐς δίκας φέρει καὶ τὰ δημόσια; πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ («Ist er aber in zivilen Dingen, in allem was Prozessführung und Finanzwesen betrifft, weniger tüchtig? Weit gefehlt!»).

Für die Junktur δεξιὸς περὶ τὰς δίκας gibt es sprachliche Parallelen: Ps.-Platon, *Hipparchus* 225c 7 οἱ δεξιοὶ περὶ τὰς δίκας und aus dem byzantinischen Bereich

<sup>18</sup> Text der folgenden Zitate einschließlich Akzentuierung und Interpunktion nach der in Vorbereitung befindlichen Neuauflage der *Chronographia*.

Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos, *Historia eccles.* XIII 2, 62-63 *περὶ δὲ τὸ δίκας ἀγορεύειν δόξας εἶναί τις δεξιός.* Der entsprechenden Aussage über Andronikos Dukas fügt Psellos an unserer Stelle noch ein *λεπτός* hinzu und setzt damit das Verhalten des Andronikos in fiskalischen Geldangelegenheiten vor Gericht in Gegensatz zu seiner privaten Großzügigkeit.

Die gesamte Passage lautet nunmehr:

καὶ ἀδρότερος μὲν τὴν χεῖρα· δεξιός δὲ καὶ λεπτός, περὶ τὰς δίκας· εὐκόλος τὸ ἦθος, οὐ βαθὺ οὐδὲ εἰρωνικὸν ἔχων· ἀλλ' ἐκκείμενον ἅπασι.

er hat eine überaus großzügige Hand, was aber die Gerichtsverfahren [*sc.* um Geld für den Fiskus] betrifft, da ist er raffiniert und nimmt es genau; er ist von umgänglicher Wesensart, ohne Hintersinn und ohne Verstellung, vielmehr allen gegenüber völlig offen.

Diether R. Reinsch



## Les démons se mettent à table : les festins démoniaques dans les rituels magiques byzantins et post-byzantins (XV<sup>e</sup>-XVIII<sup>e</sup> s.)\*

A celui qui s'intéresse à la magie byzantine et post-byzantine, le nom d'Armand Delatte (1886-1964) est familier. Alors qu'il séjournait à Athènes en tant que membre de l'Ecole Française d'archéologie dans les années 1910, le professeur belge mit en effet au jour plusieurs textes magiques issus de manuscrits des bibliothèques athéniennes. Le fruit de ses recherches est paru dans les *Anecdota Atheniensia*.<sup>1</sup> Dans le même volume, il a publié (sans les traduire) des textes similaires provenant d'autres fonds de grandes bibliothèques européennes comme Paris, Londres ou Naples. Il a par la suite utilisé ces travaux dans le cadre d'autres études comme celle relative à la divination par le miroir, *La catoptromancie grecque et ses dérivés*.<sup>2</sup> C'est précisément dans cet ouvrage qu'A. Delatte a repéré une thématique particulière dans plusieurs rituels magiques grecs, celle des « festins démoniaques », c'est-à-dire des banquets préparés pour des démons, à des fins divinatoires. Si A. Delatte a eu la primeur de cette découverte, il ne l'a étudiée que comme un élément parmi d'autres, une composante de son sujet principal, l'étude de la catoptromancie. Par ailleurs, il n'y a pas confronté l'ensemble des manuscrits qui contiennent des rituels festifs de ce type, manuscrits qu'il avait pourtant publiés dans ses *Anecdota*. Par conséquent, il n'a pas non plus exploité l'ensemble des rituels que les témoins manuscrits comportaient.<sup>3</sup> Pour toutes ces raisons, une étude plus particulière des rituels de festins démoniaques s'imposait. A cela s'ajoutent des raisons historiographiques : la nourriture et ses rituels à Byzance semblent générer un intérêt croissant.<sup>4</sup> Pourtant étymologiquement associée à la cuisine par le mot *magganeia*, la magie semble à peine représentée dans l'histoire culinaire.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> A. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia*, I, *Textes inédits relatifs à l'histoire des religions*, Liège 1927 (désormais indiqué AA).

<sup>2</sup> A. Delatte, *La catoptromancie et ses dérivés*, Liège 1932.

<sup>3</sup> Ci-après, n. 8.

<sup>4</sup> D. Papanikola-Bakirtzis (ed.), *Βυζαντινών Διατροφή και Μαγειρείαι. Πρακτικά ημερίδας Περί της διατροφής στο Βυζάντιο*, Thessalonique 2005; I. Anagnostakes, *Βυζαντινός οινικός πολιτισμός το παράδειγμα της Βιθυνίας*, Athènes 2008, et A. Dalby, *Tastes of Byzantium. The cuisine of a legendary Empire*, London-New York 2003, 2010<sup>2</sup>, sont des exemples de cet intérêt.

<sup>5</sup> La magie est évoquée dans un article de I. Anagnostakes, *Τροφικές δηλητηριάσεις στο Βυ-*

L'étude des festins démoniaques peut donc venir combler un certain vide historiographique en la matière.

L'étude des quatre manuscrits des *Anecdota* permet d'apporter de nouveaux éléments à verser au dossier d'A. Delatte au sujet des rituels festifs. Une première partie débute ainsi par la présentation de ces témoins : le manuscrit de l'Université de Bologne 3632 (des années 40 du XV<sup>e</sup> s.), le manuscrit 5596 du fond Harley de Londres (également du XV<sup>e</sup> s.), le manuscrit de la Bibliothèque Nationale d'Athènes 1265 (XVII<sup>e</sup> s.) enfin, le manuscrit 115 de la Société Historique et Ethnographique d'Athènes (XVIII<sup>e</sup> s.).<sup>6</sup> Ces témoins connaissent des limites dont il faut tenir compte : la mutilation et la cryptographie.

Neuf rituels magiques ont été repérés dans ces manuscrits.<sup>7</sup> La plupart remonte au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle (sept au total, le manuscrit de Bologne en compte cinq à lui seul) et les deux derniers extraits sont post-byzantins. Si A. Delatte a étudié (même rapidement) une bonne partie d'entre eux dans son travail sur la catoptromancie, il en a curieusement laissé de côté comme cela a été évoqué précédemment.<sup>8</sup> Il s'agit donc ici de reconsidérer l'ensemble des rituels festifs en y ajoutant les références manquantes. Les rituels seront, dans un premier temps, présentés à l'aune des données apportées par A. Delatte. Les éléments figuratifs (signes, symboles et dessins) qu'A. Delatte n'avait pas suffisamment mis en avant, seront abordés dans un second temps.

Un deuxième développement sera consacré au déroulement des rituels à proprement parler. Les rituels montrent combien les conditions qui président au festin démoniaque sont nombreuses et les préliminaires contraignants. Ce n'est qu'une fois ces préparatifs accomplis que le festin est mis en place. Dans certains rituels, c'est le mage lui-même qui prépare la table comme le ferait un hôte attentionné envers ses invités ; dans d'autres, ce sont les démons, à l'instigation du magicien, qui préparent activement les festivités qui leur sont destinées. Dans tous les cas, une séance de divination couronne cette procédure. Elle est de deux types. Elle se fait, d'une part, par le biais d'un intermédiaire, généralement un enfant, accompagné d'un objet choisi en même temps que lui. Elle peut, d'autre part, s'effectuer

ζάντιο. Διατροφικές αντιλήψεις και συμπεριφορές 6ος-11ος, in Papanikola-Bakirtzis, *ibid.*, pp. 61-110.

<sup>6</sup> Ces deux derniers manuscrits ne sont pas exploités par Delatte, *La catoptromancie*, cit. Le manuscrit de la BN grecque n'est pas cité et le second apparaît sous la forme d'une trop courte référence en note (p. 159 n. 7).

<sup>7</sup> Nous avons choisi de désigner les extraits cités dans la présente étude par l'initiale du manuscrit dans lequel ils se trouvent. Le numéro qui leur est assorti correspond à l'ordre dans lequel ils apparaissent dans le même manuscrit. Ainsi l'extrait H1 est-il tiré du manuscrit Harleianus, ff. 37<sup>v</sup>-38, le H2, du f. 39<sup>fv</sup> et ainsi de suite. La liste des neuf extraits ainsi que des informations pratiques les concernant (notamment leur édition dans les *AA*) se trouvent en Annexes.

<sup>8</sup> Il s'agit des rituels des manuscrits athéniens (A1 et SH1) et d'un rituel du manuscrit de Bologne (B5). Si SH1 et B5 ne comportent pas de catoptromancie ce qui explique que A. Delatte les ait laissés de côté, le rituel A1 est un rituel de lécanomancie, apparentée à la catoptromancie. Dans ce dernier cas, il semble curieux qu'A. Delatte ne l'ait pas exploité.

sans intermédiaire quand le magicien interroge directement les démons. La divination sert à définir comme nous le verrons deux types de festins différents.

Plus généralement, les festins démoniaques servent de prétexte à l'établissement de liens durables entre le praticien et les démons. Mais Byzance n'a rien inventé dans ce domaine et le motif du festin remonte à beaucoup plus loin. A. Delatte avait cité des sources antiques à ce sujet mais sans les étudier ni les confronter aux rituels byzantins. Or, en s'y attardant, nous pourrions constater à quel point la magie byzantine et post-byzantine est le fruit d'une *koïnè* magique.

## I. Quatre manuscrits, neufs rituels et leurs limites

### 1. Quatre témoins à la barre

Les témoins sont assez différents aussi bien par la date que la taille. En effet, le plus grand des trois, le manuscrit de Bologne 3632, mesure 29,6 cm sur 21,9 cm,<sup>9</sup> alors que les trois autres témoins sont d'une taille plus réduite, de la taille d'un cahier d'écolier :<sup>10</sup> le Harleianus 5596, 22 cm sur 15,5 cm, l'Atheniensis 1265, 21 cm sur 17 et enfin le Société Historique d'Athènes 115, 22 cm sur 17 cm. Cette différence de taille est sans doute due au contenu même des manuscrits. Les manuscrits londonien et athéniens, par ailleurs assez fins<sup>11</sup> (58 *folia* pour le Harleianus, 61 pour l'Atheniensis 1265 et 42 pour celui de la Société Historique) sont intégralement constitués de textes et de formules magiques ce qui obligeait le praticien à la plus grande discrétion possible. Or, à l'évidence, plus le texte est petit et plus il est facile à dissimuler. En revanche, le manuscrit le plus grand, celui de Bologne, ne comporte pas seulement des textes et des formules magiques ; il est constitué de divers textes médicaux du *corpus* hippocratique, d'Aetius d'Amida, de Galien ou d'Alexandre de Tralles et aussi d'œuvres de Pythagore qui occupent la majorité des 476 *folia* de ce manuscrit.<sup>12</sup> Fondus dans tout un ensemble de textes, les formules magiques devaient sans doute passer inaperçues.<sup>13</sup>

Les informations relatives à l'origine des manuscrits sont inégales. Pour ce qui est des manuscrits d'Athènes, celui de la Bibliothèque Nationale serait d'origine chypriote si l'on en croit le folkloriste Nicolas Politis (1852-1921)<sup>14</sup> et celui de la Société Historique, apparenté selon A. Delatte à ce dernier,<sup>15</sup> pourrait également

<sup>9</sup> C'est-à-dire un format A4 actuel environ.

<sup>10</sup> La couverture récente attachée au manuscrit de la Société Historique 115 est faite à partir d'un cahier d'écolier comme on en trouve actuellement en Grèce.

<sup>11</sup> Les manuscrits ont subi des mutilations au fil du temps comme le signale A. Delatte à propos des manuscrits athéniens. *AA*, I, p. 5.

<sup>12</sup> B. Mondrain parle de « pot-pourri » : *Les manuscrits grecs de médecine*, in J. Jouanna et J. Leclant (édd.), *La médecine grecque antique*, Paris 2004, pp. 267-285 : 281. Je remercie ici Mme Marie Cronier (IRHT section grecque) de m'avoir indiqué cette référence.

<sup>13</sup> Le manuscrit de Bologne n'est pas le seul dans ce cas ; celui de Naples (II C 33, XV<sup>e</sup> s.) comporte beaucoup de *folia* et il est composé d'œuvres très diverses.

<sup>14</sup> N. G. Politis, *Παλαιογραφική Σταχυολογία ἐκ τῶν μαγικῶν βιβλίων*, « Byzantinische Zeitschrift » 1, 1892, pp. 556-571 : 557.

<sup>15</sup> Les manuscrits athéniens seraient apparentés au Monacensis gr. 70 (XV<sup>e</sup> s.).

être de la même origine, mais rien ne viendrait confirmer cette hypothèse.<sup>16</sup> Contrairement aux témoins athéniens, le manuscrit de Londres a été mieux cerné et les informations à son sujet sont un peu plus précises. Il aurait été acquis à Constantinople par John Covel (1638-1722),<sup>17</sup> alors chapelain de la Compagnie du Levant entre 1670 et 1676, avant d'être vendu par ses soins le 27 février 1715 ou 1716 à Robert Harley. Enfin, le manuscrit de Bologne aurait des origines constantinopolitaines.<sup>18</sup> Selon Brigitte Mondrain, le commanditaire serait un médecin, Jean Aron, de confession juive comme son nom le laisse entendre. Elle indique en effet la marque de possession du livre au f. 7, « livre d'Aron », ainsi que les divers endroits où l'on retrouve ce même nom.<sup>19</sup> Par ailleurs, Démétrios Angelos, médecin au *xenon* de Kral à Constantinople l'aurait eu entre les mains.<sup>20</sup> Toujours selon Brigitte Mondrain, la présence d'un tampon de la bibliothèque du Sérail sur la première page du manuscrit laisse supposer qu'il serait resté à Constantinople après la chute de la ville. Si l'on peut supposer que les textes médicaux du manuscrit de Bologne ont été probablement transmis dans l'environnement du *xenon* de Kral, rattaché au monastère Saint-Jean-Prodrôme de Pétra, rien ne paraît filtrer sur l'origine des textes magiques dont nous disposons et on peut aisément en deviner la raison.

Les données relatives aux auteurs des textes restent maigres pour ne pas dire inexistantes. En effet, aucune mention d'attribution n'apparaît dans les manuscrits.<sup>21</sup> Certes, la représentation de certaines figures de mages dans le manuscrit de Bologne, comme celle de Simonide (f. 346)<sup>22</sup> ou bien encore celle d'un certain « Apollonios le Perse » (f. 345) pourrait suggérer leur paternité des textes magiques qu'ils accompagnent, de la même manière qu'Hippocrate y est lui-même représenté pour illustrer le *corpus* hippocratique. Mais rien ne permet d'être absolument affirmatif à ce sujet d'autant plus que les noms des praticiens sonnent comme des noms génériques, issus de la tradition des figures de mages de temps plus anciens. En effet, Apollonios le Perse rappelle Apollonios de Tyane et Simonide renvoie au judaïsme, fortement associé au monde de la magie depuis l'Antiquité.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Les archivistes du Musée national à Athènes m'ont précisé que les origines de ce manuscrit restaient inconnues. Que soit remerciée ici Mme M. Papanastasiou.

<sup>17</sup> J. P. Grébois, *Dr John Covel, Voyages en Turquie (1675-1677)*, Paris 1998.

<sup>18</sup> Mondrain, *Les manuscrits*, cit., p. 284.

<sup>19</sup> Mondrain, *ibid.*, p. 282. Le nom d'Aron se retrouve sous forme cryptographiée (f. 327 et 362<sup>r</sup>), dans une illustration f. 428<sup>r</sup> (fig. 1) ainsi que dans une souscription du f. 441<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>20</sup> B. Mondrain, *Démétrios Angelos et la médecine : contribution nouvelle au dossier*, in *Storia della tradizione e edizione dei Medici greci. Actes du VI<sup>e</sup> colloque international, Paris 12-14 avril 2008*, Napoli 2010, pp. 293-322: 303 n. 29.

<sup>21</sup> Le titre du rituel A1 renvoyant au roi Salomon n'apparaît que dans l'édition des AA et non plus dans le manuscrit, mutilé. A ce propos, voir ci-après.

<sup>22</sup> Cette numérotation suit celle indiquée en caractères d'imprimerie en bas à droite des folia. Elle est décalée d'un folium par rapport à la seconde pagination au crayon à papier placée en haut à droite (cette dernière est suivie par A. Delatte dans les AA).

<sup>23</sup> M. Simon, *Verus Israël, Etude sur les relations entre chrétiens et juifs dans l'Empire romain (135-425)*, Paris 1948.



Cela dit, des indices lexicaux laissent supposer l'influence latine subie par certains rituels. Ainsi, aussi bien dans le manuscrit londonien (rituel H2) que dans le manuscrit de Bologne (rituel B4), le nom d'un démon invoqué est Συμπίλια. Or, à croire A. Delatte, ce nom aurait subi une influence occidentale ; en effet, au lieu d'être prononcé *Sybilla* à la grecque, il aurait été retranscrit (et donc prononcé) à la manière de certains parlars de la région de Reggio.<sup>24</sup> De même, l'emploi du mot βατζέλιν (de l'italien *vascello*, c'est-à-dire « bassin, cuvette »), terme tardif et assez rare dans les sources, témoignerait lui aussi de cette empreinte.<sup>25</sup> Ces deux terminologies semblent être, cependant, les seules qui aillent dans le sens d'une incidence occidentale sur les textes. En effet, d'autres mots à consonance latine apparaissent dans les rituels magiques mais il s'agit alors de mots intégrés depuis longtemps dans la langue grecque byzantine, ce qui ne prouve pas l'impact latin évoqué précédemment. Ainsi, dans le rituel H1, les mot φουσάτο (issu de φοσσάτων, « armée ») et ῥήγας, « roi » (tiré de *rex*) sont assez répandus et depuis longtemps à Byzance.<sup>26</sup> De même, dans le rituel B5, le mot σκουτέλαν, provenant de σκουτέλιον (lui-même issu du latin *scutella*, « coupelle »), est également d'utilisation ancienne même s'il est un peu plus rare.<sup>27</sup>

## 2. Des limites à prendre en compte

L'une des limites imposées par les sources tient à la cryptographie. Celle-ci se caractérise par des symboles incompréhensibles de prime abord et qui ressemblent à une écriture arabisante, comme le soulignait déjà S. Lambros.<sup>28</sup> Ils se retrouvent dans le rituel B1 (fig. 1), B5 (fig. 4) et en légende de la représentation qui suit ce dernier. Ces signes cryptographiques se rencontrent également dans le Vindobonensis phil. gr. 108 (également du XV<sup>e</sup> s.) qui en comporte la clé de lecture sous forme d'alphabets magiques.<sup>29</sup>

Si A. Delatte a réussi à déchiffrer ces caractères, c'est parce qu'il a eu recours aux alphabets du manuscrit viennois. Or, le lecteur qui tombait sur la formule cryptée n'avait pas forcément la clé à portée de main (aucun alphabet de ce genre n'apparaît à ma connaissance dans le manuscrit de Bologne). Ainsi, des textes, tels que le rituel B5, étaient-ils comme « verrouillés ». Dans ce cas précis, l'information cryptée concerne les conditions du rituel (l'heure et l'utilisation d'une pierre parti-

<sup>24</sup> Delatte, *La catoptromancie*, cit., p. 167.

<sup>25</sup> E. Kriaras, *Λεξικό της μεσαιωνικής ελληνικής δημόδου γραμματείας*, IV, Thessalonique 1975. Moins d'une dizaine de références, dont la plus ancienne remonterait aux XIII<sup>e</sup>-XIV<sup>e</sup> s. (*La Guerre de Troie*).

<sup>26</sup> Le terme ῥήγας se retrouve aussi bien chez Jean Malalas (VI<sup>e</sup> s.) que dans la *Chronique de Morée* (XIV<sup>e</sup> s.) et le mot φουσάτο par exemple dans *Digenis Akritas* (version de l'Escorial, X<sup>e</sup> s.) mais aussi chez Georges Chortatzès (XVI<sup>e</sup> s.).

<sup>27</sup> Une dizaine de références se retrouvent dans des sources comme les *Ptochodromica* (XI<sup>e</sup>-XII<sup>e</sup> s.) ou le *Lexikon* du ps.-Zonaras (XIII<sup>e</sup> s.)

<sup>28</sup> S. P. Lambros, *Τὸ μετὰ σολομωνικῆς ἰατροσόφιου τῆς Βονωνίας*, « Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων » 15, 1921, pp. 30-40: 35 : Ἐνιαχοῦ τὰ κρυπτογραφήματα ὁμοιάζουσι πρὸς γράμματα ἀραβικά.

<sup>29</sup> AA, p. 637.

culière) qui, si elles n'étaient pas correctement remplies, entraînaient l'échec du processus magique. Tout cela devait donc impliquer le recours à un magicien expérimenté qui connût les alphabets rendant possible la pleine compréhension du texte. Le recours à un tiers expérimenté était sans doute aussi indispensable pour comprendre certains détails des rituels décrits : doit-on prononcer les noms des entités invoquées d'une manière particulière ? Le praticien doit-il lui-même être dans une disposition précise ? Rien de tout cela n'est avancé.

Autre limite rencontrée au cours de cette étude : les mutilations et plus généralement le mauvais état des textes. Le cas de l'acéphale A1 est significatif. Faisant partie d'un manuscrit mutilé en plusieurs endroits, il n'a pas échappé, lui aussi, à une destruction partielle. Cet acte de mutilation, probablement délibéré, signifie-t-il la volonté de ne pas voir cette formule se transmettre telle qu'elle était ? En mutilant ainsi le texte espérait-on en anéantir la puissance opératoire ? Mais, dans ce cas, pourquoi ne pas détruire l'ensemble du manuscrit ? Est-il possible alors que celui qui a commis cet acte de vandalisme ait repéré quelque chose de bien plus intéressant en amont et qu'il ait voulu le récupérer au mépris du reste ? La valeur marchande possible de ce texte aurait-elle pu motiver un tel geste ? La seule chose dont on puisse être certain, c'est la destruction récente du texte. Celle-ci date forcément du début du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle après qu'A. Delatte a eu le temps d'en retranscrire le contenu à la Bibliothèque Nationale à Athènes puisque c'est grâce à lui que l'intégralité du rituel est parvenue jusqu'à nous.

### 3. Neuf rituels : similitudes et disparités

Les neuf rituels qui intéressent notre propos sont de longueur inégale. Si l'on se fie à l'édition des *AA*, les plus longs sont les rituels B2, B4 et H2, le plus court étant le B5, sans doute constitué de deux formules distinctes, sans lien apparent (l'une concerne l'interrogation d'un démon particulier, l'autre la fabrication d'amulettes qui permettent à un cheval de courir aussi vite que le vent). La divination (du moins la révélation de faits cachés, passés, présents, futurs) reste le but ultime de tous ces rituels. Il y est toujours question de divination, bien que celle-ci soit de types différents : ainsi, la catoptromancie, dont la lécanomancie ou la *pivaktoromancie*<sup>30</sup> sont des variantes, domine-t-elle (avec 5 occurrences sur 9 c'est-à-dire B3, B4, H1, H2, A1), suivent trois formules qui ne font appel à aucun objet pour la séance de divination avec les formules B1, B5 et SH1 ; le questionnement à l'esprit se fait de manière directe par le praticien. Enfin, on compte un cas d'*onychomancie*, c'est-à-dire de divination par l'ongle (B2). Quelles que soient la longueur du texte et le type de divination, celle-ci intervient à la fin de chaque rituel, associée au festin des démons.

<sup>30</sup> Le terme *πιβακτορομαντεία* est employé par A. Delatte et ne figure pas dans l'extrait H1. Il fait référence au mot utilisé dans le texte lui-même, *πιβατάριον*, dont on retrouve une variante dans le f. 344 du ms de Bologne en légende d'une représentation du mage Apollonios, *πυβαλτάριον*. Selon S. Lambros, il s'agit d'une sorte de bassine (Lambros, *Τὸ μετὰ σολομωνικῆς ἰατροσόφιον*, cit., p. 38). La représentation montre plutôt un vase ventru à haut col.

A. Delatte a distingué les principales étapes du rituel B3<sup>31</sup> et il y discerne en premier lieu l'évocation des démons par une conjuration, dans un deuxième temps, le festin, puis la consultation divinatoire assortie d'un serment prêté par les démons invités à répondre au magicien. Le tout s'achève par le renvoi des esprits. Toutes ces étapes apparaissent dans tous les extraits avec des variantes de contenu, plus ou moins longues et détaillées selon le cas. Le schéma établi par A. Delatte n'inclut cependant pas ce qu'on pourrait appeler une phase préliminaire qui apparaît pourtant dans tous les rituels. Cette étape préparatoire, qu'A. Delatte évoque ailleurs dans son propos,<sup>32</sup> n'est pas un élément extérieur au rituel ; il en fait pleinement partie. Sans préparatifs appropriés, le rituel ne peut pas se mettre efficacement en place.

Pour les besoins des opérations magiques, tous les textes mentionnent le recours à des signes et des symboles ; s'ils sont parfois seulement cités dans le rituel, ces symboles sont également dessinés dans le texte-même ou à côté. Ainsi, la βίνα, utile pour définir l'espace d'invocation démoniaque, est-elle simplement évoquée dans les opérations magiques (B1 et B4 évoquent la βίνα, H1 parle de la βίνα τοῦ Σολομῶν) mais aussi dessinée dans le texte d'un autre rituel (B2). A. Delatte comprenait la *vina* comme un cercle en se fondant sur le propos de la formule B4 (« au milieu de la *vina*, c'est-à-dire du *cercle* ») mais dans le cas du rituel B2, il s'agit d'une figure hétéroclite mêlant des lignes qui se croisent et de petits cercles à leur sommet.<sup>33</sup> Est-il possible que la *vina* recouvre plusieurs symboles ? En somme s'agit-il d'un terme générique servant à définir l'espace des opérations ? Autres figures représentées, de petite taille, l'hexagramme (visible dans le rituel B2), le pentacle (ou *pentalpha*, dans B4, H2, SH1) mais aussi le croissant rouge qui remplace le mot « lune » dans la formule B1. Cette dernière est une représentation classique que l'on retrouve dans les autres manuscrits et ce sont alors des rituels relatifs à l'astrologie qui sont concernés. Des symboles plus complexes sont également dessinés : le H2 comporte un carré avec cinq pentacles, le SH1 un losange séparé par une ligne horizontale en son centre, renfermant une série de lettres, un pentacle ainsi qu'une figure indéterminée qui ressemble à une comète.

Un dessin plus élaboré accompagne chacune des cinq recettes magiques du manuscrit de Bologne. Une fois de plus, ce manuscrit fait exception au regard des trois autres témoins, qui comptent des dessins assez réduits en taille, en noir et rouge. En effet, chaque dessin représentant l'opération magique décrite dans les recettes, est assez détaillé, avec des couleurs vives (des rouges, des jaunes et des verts) et occupe presque le tiers d'un folium à chaque fois. Ces scènes précèdent (f. 347a et 348), suivent (f. 347b et 358) ou sont même placées en plein milieu du texte rituel (f. 349), et ce dernier cas montre que les dessins ont été peints avant l'ajout du texte. Une main différente de celle du scripteur est intervenue. Si c'est le

<sup>31</sup> Delatte, *La catoptromancie*, cit., p. 158.

<sup>32</sup> Delatte, *ibid.*, p. 166.

<sup>33</sup> Le dessin de la *vina* en question se trouve à la fig. 5.

cas, cela suppose une multiplicité d'intervenants, ce qui augmenterait d'autant les risques de se faire remarquer et prendre. A considérer l'importance de la discrétion dans le domaine magique, il semble évident que moins il y a d'intervenants, moins les risques d'être repérés sont grands. Le scripteur pourrait donc très bien se confondre avec le dessinateur. S'est-il inspiré de modèles à reproduire ? Interprète-t-il les opérations magiques selon sa propre compréhension des textes ?

Sur l'ensemble de ces représentations, seules deux montrent une table apprêtée pour les démons et ce sont ces deux mêmes dessins qui figurent le démon à table (B1 et B5, figg. 1 et 4). Au f. 347b (rituel B1, fig. 1), c'est un personnage imberbe qui se tient devant une table de *stoicheiosis* (c'est-à-dire d'envoûtement) placée sous une sorte de tente. Divers objets y sont représentés dont un couteau à manche noir, fiché en son centre, et utile aux opérations magiques décrites dans le texte. Si l'on s'en tient au principe que les magiciens sont figurés barbus, ce personnage peut-il être un élève ou un enfant ? Le rituel qu'il accompagne ne précise pas la présence d'un enfant dans le processus magique. Dans ce cas, on pourrait penser que le dessinateur n'a pas tenu compte de cet aspect décrit dans le rituel, et ce pour une raison inconnue. Une autre possibilité existe cependant, bien plus probable : que le personnage représenté soit le démon invoqué, Mortzès. Un indice le laisse entendre aisément. En effet, sur le dessin, le couteau fiché dans la table renvoie à celui planté dans le rituel, une fois le démon arrivé. Le second dessin, au f. 358 (rituel B5), représente une autre figure particulière appelée *Καλή τῶν ὀρέων*, « la Belle des montagnes », une sorte de démon-femelle couronnée, à queue de serpent. Elle est placée debout devant une table sur laquelle se trouvent une multitude de petits objets, plus ou moins identifiables et à l'extrême gauche de l'image un petit personnage assiste à la scène (sans doute celui qui l'a invoquée).

Pour ce qui est du reste des dessins, deux d'entre eux concernent des scènes de divination par le miroir (ff. 348 et 351, figg. 2 et 3) et une par l'ongle (f. 347a). Dans les deux premiers cas, on peut voir représenté le magicien, barbu, portant un couvre-chef, en compagnie d'un personnage imberbe (*μαθητής*, élève, indique la légende du 348) assis sur un tabouret en train de regarder dans un miroir (dans le f. 351, fig. 3, il tient un couteau). Dans la scène d'*onychomanie*, le mage barbu est toujours là, placé derrière le personnage imberbe qui porte une coiffe longue (ce qui peut laisser entendre qu'il s'agit d'une fille).<sup>34</sup> Ce personnage tient une torche dans laquelle il mire sa main dressée. Dans le f. 348, le mage tient un support griffonné (un bout de rouleau figurant sans doute le texte du rituel que l'image elle-même illustre, comme dans une sorte de mise en abyme).

<sup>34</sup> Le texte évoque un *παιδίον*, sans précision de sexe.

## II. A la table des démons : préparer le festin, dresser la table et accueillir ses invités

### 1. Préliminaires indispensables

Pour les rituels de divination avec intermédiaire (soit 6 sur les 9 au total), la première action du praticien consiste à choisir l'enfant qui servira de médium et l'objet de divination éventuel auquel il aura recours (un miroir dans B3, B4 et H2, un *πιβατάριον* dans H1, un *μεισοῦριν*<sup>35</sup> dans A1) ou la partie de son propre corps comme support divinatoire (l'ongle dans B2).<sup>36</sup> La pureté, c'est-à-dire la virginité de l'enfant (*παιδὶν παρθένον* dans B2, B3 et H1, *παιδὶν καθαρὸν παρθένον* dans B4 et *παιδὶν παρθένον καθαρὸν* H2, *παιδὶν καθαρὸν* dans A1) choisi comme médium, est également une condition récurrente et indispensable pour les rituels. Le corps de l'enfant, telle une page vierge, reçoit dans le cas de l'onychomancie des caractères utiles au rituel : un caractère sur la face interne et un autre sur la face externe du doigt ainsi qu'un symbole sur le front tracé avec du cinabre. Le sexe de l'enfant n'est pas précisé : les rituels parlent de *παιδὶν*. Il peut aussi bien être un garçon qu'une fille, comme le laisse supposer l'illustration du rituel B2 qui a déjà été évoquée. L'âge de l'enfant est en revanche parfois précisé (huit ans dans la formule B4 et H2) ; il doit connaître son alphabet (B4, H2) et être *γνωστικόν*, « avisé » pour comprendre ce qu'il entend (A1). Il doit avoir une bonne vue (*καλόφθαλμον* indiquent les formules B4 et H2), avoir l'œil calme (*γαληνομματικόν* dit le rituel A1),<sup>37</sup> prêt à suivre les instructions du mage (appelé *διδάσκαλος*, maître dans les rituels H2 et B4) et à ne pas quitter des yeux le support divinatoire (« que l'enfant ne lève pas les yeux de ci de là mais qu'il regarde toujours le miroir », apprend la formule H2).

De même que la pureté de l'enfant est importante, la propreté des lieux des opérations magiques doit être irréprochable. Ainsi, le rituel B2 indique-t-il qu'il faut que la maison (du mage) soit apprêtée et *εὐκαιρον*, « libre », « dégagée ». Dans les rituels sans enfant et à consultation directe (soit 3 rituels sur 9), l'apprêt de la maison, c'est la toute première chose que fait le praticien : le rituel B1 préconise d'apprêter la maison « pour qu'elle soit toute propre (*καθαρόν*), qu'il n'y ait rien à l'intérieur d'aucune sorte »<sup>38</sup> et le SH1 « que ta maison soit propre (*παστρικόν*), qu'il n'ait rien ». Le cas du rituel B5 est particulier car celui qui invoque la Belle des montagnes est à l'extérieur et prépare directement des plats de miel et de pignons sans qu'aucune disposition ne soit indiquée, sinon d'horaire et de date.

<sup>35</sup> Il s'agit sans doute d'une déformation du mot *μεισοῦριν* cité par Ph. Koukoules, *Βυζαντινῶν βίος καὶ πολιτισμός*, V, Athènes 1952, p. 165). Employé aussi dans l'*Ektthesis* (472, 7) de Constantin Porphyrogénète, l'objet serait une sorte de carafe (ici, remplie d'eau bénie au moment de la fête des Théophanies).

<sup>36</sup> L'utilisation des mots *λάβει*, *ἔπαρον*, « prends », utilisé parfois aussi bien pour l'enfant (B2, B4) que pour d'autres objets (B3) donnent l'impression que l'enfant est réifié.

<sup>37</sup> Ou bien l'œil bleu – *γαλανομαμάτικον* ?

<sup>38</sup> *φιλοκάλησον τὸν οἶκον ἵνα ἐστὶ καθαρὸς ὅλος μὴ ἔχων ἐντὸς τίποτες εἶδος.*

Le rituel B5 précise, en effet, que celui qui invoque la Belle des montagnes doit le faire le premier jour du mois d'août<sup>39</sup> à midi. Pour ce qui est des autres rituels, s'il n'existe parfois aucune mention horaire (B4, A1 ou B3 dans lequel il est simplement dit « en cette heure » sans autre forme de précision), le B1 et le SH1 indiquent qu'il faut procéder à trois heures du matin, à la lune ascendante pour le B1. Les conditions se font encore plus précises dans le cas de la formule H1 : « au cinquième jour de la lune ou au 7<sup>e</sup> ou au 13<sup>e</sup> ou au 17<sup>e</sup> ou au 21<sup>e</sup> ou au 25<sup>e</sup> ou au 28<sup>e</sup> [...] [à] l'heure du lever du soleil ». Cela signifie que le praticien doit avoir un minimum de connaissances astronomiques pour établir les conditions favorables à son rituel. La présence de tables astronomiques dans certains manuscrits (ceux d'Athènes et de Londres) confirmerait le recours du praticien à des données de ce type. Le B2 indique également que certaines conditions météorologiques doivent être respectées : « avant que le ciel ne se couvre de nuages, à l'aube, par un beau jour, sans vent ».

Les lieux de l'action magique sont variés. Nous avons vu que le magicien travaillait à l'intérieur d'une maison, éventuellement la sienne, comme le précisent les rituels B1, B2 et SH1. Dans d'autres rituels, le lieu des opérations n'est pas précisé (B3) ou bien il est seulement question d'un « lieu retiré » (εις τόπον ἴδιον indiquent B4 et H2), sans que soit indiqué si c'est à l'intérieur ou à l'extérieur. D'autres rituels encore précisent que le mage doit se rendre à l'extérieur. En effet, le rituel B5 indique qu'il faut se rendre à la montagne (εις βουνόν) ce qui semble logique pour qui veut invoquer la Belle des montagnes ; le rituel H1 indique que le magicien doit aller chercher de l'eau à une fontaine pour remplir son πιβατάριον d'eau « sans voix [ἄφωνον], sans retour [ἀνυπόστροφον] et muette [ἀσύνητον] » ; l'eau doit être sans remous pour laisser les esprits se manifester.<sup>40</sup> Le praticien y rajoute aussi de l'huile de laurier. La suite du rituel semble indiquer que l'opération magique se poursuit à l'extérieur.

Qu'on soit à l'intérieur ou à l'extérieur, le magicien délimite l'espace précis du rituel. La plupart des rituels (6 sur 9) mentionnent la *vina*, dont il a déjà été question précédemment, qui doit être tracée ou bien sur le sol (H1, H2, B4) ou bien sur le sol sous un tabouret où l'enfant est assis, assorti de pentacles (B2)<sup>41</sup> ou bien encore autour d'une table dressée par le praticien (B1<sup>42</sup> et SH1 ; dans ce dernier cas, il s'agit de dessiner un τροχός, roue, cercle). La *vina* doit être tracée à l'aide d'un couteau particulier, appelé « couteau de l'art » (μαχαίριον τῆς τέχνης). Cet objet doit être fabriqué à partir d'un couteau ou d'une épée qui a servi à tuer un

<sup>39</sup> Cette date n'est pas anodine puisqu'il s'agit du premier jour du « Carême d'été », précédant la fête de la Dormition de la *Theotokos*, le 15 août.

<sup>40</sup> Dans le rituel A1 le mage a recours à de l'eau bénie de la fête de la Théophanie, eau vive par excellence.

<sup>41</sup> Cela est représenté en illustration du rituel B4 par exemple.

<sup>42</sup> Il semble que le dessin accompagnant le rituel soit en contradiction avec le texte. En effet, la table porte en son centre une marque ronde. A considérer qu'il s'agisse de la *vina*, elle est tracée sur la table et non pas autour de la table (γύρωθεν) comme l'indique le texte.

homme, le manche provient d'une corne noire de bouc, porte des noms spéciaux et il ne peut être utilisé que dans le cadre de rituels magiques.<sup>43</sup>

D'autres rituels (B3, B5 et A1) n'indiquent pas toujours le tracé d'une limite spatiale, d'un champ opératoire. Est-ce parce qu'il s'agit d'une évidence ? En magie, tout compte et si la *vina* n'est pas précisée, c'est sans doute à raison. Est-ce alors parce qu'une autre limite est sous-entendue ? Dans le cas du B5, le dessin qui accompagne le rituel permet d'envisager une piste ; en effet, la table, garnie par le consultant de la Belle des montagnes, pourrait constituer la limite des opérations, tout comme elle semble participer à la définition de l'espace dans d'autres rituels (B1, SH1).

## 2. Comment dresser la table ?

La table est apprêtée de diverses façons. Elle l'est par le praticien lui-même dans le cas des rituels de divination avec consultation directe des esprits. C'est ainsi le cas des rituels B1, B5 et SH1. Le B1 indique au magicien : « tu as besoin d'une table neuve et d'une nappe neuve et d'une coupe vide ». Le SH1 préconise à peu près les mêmes objets : table neuve, nappe propre (ou neuve ?) et trois coupes neuves. Enfin, le B5 ne précise pas la présence d'une table (bien qu'elle apparaisse sur le dessin qui l'accompagne), mais il est question d'un plat et de tissus en soie, qui serviraient peut-être de support à la vaisselle.<sup>44</sup> Les deux premiers rituels insistent sur la propreté ou du moins l'aspect neuf des objets. On retrouve là la thématique de la pureté imposée dans les préparatifs des cérémonies magiques. Les rituels B1 et SH1, très similaires, font état de l'utilisation d'encens placé dans un encensoir (nommé *katzi* dans le B1 ou *pinaki* dans le SH1). Des bougeoirs (*manoualia*) sont posés sur la table dans le B1, détail qui n'apparaît pas dans le SH1, qui mentionne plutôt une *γαστέρα* (bassin) remplie d'eau.<sup>45</sup> Les victuailles utilisées sont dans le B1 « divers fruits pelés »,<sup>46</sup> des amandes, des noix et des raisins secs dans le SH1, enfin, du miel et des pignons dans le rituel B5. Ce sont des friandises<sup>47</sup> typiques du régime méditerranéen.

Dans les rituels de divination qui ont recours à l'enfant et aux objets intermédiaires, la table est toujours apprêtée par des démons, à la suite d'une invocation faite par le magicien. Deux cas de figure sont décrits. Le premier cas, qui apparaît dans les rituels B4 et H2, fait intervenir un démon particulier, cavalier et boiteux,<sup>48</sup>

<sup>43</sup> AA, p. 12. La recette de fabrication de ce couteau figure dans les manuscrits athéniens de notre étude. Il n'est pas limité au tracé de la *vina*. Il est également utilisé pour égorger des animaux prévus pour le festin des démons et pour contraindre magiquement les démons.

<sup>44</sup> Les tissus seraient la partie pour le tout, c'est-à-dire la table.

<sup>45</sup> Contrairement aux autres rituels de lécanomancie et de catoptromancie, le récipient d'eau ne semble pas être un élément central servant à la divination. Il est un objet parmi d'autres.

<sup>46</sup> Le texte dit « propres ». Il s'agit d'un indice supplémentaire de la pureté requise en magie.

<sup>47</sup> E. Patlagean, *Pauvreté économique et pauvreté sociale à Byzance IV<sup>e</sup>-VII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris 1977, p. 38.

<sup>48</sup> Que le démon boîte ferait-il référence au diable devenu boiteux après la chute ? Cette tare

appelé le cuisinier (μάγειρος, μάγερος). Ce démon est invoqué une fois que l'enfant est installé pour la séance de divination. Il doit apparaître et préparer la nourriture du festin. Il s'agit, dans les deux rituels, de trois moutons qu'un serviteur du démon doit aller chercher dans la montagne. Puis, il est demandé au démon-cuisinier d'égorger puis d'écorcher les animaux avant de les cuisiner rapidement ; le mode de cuisson varie : il s'agit de rôtir et de cuisiner les viandes (ψησεις et μαγειρεύσεις) c'est-à-dire d'avoir recours à une cuisson rapide et à une cuisson lente. Sans doute en guise de récompense pour ses efforts, il s'abreuve du sang des animaux dans une coupe précieuse<sup>49</sup> (en or dans le B4 ou argent dans le H2). Là, il peut dresser la table. Tables et chaises en or,<sup>50</sup> nappes et coupes en argent, du « bon pain et du bon vin » finissent de garnir la table. Dans une moindre mesure, cette figure du démon *mageiros* se retrouve dans celles de démons préparateurs du banquet dans le rituel A1 ; en effet, des démons y sont invoqués pour préparer un festin auquel ils ne prennent pas part. Ils sont appelés à dresser deux tentes, l'une blanche et l'une verte (est-ce qu'elles ressemblent à celle qui figure sur le dessin de Bologne illustrant le rituel B1, fig. 1 ?). Ils doivent cuisiner (μαγειρεύσουν) pour leur maître (le rituel ne précise pas la nature du repas) et les préparatifs s'arrêtent-là.

Nous venons de voir comment dans les deux cas précédents, les démons préparaient les festivités sans prendre part au festin. Dans une autre configuration, les démons préparent le banquet et y mangent (B2, B3, H1) : dans le B2, les démons doivent apporter un bœuf et un mouton et l'égorger au moyen du couteau de l'art qui a précédemment servi à tracer la *vina* et qui a été planté sous le tabouret de l'enfant *médium*. Ils doivent manger ce qu'ils cuisinent. Dans le rituel B3, le magicien demande aux démons d'apporter des cerfs et des vaches, de les apprêter et de dresser la table. Enfin, le rituel H1 ne fait mention d'aucune préparation de repas. Les démons se contentent d'apporter le trône de leur roi avant de passer à table.

A l'occasion de sa description de la formule B3, A. Delatte qualifie le festin d'« imaginaire ».<sup>51</sup> Il a parfaitement raison puisque l'emploi du miroir laisse entendre que tout se passe, précisément, dans le miroir par le biais d'une vision. L'expression « là-dedans » (ἐδὼ μέσα) présente dans d'autres rituels catoptromantiques de ce genre (B4 et H2) va dans ce sens. En somme, le miroir, tout comme les autres supports de divination (B2, H1 et A1), et la vision qu'il suscite, permettrait

pourrait aussi être le symbole des pouvoirs extraordinaires dévolus à ce démon (M. Broze et P. Talon, *Petit dictionnaire des symboles*, Turnhout 1992).

<sup>49</sup> La *Confession de Cyprien*, datée du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle, rapporte comment le magicien Cyprien offre une coupe de sang au diable (P. Grimal, *Romans grecs et latins*, Paris 1958, p. 1401). Ce sang, tiré de « tous les êtres vivants », le diable en asperge ses démons et le magicien en leur disant qu'il leur donne le pouvoir « sur toutes les âmes, celles des êtres doués de raison et celle des êtres sans raison » (cette dernière remarque indiquerait que du sang humain est également compris dans le sang animal).

<sup>50</sup> Il s'agit dans ce cas d'une table riche évidemment. A propos de la table et du mobilier qui l'accompagne, Koukoules, *Βυζαντινῶν βίος*, cit., V, pp. 142ss.

<sup>51</sup> Delatte, *La catoptromancie*, cit., pp. 158-159.



de placer le festin dans une réalité qui est avant tout celle des démons à laquelle le magicien accède par le biais de son médium, l'enfant. En revanche, dans le cas des trois rituels sans enfant ni intermédiaire, nous avons pu constater que la table mise en place par le magicien était une table bel et bien réelle. A. Delatte constate également cette particularité mais sans évoquer le rituel B5.

Pour résumer, la préparation de la table renvoie à une double « réalité » du festin : celle du festin apprêté par le magicien, concret et réel, et celle du festin apprêté dans le miroir (ou tout autre support assimilé), « imaginaire » et dont la préparation incombe pleinement aux démons. La différence entre festin réel et festin imaginaire s'illustre sans doute par celle des menus démoniaques qui accompagnent les deux types de rituels. Ainsi, la table réelle du magicien est-elle végétarienne, garnie d'aliments simples (pour ne pas dire pauvres), faciles à préparer (le magicien pèle les fruits) et accessibles alors que celle préparée par les démons est plus riche (sans compter des objets en métal précieux), plus diversifiée et carnée, proposant une profusion de toutes sortes de viandes (cerf, vache, bœuf, mouton)<sup>52</sup> cuisinées de diverses façons. Enfin, la différence entre table réelle et imaginaire est confirmée par les dessins du manuscrit de Bologne auxquels A. Delatte ne fait, curieusement, pas référence dans ce cas. En effet, les rituels qui impliquent des festins réels (B1 et B5), préparés par le praticien, sont accompagnés de dessins qui représentent des tables, plus ou moins garnies ; en revanche, les festins qui prennent place dans l'imaginaire du miroir, de la bassine ou de tout autre support assimilé, sont illustrés par des scènes de divination, sans la présence d'aucune table ou de tout autre mobilier lié au festin.<sup>53</sup>

### 3. « Bon appétit, Messieurs ! » (V. Hugo)<sup>54</sup>

Quand les démons préparent leur propre festin comme dans les rituels B2, B3 et H1, l'invocation qui leur est faite vaut pour invitation au banquet. Mais dans tous les autres cas, les démons invités au festin surviennent une fois la table préparée et leur arrivée est motivée par l'appel du magicien, une conjuration faite au nom de telle ou telle entité. De ce point de vue, les rituels varient. Le magicien peut conjurer au nom du Christ : « par le Christ Roi » (SH1). Le rituel B1 indique simplement « je te conjure de venir ». Les B4, H2 et A1 demandent que viennent les invités par le biais des démons préparateurs du festin : « Cuisinier, mon maître [le magicien] ordonne que vienne ici... » (B4, H2), « qu'il leur dise (aux démons préparateurs) que le maître [le démon] vienne manger » (A1). Parfois la seule table dressée suffit à faire apparaître le démon (B5). Comme le ferait un hôte attentionné, le magicien (et l'enfant qui relaie sa parole) souhaitent parfois la bienvenue à

<sup>52</sup> Le porc en est absent. Cela est sans doute dû à l'héritage du tabou du porc dans la magie égyptienne. Se reporter au § III 3 du présent article.

<sup>53</sup> L'iconographie des festins et autres banquets a été étudiée par I. Anagnostakis et T. Papamastorakis, « ...and Radishes for Appetizers ». *On Banquets, Radishes and Wine*, in Papanikola-Barkirtzis (ed.), *Βυζαντινών Διατροφή*, cit., pp. 147-174.

<sup>54</sup> *Ruy Blas*, III 2.

ses invités. Seul deux rituels mentionnent la formule de bienvenue : *καλῶς ἦλθετε* (A1) et *Τάμα, καλῶς ἦλθετε* (B3).

Les démons invités sont divers. Il s'agit en premier lieu de figures venues seules. Si le rituel A1 évoque une figure anonyme, appelée « maître » (*αὐθέντης*) et le B2 mentionne un « roi » (*βασιλέα*), dans les formules B1 et SH1, le démon appelé porte un nom : Mortzès ou Mourtzis, « esprit de l'homme ou du lieu ». Le dessin qui le représente le montre dans une longue robe rouge, drapé dans une cape verte et portant un couvre-chef jaune. Il a des traits jeunes (il est imberbe) et il semble tendre les mains vers la table dressée devant lui. La Belle des montagnes (*Ἡ καλὴ τῶν ὀρέων*) est une seconde figure singulière apparaissant dans le rituel B5. Ce personnage se retrouve dans d'autres rituels magiques simplement nommée comme une entité parmi d'autres. On la retrouve ainsi dans le manuscrit de la Société Historique 210 (ff. 67 et 71<sup>v</sup>) associée à des fées (*Νεράιδες*), dans le manuscrit de Bologne 3632 (f. 357) et dans le manuscrit 825 de la Bibliothèque Nationale d'Athènes (f. 18<sup>v</sup> : *δαμόνιον τῆς Καλῆς τῶν Ὀρῶν*). Si l'on en croit la représentation de la Belle des montagnes du manuscrit de Bologne, elle est un démon-femelle anthropomorphe, couronnée, avec une longue natte blonde dans le dos, debout sur des pieds humains, munie d'une queue de serpent. Tout comme Mortzès, elle tend la main vers la table dressée à son intention. Ce personnage ressemble à la figure de l'enchanteresse des montagnes de la légende de Tannhäuser, conte allemand probablement issu d'une légende italienne médiévale dont la trace subsiste encore dans la topographie italienne contemporaine ; on parle aujourd'hui encore du *Monte Sibilla* comme du lieu de résidence d'une sorcière redoutable. A. Delatte évoque, lui aussi, la légende italienne pour parler d'un autre personnage qui apparaît également dans nos rituels festifs, la Dame reine Sybilla.<sup>55</sup> Cette figure (B4, H2), sans doute l'écho de la figure de la Belle des montagnes (une autre couronnée), vient accompagnée de son peuple (*λαός*). Une autre figure démoniaque, Beltzabel (B3), « le premier des démons » (*πρῶτε τῶν δαμόνων*, dit le magicien), vient également avec sa troupe alors que dans la formule H1, arrive le « roi » (*ῥῆγας*) des démons avec son *fousato*, son armée.

Mis à part ceux qui ne font intervenir qu'un seul démon (B1, B5 et SH1), les rituels laissent voir une véritable hiérarchie démoniaque avec un chef (roi, reine...) parfois muni d'un trône (*θρόνον* dit-on dans les rituels B3 et H1), et des démons associés aux rôles diversifiés : les démons subalternes qui préparent le repas sans manger et ceux qui préparent le festin et y ont une petite part (le sang des animaux pour le démon-cuisinier) et ceux qui, l'ayant préparé ou pas, font pleinement partie du repas (en mangeant des viandes rôties ou cuisinées). La nourriture constitue un élément hiérarchique chez les démons. Ainsi, ceux qui ne mangent pas sont au plus bas de l'échelle. Pour ceux qui mangent, les choses se compliquent sensiblement. Le niveau de cuisson de la viande semble être un critère valable puisqu'il ap-

<sup>55</sup> Delatte, *La catoptromancie*, cit., p. 165 n. 3. Il cite notamment F. Desonay, *Antoine de la Sale, Le paradis de la reine Sibylle*, Paris 1930.

paraît dans les textes eux-mêmes. Mais comment l'interpréter ? Le roi des démons mangeant cuit, le cru deviendrait un élément dévalorisant, réservé aux subalternes. D'une certaine façon, c'est le cas pour le démon-cuisinier qui consomme le sang des bêtes prévues pour le festin. Or le sang est d'une importance capitale car il est connu pour être le siège de l'âme. Dans ce cas, le démon-cuisinier serait particulièrement honoré. Est-ce à dire alors que les démons qui mangent de plus en plus cuit se placent plus bas dans la hiérarchie ? Le roi de la fête serait-ce finalement le démon cuisinier ? Ou bien le sang est-il un élément tellement particulier qu'il échappe à toute taxinomie ?

### III. Le festin, occasion d'une alliance forcée entre mage et démons

#### 1. Le festin, le serment et la divination

Le but de tout le festin demeure la divination : pour le magicien, il s'agit de faire parler ses invités sur tout ce qu'il désire connaître : « que tu me dises la vérité sur tout ce que je veux te demander » (B1), « demande ce dont tu as besoin » (B2), « ce que je vous demande que vous me le disiez » (B3) : « interroge sur ce qu'il te faut ou au sujet d'un trésor » (B4), « je veux ceci et cela » (B5), « que je vous demande ce que je veux » (H1), « demande ce que tu veux » (H2), « interroge le maître à propos de tout ce que tu voudras » (A1), « conjure-le de te dire ce que tu veux. » (SH1). Autant dire donc que le champ des questions reste vaste.

Et, ne sont invités à parler que les démons qui ont mangé ; il est significatif, à cet égard, que l'on ne pose pas de questions aux démons du rituel A1 mais à leur maître pour lequel ils ont préparé le repas. De même, le démon-cuisinier (B4 et H2) ne semble pas non plus interrogé. Une exception apparaît cependant. Alors que la Dame reine Sybilias profite bien du festin magique et est invitée à parler dans le rituel H2, elle n'est pas encouragée à le faire dans le rituel B4. Comment comprendre une telle différence ? La Dame reine Sybilias aurait-elle délégué cette fonction à « ses archontes » dans le rituel B4 ? Mais pour quelle raison ?

Faire parler les démons est une chose mais le mage a besoin de garanties : car le démon, malin par nature, doit pouvoir être forcé à répondre et surtout à répondre correctement, sans mentir aux questions posées par le praticien. Les rituels insistent bien là-dessus : « dites-moi toute la vérité » (H2), « que vous ne me disiez pas de mensonges » (H1). Pour cela, deux moyens : la menace, sous forme de conjuration, et le serment, acte autrement plus élaboré. En effet, les démons peuvent être menacés. La menace verbale est parfois violente (« que tu ne pisses ni ne chies jusqu'à ce que tu me dises ce que je veux » intime le rituel B1 ou bien encore « que vous ne vous leviez pas le temps que je vous demande... » dit le B4). Elle s'accompagne dans certains rituels d'un geste fort : planter le couteau de l'art sous la table (SH1) ou dans la table (B1 en disant, « je t'enfonce Mortzès... »). Il s'agit alors d'un véritable acte de magie, appelé la defixion, qui matérialise l'emprisonnement du démon, sa fixation en quelque sorte. La table des délices se transforme alors en table de torture. Le démon n'est libéré que si le couteau est ôté de la table. Le principe de la defixion se retrouve dans une moindre mesure dans le rituel B5 : la formule écrite fixée sous la pierre avant le repas. Cela dit, la conjuration parfois

suffit à l'affaire (A1) et la menace semble parfois inutile, comme si le repas seul suffisait à faire parler les esprits (B2). Mais la menace se conjugue parfois avec un élément plus complexe, le serment (H1).

Le serment n'intervient pas dans toutes les formules (4 cas sur 9 : H1, H2, B3 et B4) et il demande un plus grand effort que la menace toute violente qu'elle soit. Avec le serment, le praticien joue sur un niveau différent. Il mise sur ce qui est censé être le plus inviolable et le plus sacré chez les démons, et par la parole donnée, les démons sont inévitablement liés. Dans le rituel H1, le magicien conjure les démons au nom de trois entités, Abraki, Pariel et Asriel,<sup>56</sup> de ne pas se lever tant qu'ils n'auront pas répondu à ses questions et de demander qu'un *offikion* (c'est-à-dire un fidèle, un obligé des démons) apporte leur livre de « testament »<sup>57</sup> pour qu'ils prêtent serment (να ὀμόσετε). Le livre en question serait le *Testament* de Salomon qui rapporte comment les démons ont été forcés par le sceau de Salomon à construire le Temple ; ils y livrent également les secrets qui permettent de les dominer. Le serment est prêté sur un objet qui relate l'histoire d'une soumission. Comme les démons se sont soumis du temps de Salomon, ils doivent de nouveau se soumettre, par analogie, aux désirs du magicien. La mention de ce livre apparaît également dans les autres rituels à serment ; on parle d'un βιβλίον, scellé de trois lettres et rapporté par les soins d'un serviteur de la Dame reine Sybilía parti en Lacédémone<sup>58</sup> voir Salomon (B4 et H2). Quant au rituel B3, il mentionne simplement « le livre » apporté par un « pope apostat ».<sup>59</sup> Ce n'est qu'à la lecture des autres rituels que l'on devine la nature exacte de cet ouvrage utile aux serments démoniaques. Le rituel B3 comporte une curiosité supplémentaire. En effet, avant de prêter serment, le démon majeur invoqué, Betzabel, apporte son sceau (σημαντήριον) posé sur la table. Le rituel ne précise pas l'usage de ce sceau (est-ce une garantie ? une manière de s'identifier ?) mais il semble qu'il ne tienne pas de place particulière dans la procédure du serment.

Le magicien multiplie parfois les garanties : ainsi, dans le rituel H1, les démons prêtent-ils serment non seulement sur le livre de Salomon mais aussi sur le nom d'autres démons majeurs, qui leur sont supérieurs, leurs « chefs » (ἀπάνω εἰς τοὺς πρωτοθρόνους σας καὶ ἀρχηγούς σας). Malgré cela, la possibilité de l'échec est tout de même envisagée : en effet, les rituels B4 et H2 expliquent que réussir à interroger les démons du premier coup est une bonne chose mais que si ce n'est pas le cas, il ne faut pas hésiter à réitérer la question, à trois reprises au maximum. La réitération des questions est d'ailleurs possible dans la mesure où le magicien est susceptible de rappeler les démons dans le futur. Que les démons puissent être rappelés ultérieurement est tacite dans la plupart des formules mais cela est claire-

<sup>56</sup> S'agit-il d'anges déchus ?

<sup>57</sup> L'expression exacte est « apportez l'*offikion* [c'est-à-dire « faites venir »] et le livre de votre *Testament* pour que vous y prêtiez serment ».

<sup>58</sup> La mention de la Lacédémone apparaît curieuse ; la terre de magie traditionnelle en Grèce est la Thessalie.

<sup>59</sup> L'*offikion* du rituel H1 pourrait-il être un pope apostat lui aussi ?

ment exprimé dans les rituels B4 et H2 : « quand je vous inviterai, vous viendrez » (B4), « quand je vous appellerai, que vous veniez volontiers » (H2).

Son affaire accomplie, le magicien met fin à la séance de travail. Tous les rituels ne précisent pas comment les choses se passent (B5, H1 et A1) et ceux qui apportent quelques précisions le font de manière inégale. Si certains rituels se limitent à un geste ou un mot de renvoi à l'égard des démons, les rituels B2, B4 et H2 cumulent les actions. Ainsi, les rituels B1 et SH1 se contentent de retirer le couteau qui contraignait le démon, le B3 dit aux démons de partir sans nuire à personne. Tout en demandant aux démons de revenir en cas de besoin, le rituel B4 exige que l'on retire le couteau et qu'on efface les pentacles. Le H2 exige que l'on efface les pentacles, la *vina* et que l'on renvoie les démons en disant « Bon vent » (ὕπαγετε ἔς τὸ καλὸν).<sup>60</sup> Le B2, de loin le rituel le plus détaillé, préconise d'encenser les lieux, de retirer le couteau, d'effacer les symboles portés sur le front de l'enfant, avant de dire au démons de s'en aller (ὕπαγετε καλῶς).

## 2. Le festin, entre don et contre-don

La nourriture, végétarienne ou carnée, simple ou élaborée, intervient dans l'établissement d'un système de don et de contre-don dans lequel les démons et le mage tiennent la première place. Le magicien est toujours à l'origine de la nourriture soit parce qu'il l'a fournie lui-même soit parce qu'il en a motivé le don en demandant aux démons de l'apporter. Les démons en consommant la nourriture offerte se placent dans un système de don et de contre-don. Puisqu'ils ont reçu, ils se doivent de donner (en l'occurrence des prédictions, dont la justesse ne peut être assurée que par le serment ou la menace comme nous venons de le voir). Le festin, appelé à être renouvelé dans un futur plus ou moins proche, place le démon dans une situation de débiteur et cela tant que le magicien décidera de faire appel à ses services.

Mais comme l'ont montré Marcel Mauss<sup>61</sup> puis Maurice Godelier,<sup>62</sup> donner, c'est aussi reconnaître l'autorité de celui à qui l'on donne et c'est aussi s'y soumettre. Ainsi, le mage, à l'origine du don de nourriture, place le démon dans une situation de débiteur certes mais, paradoxalement, il lui reconnaît aussi une autorité incontestable. De même, en acceptant de son côté les offrandes du magicien, le démon reconnaît au magicien l'autorité qu'il détient sur lui. Le magicien et le démon seraient donc dépendants l'un de l'autre et le festin serait, alors, l'occasion d'établir (ou de renouveler) une alliance forte (et forcée) entre eux.

Dans un contexte judéo-chrétien, qui dit alliance, dit, immanquablement, l'Alliance passée avec Dieu par le biais du sacrifice eucharistique, sans cesse renouvelé. Or, deux festins (B4 et H2) semblent convoquer, dans une moindre mesure, cer-

<sup>60</sup> Cette formulation, toute idiomatique qu'elle soit, est assez amusante : comment peut-on souhaiter que les démons aillent littéralement « au bien » ?

<sup>61</sup> M. Mauss, *Essai sur le don. Forme et raison de l'échange dans les sociétés archaïques*, in *Société et anthropologie*, Paris 2003, pp. 145-284.

<sup>62</sup> M. Godelier, *L'énigme du don*, Paris 1996.

taines références typiques au christianisme et à ses célébrations. Ainsi, le pain, le vin, s'ils sont des aliments de base, font tout de même penser à la messe, tout comme le sang bu par le démon-cuisinier dans une coupe précieuse. Par ailleurs, la représentation qui accompagne le rituel B1 met en scène un magicien devant une table dressée sous un dais vert (fig. 1). Or, les codes iconographiques utilisés rappellent ceux qui représentent le *ciborium*, c'est-à-dire la table eucharistique, apprêtée pour le Sacrifice.<sup>63</sup> Enfin, le renvoi des démons (B2, B3, B4, H1) pourrait également faire penser à l'*ite* de la messe à laquelle les croyants sont appelés régulièrement.

Les références des magiciens au monde chrétien se manifestent aussi dans leur recours à des objets caractéristiques qu'ils décident de détourner et de sortir de leur contexte initial. Ainsi, les *manoualia* (B1) sont des bougeoirs manuels utilisés pendant la messe, le *katzi* est un encensoir manuel, spécialement utilisé pendant le Carême et la Semaine Sainte.<sup>64</sup> La référence au Carême apparaît particulièrement dans le rituel B5. En effet, le magicien est censé se rendre à la montagne pour son invocation le premier jour du mois d'août. Or, il s'agit-là du premier jour de ce que l'on appelle le « Carême d'été » préparant à la fête de la Dormition de la Théotokos. Est-ce d'ailleurs un hasard si la Belle des montagnes est également qualifiée de *despoina*, qualificatif qui est généralement attribué à la Mère de Dieu ? Les récupérations de ce genre se retrouvent aussi dans l'utilisation de l'eau des Théophanies (A1) mais également dans le recours à un « pope apostat » (παπᾶς ὑποστατικὸς) comme garant supplémentaire au serment des démons (B3).

### 3. Comprendre le festin, l'importance du long terme

Les sources se placent dans un champ chronologique large (XV<sup>e</sup>-XVIII<sup>e</sup> s.) et pour qui s'intéresse à la magie, une vision sur le long terme semble s'imposer ; ce serait là le seul moyen de comprendre des thématiques relevant d'une véritable *koinè* magique. Il semble qu'A Delatte ait également compris l'intérêt du long terme. Ainsi a-t-il cherché à voir quelles étaient les références aux festins démoniaques aussi bien en amont qu'en aval des sources byzantines et post-byzantines.

En amont, la thématique du festin démoniaque en magie est une rareté selon A. Delatte. Effectivement, les papyrus grecs magiques (indiqués désormais *PGM*) semblent être la seule source magique qui fasse référence aussi bien aux festins réels qu'imaginaires tels que nous les avons définis précédemment. Citant les travaux de Theodor Hopfner,<sup>65</sup> A. Delatte mentionne, sans le développer, l'exemple d'un festin réel apprêté par le magicien dans le *PGM* I, 42-196.<sup>66</sup> A l'examen de ce document, on constate que, comme dans nos rituels byzantins, il s'agit pour le praticien d'apprêter sa maison, de préparer des nourritures (φαγήματα) et du vin de

<sup>63</sup> Je remercie ici M. A. Bekiaris pour notre discussion très utile à ce sujet.

<sup>64</sup> M. K. Papadoulous, *Λειτουργική, τα τελούμενα εντός του Ναού*, Athènes 1992, pp. 56-57.

<sup>65</sup> Th. Hopfner, *Griechisch-Aegyptischer Offenbarungszauber. Seine Methoden*, II, Leipzig 1924, p. 68 (§ 135).

<sup>66</sup> H. D. Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri in translation. Including the Demotic Spells*, I, Texts, Chicago 1996<sup>2</sup>, pp. 5-6.

Mendès.<sup>67</sup> Cependant, à la différence des rites byzantins dans lesquels le magicien prépare lui-même la table sans l'aide de personne, il utilise ici pour le service un enfant « pur et silencieux ». De même, il est précisé que l'entité invoquée est un *parèdre* (c'est-à-dire un démon assistant) prêt à fournir au praticien qui le demandera toutes sortes d'aliments en vue de l'organisation d'un festin avec d'autres démons : huile, vin, pain, vinaigre, des légumes (λαχάνων δε πλῆθος). En revanche, le magicien doit absolument éviter de demander du poisson et de la viande de porc, aliments considérés comme impurs.<sup>68</sup>

Pour ce qui est des festins imaginaires, A. Delatte mentionne, sans s'y attarder non plus, la seule recette qu'il connaît, issue du corpus des papyrus démotiques magiques (*PDM*).<sup>69</sup> Cette référence n'est pourtant pas un cas unique, contrairement à ce qu'a cru A. Delatte ; car le *PDM* XIV, intégralement publié depuis par H. D. Betz, comporte non pas une mais deux recettes faisant intervenir un festin ; l'une se trouve en 56-62<sup>70</sup> et l'autre en 550-54.<sup>71</sup> La première recette est plus longue mais dans les deux cas, il s'agit de lécanomancie et les rituels sont assez similaires : le magicien, assisté d'un enfant, invoque le dieu Anubis et lui demande d'apporter en échange une table et faire venir les dieux pour qu'ils s'y installent. Anubis doit apporter une jarre de vin et du pain (il n'apparaît pas de viande dans les rituels). Une fois que les divinités ont mangé, le magicien demande à Anubis, sorte d'intermédiaire auprès des autres dieux, si un dieu de l'assistance est disposé à répondre à ses questions et si oui, qu'il se manifeste. Suit alors la séance de divination. La similitude de ces deux rituels égyptiens avec ceux de tradition grecque est frappante, malgré les disparités évidentes (les dieux utilisés à la place des démons, Anubis comme intermédiaire).

Les rituels du papyrus magique démotique XIV font référence au monde des morts comme cela est induit par la présence du dieu Anubis, dieu psychopompe et intermédiaire. Or, certains rituels byzantins et post-byzantins que nous avons examinés, font aussi référence à cet univers. En effet, les rituels B4 et H2 indiquent que le magicien doit tracer une *vina* ressemblant à une tombe et le rituel B1 invoque Mortzès qualifié « d'esprit d'un homme ou du lieu ». Si A. Delatte voit dans certaines de ces références la persistance d'un « vestige » de l'association clas-

<sup>67</sup> On le retrouve cité dans le *PGM* IV, 2677-81 par exemple. Il fait partie d'offrandes faites aux dieux: Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri*, cit., p. 88.

<sup>68</sup> V, 3007-86. Betz, *ibid.*, pp. 96-97. La viande de porc est considérée chez les Egyptiens comme impure parce qu'elle est associée à Typhon-Seth. A ce sujet, Plutarque, *De Isis et Osiris*, 1, 8, 353F, cité par Betz, *ibid.*, p. 6 n. 24. Pour ce qui est du poisson, il s'agit d'une nourriture interdite aux prêtres égyptiens (J. P. Alcock, *Food in the Ancient World*, Westport, Ct 2006, p. 140, et W. T. Darby et al., *Food: The Gift of Osiris*, I, London-New York, San Francisco 1977, pp. 380-404).

<sup>69</sup> Delatte, *La catoptromancie*, cit., p. 159; Hopfner, *Griechisch-Aegyptischer Offenbarungszauber*, cit., pp. 129-130 (§§ 264-266).

<sup>70</sup> Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri*, cit., p. 198.

<sup>71</sup> Betz, *ibid.*, p. 225.

sique entre nécromancie et divination par le miroir,<sup>72</sup> nous pourrions y voir, également, une référence au monde grec antique. En effet, dans le chant XI de l'*Odyssée*, Ulysse veut consulter le devin Tirésias dans le monde infernal. Pour cela, il doit procéder à des offrandes particulières. Elles consistent en libations (miel, lait, vin, eau), en farine d'orge et au sacrifice d'un bouc noir destiné au devin (dont il s'abreuvera du sang). On retrouve là quelques uns des ingrédients utilisés dans nos rituels byzantins, c'est-à-dire la viande (sanglante), le vin, le miel, la farine. Ulysse utilise une épée pour creuser la fosse destinée aux offrandes et pour garder les âmes en respect, un peu comme le magicien utilise le couteau de l'art pour délimiter son champ opératoire et contraindre les démons. Tout comme les démons qui ont mangé, seules les âmes qui se sont abreuvées de sang peuvent s'exprimer. Mais les similitudes s'arrêtent là.

Les rituels magiques byzantins témoigneraient d'un possible passage de relais entre les sources antiques et médiévales mais il est difficile, sinon impossible, de savoir de quelle manière tout cela s'est opéré. Les sources magiques antiques ont probablement survécu sous une forme ou une autre au cours du Moyen Âge grec car des traces partielles de cette survivance le laissent entendre.<sup>73</sup> Mais il reste difficile d'en suivre précisément la piste en raison du vide documentaire propre au domaine magique.

Pour ce qui est des relations possibles entre les rituels byzantins analysés, quelques remarques s'imposent. Tout d'abord, il en existe de très proches par le contenu. Ainsi le B4 est-il très semblable au H2 au point qu'A. Delatte les a traités conjointement.<sup>74</sup> Il est très probable que les possesseurs des manuscrits aient eu connaissance d'une même source dans laquelle le rituel se trouvait soit que l'un des deux manuscrits ait généré une copie partielle de son contenu dans le second. Par ailleurs, les deux manuscrits datent du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle et ils sont tous deux passés par Constantinople à un moment ou un autre de leur histoire ce qui rend le contact entre eux tout à fait possible. Que ce contact se manifeste par la présence d'une formule uniquement ne semble pas non plus impossible. Les recettes magiques ne pourraient-elles pas se transmettre à la manière de telle ou telle recette de cuisine ? Si une recette particulière se révèle bonne et efficace, pourquoi ne se transmettrait-elle pas selon les besoins ?<sup>75</sup> C'est sans doute le même genre de pro-

<sup>72</sup> Delatte, *La catoptromancie*, cit., p. 164.

<sup>73</sup> Notamment par le biais des *Hippiatrika*, datés du X<sup>e</sup> siècle qui comportent des recettes faisant penser aux PGM. Voir A. McCabe (ed.), *A Byzantine Encyclopaedia of Horse Medicine, The Sources, Compilation and transmission of the Hippiatrica*, Oxford 2007.

<sup>74</sup> Delatte, *La catoptromancie*, cit., pp. 162 ss.

<sup>75</sup> Au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, Michel Italikos, écrivant à un certain Tziknoglos, lui promet de lui transmettre oralement la recette d'un remède antique qu'il ne veut pas mettre par écrit. Dans une moindre mesure, on voit comment des recettes particulières et isolées peuvent se transmettre au gré des circonstances: voir J. Duffy, *Reactions of Two Byzantine Intellectuals to the Theory and Practice of Magic: Michael Psellos and Michael Italikos*, in M. Maguire (ed.), *Byzantine Magic*, Washington 1995, pp. 83-98: 94-97.



cessus qui pourrait expliquer les similitudes du rituel B1 et du rituel SH1, tous deux faisant intervenir l'esprit *Mortzès* (ou *Mourtzi*) dans un rituel assez similaire. Comme trois siècles séparent les manuscrits (l'un date du XV<sup>e</sup> s., l'autre du XVIII<sup>e</sup> s.), le contact entre les deux rituels semble moins évident que celui établi entre B4 et H2 mais il témoigne d'une forme de *koinè* de la magie sur le long terme.

En aval des sources byzantines et post-byzantines, A. Delatte évoque aussi des rituels magiques issus d'autres contextes. Il mentionne ainsi le germanique *Höllenzwang* du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle<sup>76</sup> et le rituel divinatoire du miroir d'encre musulman encore utilisé au XX<sup>e</sup> siècle.<sup>77</sup> Dans les deux cas, les démons sont invités à manger et à faire des révélations. Là encore, il est difficile de savoir comment la thématique s'est transmise d'un contexte à un autre, d'une époque à une autre. Nous ne pouvons, une fois de plus, que constater la persistance de la thématique du festin démoniaque qui s'explique par la communication au sein d'une *koinè* magique.

Les festins démoniaques ont été l'occasion d'étudier quelques sources magiques et de voir à quel point elles sont délicates et complexes à manipuler. Les incertitudes sont le lot de ceux qui décident de les aborder. De la même manière, le festin n'échappe pas à de nombreux questionnements. Il rappelle des références anciennes, magiques ou pas, et il aurait survécu dans divers rituels magiques non byzantins qui ne semblent pourtant pas avoir de liens explicites entre eux. Il semble bien difficile de faire une histoire linéaire de ce thème, notamment en raison de la disparité des sources elles-mêmes, dont la présence au fil du temps est par ailleurs discontinuée.

Le festin a pu être étudié de manière précise. Nous avons pu voir qu'il prenait place dans des rituels divinatoires et qu'il permettait d'attirer les démons que le praticien désirait interroger. Prétexte à de nombreux préparatifs contraignants (un classique en magie) dont le magicien doit s'acquitter pour s'assurer de la réussite de son rituel, il amorce la séance de divination. Mais quand les démons se mettent à table (dans tous les sens du terme), ce n'est pas par hasard. Ils sont amenés à le faire et à le refaire autant de fois que le praticien le demandera en vertu d'une alliance établie entre eux. Cette alliance passe parfois par l'utilisation d'un véritable serment prêté par les esprits.

Cette courte étude n'est qu'un début, une amorce. Nous n'avons étudié ici qu'un dossier fondé que les données apportées par les *Anecdota Atheniensia* d'A. Delatte. Or, il reste encore bien des manuscrits magiques à dénicher et à explorer. Autant dire que bien d'autres festins nous attendent ailleurs.

<sup>76</sup> Delatte, *La catoptromancie*, cit., pp. 96-97.

<sup>77</sup> Delatte, *ibid.*, pp. 128-129.

## IV. Annexes

## 1. Tableau des rituels

Manuscrit et référence au texte	f. et pp. dans les AA	Placé entre tel et tel rituel	Sujet / Illustration
Bologne 3632, B1	347 (Del 346) et AA, p. 578	Précédé de φωτομαντεία Suivi de B2	La <i>Stoicheiosis</i> de Mortzès, forme de divination, questionnement direct sans miroir ou autre objet Dessin de la table de la <i>stoicheiosis</i> et de Mortzès
Bologne 3632, B2	347 et 347 <sup>v</sup> (Del 346-346 <sup>v</sup> ) et AA, p. 580	Précédé de B1 Suivi d'une divination par l'œuf	Onychomancie Dessin la jeune fille et la torche Seulement celui d'une hexagramme (f. 347) et de la <i>vina</i> (f. 347 <sup>v</sup> )
Bologne 3632, B3	348 (Del 347) et AA, p. 584	Précédé d'une formule pour délier un homme Suivi d'une autre divination par le miroir	Catoptromancie Dessin (f°348) d'un élève assis sur un tabouret tenant un miroir. Derrière lui un <i>technitès</i> , un artisan, c'est-à-dire le magicien
Bologne 3632, B4	351 (Del 350) et AA, pp. 593-594	Précédé de <i>Discours de l'amoula</i> (Διάλεξις της αμοϋλας) Suivi de <i>De l'amour : chose (formule) testée et fameuse</i>	Catoptromancie Dessin (f° 351) d'un personnage imberbe assis sur un tabouret tenant un couteau et un miroir. Derrière lui, un personnage barbu debout, le mage
Bologne 3632, B5	358 (Del 357), et AA, pp. 600	Précédé de <i>Du vautour</i> Suivi d'une liste de prénoms avec leur valeur numérique correspondante (main différente).	Invocation à la « Belle des montagnes ». Sans doute une seconde formule indépendante. Dessin de la Belle des montagnes devant une table garnie et un personnage à l'extrême gauche du dessin.
Harley 5596, H1	37 <sup>v</sup> -38 et AA, pp. 430-431	Précédé d'une γαστερομαντία (divination par la bassine) Suivi de <i>Pour retrouver un voleur</i>	Divination par le πιβατάρι (une sorte de récipient haut)
Harley 5596, H2	39-39 <sup>v</sup> et AA, pp. 432-434	Précédé de <i>Quand tu veux les défendre</i> Suivi de <i>Autre opération du même art</i>	Catoptromancie Dessins de pentacles dans un carré
Athènes 1265, A1	33 <sup>v</sup> (acéphale) et pp. 43-44	Acéphale Précédé d'une formule plus récente d'une écriture différente <i>Autre art de Salomon</i>	Lécanomancie (si l'on se réfère à A. Delatte) Pas de dessin
Athènes Sté Hist. 115, SH1	35 <sup>v</sup> et AA, p. 47	Précédé par une <i>Autre lécanomancie de Salomon</i> Suivi de <i>Voici un autre questionnement aux esprits</i>	Divination sans utilisation d'objets comme le miroir ou l'ongle. Question directe comme dans B1 Dessin d'un losange, orné de caractères rouges et d'un pentacle.

## 2. Tableau des festins

Formule	Préparateur	Mobilier / Vaisselle	Repas / Boisson	Invités	Serment
B1	Le mage	Table, nappe, coupelles, <i>manoualia</i> , <i>katzi</i>	Divers fruits pelés (non précisés)	Mortzès, esprit du lieu ou d'un homme	Non
B2	Démons	Tabouret tripode et couteau de l'art (divination)	Bœuf ou mouton	démons	Non
B3	Démons	Miroir (divinatoire) et trône	Cerfs et vaches	Betzabel et démons	Oui
B4	Cavalier-boîteux	Miroir et couteau de l'art (divination) Table et chaises en or, coupe d'argent pour le sang	3 moutons, du bon pain et du bon vin	Dame reine Sybilias et démons	Oui
B5	Le mage	Tissus en soie et <i>scutella</i>	Miel et pignons	La Belle des montagnes	Non
H1	Démons	<i>Pivatari</i> (divination) + couteau de l'art. Trône	Non précisé	« Roi » des démons	Oui
H2	Cavalier-boîteux	Miroir et couteau de l'art (divination). Table et chaises en or, coupes en argent, nappes	3 moutons, du bon pain et du bon vin	Dame reine Sybilias et « son peuple »	Oui
A1	Démons	<i>Mesourin</i> couvert d'un linge rouge (divination). Tentés (1 verte et 1 blanche)	Non précisé	« Maître » seul	Non
SH1	Le mage	Table, nappe, 3 coupes, une bassine, un encensoir, le couteau de l'art	Amandes, noix, raisins secs	Mourtzi	Non

Stéphanie Vlavianos-Tomaszyk



## Abstracts

Roberta Angiolillo, *Tzane Koroneos, «Le gesta di Mercurio Bua»: aporie metriche e considerazioni ecdotiche*

A selection and analysis of the metrical anomalies concerning the Ἀνδραγαθήματα τοῦ Μερκουρίου Μπούα, historical poem written by Tzane Koroneos whose critical edition is in progress, and some hypotheses of restoration.

Marie-Hélène Blanchet, *Les listes antilatines à Byzance aux XIV<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècles*

This article investigates three lists of the XIV-XVth centuries which enumerate some “Latin errors”: they were composed by Matthiew Blastares, Matthiew Angelos Panaretos and Symeon of Thessalonike. They partially go back over the grievances of the previous lists, but they also provide eight new charges against the Latins. All this criticism is examined in detail, in terms of both content and form, in order to clarify and interpret how the genre of the antiLatin list changed at the end of the Middle Ages.

Jeroen De Keyser, Pascal Kegels, *The Polybius Translation of Romulus Amasaeus*

In the last years of his life, the Bolognese humanist Romulus Amasaeus (1489-1552) translated Polybius’ description (X 2-20) of the conquering of Nova Carthago by Scipio. This hitherto unpublished translation survives in two manuscripts, now in the libraries of the Vatican and Évora. The relationship between both witnesses can be assessed thanks to the *Amaseiana* that are conserved at the Biblioteca Ambrosiana.

Johannes Diethart, Werner Voigt, *Notae legentis zu Papyri und außerägyptischen griechischen Texten aus byzantinischer Zeit*

In our *Notae legentis* on papyri and Greek texts from non-Egyptian areas in the Byzantine period, we have shown contemporary editorial errors, also Byzantine misinterpretations documented at this period. We also want to show corrections, new interpretations and suggestions concerning Latin and Greek concepts which can increase our knowledge of vocabulary in classical philology, Byzantinism, papyrology and last but not least coptology. Mistakes which arose from copying and etymological obscurities are explained. Editorial mistakes and lexicographical rarities are also presented.

Erika Elia, *Un restauro di erudito: Isidoro di Kiev e il codice Peyron 11 della Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria di Torino*

The manuscript Peyron 11 of the Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria di Torino contains *Hecuba*, *Orestes* and *Phoenissae* by Euripides (the so-called Euripidean triad), and a small part of Sophocles’ *Ajax*. The texts have been copied by an anonymous scribe, who can be assigned to the first half of the XIVth century, except for ff. 1-2, which are by the hand of Isidor of Kiev (1380/90-1463). A philological, paleographical and codicological analysis of the manuscript allows to ascribe to Isidor all the *rubra* of the codex and to connote his action as a material and textual restoration.

Wolfram Hörandner, *Pseudo-Gregorios Korinthios*, «Über die vier Teile der perfekten Rede»  
 A treatise on rhetoric entitled *On the four parts of the perfect speech* is transmitted in a number of manuscripts of Gregorios Korinthios' treatise *On the syntax of the speech*. Parts of it have also found their way into Joseph Rhakendytes' *Synopsis of rhetoric*. In the article the first critical edition of this treatise is presented. Text and *apparatus criticus* are followed by a German translation and a commentary discussing questions of textual criticism, dating (probably the first half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century), references to ancient, patristic and contemporary model authors (Gregory of Nazianzus and Psellos holding the lion's share) and the overall character of the treatise.

Teresa Martínez Manzano, *De Corfú a Venecia: el itinerario primero del Dioscórides de Salamanca*

Manuscript Salmaticensis 2659, which contains Dioscorides' treatise *De materia medica*, arrived at Salamanca after being bought by a Spanish scholar in Italy. It had been copied in Corfú by John Moschus and it was used in Venice as a model for the Aldine edition of 1499. This paper traces the origin of the manuscript by means of palaeographical, textual and cultural considerations. It is suggested that it was George Moschus, John's son, who took the manuscript to Italy, while the hypothesis that it was Ianos Lascaris who transferred it to the West is rejected.

Tommaso Migliorini, Silvia Tessari, *Πεῖτε δακρύων, ὀφθαλμοί, κρουνούς ἡματωμένους. Il carne penitenziale di Germano II patriarca di Costantinopoli\**

The article aims at giving an unpublished analysis and a more exhaustive critical edition, with first translation into a modern language and commentary, of a catanactic (penitential) poem in political verse. The first part (§§ 1-5), starting from the first printed edition in the eighteenth century, continues dividing the late medieval manuscripts in two categories: the scholar miscellanies and the religious collections. While the first ones show erudite interest in a text which combines traditional hymnographic themes of contrition with mythological citations, the second ones reveal its role in religious and liturgical context, especially its partial musical performance for the Cheese Sunday.

The authorship of Patriarch German II explicitly handed down by only one manuscript is discussed on a survey of his hymnographic production and on the comparison with that attributed to German I. The second part of the article (§§ 6-8) provides a critical edition based on eight manuscripts known by now, read either on the spot or by means of digital reproductions. Translation and commentary aim at explaining a not always plain content, highlighting the main biblical sources and giving parallels with other contemporaries.

Emmanuel Moutafov, Andreas Rhoby, *New ideas about the deciphering of the cryptic inscription in the narthex of the Panagia Asinou (Phorbiotissa) church (Cyprus)*

In the church Panagia Asinou (Phorbiotissa) (Cyprus) above the door leading from the narthex to the naos the Theotokos as Maria orans with a medallion of Christ in front of her is depicted (12<sup>th</sup> c.). The inscription (14<sup>th</sup> c.) written in the form of an arch above Mary's depiction consists of two verses and a series of letters which have not been successfully deciphered so far. It is suggested in this contribution that the cryptogram ΦΠΤτΤΘΤΗκΓπΠΑττ is connected with the interpretation of Mary as Φοβερά Προστασία. Thus, the church of Asinou is perhaps the earliest example for the Theotokos epithet Φοβερά Προστασία in iconography.

Davide Muratore, *Su datazione e copista del Taurinensis H. II. 6 (Pasini Lat. 632)*

Ms. Taur. H. II. 6 (Filelfo's translation of Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*) has a Greek colophon informing us in detail about the production of the manuscript. The scribe can be identified as the Gabriele Brebbia who published a commentary on *Psalms* in Milan in 1477 and annotated the copy now hold in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Inc. 149.

Savvas Neocleous, *Tyrannus Grecorum. The Image and Legend of Andronikos I Komnenos in Latin Historiography*

Few, if any, rulers in twelfth-century Christendom attracted the amount of attention devoted to the Byzantine Emperor Andronikos I. Although Andronikos ruled for less than three years, his rise to power, reign and downfall made a vivid impression on contemporaries. In contrast to medieval chroniclers, modern historians have taken little interest in this emperor. Indeed, the relatively large number of Latin and Old French accounts of his reign have been completely disregarded or dismissed by scholars as being of limited value for the reconstruction of historical events. All these narratives, however, are important. They not only provide significant insight into how a harsh and oppressive rule was viewed in the Latin world in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, but also reveal what information about the Byzantine Empire was transmitted from the East to the West at the time, and how it travelled. Moreover, the striking similarities between them raise important questions about historical memory in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Christendom. This article illustrates the richness of the Latin and Old French accounts of Andronikos's rise to power, reign and death, while also tracing the shaping of the Byzantine ruler's image and the growth of his legend over time.

Anna Pontani, *Note all'opera storica di Niceta Coniata. II (pp. 475, 26-576, 95 van Dieten)*

Additional remarks about some passages of Nicetas Choniates: pp. 475, 26-481, 94 van Dieten D. = XV 10-11 Valla edition; p. 478, 3-11 v. D. = XV 10, 5 Valla; p. 491, 3-5 v. D. = XV 14, 3 Valla; p. 549, 4-13 v. D. = XVII 1, 1 Valla; p. 553, 91 (sic)-10 v. D. = XVII 2, 4 Valla; p. 576, 78-95 v.D. = XVIII 6, 2 Valla.

Diether R. Reinsch, *Andronikos Dukas ohne Schatten. Zu Psellos, Chronographia VIIc 14, 6-7*

The author deals with a difficult passage of Psellos' *Chronographia* for which no satisfactory solution has been found until now. The manuscripts' word σκιὰς in the context of this passage has been called «surely the strangest word of the book». R. proposes to emend this σκιὰς to δίκας.

Stéphanie Vlavianos-Tomaszyk, *Les démons se mettent à table : les festins démoniaques dans les rituels magiques byzantins et post-byzantins (XV<sup>e</sup>-XVIII<sup>e</sup> s.)*

Armand Delatte's works on several manuscripts dealing with magic and occult sciences revealed the presence of feasts offered to demons and useful for divination. This element, quite rare in magical rituals, is analyzed in the light of new elements, neglected by the twentieth-century Belgian scholar or unknown to him at his time (he could not know some information in demotic magical papyri for instance, published by H. Betz since then). Besides, thanks to anthropological theories (Marcel Mauss, Maurice Godelier) and iconographical considerations as well, the demon feast theme is seen in different colours.





## Recensioni

*Byzantinische Epigramme in inschriftlicher Überlieferung*, I, *Byzantinische Epigramme auf Fresken und Mosaiken*, erstellt von Andreas Rhoby, Wien, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2009 (Veröffentlichungen zur Byzanzforschung 15), pp. 504. [ISBN 9783700161066]

A ogni studioso è noto il contributo fondamentale che le ricerche di Wolfram Hörandner hanno dato alla comprensione dell'epigramma bizantino: è dunque perfettamente naturale che sia stato proprio lui a promuovere un ampio progetto finalizzato all'edizione critica, con traduzione tedesca e commento, della miriade di «byzantinische Epigramme in inschriftlicher Überlieferung» giunti fino a noi. Questo è il primo dei quattro volumi in cui dovrebbe articolarsi il progetto, che vede affiancarsi a Hörandner i suoi allievi Andreas R(hoby) e Anneliese Paul – anche loro bizantinisti affermati e di solidissima competenza. La raccolta includerà epigrammi su supporti materiali di varia natura, tra cui icone, avori, tessuti ed altro: rimangono esclusi i testi metrici su sigillo, che costituiscono una categoria a sé e sono oggetto di un progetto specifico (cfr. R., p. 50 n. 123, con riferimento ai lavori di Alexandra-Kyriaki Wassiliou-Seibt; la studiosa ha ora pubblicato la prima parte del *Corpus der byzantinischen Siegel mit metrischen Legenden*, von Alpha bis inklusive My, Wien 2011, anch'essa un'opera di primaria importanza).

Il volume comprende gli epigrammi databili tra il 600 e il 1500; testi propriamente post-bizantini non sono fatti oggetto di studio autonomo, ma R. non manca di citarli, quando è opportuno (cioè abbastanza spesso), come attestazioni della fortuna e del riuso tra il XVI e il XIX secolo degli epigrammi da lui pubblicati. In effetti, molte delle iscrizioni metriche conservate dagli affreschi bizantini ci sono note da una pluralità di fonti – dipinti di varie epoche, ma anche icone o altri oggetti, nonché occasionalmente trascrizioni su manoscritti – che rende particolarmente complesso il lavoro dell'editore. È possibile rendersene conto dalle pagine che R. dedica, ad es., agli epigrammi 21, 28-29, 104-104a, 129, 201, 218, 249; e se la diffusione dell'epigr. 195 è circoscritta a varie chiesette della Cappadocia, il dossier fornito da R. per l'epigr. 3 e quello, ancor più impressionante, per l'epigr. 230 sono esempi eloquenti di quale ampia circolazione questi testi potessero avere nel mondo bizantino (e post-bizantino). Molti di essi sono inoltre riportati anche nella Ἐπιγραφαὶ τῆς ζωγραφικῆς τέχνης del monaco e pittore greco Dionisio di Phourna (ca. 1670-ca. 1745), testo ben noto agli storici dell'arte ma molto meno agli studiosi di letteratura (R. fa riferimento all'edizione di A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, St. Petersburg 1909, e al recente volume di G. Kakavas, *Dionysius of Fourni*, Leiden 2008; può servire anche la traduzione inglese annotata di P. Hetherington, *The Painter's Manual of Dionysius of Fourni*, London 1974): una sorta di 'tradizione indiretta' dei nostri epigrammi, recentior sì, ma non sempre *deterior*, come l'apparato di R. mostra in vari casi. In questo groviglio di testimonianze eterogenee R. si sa districare assai bene, sfruttando i materiali utili e relegando nel commento, senza però passarli sotto silenzio, quelli meno utili.

Alcuni di questi epigrammi sono trasmessi anche per via letteraria, cioè corrispondono a passi di Cristoforo Mitileneo, di Teodoro Prodromo, di Giovanni Geometra, di Michele Psello (o di carmi a lui attribuiti), e via dicendo. Spesso si tratta di nient'altro che di riusi pedissequi di modelli noti e prestigiosi; a volte, tuttavia, l'affresco può fornire qualche elemento utile per la comprensione del testo letterario. È il caso, credo, dell'epigr. 10 (Kurbino, Macedonia, a. 1191),

ὁ Χ(ριστὸς) ἐν σοί, χα[ί]ρε, μῆτε]ρ τοῦ Λό[γου]·  
ὡς εἶπας αὐτός, Γαβριήλ, γένοιτό μοι,

che corrisponde ai vv. 2-3 di [Psell.] *carm.* 83 Westerink, grazie ai quali gli editori hanno potuto integrare le lacune dell'affresco. R. si esprime con lodevole prudenza, ma io non posso fare a meno di pensare che quella tramandataci nel dipinto sia la versione originaria dell'epigramma, e che il v. 1 dello ps.-Psello, ὁ χαιρετισμὸς ἢ καθάρσιος χάρις, sia un'aggiunta successiva, una sorta di commento marginale intrufolatosi in un testo che funzionava benissimo senza di esso.

Alle pp. 18-36 c'è il prospetto delle opere citate in forma abbreviata (un solo appunto: per indicare la farraginoso *Appendix* epigrammatica di E. Cougny, Parisii 1890, sarebbe meglio usare il convenzionale *App. Anth.* piuttosto che un *Epigr. Anth. Pal.* che facilmente genera confusione con l'*Anthologia Palatina*); molta altra bibliografia è menzionata nel commento ai singoli epigrammi. R. padroneggia una *Sekundärliteratur* ricchissima, che colpisce per la varietà sia linguistica (molti, come è facile immaginare, i titoli neogreci e slavi, né mancano quelli albanesi) sia tematica: un lavoro come questo richiede di spaziare su numerosi campi (archeologia, epigrafia, iconografia, storia dell'arte, agiografia, storia letteraria), e R. si mostra perfettamente preparato alla bisogna.

La *Einleitung* (pp. 37-72) offre una sintesi chiara e aggiornata sulle caratteristiche dell'epigramma bizantino e sulla terminologia che lo concerne; una panoramica sullo stato degli studi, in cui spiccano giustamente i nomi di Hörandner, Lauxtermann, Vassis, Kominis; una presentazione del progetto editoriale di cui il volume fa parte (l'osservazione, a p. 49, sulla necessità di accostarsi a questi testi con un'adeguata preparazione filologica non può che trovarmi d'accordo!) e dei criteri che ad esso presiedono; uno sguardo d'insieme sulla lingua e sulla metrica di questi epigrammi, rimandando ovviamente per i singoli problemi alla trattazione specifica che l'editore fornisce nel commento a ciascun testo. Credo che a un'introduzione non si potesse, onestamente, chiedere di più.

Segue l'edizione commentata, che comprende 260 epigrammi su affresco (benché il numero dei carmi in quanto tali sia un po' più basso, poiché alcuni di essi compaiono identici o lievemente variati in più dipinti) e 18 su mosaico (caratterizzati dalla sigla M: dunque M1, M2, etc.), ordinati giustamente secondo un criterio geografico. Di un certo numero di testi R. fornisce qui l'*editio princeps*. Molti altri erano sì editi, ma solo in pubblicazioni difficili a reperirsi e comunque a carattere antiquario e storico-artistico, così che perfino nei ricchissimi *Initia carminum Byzantinorum* di I. Vassis non se ne trovava traccia (cfr. l'indice di R., pp. 407-410). Già aver recuperato questa sfuggente galassia – anzi, nebulosa – di epigrammi all'attenzione degli studiosi sarebbe un merito non da poco. Tuttavia R. non si limita alla compilazione, bensì affronta i testi con competenza, acume filologico e impegno esegetico, al punto che molti di essi si presentano qui in una veste editoriale del tutto nuova.

L'editore propone un gran numero di ottime congetture e integrazioni: cfr. 1, 6 χριστωνύμων (il nesso χριστώνυμος λαός è assai diffuso in letteratura bizantina: cfr. Jo. D. *imag.* III 42, p. 143 Kotter; Phot. *epist.* 1, 510 Laourdas - Westerink; Io. Maurop. *epist.* 26, 80-81 Karpozilos; Theod. Prod. *car. hist.* 15, 59, etc.), 5, 15 ἀποστιλβούντα (proposto solo *dubitanter* in apparato, presumo perché il raro ἀποστιλβώ non ci è noto al di fuori di anon. *AP* VII 339, 7 e dei tre passi più tardi citati nel *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität, s.v.*), 5, 22 [εἰς ἀντ]αμοιβήν, 18, 2 διάρρυτον, 24, 15 ἐ]π[ά]γη, 70, 5 δό[μον ἀνεγείρας ἐκ βάθρων (ai paralleli citati alla n. 367 si aggiunga *App. Anth.* III 262, 4 Cougny ἐκ βάθρων ἀνέγειρεν κρουνοὺς τοῦσδε ἅπαντας, anch'esso di età bizantina, benché lì non si tratti di edifici bensì di scavo di pozzi), 84, 6 σ[ά]λον], 144, 2 ταύτη[ν μητέρα], 175, 9 καὶ τῷ (prudentemente lasciata in apparato, ma assai attraente), 179, 2 ἀφραδὲ(ς) στόμα (per cui cfr. anche Gr. Naz. *car. I* 2, 14, 120 γλώσσαν ἐφημερίων... ἀφραδέων), 187, 10 θεόπ-της ο θεόπ-της, 194, 2 ἀνύψωσ' (il passaggio dalla terza alla seconda persona non è un problema, anzi doveva essere una ricerca di *varietas* stilistica, cfr. R. p. 283), 220, 1 «τάτην», ed altre ancora. A 200 è a mio avviso palmare οὔτος, così come lo sono a 123, 1 «πάγην, suggerito a R. da Hörandner e da Johannes Koder, ed a 175, 10 εὐεργέτι«ν» di Erich Trapp.

In un'opera di questo respiro è inevitabile che qualche svista ed omissione si verifichi. Per 55 è bene informare il lettore che il testo adottato da R. corrisponde a quello della tradizione manoscritta di Cristoforo Mitileneo, e per 82, 1 è necessario precisare se il dipinto, peraltro rovinato, abbia ΤΟΥ o ΤΟ. In 207, 1-2 i dati riportati nell'apparato critico mostrano che nel testo c'è una disposizione erronea delle parentesi quadre; e riguardo al v. 1, il codice dell'*Anthologia Palatina* ha ἐπολκάδος (come si legge nell'appar. dell'edizione di Stadtmüller, menzionata da R., ma anche in quella di Waltz e negli *addenda* di quella di Beckby, p. 701). In 186, 7 l'integrazione ἐ[φύ]εν, che R. sembrerebbe attribuirsi, era stata in realtà già proposta dall'*editor princeps* (A. Jacob, *L'inscription métrique de l'enfeu de Carpignano*, «Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici» n.s. 20-21, 1983-84, 117), che peraltro la scartava preferendo ἐ[ξήλθ]εν dal momento che in base alle tracce «la seconde lettre du verbe ne peut être qu'un zêta ou un ksi» (il contesto favorirebbe un verbo come ἐκπέτομαι, ma nessuna forma di esso si adatterebbe alle lettere finali). Lo stesso avviene per M7, in cui Θ(ε)ὺν non richiede l'indicazione «scripsi» poiché era stato già ipotizzato dai primi editori e sancito definitivamente da Kaibel (*ap. P. Batiffol*, «Byzantinische Zeitschrift» 4, 1895, p. 345). Non ho compiuto una ricerca sistematica di eventuali altre *falsae adscriptiones*, ma mi stupirei se risultassero esservene molte; e comunque il volume ha ben altri motivi d'interesse per il recensore.

In alcuni casi si può tentare una soluzione diversa, con la consapevolezza metodologica del tipo di testi con cui abbiamo a che fare.

Nell'epigramma 1 (Mborje, Albania, a. 1389/90), i primi due versi recitano

ἄναξ ἄναρχε, Χ(ριστ)έ μου, Λόγε,  
δέδεξαι κάμου τὴν οἰκτρὰν ἱκεσίαν.

Papadopoulos-Kerameus proponeva di restituire il metro integrando al v. 1 Χ(ριστ)έ <Χ(ριστ)έ> μου, Λόγε: facile aplografia da una scrittura abbreviata XEXE. L'epigramma ha una metrica assai approssimativa (solo i vv. 2 e 7 sono normali dodecasillabi), e giustamente R. confina la proposta all'apparato. Tuttavia, nel caso che si debba emendare, leggerei piuttosto Χ(ριστ)έ μου, <Θεοῦ> Λόγε: la spiegazione paleografica sarebbe parimenti agevole, una quasi-aplografia da ΜΟΥΘΥ, e Θεοῦ Λόγε, nesso diffuso anche nell'innografia e nella prosa bizantina, è ben attestato in clausola di trimetri e di dodecasillabi: cfr. Gr. Naz. *car. m.* II 1, 3, 1; II 1, 11, 1946; II 1, 12, 258; II 1, 66, 1, Io. Maurop. *car. m.* 81, 14; 89, 1 = 90, 1 = 90, 31, Christ. Mityl. *car. m.* 5, 1 Kurtz, *Chr. Pat.* 817, Mich. Chon. *in crucifix.* 14 (II p. 394 Lambros), Nect. Casul. *car. m.* 2, 1 Gigante (esemplato, come nota l'editore, su Christ. Mityl. *l. c.*), Nic. Hydrunt. *car. m.* 9, 1 G., al. (anche in testi pressoché subletterari: cfr. gli epigr. 3, 1 e 8, 3 della silloge di R., o i nr. 186, 2; 893; 1099; 1207, 2 del citato *Corpus* dei sigilli metrici della Wassiliou-Seibt, o i dodecasillabi aggiunti da uno scriba dopo il v. 890 del commento metrico ai *Salmi* attribuito a Psello, vd. L. G. Westerink, *Michaelis Pselli poemata*, Stuttgart-Leipzig 1992, pp. XXVIII e 366-367). Particolarmente simile al nostro passo, che potrebbe anche costituirne un riecheggiamento, è Theod. Stud. *car. m.* 20, 3 Speck κάμοι παράσχου, Χριστέ μου, Θεοῦ Λόγε κτλ.

Ciò induce a riconsiderare anche l'epigramma 8 (Banjane, Macedonia, ca. 1307-20: è l'affresco riprodotto anche nella copertina del volume), edito così da R.:

ὄρας, θεατά, τὴν μανί(αν) Ἡρώδ(ου)  
ἐλεγχόμενο(ς) μὴ θέλ(ων) <ἐπιστρέψαι>  
τ(ὴν) ἐμ(ὴν) κάρ(αν) τέμκη(ε), ὧ̄ Θ(εο)ῦ Λόγε.

Al v. 3 l'editore espunge ὧ̄ *metri causa*, notandone l'omissione anche in Dionisio di Phourna e ritenendolo un errore dell'artista, che poteva avere in mente un verso come quello dell'epigr. 3, 1 che ricorre con lievi varianti in diversi affreschi ed icone. Questo è ben possibile: tuttavia la clausola ὧ̄ Θεοῦ Λόγε è attestata più volte anche in letteratura 'alta' – così nei già citati passi di Gregorio Nazianzeno (tranne II 1, 11, 1946), del *Christus Patiens* e di Cristoforo di Mitilene, nonché del più tardo e periferico Nettario di Casole –, e non escluderei che essa risalisse all'autore dell'epigramma, così da leggere τ(ὴν) ἐμ(ὴν) κάρ(αν) τέμκη(ε)<ν>, ὧ̄ Θ(εο)ῦ Λόγε. La svista del pittore sarebbe allora l'aggiunta dell'articolo, la cui assenza non risulterebbe affatto insolita in testi di questo tipo, così come in generale in poesia.

Nell'irregolare epigramma 24 (Ohrid, Macedonia, a. 1321/2) il v. 9 si presenta con 14 sillabe:

νεανίας ἄριστος δορυτής κ(αὶ) τοξότης.

R. giustamente rifiuta l'integrazione νεανίας <τε> di Kissas, mirante a creare un verso politico, e individua nel primo emistichio le tracce di un regolare dodecasillabo guastatosi nella parte finale. In questa prospettiva mi domando se all'origine vi fosse un verso come νεανίας ἄριστος δο(υ)ρὶ καὶ τόξω, anche se si esiterà ad emendare il nostro testo, tanto più che ciò eliminerebbe lo *hapax* δορυτής (vd. R., p. 104; nessuna riserva invece sulla penultima sillaba lunga, che in questo carme compare ai vv. 5, 6, 7, 10).

Vi sono altri casi in cui un dodecasillabo sarebbe facilmente riconducibile a un trimetro giambico di stampo classico, o, per dirla con Tzetzes, un trimetro ἄτεχνος a uno τεχνικός (cfr. G. Pace, *Giovanni Tzetzes. La poesia tragica*, Napoli 2011<sup>2</sup>, pp. 31-39). Ad esempio, l'epigramma 25 (Ohrid, ca. 1345),

εἰ τῆς ἄνω βούλοιο τυχεῖν πατρίδος  
ὄλον σεαυτ(όν) ἀλλοτριῶσον βίου·  
θνήξων πρὸ θανῆς ἀσμένως θλίψεις δέχου,

ha una struttura metrica abbastanza classicheggiante: l'eccezione più vistosa è il secondo emistichio del v. 1, ma se si trattasse di un testo conservato dalla tradizione manoscritta più d'uno di noi filologi sarebbe tentato di regolarizzarlo in πατρίδος τυχεῖν (presupponendo che l'inversione si fosse prodotta come *vitium Byzantinum*, ossia ricerca della parossitonesi finale). Ancora diverso il caso dell'epigramma 67 (Megara, Grecia, XIII/XIV sec.), βήματι Πιλάτου παρίστασθαι θέλων, che non è regolare nemmeno come dodecasillabo, al punto che la sua stessa natura metrica rimane in dubbio: R., p. 145 n. 356, segnala la proposta di Lauxtermann πᾶρ' ἴστασθαι (che almeno restituirebbe la cesura B7), si potrebbe anche pensare a un originale παρίστασθαι Πιλάτου βήματι θέλων (con una più evidente allitterazione prima della cesura). Ovviamente si dovrà precisare cosa intendiamo per 'originale': in alcuni casi non si tratterà di una redazione genuina di un passo poi corrotto dall'insipienza del pittore o dell'incisore, bensì più probabilmente di una fonte, di un modello da cui l'estensore dell'epigramma ha preso l'avvio per riscrivere a modo suo (magari guastando il metro). Proprio la suddetta tendenza al riciclaggio di materiali di questo genere ci induce da un lato a non escludere l'ipotesi di un modello più corretto, dall'altro a non voler normalizzare i testi, da esso forse derivati, di cui disponiamo. A volte, comunque, si toccano con mano i rischi di un'eccessiva normalizzazione (da cui R. giustamente si tiene lontano). Nell'epigramma 179 (Me-teore, Tessaglia, a. 1366/7),

τίς σου τὸν χιτῶνα, Σ(ῶ)τερ, διεῖλεν;  
ἄφρων ἀνὴρ, Ἄρειος, ἀφραγέ(ς) στόμα,  
τ(ῆς) π(ατ)ρικῆς δόξης με δεικνύων ξένον,

se i vv. 2-3 sono di buona fattura (si notino anche le allitterazioni), il v. 1 è ametrico: sarebbe facile pensare ad una corruttela da, p. es., τίς σου διεῖλε τὸν χιτῶνα, <Χριστέ μου>. Invece non è così: R., p. 263, rileva che «das Epigramm ist eine Nachahmung des im Pentekostarion fixierten Textes für den Abendgottesdienst am Sonntag der 318 Väter von Nikaia», in cui si trova identica la frase del v. 1. Per il nostro autore, l'aderenza al modello liturgico è stata più forte della ricerca di eleganza formale.

L'epigramma 74 (Apodoulou, Creta, XIII sec.),

ὀρᾶς μ' ἔφ[ι]π<π>ον πρὸς μάχην ἐναντίων  
ξίφηφόρον· δόρατι καθωπλισμένος  
ἔφορος εἰμὶ τῆς μονῆς τῆς ἐνθάδε·  
εἴ τις βουληθ[ῆ] τοῦ ἀδικῆσαι ᾧδε  
στρέψω κατ' αὐτοῦ τὸ δόρυ κ(αὶ) τὸ ξίφος,

guadagnerebbe forse in eleganza se correggessimo l'ultima lettera del v. 2 e ritoccassimo l'interpunzione così: ὀρᾶς μ' ἔφ[ι]π<π>ον πρὸς μάχην ἐναντίων, / ξίφηφόρον, δόρατι καθωπλισμένον. / ἔφορος εἰμὶ κτλ. (il tricolon sarebbe conforme ai canoni della tradizione retorica, e il v. 2 corri-

sponderebbe alla menzione di lancia e spada assieme al v. 5). Ma il testo è perfettamente accettabile, e un intervento del genere non lo proporrei se non *dubitanter* in apparato.

Riguardo ai primi due versi dell'epigramma 66 (Markopoulon, Attica, XIII sec.), sulla Trasfigurazione, corrispondente a [Psell.] *carm.* 73 Westerink,

ἔσθωθεν ἐξέλαμψ[ας] ὡς Θ(ε)ὸς φύσει  
καὶ σαρκὸς ἡλλοίωσας [πάντων τὰς] φύσει(ς),

R. informa che al v. 2 l'editrice precedente leggeva, o riteneva di leggere, [αὐ]τῶν o [πάν]των τὰς φύσεις. Se veramente ciò che era scritto prima di φύσει(ς) è perduto, si potrebbe integrare anche qualcosa come [ἀνθρώπων] φύσει(ς). Ma forse ha ragione Lauxtermann (citato da R. in appar.) a preferire la versione ἀρρήτως φύσιν offerta dalla tradizione manoscritta dello ps.-Psello, seppur limitata a un *codex unicus* del XVI secolo; e ora sappiamo che quella stessa versione si trova anche in un altro esemplare dell'epigramma, realizzato a Hagios Ioannes (Creta) nel XIII o XIV secolo (Add5 in appendice al II volume dell'opera di R., su cui vd. *infra*).

L'apparato di *fontes e loci paralleli* è utilissimo, ricco di dati sempre pertinenti. La documentazione fornita, ad es., per gli epigr. 5, 63, 83-84, 131, 135, 175, 194, 221-222, 248, 260 attesta l'ampiezza delle conoscenze di R., che agli autori più 'canonici' affianca numerosissimi testi pressoché ignoti a molti studiosi, attingibili non mediante il TLG (che pure R. ha usato, e giustamente cita quando è il caso) ma solo attraverso assidue letture personali.

Le citazioni sono sempre esatte – almeno nei casi che ho potuto personalmente verificare – e condotte sulle edizioni appropriate (per i frammenti del romanzo di Costantino Manasse, si sa che gli specialisti continuano ad essere divisi tra chi fa riferimento all'ed. di Mazal e chi, come R. e i suoi colleghi del LBG, preferisce quella di Tsolakes). Un solo rilievo: per il testo greco della *Vita di Antonio* di Atanasio, citato nell'appar. a 256, avrei usato l'ed. di G. J. M. Bartelink, *Athanasie d'Alexandrie. Vie d'Antoine*, Paris 1994 (*SCb* 400), p. 354 (cap. 85, 3, con i paralleli addotti dall'editore a p. 355 n. 1; cfr. anche il rimando ai capp. 5-6 in R., p. 87 n. 56 e p. 264 n. 957, che corrispondono alle pp. 142-149 di Bartelink). Nell'*index locorum* a p. 413 le citazioni dall'*App. Anth.* di Cougny si dovrebbero riportare direttamente alla pagina seguente, alla voce 'Ioannes Geometres', dato che si tratta sempre di carmi suoi (come lo stesso R. giustamente segnala di volta in volta nel suo apparato).

Alcune integrazioni. – 5, 18: per la clausola cfr. *συνεγγράφω* in Io. Maurop. *carm.* 49, 14. – 24, 13: sulla creazione del ridondante *παγκυδιστάτης* avrà forse influito anche il ricercato *κυδίστατος*, a noi noto solo da un testo che peraltro i Bizantini conoscevano ed amavano, ossia Nic. *Th.* 3 φίλ' Ἑρμησιάνωζ, πολέων κυδίστατε παῶν, citato anche da Eustazio e da Michele Italico (vd. J.-M. Jacques, *Nicandre. Oeuvres*, II: *Les Thériaques*, Paris 2002, p. 1, per la *lectio deterior* κηδέστατε e per i dati della tradizione indiretta, anche se va precisato che la «anonymi alicuius epistula» citata secondo Cramer, *AO* III 195, 26 è in realtà Mich. Ital. *epist.* 35, p. 218 Gautier). – 63, 1 τῆς ἀρχιφώτου Τριάδος παραστάται: benché l'epiteto sia frequente in relazione alla Trinità, come nota R., mi domando se non vi sia un riecheggiamento di Theod. Prodr. *tetrast. in Gr. Naz.* 11b, 1 ὀρθοτόμοι Τριάδος πρόμοι ἀρχεσιφώτου. Ciò non stupirebbe in questo epigramma di buona qualità, il cui autore conosceva Niceta Eugenio e/o Costantino Manasse (vd. l'appar. di R. al v. 2). Nello stesso carme, per il v. 19 cfr. Ignat. *AP* XV 39, 1 Ἰγνάτιος τάδε τεύξε σοφῆς πολυίδρις αἰοιδῆς e la sua verosimile imitazione nell'epigramma per Gregorio di Nazianzo del ms. Athous Iviron gr. 27, f. 87r, v. 11 Ἰγνάτιος τάδε τεύξε πολυφραδίησι νόοιο (X sec.: edito da C. Macé, V. Somers, *Sur la beauté du livre et la contemplation du divin... Édition et traduction de quelques adscripta métriques des manuscrits de Grégoire de Nazianze*, in B. Coulié [ed.], *Studia Nazianzenica* I, Turnhout-Leuven 2000, p. 55). – 83, 12: esemplato su Psell. *carm.* 23, 204-205 Westerink ἐν χλόῃ / τῇ ἀειδρόσῳ σκηνοῦμενος, che per di più è l'unica altra attestazione nota di ἀειδρόσος. – 122: una certa somiglianza strutturale con Theoc. *AP* XIII 3 = *HE* 3430 ss. ὁ μουσοποιὸς ἐνθάδ' Ἰππῶναζ κείται. / εἰ μὲν πονηρός, μὴ προσέρχου τῷ τύμβῳ / εἰ δ' ἔσσι κρήγυός τε καὶ παρὰ χρηστῶν, / θαρσέων καθίξου, κῆν θέλης ἀπόβριξον (cfr. L. Rossi, *The Epigrams Ascribed to Theocritus: A Method of Approach*, Leuven-Paris-Sterling, VA 2001, pp. 295-303; R. M. Rosen, *The Hellenistic Epigrams on Archilo-*

*chus and Hipponax*, in P. Bing, J. S. Bruss [eds.], *Brill's Companion to Hellenistic Epigram: Down to Philip*, Leiden-Boston 2007, pp. 469-471); ma sicuramente si possono individuare altri paralleli. – 147, 1: cfr. Sophron. *Anacr.* 8, 86 Gigante χεῖρεσι ταῖς θεϊκαῖς πάντα λοέσσαι. – 182, 1-2 τύρβη ματαία κοσμικ(ὸν) φροντισμάτων / τ(ήν) ψυχικὴν ἡμβλυνεν κτλ.: cfr. [Jo. D.] *B.J.* 36 (p. 363 Volk) τῆς ζάλης τοῦ βίου καὶ ματαίας τύρβης ὑπεξεληθόντα, Theod. Prodr. *Rhod. Dos.* III 254 τύρβης διασπώσης με πολλῶν φροντίδων e soprattutto Eust. *epist.* 19, 130-131 (p. 65 Kolovou) ἀντιτυπία πραγμάτων ἐπήμβλυνε; νενίκηκέ σε τύρβη φροντίδων;. – 186, 7: meritevole di attenzione l'immagine del bambino defunto che è sfuggito dalle mani dei genitori ὡσερ στρουθίου. R. in apparato scrive «στρουθίου: vox frequens in epitaphiis», rimandando a Hörandner, *Epigrams on Icons and Sacred Objects. The Collection of Cod. Marc. gr. 524 Once Again*, in M. Salvatore (ed.), *La poesia tardoantica e medievale*, Alessandria 2001, p. 123: ma lì si tratta del tradizionale motivo di «the widow resembling a lonely turtledove (τρυγῶν) or a sparrow (στρουθίου)». Più interessante sarebbe approfondire il tema del defunto, o della sua anima, come uccellino, esempio tra l'altro di rimozione delle valenze erotiche che il passero aveva nell'antichità pagana (cfr. in proposito G. Burzacchini, *I passeri di Afrodite*, in M. Cannata Fera, S. Grandolini [edd.], *Poesia e religione in Grecia. Studi in onore di G. Aurelio Privitera*, I, Napoli 2000, pp. 119-124, con bibliografia anteriore). Un'eco se ne può forse cogliere ancora nel canto popolare neogreco ἓνα πουλάκι ξέβγαιεν ἀπὸ τὸν κάτω κόσμος, «Un uccellino uscì dal mondo di sotto» (A. Passow, *Popularia carmina Graeciae recentioris*, Lipsiae 1860, p. 292 nr. 410; ora anche in R. Cantarella, F. Conca, *Poeti bizantini*, II, Milano 1992, pp. 1098-1099). – 230, 2: παρώργισάν με è citazione scritturistica, vd. LXX *Deut.* 32, 21, *Ier.* 8, 19, *Ez.* 20, 27. – M2, 3 βαρβάρων στόλω: cfr. Th. VI 33, 5 στόλοι μεγάλοι ἢ Ἑλληνῶν ἢ βαρβάρων (nonché, cinque secoli dopo il nostro epigramma, Theod. Prodr. *Rhod. Dos.* I 417 ὁ στόλος τῶν βαρβάρων, IX 106 βάρβαρον στόλον). – M6: occorre rilevare che il v. 2, ἀνθρώποις οἱ τήνδε πόλιν καὶ γαίαν ἔχουσιν, è ripreso quasi di peso da *Od.* VI 177 (cfr. anche VI 195); un tono omerico si avverte anche in οἶκον ἔδειμε del v. 3, per cui cfr. *Il.* IX 349 καὶ δὴ τεῖχος ἔδειμε e *Od.* VI 9 ἀμφὶ δὲ τεῖχος ἔλασσε πόλει καὶ ἔδειματο οἶκος, mentre il v. 5 trova un parallelo cinque secoli dopo in Theod. Prodr. *carmin. hist.* 6, 137 ὑπ' εὐβαφέεσσι φαλάροις. – M14, 2: cfr. anche anon. *API* 12, 7-8 ὀλιβόωρος... Ἰουλιανή, in contesto assai simile.

A volte sorgono interessanti quesiti di natura cronologica. Per 83, 1 (XII sec.) φθορεὺς πάλιν χρόνος R. segnala uno stretto parallelo col più tardo Manuele File, *carmin. ined.* 58, 3 Martini (ma il nesso ricorre con frequenza in File, cfr. *carmin.* I 252, 3 Miller; *carmin. ined.* 37, 5; 54, 44; 55, 32; 58, 22; 84, 26; 96, 69 Mart.). Forse all'origine di tutto c'era un testo ben noto e più antico? Lo stesso vale per M1 (XI/XII sec.), parimenti accomunato a File da interessanti analogie. L'epigramma 88 è databile al 1200 circa, e quindi un influsso di Theod. Prodr. *tetrast.* 237a Papagianis, composto qualche decennio prima, è possibile quanto la dipendenza di entrambi da un modello comune (vd. R., p. 172). Ma le curiose somiglianze individuate da R. tra l'epigramma 194 (a. 900-950) e carmi di Psello e di Giovanni Mauropode ammettono solo la seconda ipotesi. Se della poesia bizantina molto ci rimane, l'analisi di questi testi ci ricorda che molto altro è, evidentemente, andato perduto.

L'interpretazione degli epigrammi, assai omogenei nelle tematiche e spesso tremendamente ripetitivi, non dev'essere stata per R. la parte più avvincente del suo lavoro. Egli nondimeno sottopone ogni testo ad un esame attento, senza ignorarne le problematiche storiche, linguistiche, materiali. C'è ben poco, da questo punto di vista, di cui si possa sentire la mancanza.

Solo un paio di osservazioni. – In 94, 2 ἀφ' οὐπερ ἦλθον εἰς τὸ κλαυθμῶνος πέδον io non credo che ci sia un riferimento a una precisa realtà geografica. È ben vero, come nota R., che altri autori bizantini usano espressioni del genere (chiaramente derivate da LXX *Ps.* 83, 7 ἐν τῇ κοιλάδι τοῦ κλαυθμῶνος; vd. R., p. 177 n. 522) per indicare luoghi lontani dalla capitale e dalla sua vita culturale: ma qui mi chiedo se il senso non sia piuttosto «da quando sono venuto al mondo» (la *lacrimarum vallis* della tradizione occidentale), così come in Nic. Callicl. *carmin.* 22, 49 Romano la defunta giunge alla vita eterna ἐκφυγοῦσα πᾶν τοῦ κλαυθμῶνος πέδον. – In 109, 1 ἄγγελος ἐλθὼν ἀφ' ὕψους οὐρανόθεν il secondo emistichio può ben significare 'dall'alto, dal cielo' («aus der Höhe vom Himmel», R.), con pleonasma inelegante ma tutt'altro che scandaloso in testi di questo gene-

re. Mi chiedo peraltro se il poeta non intendesse invece 'dall'alto del cielo', usando οὐρανόθεν come semplice equivalente di οὐρανόυ: tendenza questa già embrionale nella lingua omerica (ἀπ' οὐρανόθεν, ἐξ οὐρανόθεν, ἐξ ἐμέθεν, etc.: cfr. Chantraine, *Grammaire Homérique*, I pp. 243-244) e sviluppata nella grecoità successiva (vd. Blass - Debrunner - Rehkopf, § 104, con bibliografia; significativa l'amplissima trattazione che di tale suffisso fa Apollonio Discolo, I pp. 66-67 e 184-193 Schneider).

Le osservazioni di R. su prosodia e metrica dei singoli epigrammi sono sintetiche ma funzionali, quasi sempre condivisibili. Forse in alcuni casi si poteva andare più a fondo, specie per quanto riguarda i pochissimi carmi in esametri e in distici elegiaci.

Per 91, 3 καταφρονητὰς ἐκδιχάζω συντόμως non capisco a p. 174 l'affermazione sulla presunta irregolarità «der Längung des Alphas von ἐκδιχάζω», che irregolare non è, almeno in base ai parametri classici; e nel secondo emistichio di 175, 5 ὡς ἐνὸν λύσιν ὅπ(ως) l'eventuale inversione ὅπως λύσιν non migliorerebbe la prosodia (p. 259: si regolarizzerebbe il quinto *longum*, ma a spese del quarto). Per l'epigr. 83 è rimasta a p. 163 un'osservazione su «die Längung des Epsilon von ἐπ' in Vers 9», risalente evidentemente a prima che R. ricevesse ed accogliesse nel testo l'emendazione ἐπαδικούς di Trapp.

Nell'epigr. 97, R. ritiene che il v. 3, Γεώργ(ι)ος ὁ ἐλάχιστος κ(α)ὶ σὸς οἰκείτης, sia un dodecasillabo in virtù di una scansione bisillabica di Γεώργιος, come nel neogreco Γιώργος = *Jörgos*. La consonantizzazione di -i- mi pare inevitabile, ma quanto al resto considererei un'alternativa: forse l'autore dell'epigramma intendeva οὐλάχιστος? Cfr. Νικήτας οὐλάχιστος τῶν διακόνων al v. 2 del distico che accompagna l'apparato esegetico a Licofrone nel cod. Marc. gr. 476 (sec. XI<sup>ex</sup>/XII<sup>in</sup>), f. 32r, il cui redattore fu identificato da E. Scheer, *Die Überlieferung der Alexandra des Lykophron*, «Rheinisches Museum» 34, 1879, pp. 281-282, con Niceta di Eraclea (vd. N. G. Wilson, *Filologi bizantini*, tr. it., Napoli 1989, pp. 283-284).

Avrei sottolineato la presenza, in alcuni di questi testi, di un trimetro di tre sole parole collocato in posizione di rilievo come verso finale: cfr. ad esempio 63, 22; 70, 27; 249, 7, in cui la buona qualità degli epigrammi incoraggia a pensare che tale fenomeno non sia frutto del caso, bensì fosse concepito dagli autori come una manifesta ricercatezza. Sulla questione cfr. il classico M. Marcovich, *Three-Word Trimeter in Greek Tragedy*, Königstein 1984, pp. 200-211 sulla poesia bizantina.

La trattazione dei carmi esametrici su mosaico (M6, M7, M10, M12) può essere maggiormente approfondita. Lo iato nella clausola καὶ ὃν ἔτικτεν in M7, 1 è certo una goffaggine (R., p. 395): non lo è invece la *correptio epica*, risorsa compositiva perfettamente legittima in tutta la poesia esametrica greca, e quindi non si dovranno considerare irregolari σάρκα καὶ ἔργα in M7, 3 e καὶ εὐβαφέεσσι in M6, 5 (R., p. 393). Di M6, un prodotto del VI/VII sec. complessivamente corretto, si dovrà piuttosto segnalare l'anomalia del secondo emistichio del v. 3 μαθηταῖς πρωτοστάταις, in quanto gli esametri spondiaci con clausola tetrasillabica hanno di regola, in età pre-bizantina, un quarto piede dattilico (anche per rispetto della c.d. 'norma di Naeke': vd. M. L. West, *Greek Metre*, Oxford 1982, p. 154 e n. 47; A. S. Hollis, *Callimachus. Hecale*, Oxford 2009<sup>2</sup>, p. 18). Simili anomalie anche nelle clausole spondiache di M10, 3 e di M12, 1, e per tutti e tre i goffissimi versi di M10 si osserverà soprattutto la tendenza a 'tripartire' l'esametro con una pausa forte alla fine del secondo piede e una cesura del terzo piede, viceversa, quasi obliterata. Lo stesso vizio nel v. 3 dell'epigramma M14 (l'unico in distici elegiaci), nel quale si dovrà anche notare che entrambi i suoi esametri violano il 'ponte di Hermann'.

Gli esametri di 207 (= AP I 92) sono invece di ottima fattura: al di là dell'incerta attribuzione a Gregorio di Nazianzo, è lecito chiedersi se si tratti di versi bizantini o piuttosto tardoantichi (e quindi se la loro presenza nella silloge di R. sia del tutto giustificata: tuttavia, nel dubbio, l'editore ha fatto bene a includerli). Alla luce di ciò, mi domando se la violazione al ponte di Hermann nel v. 4, ἀναξ δὲ κέλευεν ἀναστάς, sia accettabile. Si legga δ' ἐκέλευεν, stampato nella vecchia edizione di Gregorio in PG XXXVII, e ogni difficoltà è risolta.

Alle pp. 439-503 una ricca messe di tavole, 62 a colori e 115 in bianco e nero. Alcune fotografie sono di qualità eccellente, altre sono state evidentemente penalizzate da condizioni ambientali poco favorevoli (cfr. la tav. a colori XXIX). Si tratta in ogni caso di un corredo prezioso, a volte

per verificare sulla foto la lezione di un epigramma, ma soprattutto per comprendere chiaramente la stretta interazione tra testo ed immagine che è un elemento costitutivo di questo tipo di produzione letteraria.

Per finire, alcune brevi note su questioni più marginali.

P. 37 n. 1: aggiungerei M. Puelma, *Ἐπίγραμμα-epigramma: Aspekte einer Wortgeschichte*, «Museum Helveticum» 53, 1996, pp. 123-139. – P. 37 n. 3: cfr. M. Lausberg, *Das Einzeldistichon. Studien zum antiken Epigramm*, München 1982. Su Cyrill. *AP IX 369* vd. anche Page, *FGE* p. 115. – P. 88 e n. 60: κλεψίνους prima che in Nonno è attestato in Giuliano, commentatore del *Libro di Giobbe* databile al IV sec. (D. Hagedorn, *Der Htobkommentar des arianers Julian*, Berlin-New York 1973, p. 292, 3, proprio in riferimento al demone δολερός... καὶ κλεψίνους). – P. 93: nonostante vari studi recenti, che R. giustamente enumera alla n. 91, continuo a domandarmi se l'attribuzione a Giovanni Damasceno dei tre famosi canoni giambici si possa escludere con assoluta sicurezza. – P. 105 n. 168: Leon. Alex. *AP IX 354, 4 = FGE 1981*. – P. 196 e n. 621: su κράββατος vd. Agosti a Nonn. *Par. Jo. V 14*, pp. 315-316 e n. 119, con ampia bibliografia. – P. 355: è opportuno informare il lettore che in 242, 5 κρηινόλοφος pare essere uno *hapax* assoluto.

La realizzazione del volume si distingue per accuratezza. Pochissimi i refusi: i soli degni di nota sono nell'apparato a 1, 4 κρατῶν per κρατῶ, nell'apparato a 7, 3 *satanus* per *satanas*, a p. 94 n. 97 ὀ per οὐ, nell'apparato a 83, 3 *Stratelati* per *Stratelata*, a p. 177 n. 522 «54 [2004]» per «55 [2005]», a p. 394 nella bibliografia su M7 «Battifol» per «Batiffol».

Spero che queste pagine siano riuscite a dare almeno un'idea della ricchezza e del valore dell'opera recensita. Se il progetto continuerà su questi parametri, avremo ben motivo di rallegrarcene (nel frattempo, l'infaticabile R. ha condotto a termine anche il secondo volume: *Byzantinische Epigramme auf Ikonen und Objekten der Kleinkunst*, Wien 2010, che sarà recensito sul prossimo numero di questa rivista). È destino di tutte le sillogi che singoli testi in esse compresi siano fatti oggetto di ulteriori studi: storici, filologi, storici dell'arte bizantina potranno partire dalla fatica di R. per approfondire e, se necessario, dissentire. Ma il suo lavoro resterà uno κτῆμα ἐς αἰεὶ che merita la più sincera ammirazione.

Enrico Magnelli

Angelo Poliziano, *Appunti per un corso sull'«Odissea». Editio princeps dal Par. 3069*, a cura di Luigi Silvano, Alessandria, Edizioni dell'Orso, 2010 (Hellenica. Testi e strumenti di letteratura greca antica, medievale e umanistica 37), pp. CXXII + 384 + 8 tavv. b.n. [ISBN 9788862741965]

Poliziano's precocious engagement with Homer is well known. Aged only 15, in 1470, he presented his Latin verse translation of book II of the *Iliad* to Lorenzo de' Medici, and went on to translate books III-V, though they were never published in his own lifetime. Later, as a teacher at the Florence Studio, his prolusions to his lecture courses on Homer did appear in print: the third of his *Sylvae*, *Ambra*, in 1485, the *Oratio in expositione Homeri* posthumously in his *Omnia opera* (Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1498), delivered for a course on the *Iliad* given in 1486-1487. While the former is a relatively fanciful yet in some ways deeply personal response to Homer, the latter is largely plagiarised from Pseudo-Plutarch's *Life of Homer*, still unprinted at the time Poliziano gave his public lecture, yet nevertheless known to his contemporaries. The lecture notes on the first two books of the *Odyssey*, edited by Luigi Silvano, are therefore particularly welcome in offering us a more intimate and detailed insight into Poliziano's approach to teaching Homer, since they provide valuable information on the kind of considerations the Florentine humanist felt to be important in his exposition of the foremost Greek poet.

The notes, to be found in BnF ms grec 3069, have been known about for some time, but this is



the first time that they have been published in their entirety, and one can only pay tribute to the editor for the enormous amount of meticulous work that this clearly involved. Eight pages from the manuscript are reproduced in the Introduction, and while some of them are relatively neat, others contain marginalia and corrections that make the work of an editor all the more challenging. They are written in a mixture of Latin and Greek, with copious amounts of quotation from the sources (principally Greek ones) that Poliziano was drawing on.

Silvano's Introduction is the principal aid in this edition for understanding the humanist's approach and intentions, and he is thorough and sensitive in his analysis. From internal evidence, he dates the notes to the years 1488-1489 or 1489-1490, at least two years after the lectures he had given on the *Iliad*, and he sees them more in the context of teaching aids for Politian himself than as a complete set of lecture notes that might have been delivered in their actual state. This supposition is partly based on the absence of any Latin translation of the Homeric text, a *sine qua non* for lectures on Greek authors at this period, and which students would have written in the interlinear space of their copies of the work. It may also explain the rather rebarbative nature of the notes, to which we shall return later. Silvano also has a section on Poliziano's sources, which include two scholiasts; «Nicas» (identified as referring to the *Magna grammatica* of ms S. Marco 303 of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana in Florence, owned by Politian); the Suda; and Eustathius. Poliziano had access to a copy of the latter's commentary on the *Odyssey* whose opening pages were missing, identified by Silvano as ms Laur. 59. 6 of the Biblioteca Medicea. The Eustathius commentary would prove to be a highly valuable source in the sixteenth century, not only for its allegorical explanations of Homer, but also as an aid to improving the Homeric text, since it was based on a different manuscript tradition from that used for the 1488 *editio princeps* and subsequent editions. Politian does indeed at times correct the printed text (e.g. at *Odyssey* I 131 where he writes «δαίδαλεον (non -λαιον ut in impressis)»), a reading retained in modern editions). However, his main use of Eustathius, as with his other sources, is to provide linguistic information, especially with regard to Homeric forms of Greek words, etymology, and shades of meaning. Silvano surmises, no doubt correctly, that Poliziano would have included other considerations in his lectures beyond what we have in these notes, which are generally of a highly technical nature.

The actual text that Silvano publishes is not a diplomatic copy, but one where spelling and punctuation have to a large extent been normalised, and contracted forms of words resolved. Two *apparatus critici* present in one case the various corrections, marginalia, and other interventions made by the editor, and in the other details of the sources cited by Poliziano. The edition is completed by a very useful series of indexes: of the words commented on by Poliziano in the order in which they appear in the *Odyssey*; the same words in alphabetical order; a general index of names and *notabilia*; a list of sources and parallel texts; and a list of manuscripts referred to. One might have welcomed a translation and commentary on Poliziano's text, though the absence of the latter is partly compensated for by the information provided by the editor in the text and the *apparatus*, while the highly technical nature of Poliziano's notes means that a translation would not have served much purpose to readers who do not have a reasonably advanced knowledge of Greek, and of course Latin, in the first instance.

Indeed, if we are looking for interesting insights on the part of Poliziano into the Homeric text, we are going to be largely disappointed. Like many Renaissance commentaries, as the editor points out, there are rather more annotations at the beginning of the text than later on, yet one wonders how far such detail would have contributed to Poliziano's students' understanding of Homer. The opening word of the *Odyssey*, ἄνδρα, for example, receives around four pages of linguistic commentary, most of which has nothing to do with the Homeric text itself: part of the point of the lectures would appear to consist in teaching Greek in general rather than offering a detailed explication of Homer in particular, and this would not have been uncommon in other early humanist institutions at a time when Greek grammars and lexica were few and of relatively limited pedagogic value. With regard to the Homeric epics in particular, the evidence which

we have from early commentaries tends to show that getting to grips with the Homeric dialect was one of the teachers' principal concerns, and Poliziano is in that sense typical in devoting a considerable amount of time to explaining unusual word forms, some of which he is not entirely sure about himself. The same is true, for example, of one of the first printed commentaries on Homer, Melchior Volmar's *Homeri Iliados libri duo una cum annotatiunculis* (Paris, Gilles de Gourment, [1523]), though he also includes literary considerations in his annotations. Etymology also looms very large in Poliziano's commentary, often with little or no concern with the precise context of the word under discussion, and usually based on the lexical sources that he is using. On the other hand, there is little evidence in the notes of explanations of a more mythological or historical nature. For example, there is no clarification of the allusion at *Odyssey* I. 8 to Odysseus's crewmen eating the cattle of the Sun, only various etymological suggestions for the origins of ἥλιος (p. 35). We must assume that Poliziano would have improvised in his lectures for details of this kind, and felt no need of notes to remind himself of such questions.

Nevertheless, there is the occasional tantalising hint in the notes of broader issues being introduced. Commenting on *Odyssey* I 122, he explains the Homeric epithet πτερόεντα («winged» words) by reference to a very obscure myth concerning the Muses and the Sirens found in Pausanias: «Nicas: quia Musae victis Sirenibus ipsarum pinnis coronaverunt se» (p. 92, referring to *Boiotia* 34, 2-3). According to the Greek travel writer, Hera persuaded the Sirens to compete in a music competition with the Muses, and when the Sirens lost, the Muses plucked them and used their feathers as a crown, hence Homer's idea of «feathered» or «winged» words. Or at *Odyssey* I 42 (p. 51), Poliziano marks the transition from the narrative to the dramatic presentation of events: «ἡὶ ἐκ τοῦ διηγηματικοῦ transivit ad τὸ μιμητικόν», an indication that he is indeed interested in literary matters. In this respect, Silvano highlights the very early influence of Aristotle's *Poetics* on Poliziano, noticeable in the second half of the *Praelectio*, which precedes the lecture notes: «l'interesse di queste citazioni puntuali sta nel fatto che esse, insieme con quelle, assai più brevi, inserite in altri commenti universitari del Poliziano, costituiscono una delle più precoci attestazioni della conoscenza diretta della *Poetica* in età umanistica». In contrast, the ethical considerations raised by the text, which later commentators such as Ioannes Hartung would highlight (*Prolegomena in tres priores Odysseae Homeri Rapsodias*, Frankfurt, Christianus Egen, 1539), appear to go unmentioned.

This edition of the *Odyssey* lecture notes, then, is a highly valuable addition to our knowledge of Poliziano as a Hellenist, and an extremely useful research tool. The importance of humanist commentaries, both printed and in manuscript, no longer requires any defence in Renaissance studies, and Luigi Silvano's fine edition of the *Odyssey* commentary will provide scholars with invaluable material for further research.

Philip Ford

Procopé de Césarée, *Constructions de Justinien I<sup>er</sup>*, introduction, traduction, commentaire, cartes et index par †Denis Roques, publication posthume par E. Amato et J. Schamp, Alessandria, Edizioni dell'Orso, 2011 (Hellenica. Testi e strumenti di letteratura greca antica, medievale e umanistica 39), pp. XII + 469 + 10 cartes. [ISBN 9788862742962]

L'ouvrage consacré par Procope de Césarée aux constructions de Justinien constitue une source essentielle sur l'activité édilitaire de cet empereur, la géographie historique du monde romain et l'architecture et l'urbanisme à la fin de l'Antiquité. Il prend la forme d'un inventaire descriptif de l'ensemble des travaux de construction, de restauration et d'aménagement dus à une intervention ou à une décision de Justinien. Excepté au livre I, où la construction religieuse occupe

une place prépondérante, il s'agit surtout de constructions militaires et d'opérations d'aménagement territorial – fondations urbaines, travaux de génie hydraulique, routes, ponts –. Le livre I est consacré à Constantinople, les trois livres suivants aux frontières de l'empire, en Mésopotamie et en Syrie (II), en Arménie et dans le Pont-Euxin (III), dans les Balkans et la région danubienne (IV). Les deux derniers livres sont consacrés à l'Asie Mineure et au Levant (V), et enfin à l'Afrique (VI). Situé aux confins de la rhétorique de l'éloge, de la littérature historique et de la littérature technique, cet ouvrage très original est aussi d'une grande difficulté d'accès, en raison aussi bien de la matière traitée que de l'ampleur de l'aire géographique abordée. Il n'avait jusqu'à présent été traduit en français qu'une fois, en 1671. La traduction commentée de Denis Roques, faite à partir du texte grec de l'édition Teubner de 1964, comble donc un manque. Denis Roques (D. R.) a disparu avant d'en avoir vu la parution. Les quelques lignes de ce compte rendu doivent être comprises comme un hommage rendu à sa mémoire.

La traduction est précédée d'une ample introduction (pp. 1-74), accompagnée de notes abondantes et développées (205 pages au total), et suivie de dix cartes, d'un index thématique (*Index des interventions de Justinien*) et d'un index des noms propres (*Index des toponymes et des anthroponymes*). Les défauts les plus graves du volume sont imputables aux éditeurs et à la mort même, qui a empêché D. R. de superviser les dernières étapes de la réalisation de son livre. Le texte grec n'est pas reproduit. Les notes sont regroupées à la fin de chaque chapitre, ce qui rend leur consultation très malcommode. Il y subsiste, en très petit nombre heureusement, des redites qui témoignent de l'absence d'une ultime relecture (ex. : note 21 à I 1, 1, une remarque sur ἐκτύπωμα faite p. 105 est répétée à la fin de la note, p. 106 ; notes 143 et 145 à II 11, 2-4, pp. 203-204 : répétition des mêmes indications à la fin de chaque note). Il n'y a pas de bibliographie d'ensemble : une liste des références bibliographiques suit l'introduction, puis chaque livre, et une *Bibliographie terminale succinte* clôt le tout, et fait office de liste des abréviations – dont certaines cependant sont signalées dans les bibliographies particulières. Les lecteurs, en particulier les étudiants, pourront avoir de la peine à s'y retrouver. Les cartes tracées à la main par D. R. ont été reproduites telles quelles par les éditeurs : leur aspect artisanal n'est pas dénué de charme, mais elles auraient considérablement gagné en lisibilité si elles avaient été redessinées par un professionnel. L'absence de toute autre illustration est peut-être due à un choix de l'auteur, ou à l'état d'inachèvement de son travail. Elle est en tout cas gravement dommageable à la compréhension des descriptions architecturales, qu'un plan, une photographie des structures conservés ou un croquis explicatif aurait pu rendre beaucoup plus accessibles. Il arrive que l'annotation ne soit pas cohérente avec la traduction : en I 1, 71, le mot πεισοῖ (πεισοῶν), est traduit par « piliers », mais désignerait d'après le commentaire (note 53, p. 113) des « cintres » ; en I 4, 19, la traduction attribue la construction des Saints-Apôtres à Constance, alors qu'il est signalé en note que le nom de l'empereur, abrégé dans les manuscrits, doit être en réalité celui de Constantin (note 94, p. 126). Au livre IV, où figurent deux listes de sites bénéficiaires d'interventions de Justinien, l'annotation empiète sur la traduction : chacun des toponymes est accompagné, en regard, d'une explication ou d'une traduction (IV 4, 3 ; 11, 20). Ces explications auraient dû prendre place dans les notes. Dans l'ensemble du volume les toponymes sont soit transcrits (« Damaskos »), soit traduits (« Tibériade », « Antioche »), sans qu'il soit possible de déterminer les raisons de ces choix différenciés. Le nom d'un des sommets qui dominant Antioche sur l'Oronte, qui apparaît au nominatif singulier sous la forme Σταυρίν dans le texte grec, est transformé, sans aucune justification, en « Stauris » dans la traduction (II 10, 16). Une ultime relecture de son manuscrit par l'auteur a de toute évidence manqué. D. R. n'avait-il pas d'élève ou de collègue susceptible d'accomplir cette tâche à sa place ? Un dernier détail, pour être émouvant, n'en manifeste pas moins la désinvolture du travail éditorial : la dernière phrase de Procope est suivie d'un appel de note auquel rien ne correspond dans le commentaire (p. 410, appel de note 92). Décidons d'y voir un manifeste de l'inachèvement, c'est-à-dire un appel à poursuivre encore et toujours le travail, en commençant par donner à cet ouvrage posthume l'attention qu'il mérite.

Dans l'introduction, D. R. présente la vie et l'œuvre de Procope et situe les *Constructions*, dont il souligne l'originalité, dans le contexte de la « tradition bâtisseuse » des empereurs romains (pp. 1-22). Après avoir étudié la composition et les principaux motifs récurrents de l'ouvrage, il s'interroge sur sa valeur documentaire (pp. 23-52). Au terme d'une argumentation serrée, il en date la rédaction de 560/561, optant ainsi pour la plus basse des deux datations généralement proposées (pp. 52-59). Il étudie ensuite la postérité littéraire du texte (pp. 59-61). Rappelant l'existence de deux recensions de ce dernier, il signale la découverte d'un nouveau témoin de la recension brève qui devra être pris en compte dans une prochaine édition (pp. 61-64).

La traduction est dans l'ensemble agréable à lire, précise et exacte. Quelques remarques peuvent être faites toutefois, au fil du texte. En I 1, 6, il aurait été préférable de traduire le mot πολιτεία, non par « situation politique » mais, comme en I 8, 10 et 16, par « État ». Le terme τεχνίτης désigne plutôt un « artisan » ou un « homme de l'art » qu'un « spécialiste » (I 1, 23 et 73). En I 1, 50, le membre de phrase σὺν τῷ Ἰσιδώρῳ est fâcheusement omis dans la traduction. En II 10, 11, la proposition ὡσπερ ἀλλοτρίου ἐνταῦθά τινος, ἀλλ' οὐ τῶν Ἀντιοχείων τοῦ τεῖχους ὄντος doit être traduite, non par « loin d'être dans l'enceinte d'Antioche, le secteur en question relève d'une autre cité », mais par « comme si le rempart était celui d'une autre cité qui se trouverait là, et non d'Antioche ». Un peu plus loin, en II 10, 16, le membre de phrase χαράδρα μεταξὺ οὖσα a été oublié dans la traduction. En IV 1, 2, mieux vaut traduire οἰκοδομίας (accusatif pluriel) par « constructions » – comme dans la précédente occurrence du terme, deux lignes plus haut – plutôt que par « architecture ». En IV 6, 21 la traduction de κεκαλλιστευμένον par « Merveille » (avec une majuscule) vise probablement à créer une connivence avec le lecteur, car il doit s'agir d'une allusion à la « Merveille » du Mont Saint-Michel en Basse-Normandie, mais elle est inexacte, et d'autant moins heureuse que la notion de « merveilleux » intervient également par ailleurs dans le texte de Procope (ex. : en VI 4, 15, θαυμάσιον). En IV 9, 14, à propos de Périnthe, Procope précise : ἢ πάλαι μὲν τὰ πρωτεία τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐδίδοσαν, νῦν δὲ δὴ [...] τὰ δευτερεῖα παρέχονται, soit, dans la traduction, « à qui autrefois on décernait le prix d'excellence pour l'Europe, tandis qu'à présent, en vérité, elle ne reçoit plus que le prix d'honneur ». La traduction de τὰ πρωτεία et τὰ δευτερεῖα par « prix d'excellence » et « prix d'honneur » renvoie à une hiérarchie scolaire, et à un état de l'univers scolaire français disparu depuis longtemps, elle ne correspond à rien de précis pour un lecteur de moins de cinquante ans. La traduction par « premier rang » et « deuxième rang », renvoyant au statut de capitale de province ou de « seconde plus importante cité » de la province ou plus largement au phénomène de compétition et de rivalité de rang entre cités, abondamment étudié depuis les travaux fondateurs de L. Robert, aurait été de loin préférable.

L'annotation est extrêmement riche. Le commentaire archéologique vieillira fatalement le plus rapidement. Pour la commodité et l'intérêt du lecteur, et se limitant à la fin du livre II, on signalera ici quelques travaux récents ou en cours sur certains des sites évoqués par Procope et que D. R. ne mentionne pas : mission franco-syrienne de Halabiye-Zénobia, dirigée par S. Blétry (cfr. II 8, 8-25) ; fouilles d'urgence, dirigées par J. Gaborit, sur le site de Hiérapolis-Membidj (cfr. II 9, 12-17) – signalons au passage, à propos de la note 115 à II 9, 14, p. 196, que le renvoi au *Panegyrique d'Anastase* de Procope de Gaza est inexact (corriger § 15 en § 18) et surtout que la « Ville Sainte » dont parle le sophiste gazéen est Jérusalem et non Hiérapolis<sup>1</sup> ; mission archéologique de Zeugma, dirigée par C. Abadie-Reynal (II 9, 18) ; travaux dirigés par H. Pamir à Antioche sur l'Oronte, en collaboration avec une mission allemande dirigée par G. Brands<sup>2</sup> (II 10, 2-25) ; mission libano-syrienne à Cyrhrus, co-dirigée par J. Abdul Massih et S. Shbib (cfr. II 11, 2-7) ; fouilles menées par M.-O. Rousset à Chalcis (cfr. II 11, 1 et 8). La

<sup>1</sup> Cfr. C. P. Jones, *Procopius of Gaza and the water of the Holy City*, « Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies » 47, 2007, pp. 455-467 ; voir aussi G. Ventrella dans E. Amato (ed.), *Rose di Gaza*, Alessandria 2010, p. 286 n. 212.

<sup>2</sup> Sur la « Porte de Fer », décrite par Procope en II 10, 15-18, cfr. G. Brands, *Prokop und das eiserne*

documentation épigraphique s'accroît à peu près au même rythme que la documentation archéologique, et la publication de nouvelles inscriptions permettra de mieux définir le contexte, l'apport spécifique et les enjeux de certains passages. Procope orthographe « Kyros », et non « Kyrrhos », le nom de la cité syrienne de Cyrrhus – qui correspond, de façon classique dans la région, à un transfert toponymique opéré par les conquérants macédoniens lors de la fondation de la localité –, et l'explique comme un hommage rendu par ses fondateurs juifs au Roi des Rois Cyrus, après leur libération par ce dernier (II 11, 2-4). Or une inscription métrique récemment éditée<sup>3</sup> – signalée au demeurant par D. R. (pp. 203 et 204) –, présente le double intérêt de confirmer les indications de Procope sur la reconstruction de l'enceinte de la ville et la restauration du statut civique de la communauté par Justinien, et de fournir une attestation supplémentaire de l'orthographe « Kyros ». Les indications de Procope sur le nom et les origines de la ville ne peuvent donc être qualifiées d'« historiquement fausses » (note 143, p. 202) : leur intérêt historique est de constituer un témoin de ce qui devait être un élément du récit de fondation de la cité au VI<sup>e</sup> s. Les remarques qui précèdent relèvent de la simple mise à jour. Des nuances et des corrections peuvent également être proposées. Ainsi, D. R. signale que « pour désigner une église, Procope emploie couramment [le terme] – resté traditionnellement païen – de *néôs* (temple) » et précise que « ce fait de langue permet de caractériser comme archaïsant le style de Procope » (p. 105). L'usage du terme *ναός*/*νεός* pour désigner un édifice de culte chrétien, très fréquent, s'inscrit dans une tradition qui remonte au moins à Eusèbe de Césarée,<sup>4</sup> et correspond à une allusion au Temple de Jérusalem.<sup>5</sup> Il ne s'agit certainement pas d'un trait « archaïsant » mais peut-être en revanche d'un emploi propre à la langue littéraire ou à une langue élevée.

De telles remarques pourraient être multipliées. Il est peut-être plus sage de s'interroger sur la fonction du commentaire d'un texte antique. Il s'agit bien sûr, pour commencer, de rendre l'œuvre intelligible. Pour cela point n'est besoin de donner à l'annotation un caractère encyclopédique, il suffit de fournir au lecteur les éléments nécessaires à la compréhension du passage concerné et la possibilité d'accéder à la bibliographie afférente. Il faut alors se limiter aux ouvrages de référence généraux et à la bibliographie spécialisée portant spécifiquement sur les réalités abordées par le texte. À cet égard, le commentaire de D. R. s'égare parfois dans des développements trop abondants, et au bout du compte peu utiles parce que ce qui devrait être l'objet spécifique du commentaire – sa cible – n'est pas visé avec suffisamment de précision. Un exemple caractéristique est la note 101 à V 9, 27 (p. 392), qui concerne la mention de la restauration par Justinien d'un « asile des pauvres de saint Rômanos [*πρωχέιον τοῦ ἁγίου Ῥωμανοῦ*] » situé « dans le ressort de la cité d'Apamée [*ὑπὸ Ἀπάμειαν*] » : Apamée sur l'Oronte fait l'objet d'une véritable notice de dictionnaire, avec une bibliographie abondante mais hétérogène, mêlant des publications périmées et des travaux très récents, et en ce qui concerne Rômanos, D. R. se contente de mentionner un diacre de Césarée de Palestine martyrisé à Antioche, sans renvoi aux sources ni à la bibliographie, et sans préciser les raisons qui le poussent à identifier ce martyr au saint sous le vocable duquel se trouve placé l'asile ; autant dire que le lecteur intéressé devra refaire le travail par lui-même. Quoi qu'il en soit, dans la mesure où la raison d'être d'un tel commentaire explicatif est de donner accès au texte, il a une fonction avant tout

*Tor. Ein Beitrag zur Topographie von Antiochia am Orontes*, dans I. Eichner, V. Tsamakda (edd.), *Syrien und seine Nachbarn von der Spätantike bis in die islamische Zeit*, Wiesbaden 2009, pp. 9-20.

<sup>3</sup> Fr. Alpi, *Base de statue de Justinien ornée d'une inscription métrique (Cyrrhus, Euphratésie)*, « *Syria* » 88, 2011, pp. 341-349.

<sup>4</sup> Ex. : Eusèbe de Césarée, *Vita Constantini* III 36, 1 ; cfr. L. Voelkl, *Die Konstantinischen Kirchenbauten nach Eusebius*, « *Rivista di Archeologia Christiana* » 29, 1953, pp. 49-66 : 52 ; pour des exemples du VI<sup>e</sup> s. cfr. *inter alia* Chorikios, *Or.* II 42, 45, 47-48 ; Évagre le Scholastique I 13.

<sup>5</sup> J. Wilkinson, *Paulinus' Temple at Tyre*, « *Jahrbuch des Österreichischen Byzantinistik* » 32, 1982, pp. 553-561.

pédagogique. Mais un commentaire peut aussi avoir une dimension proprement historique : il s'agit alors de montrer comment le texte constitue une source pour l'histoire et de mettre en évidence la nature et l'intérêt des informations spécifiques dont il est porteur. Par exemple, au livre I consacré à Constantinople, Procope mentionne un sanctuaire situé « à proximité immédiate de ce que l'on appelle les Portes d'Or » (I 3, 9). Cette allusion à l'une des plus célèbres portes de Constantinople, mieux connue sous le nom de Porte Dorée, suscite un développement de quatorze lignes dans l'annotation (note 77, p. 120). Ce développement se clôt par un unique renvoi à l'ouvrage classique de R. Janin (*Constantinople byzantine*, Paris 1964<sup>2</sup>). Ce renvoi ne suffit pas s'il s'agit, comme le suggère la longueur du développement, de proposer une synthèse des connaissances sur cette porte. Il faudrait dès lors en effet signaler l'existence d'un débat autour de sa datation et prendre en compte la bibliographie postérieure à 1964.<sup>6</sup> Cela dit, dans la mesure où le débat chronologique concerne l'attribution de la construction de la porte à Théodose I ou II, il n'est que de peu d'intérêt pour la compréhension des enjeux du texte de Procope. En revanche, s'il est vrai que l'emploi du pluriel par Procope (τῶν Χρυσῶν Πυλῶν) diffère de l'usage le plus courant, comme l'affirme D. R. – sans justifier son assertion, que la consultation de l'ouvrage de Janin ne permet pas de vérifier –, une étude de la désignation de cette porte dans l'Antiquité, mettant en évidence soit la réelle singularité du témoignage de Procope soit, par exemple, une évolution chronologique, s'imposait, et devait même constituer l'essentiel de la matière de la note. La toponymie est un objet de la recherche historique et c'est précisément sur cet objet que ce passage précis de Procope constitue une source. Le traducteur se trouve, à l'égard du texte, dans une position privilégiée, puisque pour le traduire il doit le connaître intimement. Or c'est précisément cette intimité qui peut permettre de dégager la spécificité et l'intérêt historiques de chaque élément du texte. En ce sens, un véritable commentaire historique sera nécessairement d'abord philologique. En particulier, le premier devoir du traducteur-commentateur, même s'il n'édite pas le texte, est de signaler et d'étudier précisément les passages où le travail de l'auteur est perceptible, que ce soient ceux où il semble possible d'identifier ou de caractériser ses sources (catalogues des livres IV et V), ou les points de reprise et les irrégularités qui permettent d'espérer saisir les aléas de l'élaboration du texte ou de sa tradition, qu'il s'agisse du dédoublement de la notice relative à Chalcis, en II 11, 1 et 8 (cfr. note 142, trop évasive à cet égard) ou, en IV 6, 13, de la béance dans le texte que crée ce qui semble être l'introduction à une citation absente d'Apollodore de Damas (« Quelle méthode employa [Trajan] pour construire ce pont ? Je ne saurais être en peine pour le dire, mais je laisse à Apollodore de Damas, maître d'œuvre de l'ensemble, le soin de donner des explications »). La prise en compte de ces phénomènes est indispensable à la compréhension de la genèse du texte que nous lisons, et par voie de conséquence à l'évaluation de sa valeur historique. Procope met beaucoup de soin à expliquer les mots qu'il emploie (II 8, 14) et à en préciser l'origine ou à signaler les diverses désignations possibles d'une même réalité, en distinguant le langage poétique (I 2, 10), celui des « spécialistes » (σοφοί) de l'architecture ou des arts de l'ingénieur (I 1, 32 ; II 3, 18 ; V 4, 3), les vocables propres à la langue des « Romains » (IV 5, 11) – dont l'historien précise à l'occasion qu'il s'agit du latin (IV 6, 16), mais parmi lesquels il compte le mot « métropole » (V 4, 18) –, ceux qu'il qualifie de « traditionnels » (II 6, 11 ; VI 1, 3), ainsi que les toponymes locaux (V 2, 6 ; 4, 1). Une étude d'ensemble de ces notes lexicographiques de Procope aurait certainement contribué à préciser ses méthodes de travail, ses sources, et la valeur de son apport. La mise au point de la traduction et du commentaire aurait également pu être l'occasion d'une étude approfondie du vocabulaire de la description et de l'appréciation

<sup>6</sup> Cfr. *inter alia* J. Bardill, *The Golden Gate in Constantinople : a Triumphal Arch of Theodosius I*, « American Journal of Archaeology » 103, 1999, pp. 671-696 ; N. Asutay Effenberger, *Die Landmauer von Konstantinopel. Historisch-topographische und baugeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, Berlin-New York 2007, pp. 54-61 ; E. Russo, *Per la datazione della porta Aurea di Costantinopoli e dei suoi capitelli*, « Bizantinistica » 11, 2009, p. 1-31.

des réalisations architecturales et urbanistiques, qui aurait pu servir de point de départ à une réflexion plus large sur la théorie et l'esthétique de l'architecture au VI<sup>e</sup> s.

Qu'on ne s'y trompe point cependant. En traduisant les *Constructions de Justinien I<sup>er</sup>*, Denis Roques a rendu un immense service au grand public cultivé francophone et à la communauté scientifique internationale. La parution de son livre aura pour effet de renouveler l'intérêt pour ce texte et de lui susciter de nouveaux lecteurs, et son travail permettra assurément, dans les prochaines années, l'ouverture de nouveaux chantiers. Quelle plus belle récompense, même posthume, pour un enseignant et un chercheur ?

Catherine Saliou

*Rose di Gaza. Gli scritti retorico-sofistici e le «Epistole» di Procopio di Gaza*, a cura di Eugenio Amato, Alessandria, Edizioni dell'Orso, 2010 (Hellenica. Testi e strumenti di letteratura greca antica, medievale e umanistica 35), pp. XII + 708. [ISBN 9788862742337]

Ce gros volume au titre poétique (et approprié) est consacré à la personnalité et à l'œuvre « rhétorico-sophistique »<sup>1</sup> de Procope de Gaza, successeur d'Énée et prédécesseur de Chorikios à la tête de l'école de rhétorique qui fleurit à Gaza entre le V<sup>e</sup> et le VI<sup>e</sup> siècle après J.-C. *Rose di Gaza* est à la fois une présentation analytique de cette œuvre et un *sourcebook*. Ce dernier occupe le cœur de l'ouvrage (pp. 151-503) et fournit la totalité de l'œuvre conservée, texte, traduction et notes de commentaire, à savoir :

- (pp. 151-158) une présentation par E. Amato et F. Ciccolella des éditions et traductions antérieures ;
- (pp. 161-287) les 11 œuvres discursives : 3 *dialexeis* (*Sur le printemps-1*, *Sur le printemps-2*, *Sur la rose*), 4 éthopées (d'un berger, d'un armateur de commerce, d'Aphrodite, de Phénix), 2 *ekphrasis* (d'une horloge, des œuvres picturales de Gaza), 2 panégyriques (de l'empereur Anastase, du général Asiatikos) ; le texte et l'apparat sont repris de l'édition Amato (Teubner) de 2009 ;
- (pp. 288-503) la totalité (174 pièces) du *corpus* épistolographique procopien, c'est-à-dire non seulement les lettres de Procope lui-même, telles qu'elles figurent dans l'édition Garzya-Loenertz (1963), auxquelles s'ajoutent les deux lettres publiées ultérieurement par L. G. Westerink en 1967 (*Ep.* 168) et E. V. Maltese en 1984 (*Ep.* 167), mais encore l'échange épistolaire avec le rhéteur Mégéthios découvert et publié par E. Amato en 2009 (*Epp.* 169-174).

La traduction des lettres est due à Federica Ciccolella, celle des œuvres discursives à Eugenio Amato, à l'exception du *Panégyrique de l'empereur Anastase* (*Op.* 11), dont s'est chargé Gianluca Ventrella. On peut encore mettre sous la rubrique du *sourcebook* la traduction par Aldo Corcella du *Discours funèbre pour Procope* de Chorikios, qui est placée en annexe (pp. 507-527), sans le texte en regard. Je suis mal placé pour juger du style à propos de traductions en italien, mais il m'est évident que l'ensemble est le résultat heureux, par la précision et la clarté, d'une somme impressionnante de travail, et que les auteurs ont su œuvrer en étroite collaboration, ce qui a préservé l'ouvrage du risque de l'inégalité entre ses parties, voire de l'incohérence, qui guette inmanquablement ce genre de publication collective. L'abondant apparat de notes de commentaire (235 pour les œuvres diverses, 834 pour les lettres) donne un éclairage très satisfaisant, tant en ce qui concerne le texte et les aspects rhétorico-littéraires que les *realia* et les questions d'ordre historique ou biographique. Je ne formulerai qu'un regret à propos de ce tra-

<sup>1</sup> Comme le signale E. Amato, p. 10, il nous reste aussi de Procope de Gaza une œuvre théologique constituée de chaînes exégétiques.

vail impeccable,<sup>2</sup> c'est que le texte grec des lettres ne soit pas accompagné d'un appareil critique et que le discours de Chorikios soit donné en traduction seulement – mais je suppose que c'est là l'effet de contraintes éditoriales.

De part et d'autre de ce noyau de textes et de traductions sont disposées deux importantes parties critiques, intitulées respectivement *Introduzione* et *Appendici*. L'avant-propos (*Premessa*) d'E. Amato fixe les objectifs de l'ouvrage : faire reconnaître aujourd'hui Procope de Gaza, bien moins célèbre que son homonyme quasi contemporain de Césarée, pour ce qu'il fut en son temps – un maître de rhétorique célèbre – et pour ce qu'il doit être pour nous – l'une des dernières voix de la sophistique grecque de l'Antiquité –, alors que son œuvre profane a été très peu traduite. *Rose di Gaza*, qui se veut le complément et le prolongement naturel de la récente publication des textes dans la collection Teubner, fait aussi revivre, en arrière-plan, la cité de culture que fut Gaza dans l'Antiquité tardive.

Les quatre premiers chapitres de la partie introductive sont eux aussi dus à E. Amato. Celui-ci s'attache d'abord (*Dati biografici e cronologia di Procopio di Gaza*, pp. 1-9) à présenter la personne et la vie de Procope, en s'appuyant principalement sur quatre documents : l'*Epitaphios* de Chorikios, le *codex* 160 de Photios, les lettres de Procope et celles de Mégéthios. Natif de Gaza, Procope fit ses études à Alexandrie et succéda à Énée à la tête de l'école de sa ville natale. Il y fut professeur de rhétorique, conférencier public et orateur officiel de la cité. Ses discours eurent un grand succès auprès de ses concitoyens et il joua un rôle non négligeable dans la diffusion locale du christianisme, bien qu'il ne fût pas un ecclésiastique. Il semble s'être éloigné à la fin de sa vie du monophysisme pour se rapprocher de la doctrine chalcédonienne. Bien que nous sachions qu'il vécut 62/63 ans, nous n'avons de certitude ni pour la date de sa naissance ni pour celle de sa mort ; elles doivent donc être situées de manière imprécise, respectivement entre 465 et 470 et entre 526 et 530. Le deuxième chapitre, *La produzione letteraria di Procopio* (pp. 10-45), dresse un tableau complet de l'œuvre conservée, y compris les écrits de théologie, et de ce que nous pouvons deviner de ce qui a disparu ou dont n'ont survécu que des fragments. Le chapitre 3, qui me paraît être, avec le suivant, l'un des plus intéressants de l'ouvrage, *Discorso figurato ed allegoria cristiana negli scitti retorico-sofistici di Procopio* (pp. 45-55), s'intéresse à la manière dont Procope a concilié « le sue due anime », celle d'un chrétien qui, selon son élève Chorikios, πάντα ἦν ἱερεὺς (« tutto in lui era tipico di un vescovo »), et celle d'un sophiste héritier et dispensateur d'une *paideia* remplie de références païennes, « elemento costitutivo ed identitario, in cui riconoscersi ed al quale restare fedele ». E. Amato montre qu'il y a non séparation, mais continuité entre « les deux âmes ». Ainsi, dans la *dialexis* sur les roses, Procope fait-il allusion, à partir du mythe d'Adonis dont le sang donne leur couleur aux roses, au mystère eucharistique du vin et du sang, en sorte qu'il conçoit le sacrifice d'Adonis comme la préfiguration de celui du Christ. Le quatrième chapitre, *Procopio e il dies rosarum : eros platonico, agape cristiana e rappresentazioni pantomimiche nella Gaza tardoantica* (pp. 56-70) a quelque rapport avec le précédent, mais en se plaçant sur le terrain des *realia* de la Gaza tardo-antique. Les divers indices examinés par E. Amato donnent à penser que le « Jour des roses » auquel est consacrée la majeure partie des écrits sophistiques conservés de Procope aurait été une fête joyeuse prenant la forme d'une procession dans le cadre d'une fête annuelle du type du *Maïouma* syro-palestinien, et donnant lieu à des représentations théâtrales de mimes, où les roses d'Adonis ont été détournées vers la célébration des martyrs. Ces conjectures intéresseront particulièrement les historiens, car elles corroborent ce qu'on sait – ou devine – par ailleurs : comme en témoigne maint texte juridique ou littéraire, les fêtes païennes ont survécu à la chris-

<sup>2</sup> Une seule coquille à signaler : p. 239, l'appel de note placé à la fin du titre *Panegirico per lo stratego Asiatico* doit être 145, et non 144. D'autre part, je suppose que la présence d'iotas adscrits dans les suscriptions des lettres 1 à 166 (dans les suscriptions seulement) s'explique par le strict respect du texte tel qu'il a été publié antérieurement. Mais, dans l'échange entre Procope et Mégéthios, les iotas sont souscrits : on aurait pu sans dommage harmoniser la typographie.



tianisation et ont suivi un processus de coexistence, puis d'interpénétration, enfin de fusion avec les fêtes chrétiennes. Procope atteste parallèlement de la popularité à cette époque des formes théâtrales mimétiques (mimes joués et mimes dansés, ce qu'on appelle proprement orchestrique). Certes, on notera le contraste avec la condamnation des mimes par le christianisme, mais on n'oubliera pas que Chorikios, lui aussi de Gaza, a consacré l'un de ses discours à la défense des mimes, faisant écho à près de deux siècles de distance à la défense des danseurs par le païen Libanios.

Les chapitres 5 à 8 s'attachent aux différents genres illustrés par Procope. Gianluca Ventrella (*Procopio ἠθοποιητικός*, pp. 71-93) analyse les quatre éthopées, dont deux sont consacrées à l'arrivée du printemps, une à la rose (mythe d'Aphrodite blessée par une épine), la quatrième traitant d'un sujet homérique classique (paroles de Phénix après l'échec de l'ambassade auprès d'Achille), les mettant en relation avec les prescriptions des théoriciens. G. Ventrella applique donc à chaque pièce la grille : thème et éthopoïoumène<sup>3</sup> – sources et modèles – forme littéraire – style (*ennoiai, methodos, lexis, schēmata-kōla*). Il procède de manière analogue dans le chapitre 6 (*Procopio panegirista : struttura e topoi del Panegirico per l'imperatore Anastasio*, pp. 94-106) : exorde, vertus externes (*genesis et trophé*), *epitèdeumata, praxeis* en temps de guerre, *praxeis* en temps de paix, *sunkriseis* avec des rois célèbres, péroraison. Le chapitre 7, *L'ideologia imperiale in Procopio* (pp. 107-119) complète le précédent : si Procope, estime G. Ventrella, ne suit pas la formule nouvelle du panégyrique chrétien inaugurée par Eusèbe de Césarée, mais reprend les schémas traditionnels en omettant toute référence à la notion d'*imperator christianus*, c'est parce que la christianisation de l'éloge fut lente et ne devint systématique qu'à partir du règne de Justinien. Néanmoins, en opérant la fusion entre l'image traditionnelle, quasi républicaine, d'un prince élu et celle d'un prince choisi par Dieu (telle que l'avait donnée Eusèbe dans ses éloges de Constantin), et en dotant ce prince d'une qualité et de prérogatives sacerdotales (aux dépens de toute mention du patriarche), Procope annoncerait le césaropapisme de Justinien. Je ne suis pas sûr, pour ma part, que la distinction entre les formules eusébiennes et traditionnelles du *basilikos logos* soit vraiment pertinente, en tout cas aussi nette que ne le dit G. Ventrella : la christianisation du genre par Eusèbe ne me paraît pas une révolution, mais une simple variante du modèle général, telle que l'est aussi la variante thémistienne, avec laquelle elle présente quelque analogie (comme d'ailleurs le discours de Procope), en particulier dans son éloge de la *philanthrōpia* impériale. Les formes rhétoriques ne sont pas rigides, il est de leur nature de s'adapter aux circonstances et à l'époque. Le chapitre 8 (pp. 120-160), qui porte sur le corpus épistolaire et dont s'est chargée comme de juste Federica Ciccolella, se subdivise en trois sections, 1. *Le «Epistole» di Procopio, tra retorica, filosofia e messaggio cristiano*, 2. *Procopio e il suo network*, 3. *Procopio e il genere epistolografico*. Ces sous-titres sont assez explicites en eux-mêmes. Cette correspondance fait revivre pour nous la société intellectuelle, donc les élites, de l'Orient tardo-antique. Procope est au centre d'un cercle d'amis et de connaissances liés par une expérience commune, condisciples, sophistes et anciens élèves. Il défend avec ardeur et orgueil ses fonctions de sophiste (au sens général), en évoquant, en particulier dans son échange avec Mégéthios, les heurs et malheurs de sa profession. Se proclamant à la fois sophiste et philosophe, il se sent des devoirs envers la communauté à laquelle il appartient et prône une pauvreté et une frugalité dignes de l'idéal monastique. « L'epistolario procopiano », écrit F. Ciccolella dans le même esprit qu'E. Amato aux chapitres 3 et 4, « indica che il modello del sofista-filosofo pagano e la figura dell'intellettuale cristiano maestro spirituale potevano fondersi armonicamente tra loro ». Cette correspondance est bel et bien à considérer comme une œuvre littéraire et idéologique, donnant « l'immagine di un mondo più ideale che reale ». F. Ciccolella étudie au passage les correspondants, dont un seul est connu par ailleurs, l'iatrosophiste Gessios, et parmi lesquels on regrette de ne pas trouver Chorikios ; elle fait aussi un sort aux types de lettres, dont une bonne part est de recommandation. Elle examine enfin le style et la composition en les met-

<sup>3</sup> C'est-à-dire le personnage auquel est prêté le discours.

tant en regard des prescriptions des théoriciens antiques et des usages constatés, et montre que Procope n'utilise pas seulement la lettre à titre d'instrument de communication, mais qu'il lui fait aussi jouer le rôle néoplatonico-chrétien d'œuvre philosophique, certaines pièces ayant manifestement le caractère de *prolaliai*.

Les *Appendici* (pp. 505-697) regroupent, outre la traduction du discours de Chorikios qui a déjà été mentionnée, deux études en allemand, vingt-trois pages d'illustrations de ces études (rejetées après la bibliographie) et une riche bibliographie (pp. 619-672). Il ne manque donc qu'un index (*nominum* et surtout *rerum*), ce qu'on regrettera, car cela aurait été bien utile, même si l'on se rend compte qu'ici aussi, les contraintes éditoriales ont dû s'imposer de manière drastique. L'étude *Die Kunstubr in Gaza* (pp. 528-559), précédée d'une introduction de Balbina Bäbler, est la reconstitution par Anette Schomberg du mécanisme de l'horloge qui se situait au centre de Gaza, à partir de l'ekphrasis détaillée qu'en donne Procope (*Op.* VIII). Dans *Prokop von Gaza : Der Gemäldezyklus* (pp. 560-618), B. Bäbler étudie les œuvres peintes de Gaza auxquelles Procope a consacré une ekphrasis (*Op.* IX) – ou plutôt un ensemble d'ekphraseis, à la manière de la *Galerie* de Philostrate –, cette étude s'intéressant particulièrement à l'intégration des motifs païens traditionnels dans une cité devenue chrétienne. Ces deux études ouvrent donc d'une heureuse manière *Rose di Gaza* sur l'archéologie technique et l'histoire de l'art, et font du livre une somme pluridisciplinaire sur Gaza, qu'on pourra placer à côté des Actes du colloque *Gaza dans l'Antiquité tardive* récemment publiés et de ceux du colloque qui sera consacré à l'école de Gaza à Paris en 2013.<sup>4</sup>

L'ouvrage analytique a moins d'unité que le *sourcebook* : je n'en ferai pas un grief, car il est normal que chacun des auteurs ait sa propre méthode et sa propre orientation critique. Je m'arrêterai néanmoins sur un point de détail : dans le chapitre 1, E. Amato emploie explicitement le mot ῥήτωρ au sens d'enseignant de rhétorique, et celui de σοφιστής en tant que désignant un conférencier public ; mais, comme l'explique F. Ciccolella au chapitre 8, l'échange de lettres entre Procope et Mégéthios élargit le rôle du σοφιστής à celui d'orateur officiel de la cité et semble limiter l'action du ῥήτωρ aux tribunaux. Il aurait donc été opportun, sans pour autant remettre en cause l'une ou l'autre de ces équations, de placer quelque part dans l'ouvrage une mise au point sur la difficile question<sup>5</sup> du sens de ces deux termes, qui sont éminemment polysémiques et dont les emplois varient non seulement au cours des siècles, mais même chez des auteurs contemporains, voire dans les écrits d'un même auteur. Ainsi, un σοφιστής peut-il être exclusivement ou simultanément conférencier, titulaire d'une chaire officielle, chef d'école, voué à l'épédicte ou à l'enseignement, et le ῥήτωρ, un orateur au sens général, un intervenant dans les débats judiciaires ou politiques, un enseignant subordonné au sophiste. Mais laissons de côté ce qui n'est vraiment qu'un détail : *Rose di Gaza* est un ouvrage qui me paraît capital, dans le domaine des études rhétoriques et dans celui des études historiques (histoire des idées, histoire des religions, histoire de l'art).

Pierre-Louis Malosse

<sup>4</sup> C. Saliou (ed.), *Gaza dans l'Antiquité tardive. Archéologie, rhétorique et histoire. Actes du colloque international de Poitiers (6-7 mai 2004)*, Salerno 2005 (Cardo 3). Le colloque de Paris, organisé par D. Lauritzen et E. Amato, est annoncé pour mai 2013.

<sup>5</sup> Question qui est rendue encore plus confuse chez les modernes par l'adoption du mot *rhetor* par le latin avec un sens plus proche de ce que les Grecs entendaient alors par σοφιστής. En effet, les études modernes de rhétorique, longtemps (jusqu'à ces dernières années) exclusivement tributaires de Cicéron et de Quintilien, ont eu tendance à traiter de la rhétorique grecque à travers le filtre de la rhétorique latine.

# Autori

Roberta Angiolillo  
Università degli Studi di Torino  
Dipartimento di Studi Umanistici  
via s. Ottavio, 20  
I-10124 Torino

roberta.angiolillo@unito.it

Marie-Hélène Blanchet  
Bibliothèque Byzantine  
Collège de France  
52, rue du Cardinal Lemoine  
F-75005 Paris France)

marie-helene.blanchet@college-de-france.fr

Jeroen De Keyser  
Damstraat 3  
B-9260 Serskamp (België)

jeroen.dekeyser@arts.kuleuven.be

Johannes Diethart  
Wösendorf 110  
A-3610 Weißenkirchen (Österreich)

johannes.diethart@wavenet.at

Erika Elia  
Università degli Studi di Torino  
Dipartimento di Studi Umanistici  
via s. Ottavio, 20  
I-10124 Torino

erika.elia@unito.it

Wolfram Hörandner  
Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften  
Institut für Byzanzforschung  
Wohlebengasse 12-14  
A-1040 Wien (Österreich)

wolfram.hoerandner@assoc.oeaw.ac.at

Pascal Kegels  
Aalmoezenijestraat 31  
B-9860 Landskouter (België)

pascal.kegels@telenet.be

Teresa Martínez Manzano  
Facultad de Filología  
Departamento de Filología clásica e indoeuropeo  
Universidad de Salamanca  
Plaza de Anaya s.n.  
E-37008 Salamanca (España)

manzano@usal.es

Tommaso Migliorini  
via C. A. Gen. Dalla Chiesa, 11  
I-37059 Zevio (VR) (Italia)

migliorinitommaso@libero.it

Emmanuel Moutafov  
Bulgarian Academy of Sciences  
Institute for Art Studies  
21 Krakra Street  
BG-Sofia 1303 (Bulgaria)

moutafov1@gmail.com

Davide Muratore  
via Monte Pasubio, 4  
I-12042 Bra (CN) (Italia)

davide.muratore@teletu.it

Savvas Neocleous  
Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies  
59 Queen's Park Crescent East  
Toronto, ON M5S 2C4 (Canada)

neocles@tcd.ie

Anna Pontani  
Dipartimento di Beni Culturali  
piazza Capitaniato, 7  
I-35139 Padova (Italia)

anna.pontani@unipd.it

Diether Roderich Reinsch  
Kaiserswerther Str. 4  
D-14195 Berlin (Deutschland)

roderich.reinsch@t-online.de

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Silvia Tessari  
via A. Murer, 3  
I-32020 Falcade (BL) (Italia)

[silvia.tessari@unipd.it](mailto:silvia.tessari@unipd.it)

Stéphanie Vlavianos-Tomaszyk  
12 bis, avenue André Rouy  
F-94350 Villiers-sur-Marne (France)

[s.vlavianos@yahoo.fr](mailto:s.vlavianos@yahoo.fr)

## Schede e segnalazioni bibliografiche

Maria Accame, *Poliziano traduttore di Atanasio. L'«Epistola ad Marcellinum»*, con il contributo di David Speranzi *I testimoni greci utilizzati da Poliziano. Schede descrittive*, Tivoli, TORED, 2012 (Ricerche di Filologia, Letteratura e Storia 14), pp. 184. [ISBN 9788888617497]

La versione dell'opuscolo atanasiano dedicato all'illustrazione dei Salmi, che possiamo ora leggere nella affidabile edizione curata da M. Accame, costituisce indubbiamente «un documento rappresentativo degli studi di Poliziano in questo periodo [gli anni 1491-1494], sia per il carattere dell'opera [...] sia per l'elegante latino in cui è stata scritta». Il testo critico è preceduto da una ben informata introduzione, che traccia un quadro dell'attività versoria del Poliziano, per poi passare a un'analisi particolareggiata dei caratteri di questa traduzione (pp. 85-103, da integrarsi con le note di commento di pp. 125-169). Alle pp. 53-62 A. discute del testo greco a monte della traduzione poliziana, che rispecchia sostanzialmente quello restituito dai manoscritti Laurenziani plut. 6, 3 e San Marco 695, oggetto delle due dettagliatissime schede di pp. 65-84 curate da D. Speranzi. Il volume è corredato di indici dei manoscritti e dei nomi e arricchito da quattro riproduzioni a colori delle due edizioni incunabile della traduzione e dei due codici summenzionati. [Luigi Silvano]

Idalgo Baldi, *Gli Inni di Sinesio di Cirene. Vicende testuali di un corpus tardoantico*, Berlin-Boston, de Gruyter, 2012 (Beiträge zur Altertumskunde 299), pp. 188. [ISBN 9783110274486; 9783110279733; ISSN 16160452]

Nuova indagine sulla tradizione degli *Inni* di Sinesio dopo i lavori di Terzaghi (1939), Dell'Era (1968) e Lacombrade (1978). Dall'attento riesame dei testimoni emerge un *corpus* innodico sinesiano «numericamente più ampio eppure certamente meno integro di come doveva apparire in origine» (p. 161): più ampio per la presenza di almeno due inni autonomi (*Hymn.* 9. 128-134 = *Hymn.* 9\*, e la parte dell'*Hymn.* 1 dedicata all'anima =

1An); meno integro per le mutilazioni subite da *Hymn.* 9\*, 1An e 7. Inoltre anche l'ordine della raccolta in principio era probabilmente diverso: secondo B., infatti, «l'ultimo componimento nella sequenza presentata dalle nostre edizioni [*Hymn.* 9] occupa questa sede per un errore della tradizione manoscritta, come dimostra non solo la funzione dichiaratamente proemiale di questo testo, ma anche l'enucleazione, al suo interno, del progetto poetico sinesiano chiaramente riverberato dallo sviluppo tematico riscontrabile nei carmi composti in monometri anapestici, progetto grazie al quale si può anche ristabilire la probabile disposizione originaria di questo sottogruppo di Inni, vale a dire *Hymn.* 1, 2 e 1An: un *corpusculum* parzialmente autonomo, a sua volta introdotto da *Hymn.* 9, così come autonomo era quello introdotto da *Hymn.* 6, primo di una serie, non possiamo dire se completa o meno, di inni / *nomoi* dai tratti fortemente innovativi per quel che riguarda la loro *performance* (*Hymn.* 6 + 7. 1-5, 7. 6-53, 8a, 8b)» (p. 161).

Il volume si segnala per il rigore metodologico e la solida *institutio*: è auspicabile, perciò, che ad esso segua una nuova edizione critica della silloge poetica di Sinesio, impostata su criteri ecdotici diversi da quelli utilizzati dai precedenti editori. [Paolo Varalda]

Tommaso Braccini, *Prima di Dracula. Archeologia del vampiro*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 2011 (Saggi 761), pp. 270. [ISBN 9788815233639]

«Perché il *vrykolakas* alligna proprio nei territori che facevano capo all'impero bizantino o alla sua sfera di influenza? E poi quando, esattamente, si sviluppa questa serie di credenze?» (p. 30). Muovendo da questi interrogativi, B. conduce il lettore in un avvincente percorso attraverso un'imponente quanto eterogenea documentazione, che comprende testi letterari, trattati pseudoscientifici, opere di erudizione, resoconti di viaggio, testimonianze orali raccolte da studiosi ed etnologi e altro ancora, e che copre un arco crono-

logico che si estende dall'età antica ai giorni nostri. L'analisi di B. interessa *in primis* i territori della letteratura, della storia, dell'antropologia e del folclore, ma non disdegna incursioni in quelli della fisiologia e della scienza medica.

L'indagine, pur non perdendo di vista gli innumerevoli rivoli in cui si diramano le tradizioni vampiriche, resta saldamente incentrata sul mondo bizantino – da intendersi «in senso lato, con la sua sfera d'influenza culturale e soprattutto religiosa» –, che fornì terreno fertile per «l'incubazione, lo sviluppo e poi la diffusione e la sopravvivenza di tali credenze nell'Europa orientale fino all'epoca contemporanea» (pp. 15-16). Credenze che rappresentano un fenomeno tipicamente medievale, come si può concludere a seguito del vaglio delle esigue evidenze letterarie relative a cadaveri anomali presso «gli autori antichi e la tradizione mitologica», che «non sembrano fornire spunti sufficienti per poter fornire una qualche forma di continuità tra credenze antiche e moderne riguardo ai cadaveri anomali» (pp. 52-53).

Più fruttuosa la ricerca di paralleli nelle culture germaniche, ove le credenze vampiriche allignano con tutta evidenza fin da tempi assai remoti, benché le prime attestazioni scritte (in lingua latina) non risalgano oltre l'XI secolo, quando orde di cadaveri redivivi cominciano a popolare leggende, vite dei santi, scritti devozionali, cronache. Se tali credenze, col finire del medioevo, iniziarono progressivamente a scomparire dall'area scandinavo-baltica e germanica, dove pure erano assai diffuse, il fenomeno inverso sembra essersi prodotto nei Balcani, dove esse si affermarono in epoca seriore, ma perdurarono fino al secolo scorso (cap. IV). Nel mondo ortodosso, in particolare, si verificò un processo di assimilazione tra vampiro ed eretico (tanto che in russo s'impose per il vampiro la denominazione di *eretik* in luogo termine slavo originario, *upir*); talvolta invece il vampiro fu associato a figure di veneratori di satana o di stregoni (cap. V).

Particolarmente istruttiva l'analisi, svolta nel cap. VI, dell'etimologia del termine «vampiro» e dei vocaboli attestati con significati affini: il greco tardo e moderno conosce l'imprestito dallo slavo *vrykolakas* (originariamente connesso con la figura del lupo mannaro, il termine venne poi impiegato «per veicolare il concetto, probabilmente nuovo, di *revenant* che uccide gli uomini»: p. 112) e varie altre forme (*katachanas*, *lampasma*, *stochchio* ecc.), fino al più noto *vampir*, voce serbo-croata entrata nell'uso occidentale nel secolo XVIII, ma attestata in forme analoghe in tutte le

lingue di questo ceppo linguistico come *upir*, il cui significato originario pare essere quello di «pancione», a indicare un morto incorrotto e orribilmente enfiato» (p. 103), come sembra suggerire anche il parallelo con le forme greche *sarkomēnos* (attestato a Cipro) e *tympaniaios*, molto comune in Grecia («gonfio come un tamburo»), dove generalmente indica il «Lupo mannaro».

Le credenze sul potere demoniaco di rianimare cadaveri, specialmente quelli di eretici e adepti del maligno, trovano larghissima diffusione nei secoli XI-XV, in concomitanza con i momenti di maggiore frizione tra la chiesa ufficiale e i movimenti ereticali dualisti, e bogomili in particolare (p. 189). Sono proprio le gerarchie ecclesiastiche ad avallare la credenza che vedeva nei *tympaniaioi* i morti scomunicati: «partendo dall'assunto che gli scomunicati sono destinati a rimanere indissoluti, il cadavere anomalo diventa la prova concreta degli anatemi ecclesiastici» (p. 190). La minaccia della scomunica poteva così essere efficacemente impiegata dalla chiesa ortodossa come deterrente e spauracchio per mantenere un saldo controllo sociale; d'altra parte, l'impiego su vasta scala della scomunica, soprattutto ai tempi della turcocrazia – che si spiega anche con gli «interessi economici che giravano intorno alla neutralizzazione degli incorrotti» (*ibid.*), che avveniva attraverso rituali di riesumazione e purificazione officiati dal clero dietro pagamento –, «finì [...] per esasperare, dandole un inquadramento ufficiale, l'isteria collettiva che circondava i cadaveri anomali, fatalmente rinvenuti durante i periodi di crisi come le epidemie oppure durante le attività di routine connesse alla sepoltura secondaria» (*ibid.*). In seguito, per un fenomeno di sovrapposizione, il *tympanianios*, «lo scomunicato incorrotto ma sostanzialmente inerte» (*ibid.*) venne confuso con il *vrykolakas* (il cadavere che si rianima e tormenta i vivi), e più in generale i contorni della figura del vampiro iniziano a confondersi con quelle di altre tipologie di «morti irrequieti». Nel cap. IX B. trova occasione per sfatare il mito dell'esclusiva ematofagia dei vampiri, che sovente le fonti descrivono intenti a nutrirsi di frutta, fave pane, latte (è il caso dei *telonia*, i bambini divenuti *revenant*, che tornano a succhiare il seno materno) e altri alimenti. Quando le fonti greche parlano di mostri succhiasangue, si riferiscono non tanto a cadaveri animati, quanto piuttosto a streghe indicate con vari nomi (*striglai*, *mora*, *geloudes*), le cui vittime preferite sono di norma i neonati.

Il decimo e ultimo capitolo tenta di fare il punto sull'ambiguo *status* della figura del vampiro, a

metà tra mostro orrifico e talora letale allorché esce dalla tomba, e inerte cadavere che può essere mutilato, dileggiato e distrutto finché resta nel sepolcro.

Completano la trattazione quattro appendici: le prime tre sono dedicate rispettivamente alla fisiologia della decomposizione dei cadaveri, alle evidenze archeologiche di “sepulture anomale” (con particolare riferimento a riti esorcistici quali l’infissione di chiodi nelle salme), a un presunto episodio di vampirismo nel New England di fine Ottocento; l’ultima contiene un’antologia delle fonti primarie più soventemente citate (in lingua originale). Concludono il volume la bibliografia e un indice dei nomi. [Luigi Silvano]

Ester Brunet, *La ricezione del Concilio Quinisesto (691-692) nelle fonti occidentali (VII-IX sec.). Diritto – arte – teologia*, Paris, Centre d’études byzantines, néo-helléniques et sud-est européennes. École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 2011 (Autour de Byzance 2), pp. 302 + 5 tavv. b.n. [ISBN 9788877966988]

L’indagine punta a ricostruire il percorso del concilio «Trullano», svoltosi a Costantinopoli sotto la guida di Giustiniano II, nell’Occidente latino, dall’epoca delle celebrazioni (692) ai decenni della crisi foziana (860-880), analizzando i modi e le circostanze storiche in cui, dopo un iniziale rigetto, il concilio ha avuto effettiva circolazione nell’area sottoposta alla Chiesa romana. Accanto alle tradizionali fonti romane di conferma del concilio sono richiamate fonti storiografiche, trattatistiche, canonistiche e iconografiche (con riferimento al cruciale canone 82). [E. V. M.]

Pierre Chuvin, *Cronaca degli ultimi pagani: la scomparsa del paganesimo nell’impero romano tra Costantino e Giustiniano*, edizione italiana a cura di Franco Cannas, con una nota di Gianfranco Agosti, Brescia, Paideia editrice, 2012 (Biblioteca di cultura religiosa 71), pp. 342. [ISBN 97888394 08228]

Quest’edizione italiana del “classico” di Pierre Chuvin si rivela, si può anticipare, doppiamente preziosa: da un lato perché rende finalmente accessibile ad un pubblico italiano più ampio un testo di grande importanza, inequagliato per vastità di orizzonti, profondità di erudizione e piacevolezza di lettura; dall’altro perché la traduzione si è potuta avvalere della terza edizione rivista e corretta, uscita nel 2009 per i tipi de Les Belles

Lettres e della Librairie Arthème Fayard. Il fatto stesso che a diciannove anni dalla prima stampa, ed a diciotto dalla seconda, si sia avvertita la necessità di riproporre il libro testimonia la perdurante vitalità ed il fascino di un’opera che abbraccia il periodo da Costantino fino agli ultimi decenni del VI secolo (con la “caccia alle streghe” antipagana che ebbe luogo sotto Tiberio II). Talora si spinge anche oltre, per esempio accennando ai pagani (non slavi, secondo l’autore) della penisola di Mani nel Peloponneso, convertiti solo nel IX secolo, ed arrivando a menzionare, per quanto brevemente, la rinascita platonica del XV secolo con Giorgio Gemisto Pletone e Marsilio Ficino. Ch., peraltro, non si limita alla “cronaca” propriamente detta della scomparsa del paganesimo nelle due *partes imperii* (dove ai *pagani* dell’Occidente si affiancano gli *Hellenes* dell’Oriente, con una serie di implicazioni semantiche che l’autore analizza in profondità), ma nella seconda parte del libro si apre ad una serie di “ritratti” di grande efficacia evocativa. Si trovano così i poeti tarsoantichi e le loro opere, fondate «su una cultura immensa che oggi è in ogni caso al di fuori dalla nostra portata e che ben pochi hanno mai posseduto», ma anche il terribile monaco Scenute di Atripe e le sue invettive contro Aristofane (o meglio, contro certe interpretazioni “orfiche” di Aristofane); non sfuggono all’occhio di Ch., peraltro, nemmeno figure più indistinte o magari “corali”, come i devoti di Cibele e Nemese, ed accanto a culti pubblici famosi in tutto l’impero, come quello di Serapide ad Alessandria e di Marna a Gaza, affiorano anche realtà più umili ed umbratili, ma che proprio per questo hanno avuto qualche *chance* di sopravvivenza in più, com’è il caso dei *fata* che si trasformano in fate, o delle forme ancora più indistinte di venerazione, rivolte a fonti ed alberi, che l’autore nel corso dei suoi viaggi ha potuto rintracciare ancor oggi in Asia Minore. Nella terza edizione Ch. ha aggiunto all’impianto preesistente un’appendice intitolata *Sviluppi e discussioni 1990-2009* (pp. 285-307 dell’ed. italiana), che dichiaratamente non costituisce un aggiornamento sistematico dell’opera, quanto piuttosto una messa a punto di alcune tematiche che, nel corso degli anni, hanno conosciuto nuovi sviluppi: compare così un nuovo bilancio sulla figura di Ipazia, ma anche una disamina dettagliata del valore della *Vita di Porfirio* di Marco Diacono come fonte storica, che Ch., anche sulla base di recenti studi di M. Scopello, tende complessivamente a rivalutare pur invitando a mantenere un atteggiamento di moderata cautela. L’autore inve-

ce non prende esplicitamente posizione (ma già questo, a ben vedere, potrebbe essere una presa di posizione) sul dibattito che interessa la teoria di Michel Tardieu, peraltro ripresa numerose volte nel volume (pp. 21, 69, 143-44, 232...), sulla sopravvivenza dell'accademia platonica nella città siriana di Harran, abitata da pagani fin oltre il 1000: ipotesi acuta ed assolutamente affascinante che tuttavia, soprattutto negli ultimi anni, non ha incontrato un consenso unanime. L'edizione italiana è infine impreziosita da una nitida postfazione di Gianfranco Agosti intitolata *Il fascino discreto del paganesimo* (pp. 313-324), che sottolinea la perdurante importanza dell'opera ed il suo ruolo di antesignana per molte interpretazioni che oggi sono divenute patrimonio comune, come la necessità di distinguere tra cultura classica e religiosità "pagana" (termine che, come lo stesso Agosti mostra, continua anche in questi ultimi anni a suscitare un certo dibattito) per quanto concerne gli autori tardoantichi.

L'aspetto grafico del volume è assolutamente gradevole (assai apprezzabile tra l'altro la decisione di ricorrere alle note a piè di pagina), e la limpida traduzione italiana riesce pienamente a rendere il tono "piano" e la chiarezza espressiva dell'originale; limitatissimi i francesismi (ad es. p. 139 «lorché» che ricalca il «lorsque» dell'originale). Anche i refusi, del resto, sono ampiamente entro i limiti di guardia (ad es. p. 27 n. 2 «Paganisme» per «Paganism»; p. 43 «della dea di Ierapoli, Mennbidj» a fronte dell'«Hiéropolis – Mennbidj» dell'originale, dove «Mennbidj» è il nome moderno della città; p. 105 «popolino pagano... legata»; a p. 243 la numerazione delle note parte da 2), ad attestare la cura con cui è stata condotta quest'edizione che si rivela in tutto e per tutto un'acquisizione importante per gli studiosi, ed anche per tutti i lettori colti italiani. [Tommaso Braccini]

*The Crusade of Frederick Barbarossa. The History of the Expedition of the Emperor Frederick and Related Texts*, translated by Graham A. Loud, Farnham-Burlington, Ashgate, 2010 (Crusade Texts in Translation 19), pp. 225. [ISBN 9780754665755].

Traduzione inglese, preceduta da uno studio introduttivo e accompagnata da puntuali note di commento, di alcune narrazioni latine medievali concernenti la sfortunata spedizione di Federico Barbarossa alla volta del santo sepolcro. Il volume costituisce un'utile integrazione alla bibliografia sulle crociate, soprattutto in chiave didattica, per-

ché rende accessibili a un vasto pubblico resoconti di prima mano in merito a eventi e personaggi della crociata (il bizantinista sarà interessato, ad esempio, alla sezione della *Historia de Expeditione Friderici imperatoris* – ca. 1200 – in cui vengono elencati compiutamente i termini del patto stipulato fra lo Svevo e i legati di Isacco II). Per quanto attiene alla storia della mentalità, dalle pagine qui raccolte emergono interessanti notazioni in merito ai Bizantini e agli altri popoli con cui i crociati vennero in contatto, da cui traspaiono i pregiudizi dei cronisti occidentali, inclini ad avallare facili stereotipi e a raffigurare l'Oriente come «a 'land of scorpions' where treachery and backstabbing was the norm» (p. 8). [Luigi Silvano]

*Dalla storiografia ellenistica alla storiografia tardoantica: aspetti, problemi, prospettive. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi Roma, 23-25 ottobre 2008*, a cura di Umberto Roberto, Laura Mecella, Soveria Mannelli, Rubbettino, 2010 (Collana dell'Ambito di Storia dell'Università Europea di Roma), pp. 312. [ISBN 9788849828214]

In un volume che si mostra complessivamente rispettoso verso il sano principio di un ritorno alla diretta lettura delle fonti («Una bibliografia può avere gli effetti di una cattiva droga e incoraggiare al vizio: al vizio di leggere studi moderni invece che documenti originali, quando si discute del passato, cioè di storia»: A. Momigliano, *Le regole del gioco nello studio della storia antica* [1974], in *I fondamenti della storia antica*, Torino 1984, p. 477), e che offre molti spunti di interesse a chi segua le vicende della storiografia nel Medioevo greco, si segnalano per le connessioni bizantine soprattutto i contributi di Andrea M. Martolini (*I frammenti dell'Anonymus post Dionem / Pietro Patrizio nell'ambito della storiografia tardoantica e bizantina*, pp. 209-237) e di Mischa Meier (*Nero, Traian und die Christen in der Weltchronik des Johannes Malalas*, pp. 239-263). [Emanuela Roselli]

Évagre le Scholastique, *Histoire ecclésiastique. Livres I-III*, texte grec de l'édition J. Bidez et L. Parmentier, introduction par Guy Sabbah, annotation par Laurent Angliviel de La Beaumelle et Guy Sabbah, traduction par André-Jean Festugière (†), Bernard Grillet et Guy Sabbah, Paris, Éditions du Cerf, 2011 (Sources chrétiennes 542), pp. 582. [ISBN 9782204097017]

I sei libri dell'opera di Evagrio si pongono, per esplicita affermazione dell'autore, a conclu-



sione della stagione della storiografia ecclesiastica inaugurata da Eusebio, Sozomene e Teodoro, Socrate. Il primo tomo di questa nuova traduzione commentata del testo contiene i primi tre, preziosa miniera di informazioni (spesso attinte a fonti di prima mano) su eventi cruciali per la storia del cristianesimo e per i destini dell'impero nel periodo compreso tra i concili di Efeso del 431 e di Calcedonia del 451, nonché sui principali temi del dibattito dottrinale e sulle maggiori personalità politiche e religiose del secolo (i sovrani da Marciano ad Anastasio, Cirillo Alessandrino, Eutiche, Teodoro di Ciro, Sinesio di Cirene, san Simeone Stilite e molti altri ancora).

L'introduzione tratta della biografia di Evagrio e dell'opera (contenuti, fonti, modalità di composizione dei primi tre libri). Il testo greco riproduce quello dell'edizione canonica di J. Bidez e L. Parmentier. La traduzione di A.-J. Festugière è affidabile e scorrevole, ed arricchita da un sontuoso apparato di note che costituiscono un commentario continuo alla narrazione. Il volume è corredato di indici (nomi di persona e luogo, cose notevoli) e di un'appendice con carte e mappe. [Luigi Silvano]

Federico Fatti, *Giuliano a Cesarea. La politica ecclesiastica del principe apostata*, Roma, Herder, 2009 (Studi e Testi Tardo-Antichi 10), pp. 290. [ISBN 9788889670521; ISSN 19739982]

Secondo una diffusa tradizione storiografica, l'imperatore Giuliano, l'austero difensore dell'ellenismo, fu un nemico mortale dei Cristiani. In realtà, egli perseguì una precisa politica ecclesiastica, cercando il sostegno di una parte della Chiesa e intessendo, a livello locale, alleanze strategiche con alcuni suoi ex compagni di fede. A conferma di quanto detto si possono citare le vicende dell'estate 362, attentamente ricostruite nell'ottimo volume di F.: in quell'anno l'Augusto, in viaggio verso Antiochia, si fermò a Cesarea per influire sulla scelta del vescovo della città. Giuliano, infatti, voleva che venisse allontanato il curiale Eusebio, da poco salito sul soglio episcopale, per sostituirlo con un uomo di sua fiducia, forse l'amico Basilio. Il passaggio dell'imperatore divise, però, la Cesarea cristiana, da un lato provocando lo scisma dei basiliani, dall'altro spingendo gli avversari dell'Apostata a distruggere il tempio del Tycheion. Secondo le fonti, Giuliano punì indiscriminatamente tutti i Galilei della città per questo atto sacrilego, ma, come appare dallo studio di F., ciò non è vero; la reazione del sovrano

fu «tanto intelligente quanto intelligente era stato il piano degli attentatori: questi avevano sperato di servirsi dell'ira imperiale per danneggiare un settore della Chiesa politicamente opposto al proprio, e spalleggiato dalla Corona; quello aveva risposto chirurgicamente, con l'obiettivo di salvaguardare quel settore» (p. 195). [Paolo Varalda]

*Die Filioque-Kontroverse. Historische, ökumenische und dogmatische Perspektiven 1200 Jahre nach der Aachener Synode*, herausgegeben von Michael Böhne, Assaad Elias Kattan, Bernd Oberdorfer, Freiburg-Basel-Wien, Herder, 2011 (Quaestiones disputatae 245), pp. 312. [ISBN 9783451022456]

Il concilio di Acquisgrana dell'809 promulgò, com'è noto, una professione di fede che costituisce la più precoce attestazione scritta dell'introduzione del *Filioque* nella formula del *Credo* niceo-costantinopolitano. Sono qui raccolti gli atti delle giornate di studio tenutesi in occasione del 1200° giubileo di quel concilio. Gli studi che compaiono nella prima parte (*Historische Perspektiven*), di taglio pregevolmente informativo, ricostruiscono il contesto storico e politico della sinodo: si segnalano in particolare i saggi di M. Kerner e K. Herbers, che illustrano le relazioni tra Carlo Magno, il clero carolingio, il papato e Bisanzio; quello di I. Pochoshajew sull'argomentazione teologica a supporto del *Filioque* nel decreto conciliare e nei pareri stilati in preparazione del concilio; quello di J. van Rossum, sulla reazione bizantina alle formulazioni teologiche latine del *Filioque*; infine quello di P. Gemeinhardt, che studia l'impiego delle *auctoritates* patristiche nel *Decretum Acquisgranense* e in altri florilegi e trattati prodotti in ambiente franco. Le altre due sezioni del volume («Ökumenische Perspektiven» e «Dogmatische Perspektiven») trattano sotto differenti punti di vista il *Filioque* in quanto problema dogmatico e argomento di discussione e riflessione comune tra le varie confessioni cristiane nel mondo moderno e contemporaneo. Tra i contributi qui raccolti, segnaliamo la sintesi di M. Stavrou sui rapporti tra persone divine nella teologia trinitaria ortodossa. [Luigi Silvano]

Fozio, *Sentenze morali*, introduzione, traduzione e note a cura di Lucio Coco, Firenze, Leo S. Olshki, 2011, pp. 116. [ISBN 9788822261069]

Il volume parte da uno spunto interessante e promettente – indagare la personalità del grande patriarca al di fuori dei suoi più noti percorsi in-

tellettuali (testimoniati soprattutto dalla *Biblioteca* e dagli *Amphilochia*), alla ricerca della dimensione umana profonda, dell'orizzonte morale e spirituale entro cui si svolse la sua molteplice esperienza –, ma è viziato da un equivoco di fondo, che porta il curatore a considerare Fozio prevalentemente come *autore* delle sentenze raccolte, laddove queste si rivelano in buona parte attinte dal consueto bacino comune della produzione gnomologica, costituito da sentenze profane, sacre e patristiche in larga misura presenti in varie sillogi.

La situazione, dunque, è più sfumata, nel senso che, come ben sa chi frequenta i florilegi bizantini, il *raccoglitore* non parla se non raramente per voce diretta, e al più è dato di poter ricostruire i suoi interessi e percepire la sua *Stimmung* sulla base dei materiali raccolti, senza tuttavia che se ne possano trarre conseguenze troppo precise. Così, per limitarci a qualche esempio tra i molti non riconosciuti dai precedenti editori dell'*opusculum* foziano (Hergenroether, 1869; Sternbach, 1893) e da Coco, la sentenza 111 deriva letteralmente da Bas. Caes. *Hom. in Ps.*, PG XXIX, c. 361; la sentenza 113 da Bas. Caes. *Hom. in Lac.*, PG XXXI, c. 1444; la sentenza 127 (ὁ ἐλέγχων ἀνθρώπου ὁδοὺς χάριτας ἔξει μᾶλλον τοῦ γλωσσοχαριτοῦντος) è prelievo testuale da LXX *Prov.* 23, presente anche nella silloge di Antioco "Pandette" e nei *Sacra parallela* attribuiti a Giovanni Damasceno; la sentenza 139 proviene *verbatim* dal *Convivio* di Metodio di Olimpo (11, 1), e già appariva ancora nei *Sacra parallela*, etc. Il "debito" di Fozio verso pronunciamenti precedenti è pertanto nel complesso molto maggiore di quanto non segnali questa nuova edizione; discorso diverso, ma più complesso e delicato, è individuare le ragioni che hanno spinto l'autorevole antologista – sempre che davvero si tratti di Fozio – a costruire il suo gnomologio precisamente con questi passi, e quale significato se ne possa trarre.

In ogni caso, nella raccolta la presenza personale del patriarca è molto limitata (aggiungiamo qui l'identificazione delle sentenze S1 e S3, p. 106 Coco: si tratta rispettivamente di *Hom.* 2, p. 19, 14-15 e 14, p. 137, 17-19 Laourdas).

La traduzione che affianca il testo greco (diseminato di errori di stampa) non è esente da pecche, ma il volumetto ha il merito di suscitare interrogativi e di riportare l'attenzione su testi che sarebbe ingiusto accantonare come insignificanti o marginali. [E. V. M.]

*Giornate filologiche genovesi. L'enciclopedia*

«MEG» 12, 2012

*dall'Antichità al Rinascimento*, a cura di Clara Fossati, Università di Genova, Facoltà di Lettere, Dipartimento di Antichità, Filosofia e Storia, 2011 (Pubblicazioni del D.A.R.FI.CL.ET. Nuova serie 235), pp. 200. [ISSN 00250852]

Il volume – che trae origine da un convegno organizzato nell'ottobre 2009 da Stefano Pittaluga presso il Dipartimento "Francesco Della Corte" dell'Università di Genova – raduna, ad opera di illustri studiosi, dieci contributi che tracciano un percorso evolutivo del genere enciclopedico (da Varrone e Plinio a Isidoro di Siviglia e Fozio, da Vincenzo di Beauvais a Giorgio Valla) e, nell'analizzare diverse forme di testi, si soffermano di volta in volta sulla definizione stessa di enciclopedia. Proprio sul concetto di enciclopedismo inteso non come semplice propensione all'accumulo e alla cernita, ai meccanismi di ἐκλογή e συλλογή, bensì come sforzo di cercare una sistemazione funzionale e costruttiva del sapere acquisibile – e, dunque, non come pratica e realizzazione, ma come attitudine essenziale della cultura bizantina, impegnata nel dominio delle conoscenze – si concentra il bell'articolo di Enrico V. Maltese (*Orizzonti dell'utile nell'enciclopedismo bizantino*, pp. 33-48), che propone anzitutto un'analisi approfondita del celebre passo in cui Psello, nel VI libro della *Cronografia* (§§ 36 sgg.), tratta il proprio ingresso alla corte di Costantino IX Monomaco, e indaga inoltre l'approccio all'insegna dell'ὠφέλεια dei testi da parte di autori enciclopedici come Fozio, Costantino VII Porfirogenito e Psello stesso. Per l'ambito greco-medievale ha particolare rilevanza anche il dotto contributo di Renzo Tosi, che prendendo le mosse dalla prima età imperiale con l'enciclopedia di Panfilo esamina diverse forme di enciclopedismo della civiltà bizantina dall'età di Fozio in avanti: i prodotti lessicografici quali la *Suda*, gli *Etimologici* e il commento all'*Iliade* e all'*Odisea* di Eustazio di Tessalonica (*Tradizione lessicografica ed enciclopedismo bizantino*, pp. 49-58). [A. M. T.]

*Greeks, Latins, and Intellectual History 1204-1500*, edited by Martin Hinterberger and Chris Schabel, Leuven-Paris-Walpole, Peeters, 2011 (Recherches de Théologie et Philosophie médiévales. Bibliotheca 11), pp. 462. [ISBN 9789042924406]

*Debates, Influences, Impressions, Translations, Migrations* era il sottotitolo del congresso ospitato dall'Università di Cipro nell'aprile 2008, che, nato a seguito dell'entusiasmo per gli anniversari plurisecolari delle conquiste crociata e ottomana di

Costantinopoli, accolse contributi orientati a definire le complesse relazioni religiose, politiche e teologiche tra Occidente latino-cristiano e Oriente greco-ortodosso nel periodo convulso tra la quarta crociata e la fine dell'impero bizantino. Il volume che ne raccoglie gli atti (con la sola eccezione dell'intervento di John Monfasani su Giorgio Amiroutze, divenuto nel frattempo soggetto di un complesso lavoro monografico) presenta una trama compatta nella quale i contributi, ordinati per affinità tematica, indagano aspetti diversi ma correlati dei rapporti Est-Ovest.

Da diverse angolature e con metodi spesso divergenti si esaminano i fitti scambi diplomatici, con le loro difficoltà e strategie, i dibattiti teologici entro varie comunità tanto in Oriente quanto in Occidente sulle tematiche più controverse per la mediazione tra le due Chiese, la realtà delle conoscenze reciproche tra i due mondi al di là del vecchio pregiudizio sull'accordo di ciascuno per una totale chiusura e ostilità verso l'altro, nonché gli usi che di queste conoscenze si scelse di fare. Ne emerge un quadro articolato e complesso grazie all'incontro e al dialogo tra storia delle religioni, teologia, filosofia, letteratura e storia delle relazioni politiche. Elemento comune alla maggior parte dei contributi è il ricorso all'esame delle fonti come base per la costruzione della storia del pensiero e del dibattito teologico-politico. Si afferma così su basi ora documentate la maggiore apertura del mondo dotto bizantino, sia laico sia ecclesiastico, al dialogo religioso e alla ricezione e riflessione di testi e impulsi provenienti dalle rinate Università d'Occidente (per quest'ultimo tema si segnalano i due contributi di S. Ebbesen, *What Did Scholastics Know about Greek History and Culture*, sul disinteresse dei filosofi scolastici per la storia e cultura greca classica, e di K. Ierodiakonou, *The Western Influence on Late Byzantine Aristotelian Commentaries*, a proposito delle modalità di appropriazione e uso del pensiero tomista all'interno della tradizione neoplatonica-bizantina nei commentari di Aristotele di Gennadio Scolario). A. Rigo dimostra invece il disinteresse del mondo monastico greco verso la mistica occidentale e, commentando i primi risultati delle ricerche sulle tematiche dell'agiografia greca di età paleologa, M. Hinterberger suggerisce che il mondo bizantino visse solo di riflesso l'ostilità verso i Latini all'interno delle aspre lotte esicaste e unioniste. Nuovi documenti arricchiscono le nostre conoscenze sui tentativi operati in entrambi gli schieramenti per mediare allo scisma o per affermare le ragioni della propria parte: a questo

proposito si segnalano l'analisi delle fonti del *De oboedientia* del dominicano Filippo di Pera condotta da Delacroix-Besnier e l'accurato studio di Ch. Dendrinis sulle conoscenze e implicazioni diplomatiche, storiche e filosofiche del trattato *Sulla Processione dello Spirito Santo* di Manuele II Paleologo. Se dall'insieme dei contributi emerge un affresco complessivo dei movimenti, delle opportunità e delle trame di protagonisti e personaggi minori a cavallo tra Est e Ovest, in un mondo in fibrillazione politica e spirituale, si nota con piacere il ruolo predominante che assume Demetrio Cidone nel corso dell'intero volume, e non solo nell'intervento dedicato di J. Ryder, sì da ripresentarsi su maggiori basi documentarie come figura-chiave nella mediazione teologica, culturale e politica tra Est e Ovest di oltre un secolo grazie all'attività in vita e all'eredità lasciata nei suoi scritti e nei suoi allievi.

Alla validità dei contenuti risponde la qualità editoriale: il volume è ben curato e corredato di utili indici di nomi e manoscritti, e di una introduzione che sintetizza e discute i vari contributi. Forse un indice complessivo delle fonti avrebbe aiutato la consultazione e valorizzato la quantità del materiale (anche nuovo) indagato.

Se concentrarsi esclusivamente sugli aspetti teologici e politici dei rapporti tra mondo greco e latino è certo elemento di forza del volume in quanto permette il raggiungimento di un alto grado di approfondimento e discussione, si auspica che possa a breve seguire una seconda raccolta dedicata ai rapporti letterari e culturali tra i due mondi in un periodo che vide a Oriente la grande rinascenza paleologa e a Occidente il fiorire dell'Umanesimo grazie anche alla migrazione di eruditi e codici da Bisanzio. Tema certo già assai indagato, per il quale tuttavia gioverebbe una rilettura e riflessione d'insieme alla luce dei più recenti studi; sarebbe forse l'occasione anche per raccogliere degnamente l'eredità lasciata da Deno Geanakoplos, cui questa miscellanea è stata dedicata, completandone il doveroso omaggio. [Erika Nuti]

*Libanios, le premier humaniste. Études en hommage à Bernard Schouler (Actes du colloque de Montpellier, 18-20 mars 2010)*, réunies par Odile Lagacherie et Pierre-Louis Malosse, Alessandria, Edizioni dell'Orso, 2011 (Cardo. Études et textes pour l'identité de l'antiquité tardive 9), pp. X + 246. [ISBN 9788862743174]

Ya intuyó el sofista y orador Libanio de Antioquía que los dos pilares que fundamentaron

su vida y obra (ἱερὰ καὶ λόγοι – Or. 62, 8 –, como él mismo confesó) se convertirían en los dos aspectos que contribuyeron en mayor medida a estereotipar su obra e ideario. Hasta hace poco, la tradición historiográfica no había sido capaz de desligar el sentir religioso de Libanio – ἱερὰ – del paganismo recalcitrante del emperador Juliano, del mismo modo que la crítica literaria ha tardado en entender que los escritos – λόγοι – de Libanio van más allá de la pirotecnia retórica que tradicionalmente se le ha atribuido. Por ello es de agradecer que se celebre un coloquio internacional para estudiar el pensamiento y la obra de uno de los personajes claves del siglo IV d.C., una figura a la que con justicia se ha calificado como “le premier humaniste” por el carácter abarcador de una obra a la que la política, la religión, la psicología, la retórica y la educación no le fueron elementos ajenos.

B. Schouler, justamente homenajeado en estas jornadas, abre la primera sección (*L'humanisme chez Libanios. Libanios chez les humanistes*) del libro con su trabajo *Libanios le premier humaniste*. La premisa básica de que el estilo e ideario de Libanio se construyó sobre la obra de Demóstenes (no en vano la posteridad bizantina lo denominó «le petit Démosthène») constituye el punto de partida para Schouler, que propone los conceptos *sôphrosynê*, *philotimia*, *eunoia* y *philanthropia* como el eje moral sobre el que Libanio construyó su imagen de adalid de los más débiles a los que auxiliar con su retórica filantrópica. La pléthora de ejemplos con los que este trabajo nos provee debe leerse en clave política: frente a los modelos de comportamiento casi ascéticos y menos activos en el ámbito cívico propuestos por otras figuras de la época – Temistio, filósofos neoplatónicos –, Libanio propugnó el uso de una retórica pragmática que tuviera un impacto en su época similar al que tuvo en época de Demóstenes. El trabajo de Schouler muestra que para el antioqueno retórica y moral, forma y fondo, eran entidades inseparables.

De la transmisión del corpus libaniano se encarga L.-A. Sanchi en su *Diffusion et réception de Libanios à la Renaissance*. Sanchi data el renacimiento libaniano en la época de los Paleólogos (s. XIII-XV), periodo en el que la obra del sofista antioqueno adquirió rango de vademécum para todo aquel que quisiera aprender retórica. Como bien apunta el autor, la ventaja de aprender prosa ática con Libanio es que (p. 20) «ces textes offrent l'avantage de correspondre déjà au cadre administratif, juridique et, dirais-je, mental

de l'empire romain tardif, ou proto-byzantin». La historia codicológica de Libanio en occidente se inicia con el trasiego de manuscritos iniciado por Giovanni Aurispa y François Filelfe, y las primeras traducciones de piezas de Libanio a cargo de Bursa de Modène, Niccolò Perotti, Jean Argyropoulos, Francesco Zambecari o Poliziano. Además de constituir un original trabajo sobre Libanio, el artículo de Sanchi deja entrever la importancia de la obra libaniana en un periodo cultural de la importancia del Renacimiento, puesto que humanistas tan influyentes en la conformación de la cultura europea como Aldo Manucio, Erasmo o Maccicchi se ocuparon de las primeras ediciones y traducciones del sofista antioqueno.

El segundo bloque del libro (*Culture, pensée et action*) se abre con el trabajo de M. Johansson «*Non modo nostris temporibus, sed iam apud veteres Herodotus magna fructus est auctoritate*». *Libanios' historical declamations and the sources*, en el que se revisa el grado de influencia de fuentes literarias en las declamaciones 9-10 y 17-23 de Libanio. Frente a la opinión de dos grandes libanistas (Werner y Foerster), Johansson estima que salvo la coincidencia en el empleo de vocabulario no se puede concluir que Heródoto influyera en las declamaciones 9-10 de Libanio. Por el contrario, Johansson rastrea las innumerables referencias a Demóstenes en las declamaciones 17-23, algo evidente si tenemos en cuenta que estas piezas se basan en los discursos filípicos. Como Johansson afirma, Libanio siguió la habitual tendencia de usar a Demóstenes como modelo estilístico a la hora de componer declamaciones, si bien (p. 44) «Libanios did not scrutinize piles of books in order to write his declamations».

O. Lagacherie, en su artículo *Jeu et enjeux de la rhétorique dans le discours XII et XIII de Libanios*, trata sobre la adecuación de los discursos 12-13 del sofista a la teoría retórica del *kairos*. El análisis retórico-estilístico de estas composiciones dedicadas al emperador Juliano (Or. 12, *Al emperador Juliano cónsul*; Or. 13, *Discurso de bienvenida a Juliano*) revela que el objeto de elogio de estas composiciones no es tanto la figura de Juliano como la *paideia* retórica (p. 51 «la technique et l'art rhétoriques sont explicitement mis au premier plan, comme objet de louange»). En este sentido, Lagacherie lleva a cabo un escrupuloso estudio en el que se evidencia la importancia de alusiones intertextuales en las obras de Libanio y Juliano en referencia a la primacía de la retórica (como defiende Libanio) o

de la filosofía (como sostenía Juliano) en el ámbito del paganismo tardío. Así, las continuas alusiones de Libanio a la hermandad entre lo sagrado y las letras (ἱερά καὶ λόγοι) constituían una apología de la paideia retórica como el modelo educativo y moral que Libanio preconizó durante su carrera.

M. Casella estudia el empleo metafórico de vocabulario referente a animales como espejo deformante y reflejo de las clases sociales a las que Libanio estimaba inferiores (los bárbaros, la figura del tirano, el pueblo embrutecido y analfabeto) en su original contribución *Metafore animali, suoni onomatopeici e proverbi in alcune orazioni κατά ἀρχόντων di Libanio*. La frecuencia con la que el sofista antioqueno alude a términos de animales como θηρίον, λύκος, μέλιτται, κηφήνες sirve para caracterizar a los gobernantes y sectores sociales (*Orr.* 46, 8. 18. 22. 31. 42; 56, 12. 16; 57, 39) cuyo comportamiento era insensible o agresivo con respecto a las injusticias de su tiempo. Casella rastrea con acierto estos usos metafóricos y los relaciona con textos de Platón, Hesíodo o paremiógrafos. Es especialmente clarificador el ejemplo sobre el empleo de φωνή como la voz de los animales, aplicado en algunos casos a los bárbaros y a la claqué teatral. Como destaca Casella, la alteridad social y cultural (p. 60) «è marcata, dunque, anche in termini di vocalità». C. A. Gibson, en su *Portraits of Paideia in Libanius' Progymnasmata*, investiga la paideia como piedra fundacional del ideario del antioqueno, no sólo en el aspecto meramente educativo, sino también como forma de constituir los valores ético-morales de los estudiantes. En la obra de Libanio se encuentran con frecuencia consejos y admoniciones basados en personajes mitológicos (Odiseo, Diomedes) acerca de los beneficios de una buena educación. Sin embargo, Libanio pone mayor énfasis en advertir a sus alumnos sobre los riesgos de una equivocada paideia: Esquines, Filipo de Macedonia o Héctor fueron reos de una paideia deficiente. Libanio también diserta acerca del papel que deben ejercer los profesores, pedagogos y padres en el proceso educativo, si bien todo el peso debe recaer en los hombros del propio alumno con el objetivo de evitar incurrir en ese defecto moral que era para Libanio la ῥαθυμία. En este sentido, el sofista aconseja a sus alumnos que imiten a Demóstenes, paradigma de orador sacrificado que trabajó hasta la extenuación, día y noche, para completar su formación.

G. Pérez Galicia, en su artículo *Las cartas de Li-*

*banio como claves de la nueva retórica de la paideia*, estudia la producción epistolar de Libanio como la albacea del legado cultural clásico. Partiendo de la concepción isocratea de la retórica como forma superior de aprendizaje y apoyándose en los trabajos de López Eire y Schouler, Pérez Galicia destaca el papel de la conformación de un apropiado ἦθος como objetivo principal de un sofista si quiere ayudar a su comunidad. La forma en que Libanio propagó ese ideal humanista del sofista como estandarte moral y figura filántropa fue mediante una ingente producción epistolar y de ejercicios escolares que contenían referencias al legado cultural clásico (en forma de mitos, anécdotas o refranes) como repositorio de todo aquello que alimentara el sentido de filantropía inherente, según el antioqueno, a la retórica.

El trabajo de R. J. Penella, *Menelaus, Odysseus, and the limits of eloquence in Libanius, Declamations 3 and 4*, es un completo estudio que aborda todos los aspectos que se pueden investigar cuando un filólogo se acerca a un texto. Además de un análisis del contenido de estas declamaciones (Menelao y Odiseo argumentan los motivos por los que Paris debería devolver a Helena y todo lo que se llevó consigo con el fin de evitar la guerra), Penella determina las fuentes (las *Cypria* y la versión herodotea de la embajada de Menelao y Odiseo) en que Libanio se inspiró para describir y localizar la embajada, explica el porqué de la distinta longitud de ambas declamaciones (la tradición clásica caracterizó a Odiseo como ejemplo de orador de gran ampulosidad, frente al estilo simple de Menelao), relaciona el contenido de estas declamaciones con otras piezas de Libanio (vid. *Or.* 18, 154) y recoge el contenido del ms. Scorialensis Graecus 475 Ψ.IV.1 y el proemio de un discurso del emperador Manuel II Paleólogo como las respuestas de Paris y Antenor a los discursos de Menelao y Odiseo (ambas posiblemente motivadas por las declamaciones de Libanio) a modo de antilogía.

I. Sandwell investiga acerca de los recurrentes pasajes en los que Libanio emplea un lenguaje relacionado con la adivinación y la profecía en su trabajo *Divination and human intelligence in the writings of Libanius*. El sofista antioqueno se valió de un léxico propio del campo semántico de la adivinación (μάντις, προλέγω, μαντεία) que le dejaba en una inmejorable posición social, ya que se representaba a sí mismo como un adivino por su capacidad de predecir acontecimientos.

tos en virtud de su habilidad para determinar el carácter de las elites culturales con las que convivió. En tales pasajes, sugiere Sandwell, Libanio atribuye su capacidad de adivinación a sus dotes oratorias en el marco del complicado juego de relaciones sociales de su época, un periodo en el que se legisló frecuentemente contra las prácticas mágicas pero del que tenemos innumerables ejemplos de adivinación mediante el empleo de magia. Como Sandwell concluye, «what you could know about powerful individuals and by what methods thus reflected the hierarchies of the late Antique social world» (p. 119).

B. Cabouret, en su contribución *Variations sur une recommandation*, diserta sobre la capacidad persuasiva del torrente epistolar de Libanio. La premisa de la que parte está bien atestiguada por autores contemporáneos al sofista como Eunapio: una de las cualidades más desarrolladas de Libanio fue la capacidad de adaptabilidad de su discurso epistolar. Así, con el fin de ayudar a su amigo Prisciano, Libanio le compone un corpus de epístolas con las que solicitar ayuda y hospitalidad a los destinatarios de esas cartas. El tono de cada carta variaba según lo que Libanio pretendiera conseguir además de ayuda a Prisciano: del elogio manido al *magister officiorum* Florencio (*Ep.* 61) al reproche difícilmente contenido a Temistio (*Ep.* 62), o la simple petición de tutela y hospedaje a Albanio (*Ep.* 63). Igual ductilidad muestra el corpus de cartas que compuso para ayudar a que su secretario Talasio entrara en el Senado sin cargas onerosas (*Epp.* 922-930). Cabouret demuestra que la maestría epistolar de Libanio residía tanto en su dominio de la prosa ática como en su capacidad para manejar con maestría conceptos como el *kairos* y τὸ πρέπον.

G. Ventura di Silva habla de la relación del sofista con su Antioquía natal en *Qualche riflessione sull'idea di città nell'Oratio XI di Libanio*. Di Silva considera que el objetivo del sofista al componer su conocido elogio de la capital siria era demostrar que la ciudad tenía una idiosincrasia especial, que se fundaba básicamente en la cohabitación tranquila de todos los habitantes. Esto se ejemplifica con el extenso encomio que Libanio hace de los pórticos de la ciudad, ya que al elogio de las construcciones en sí el sofista ofrece un retrato de la vida diaria y actividades de la ciudad. M. Kraus, con su trabajo *Les conceptions politiques et culturelles dans les Progymnasmata de Libanios et Aphthonios*, estudia un corpus muy difícil de abordar por la práctica imposibilidad de determinar la autenticidad de los ejercicios

escolares transmitidos bajo el nombre del sofista antioqueno. Kraus, con todo, investiga los antecedentes culturales de los que Libanio se valió (aticismo, Segunda Sofística) para componer sus progymnasmata. Resulta bastante interesante la conclusión a la que llega Kraus: el motivo del tirano, tan frecuente en estos ejercicios, sería en realidad una transposición literaria de los gobernantes y emperadores con vocaciones autócratas del siglo IV. El contenido pagano de estos ejercicios y las insinuaciones críticas al status quo del momento hacen plantearse a Kraus hasta qué punto el ámbito escolar fue autónomo e independiente para poder impartir un currículum con críticas no siempre veladas.

El tercer bloque de contenidos (*Humanité*) es abierto por el trabajo de C. Saliou *Jouir sans entraves? La notion de τρυφή dans l'Éloge d'Antioche de Libanios*. Se trata de un artículo que ejemplifica la doblez y ductilidad de la que Eunapio acusaba al antioqueno. Para Libanio, la τρυφή con la que se regocijan los habitantes de Constantinopla no dignificaba, pero cuando se trataba de disertar sobre la τρυφή de su Antioquía natal este defecto pasó a convertirse en una manifestación de *bon vivre*: el clima de la ciudad siria, la atmósfera intelectual, su monumentalidad son consideradas hipótesis de una τρυφή positiva que nada tiene que ver con el ambiente de Constantinopla. Esta postura, como apunta Saliou, se moderó tras los escritos en los que Juliano criticó Antioquía por su excesiva τρυφή.

A continuación, R. Criore sigue estudiando la relación entre Libanio y Juliano con su *Defending Julian: Libanios and Or. 37*. En su discurso 37 el sofista defendió la memoria del emperador tras ser acusado de haber envenenado a su esposa, Helena. Como suele suceder en los discursos de Libanio, los argumentos de defensa y acusación esconden una segunda lectura: Libanio reprocha a Policles que vierta sus acusaciones a Juliano por haber sido relevado de un puesto oficial, y carga contra Helpidio por haber contribuido a expandir el rumor infundado de que Juliano dio una joya familiar al médico de la familia imperial a cambio de envenenar a Helena. En este último caso, la motivación de Libanio se incrementó, ya que el sofista y Helpidio tenían un importante historial de desencuentros referentes a la *paideia* y al salario de los sofistas. Criore resume a la perfección lo que significó la composición de este discurso: «in this oration Libanios had to untangle an intricate web of genuine and sham alliances» (p. 175).

La aportación de U. Crisculo, *Considerations sur le dernier Libanios*, es un muy buen ensayo acerca de la actitud de Libanio para con los emperadores que sucedieron a Juliano, cuya muerte fue para el sofista el final de un periodo de εὐλογοὶ ἐλπίδες. Tras el difícil periodo que fue el reinado de Valente, Libanio, sabedor de que poco podía influir en Teodosio en aspectos relacionados con la religión, giró el eje de sus quejas hacia otros horizontes políticos y solicitó al emperador que no admitiera dentro de las fronteras del Imperio a los bárbaros, en tanto que constituían el extremo opuesto de la paideia retórica que él profesaba. Crisculo retrata a un Libanio crepuscular y nostálgico, si bien podría revitalizarse esa imagen si consideramos los distintos asuntos relacionados con prácticas mágicas que protagonizó el sofista como una señal de un periodo de agitada actividad social y política. Sobre la imagen que de sí mismo da Libanio trata el trabajo de L. van Hoof, *Libanius and the EU presidency. Career moves in the «Autobiography»*, para quien la premisa inicial para leer el texto autobiográfico de Libanio es que «this image is not so much a description of reality as a rhetorical construct» (p. 194). Con este aserto en mente, se analiza el periplo que llevó a Libanio a Atenas, Constantinopla, Nicomedia, nuevamente a Constantinopla y finalmente a residir de forma permanente en Antioquía. Para van Hoof, la decisión final vino tomada por considerar su ciudad natal como un centro en el que Libanio podría ejercer su influencia como figura intelectual y representante del paganismo tardío. El relato que el sofista ofrece en su *Autobiografía* sería, en consecuencia, una construcción literaria para justificar su regreso y ocultar los motivos por los que no triunfó en otras ciudades. El bloque final del libro (*Contrepoint*) comienza con el trabajo de G. Marasco *L'autre Libanios ou Libanios vu par les autres*, un repaso por los textos de autores posteriores que trataron la figura de Libanio. Eunapio, como ya se ha comentado, consideraba la doblez como una característica del antioqueno, así como su incapacidad de estar a la sombra de otros oradores mejor preparados que él. Además, trae a colación la acusación de pederastia que cayó sobre el sofista en Constantinopla, si bien reconoce que el esfuerzo y la capacidad de moverse en altas esferas sociales acabaron beneficiando a Libanio. A Zósimo debemos la equivocada narración de la intervención de Libanio en la revuelta de las estatuas en el 387. Los historiadores de la Iglesia, Sócrates y

Sozomeno, son los que dan carta de oficialidad a la asimilación Libanio-Juliano en el ámbito de la religión, siendo así responsables de crear un binomio que no existió pero que ha pervivido en la historiografía hasta hace poco más de un siglo. Teodoreto y Juan Malalas apenas citan a Libanio en alusión a sus habilidades retóricas, mientras que sobre la ausencia de alusiones al sofista por parte de su conciudadano Amiano Marcelino, Marasco aventura que pudo deberse a «la conscience du peu d'importance de la personne et de l'oeuvre de celui-ci dans la vie politique, limitée aux horizons locaux et avec très peu d'influence sur les affaires» (p. 216).

El volumen termina con un apéndice bibliográfico de la producción científica de Bernard Schouler, a cuyo magisterio debemos, sin duda alguna, el resurgir de los estudios sobre Libanio y la retórica en la Antigüedad tardía. Su continuidad y mejora depende, en gran medida, de esfuerzos como los de O. Lagacherie y P. L. Malosse, quienes han compilado excelentes trabajos sobre diversos aspectos de la obra de Libanio de Antioquía, y cuyo mérito se ve acrecentado por las nuevas líneas de investigación que abren. [Alberto Quiroga]

*La lode delle donne. 'O ἔπαινος τῶν γυναικῶν*, edizione, traduzione e commento a cura di Francesca Paola Vuturo, Caltanissetta, Edizioni Lusografica, 2011 (L'armilla. Collana di studi storici 7), pp. 160. [ISBN 9788882432094]

L'introduzione fornisce in termini chiari e concisi i dati indispensabili all'inquadramento dell'opera in rapporto alla tradizione greca, alla produzione occidentale e al contesto storico coevo, senza trascurare gli opportuni riferimenti a note di costume e società e al quadro politico ed economico di Creta sotto il dominio veneziano. Nella rapida disamina della realtà cretese del tempo e della compenetrazione tra elemento greco ed elemento veneziano che favorì lo sviluppo di nuove dinamiche sociali e economiche e imprese slancio alla vita culturale cretese, si sottolinea l'originalità dell'apporto letterario locale, percepibile in opere che conservano un'impronta nell'uso dell'idioma epicorico e in rielaborazioni condotte secondo lo spirito e la mentalità greci (pp. 11-27).

Il testo si presta a una rilettura storica, poiché l'ἔπαινος, nel documentare la percezione dell'universo femminile, costituisce una vivida testimonianza della società isolana del tempo, con parti-

colare attenzione alla quotidianità e allo specifico ruolo ricoperto dalle donne. La condanna di tanti aspetti della vita della donna – alle prese con il trucco, la depilazione, l’acconciatura e l’abbigliamento – fornisce indirettamente una messe di notizie sulla vita, sulle mode e sulle pratiche sociali dell’epoca, sulle occasioni intorno alle quali si imperniava l’esistenza pubblica e privata.

Le considerazioni di V. sulle tradizioni e sui possibili modelli letterari di un simile testo sono esaurienti e condivisibili, come pure il tentativo di desumere dall’opera notizie sulla realtà dell’anonimo autore, sulla sua eventuale appartenenza a una determinata classe sociale e sul retroterra culturale cretese, mediante precisi riferimenti testuali che appoggiano di volta in volta le osservazioni esposte.

L’informazione critica che sorregge asserzioni e supposizioni poggia non solo sulla conoscenza dei testi e sui necessari sussidi bibliografici, ma anche su fonti documentarie o evidenze materiali (come il richiamo agli affreschi delle chiese cretesi).

La storia degli studi e l’analisi del manoscritto e del testo tradito offrono una panoramica chiara ed esauriente (pp. 29-33). La curatrice si sofferma sui diversi criteri ecdotici seguiti in passato e sugli interventi testuali proposti, lasciando intravedere l’opportunità, per chi si occupa di testi greci in volgare, di indagare anche i rapporti intercorrenti tra «il medioevo bizantino e la letteratura italiana e romanza» (p. 32), in una prospettiva più ampia e intertestuale.

Chiara e scorrevole la descrizione del manoscritto, così come le osservazioni di natura paleografica (pp. 33-39). Essenziale ed efficace l’analisi delle consuetudini del copista, le cui idiosincrasie, peraltro in gran parte comuni ai testi demotici, sono messe in luce tramite opportune esemplificazioni e correlate anche alla pronuncia storica coeva (pp. 40-44). Con ragione V. pone in evidenza anche l’importanza dello studio degli interventi consapevoli attuati dai copisti sul testo, interventi che interessano soprattutto i testi volgari, liberi dal culto dei modelli cui soggiacciono i testi della letteratura in *Hochsprache*. Questa contingenza permette infatti a chi conduce l’edizione di un testo greco volgare di concentrarsi sulle grafie adottate intenzionalmente o indotte dall’articolazione orale del copista.

Segue un capitolo dedicato all’esame accurato delle peculiarità linguistiche dell’opera, passate in rassegna di nuovo con l’efficace ricorso ad esempi testuali e suddivise in sezioni inerenti alla fonetica, alla morfologia, alla sintassi, al lessico e al me-

tro (pp. 45-62). Il capitolo contiene notizie e fenomeni linguistici degni di interesse, con particolare attenzione alle forme prettamente dialettali. La disamina dei vari fenomeni di fonetica, morfologia e sintassi ha uno schema analitico agile, che agevola la comprensione immediata di tutti i fatti grafici descritti ed è pregevole per chiarezza e concisione.

Particolarmente interessante la sezione dedicata al lessico peculiare della *Lode*, capitolo in cui V. offre un ricco ventaglio di forme e vocaboli che rievocano la concretezza della quotidianità e della realtà proprie della materia trattata, illustrando con elenchi ed esempi la varietà che connota il testo. L’intera sezione, soffermandosi sulla natura dei prestiti e dei neologismi attestati, si rivela estremamente interessante per i dati che raccoglie, soprattutto per quanto attiene agli idiomatismi cretesi, e offre spunti di indagine, appoggi testuali e paralleli per chi si dedichi all’edizione di testi greci tardi accostabili.

Più essenziale la parte dedicata all’analisi metrica, in cui l’editrice tratta dei problemi e delle particolarità della versificazione (pp. 58 sgg.). Potevano, forse, essere maggiormente sviluppati alcuni aspetti, quali l’accento alla «divaricazione esistente tra la stesura scritta del verso e quella che doveva essere la sua resa orale» (p. 60), realtà meno comprensibile per chi non frequenti specificamente questi testi, al pari delle considerazioni sulle modalità di versificazione e di superamento delle difficoltà imposte dalla norma metrica, che meritavano di essere più ampiamente esemplificate e argomentate, benché l’informazione essenziale non sia affatto carente.

Attenzione specifica, in questo genere di testi, esige la pratica della rima. Concordiamo con la difesa dei casi di rima imperfetta o realizzata per assonanza, perché, come giustamente rileva V., essi dimostrano l’equivalenza di determinate grafie all’orecchio di chi scrive; così come condividiamo il trattamento delle anomalie metriche, che segue una linea sobriamente conservativa, evitando interventi arbitrari e eccessivamente intrusivi di fronte a versi strutturalmente “irregolari” o “imperfetti”: condotta ecdotica da sottoscrivere, anche perché garantisce la conservazione di caratteristiche altrimenti destinate alla rimozione. Tanto più che i casi discussi tra le peculiarità fonetiche, morfosintattiche e metriche dell’*Ἐπαινος* presentano analogie con altri testi del medesimo tenore in cui, ancora, le rime imperfette, l’omofonia di differenti grafie, e la contaminazione tra scrittura e pronuncia rappresentano costanti diffuse non



solo a livello testuale, ma anche intertestuale, tra testi della letteratura volgare greca.

I criteri di edizione (pp. 63-69) e le difficoltà insite nell'allestimento dell'edizione di testi volgari sono definiti e sostenuti anche in base alle prassi seguite da altri editori di testi in lingua volgare. Principio ecdotico fondamentale è l'importanza attribuita al testimone stesso, e il conseguente tendenziale rispetto della lezione trādita. Il testo rappresenta un documento degno di fede da conservare nella forma più vicina possibile a quella trasmessa, soprattutto quando, come nel caso dell'Ἐπαινος, sia consegnato da un unico manoscritto: i suoi connotati hanno particolare dignità e interesse anche in mancanza della possibilità di ulteriori riscontri per la *constitutio textus*.

Le scelte ecdotiche di V. si configurano come un compromesso tra rispetto generale delle grafie trādite, misurata normalizzazione ortografica e morfosintattica, operazioni di risanamento delle conclamate incoerenze e sviste del copista, conservazione delle forme riconducibili alle caratteristiche linguistiche dell'epoca e del luogo di origine, concedendo spazio solo a interventi di restauro che trovino fondamento nella prassi del copista medesimo; in taluni casi è stato tacitamente ommesso o conservato in apparato quanto riconducibile alle sue abitudini grafiche.

Quanto al ripristino dell'ortografia "corretta" o "invalsa", che indubbiamente garantisce una migliore fruibilità da parte del lettore, si è percorsa una via equilibrata (un testo ortograficamente più difensivo sarebbe stata scelta troppo radicale, adatta alla fattispecie di un autografo o di un idiografo).

I criteri che presidono di volta in volta agli interventi sul testo sono esposti con chiarezza: ha un peso particolare l'*usus* interno, che fornisce talvolta il conforto di paralleli. Giustamente parchi e selettivi gli interventi sul metro, anche in merito all'accentazione nei casi di sinizesi in presenza dei suoni *e* e *i*, una misura che ritengo senza riserve l'atteggiamento ecdotico da preferirsi: va giustamente conservato l'accento sul primo elemento vocalico, benché nella lettura metrica si apponga l'accento sul secondo.

Approfitto per segnalare che alcune delle caratteristiche linguistiche della *Lode* che V. a buon diritto attribuisce a un fraintendimento dell'etimologia del verbo o ad aplografia come, per esempio, la grafia trādita καὶ ῥωτᾶ (110) o νὰ ποθᾶνουν (703), ricorrono (insieme ai casi di discrasia tra accento di metro e di parola o al limitato uso dei segni di elisione e aferesi) in un testo metabi-

zantino di cui sto preparando l'edizione secondo criteri ecdotici simili, gli Ἀνδραγαθήματα τοῦ Μερκουρίου Μπούα, narrazione storica in versi composta a Venezia nel 1519 da Tzane Koroneos, pervenuta attraverso un unico esemplare autografo (ms. Taurinensis, Bibl. Regia, Varia 101). Esse confermano, con tutta probabilità, l'esistenza di un insieme di peculiarità grafiche tendenzialmente comuni al genere e alla fase di evoluzione linguistica di questi testi: peculiarità che allora andrebbero conservate nella loro forma trādita proprio in virtù del loro carattere diffuso, perché parte di un sistema fluido in cui la grafia risente a livello strutturale delle modalità espressive della pronuncia. Secondo l'opinione che mi sono gradualmente formata, taluni esiti grafici – apparentemente "abnormi" o "paradossali" – possono essere indotti, piuttosto che da errori di trascrizione, dall'interferenza della pronuncia storica. Il continuo affacciarsi dell'omofonia nella pratica scrittoria non causa soltanto "errori" (o, forse, non causa affatto "errori"), ma favorisce l'instaurarsi di prassi percepite come assolutamente legittime: per es., talune sovrapposizioni di suoni identici, spesso origine di ciò che in termini di astratta classificazione possiamo chiamare aplografia, fanno pensare che il copista – nel caso di Koroneos l'autore – non avvertisse, in molte occasioni anche per afflusso di ragioni metriche, la necessità di segnalare l'aferesi o ripristinare la grafia corretta e integrale, perché la coincidenza di suono nell'articolazione orale suggeriva una grafia sintetica (da qui l'ampio ricorso alla sinizesi). Penso, per es., a forme come νὰ ποθᾶνουν (IV 94) o νὰ ποθᾶνουσι (I 124; XVI 254), o ad altre grafie "aberranti" o dall'inesatta ricostruzione etimologica, quali, per esempio, νὰ κούω o νὰ νηπαύσω (rispettivamente VI 38; I 8).

Inoltre, V. menziona tra le abitudini grafiche del copista della *Lode* la tendenza a trascrivere τζ il gruppo di consonanti τσ; anche questa caratteristica ricorre nel poemetto di Koroneos, che preferibilmente scrive ἀτζάκιστος («incrollabile», «saldo»: VI 268) per il più comune ἀτσάκιστος (e ciò vale, per esempio, anche per τζακίζω in luogo dell'odierno τσακίζω), e così pure usa la grafia βίτζο ῥέ, ovvero βιτζορέ («viceré»: I 75 etc.), per βιτσορέ. In situazioni come queste può essere utile, se non mantenerla nel testo la lezione trādita, per lo meno menzionarla in apparato. Infatti, dal momento che la medesima tendenza grafica ricorre, limitandoci ai casi citati, già in due testi, si può forse escludere che si tratti, piuttosto che di un'isolata idiosincrasia di copista, della traccia di un

sistema grafico storicamente attestato in una fase della tradizione della letteratura metabizantina e demotica? Gli esempi recati potrebbero essere estesi, ma quanto citato può bastare per sollevare il dubbio metodologico.

È giusto infine soffermarsi sulla qualità della resa italiana del testo dell' *Ἐπιαινος*. Qui le parziali riserve che mi permetto di avanzare non concernono la sostanza della comprensione del testo, sempre correttamente interpretato, quanto la scelta di riprodurre nella versione italiana il metro, il tono e l'andamento dell'originale. Tale opzione non è in sé criticabile, ma nella sua applicazione porta inevitabilmente a difficoltà irrimediabili, quali i casi in cui l'italiano non disponga di una rima adeguata (di qui la forzata perdita del ritmo), per l'assenza, per esempio, di un corrispettivo della vasta fenomenologia di omofonie dell'originale. Oltre a questa congenita *patrii sermonis egestas* va tenuto conto dei limiti realizzativi che si incontrano nella pur vasta gamma di artifici – metrici, sintattici, di livello lessicale, etc. – che si possono attivare lungo il percorso prescelto.

Sarebbe forse risultata più fruibile una parafrasi in prosa dell'intero testo, magari intercalata da brevi passi tradotti con maggiore aderenza e – perché no? – in registro poetico. Anche l'*ordo verborum* occasionalmente non aiuta la fluidità della lettura e l'immediata intelligibilità dei passi, mentre, in rari casi, nello stabilire i dovuti collegamenti sintattici si rileva qualche discrepanza con la punteggiatura, che turba la scorrevolezza del periodare o l'impianto sintattico (vd. per es. ai v. 687 sgg.: «Ma ciascuna, in sua dimora / da cortesa si colora, / e nascosta dalla griglia / sta a vedere chi si piglia, / poi lo spenna, in casa entrato / il marito è ormai il passato»; l'originale è più chiaro. Cfr. anche vv. 123-124, 653 sgg.).

Si deve altresì ammettere che è il testo stesso – e la considerazione può valere anche per altri prodotti letterari di analogo tenore – a non favorire una trasposizione letteraria, non raggiungendo particolari livelli estetici che consentano una resa poetica efficace e sufficientemente elevata. Del resto, la stessa V. riconosce il modesto grado di perizia tecnica dell'autore (p. 61).

Ma queste sono considerazioni di ordine secondario e di gusto personale, mentre vale piuttosto la pena di porre l'attenzione sul merito principale del lavoro, cioè sulla qualità dell'operazione ecdotica condotta da V., che pervenendo sulla base di principi chiari e adeguati a un'edizione critica lodevolmente difensiva, restituisce ai lettori la realtà storica di un documento della letteratura metabi-

zantina, conservandone i tratti peculiari anche epigrafici. Segno macroscopico di questa operazione è il criterio di non alterare la polimorfia ortografica “incoerente” che connota le opere tarde in volgare e che le distingue dai testi culti: siamo finalmente lontani da ogni volontà di uniformazione e normalizzazione, principio praticato in passato, ma con risultati ormai inaccettabili.

Essenziali le note di commento al testo (pp. 127-144), che consegnano dati interessanti dal punto di vista ecdotico, letterario e linguistico, e accompagnano la lettura e la comprensione del testo; particolarmente utile è l'analisi linguistica delle forme tradite, soprattutto di quelle dialettali, così come l'indicazione di paralleli letterari.

Le rare mende tipografiche (per es. p. 68, r. 5; p. 75, v. 37) non intaccano i meriti del volume. [Roberta Angiolillo]

*I Longobardi e la storia. Un percorso attraverso le fonti*, a cura di Francesco Lo Monaco e Francesco Mores, Roma, Viella, 2012 (Altomedioevo 7), pp. 168. [ISBN 9788883346446]

Il volume raccoglie gli atti di un convegno promosso dall'Università e dal Comune di Bergamo e dedicato alle *Fonti per la storia dei Longobardi in Italia*. Agli studiosi di bizantinistica interessa soprattutto il lavoro di P. Cesaretti, *I Longobardi di Procopio*, pp. 19-73, in cui si sottolinea come i Longobardi, pur rimanendo in secondo piano rispetto ad altre popolazioni in contatto con Bisanzio, abbiano nel *De bello gothico* «uno statuto “plurale” [...] – alleato vincente e affidabile in guerra, ancorché a pagamento; correligionario, almeno a parole, ma indisciplinato e violento, al punto da vessare i cittadini dell'impero ed eroderne le frontiere; barbarico, ma sottile, al limite dell'ipocrisia» (p. 59). Completano il bel libro i saggi di F. Lo Monaco, *Dai Fasti a Fredegario*, pp. 77-104; W. Pohl, *Origo gentis Langobardorum*, pp. 105-121, e F. Mores, *Come lavorava Paolo Diacono*, pp. 123-139. [Paolo Varalda]

Ferenc Makk, *Vom mythischen Vogel Turul bis zum Doppelkreuz*, aus dem Ungarischen von Tibor Schäfer, Gabriele Schäfer Verlag, Herne, 2012, pp. 364. [ISBN 9783933337900]

Raccolta di contributi sulla storia ungherese (IX-XII sec.) che opportunamente ripresenta in lingua tedesca una serie di saggi già pubblicati in magiaro, e aggiunge due nuovi contributi di particolare interesse per gli studi bizantini: *Relations*

*hungaro-byzantines à l'époque de Béla III* (pp. 269-315) e *Vom mythischen Vogel Turul bis zum Doppelkreuz*, nel quale sono ripercorsi i rapporti tra Ungari e Bizantini dall'850 al 1190 ca. (pp. 317-345). Utile la *Auswahlbibliographie* su tali rapporti (pp. 346-362). [E. V. M.]

*Matthias Corvinus und seine Zeit. Europa am Übergang vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit zwischen Wien und Konstantinopel*, herausgegeben von Christian Gastgeber, Ekaterini Mitsiou, Ioan-Aurel Pop, Mihailo Popović, Johannes Preiser-Kapeller, Alexandru Simon, Wien, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2011 (Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Denkschriften 409 = Veröffentlichungen zur Byzanzforschung 27), pp. 266. [ISBN 9783700168911]

Raccolta di studi originata dal simposio internazionale tenutosi nel 2008 a Cluj-Napoca in occasione del 550° anniversario dell'ascesa al trono di Ungheria di Mattia Corvino (1458-1490), sotto gli auspici della delegazione locale dell'Accademia delle Scienze di Romania e dell'Istituto di studi bizantini in Vienna.

La prima parte del volume, dedicata al contesto storico e politico in cui operò l'illuminato sovrano, e in particolare ai rapporti tra la corona ungherese e il potente vicino ottomano, comprende studi a firma di O. J. Schmitt, A. Simon, J. Dücker, G. İşıksel e J. Preiser-Kapeller (quest'ultimo affronta il tema dal punto di vista delle fonti bizantine). La seconda sezione è incentrata sulla politica ecclesiastica del regno e ospita approfondimenti sulle fondazioni monastiche (V. Rus), sulle relazioni tra cattolici e ortodossi in Moldavia (F. Solomon), sulla chiesa di rito bizantino in Ungheria secondo la testimonianza di Bessarione (D. I. Muresan), sui privilegi accordati ai rumeni di Transilvania da re Mattia (I.-A. Pop).

Nella terza sezione, *Handschriften und Gelehrte*, dotata di un ottimo corredo iconografico, sono discusse nuove acquisizioni in merito alla biblioteca corviniana: C. Gastgeber propone alcuni *ad-ditamenta* ai manoscritti corviniani greci; G. Masi riconosce la provenienza corviniana di codici ora conservati nelle biblioteche fiorentine o menzionati in documenti di archivi fiorentini; Z. Ötvös studia un inedito lessico umanistico; G. Bolonyai pubblica le glosse di Taddeo Ugoletto da lui reperte in una copia del lessico greco-latino di Crastone; A. Németh propone un'analisi del Par. suppl. gr. 607, il "Mynas codex"; G. Mayer analizza la storia del testo delle elegie di Giano Pannonio.

La quarta parte della raccolta, *Nachleben und Rezeption*, ospita studi sulla fortuna delle figure di J. Hunyadi e Mattia Corvino nelle fonti bizantine e neogreche (E. Mitsiou, con un *excursus* sul poema sulla battaglia di Varna), nella storiografia greca dei secoli XIX e XX (A. Moutafidou), e nei resoconti di due viaggiatori del XVI secolo, S. Schweigger e R. Lubenau (M. Popović); infine F. Kühner offre una panoramica sulla caduta di Costantinopoli nella manualistica scolastica rumena degli ultimi sessant'anni.

Seguono gli indici delle persone e delle fonti manoscritte. [Luigi Silvano]

Andrea Nicolotti, *Dal Mandylion di Edessa alla Sindone di Torino. Metamorfosi di una leggenda*, Alessandria, Edizioni dell'Orso, 2011, pp. 232. [ISBN 9788862743075]

Il lavoro costituisce la seconda valva di un trittico che ripercorre a ritroso la storia della reliquia torinese, dai giorni nostri alla sua (presunta) origine nel I sec. Il primo lavoro (*I Templari e la Sindone: storia di un falso*, Roma 2011) ha demolito le teorie avanzate principalmente dalla storica Barbara Frale (*I Templari e la sindone di Cristo*, Bologna 2009; *La Sindone di Gesù Nazareno*, Bologna 2010) secondo cui il telo sindonico sarebbe stato custodito dai Templari prima della sua comparsa nelle fonti medievali del XIV sec. Seppur dedicato principalmente a vicende ambientate in Francia, alcuni capitoli del volume toccavano anche l'ambito degli studi bizantini. N., fra l'altro, illustrava con arte la falsità di un'epistola attribuita a Teodoro Comneno, fratello di Michele signore dell'Epiro, che sarebbe stata inviata a papa Innocenzo III nell'anno 1205 e che è tramandata da una copia di un presunto *Chartularium Culisaniense*. Altre pagine, poi, erano dedicate all'esame di una testimonianza sulla Sindone attribuita a Nicola di Otranto (Nettario di Casole) e ad alcuni eventi riguardanti la famiglia dei De La Roche, signori latini di Atene.

Questo secondo lavoro si focalizza invece sul periodo intermedio, compreso tra il IV-V secolo e il XIV, in cui le leggende sulla Sindone si intrecciano con quelle di un'altra famosa reliquia acheropita, il cosiddetto *Mandylion* di Edessa.

Lo studio si snoda in una quarantina di brevi capitoli ognuno dei quali corrisponde all'esame di una fonte o di un aspetto della vicenda secondo cui – stando a diverse teorie sindonologiche la più nota delle quali è ascrivibile a Ian Wilson – il *Mandylion* e la Sindone di Torino sarebbero in

realtà il medesimo oggetto. N. inizia dalla leggenda di Abgar, già attestata da Eusebio di Cesarea nel IV sec. A partire dal V sec. essa si arricchisce della menzione di un dipinto del volto di Gesù il quale, nel secolo successivo, viene trasformato in un'immagine acheropita. N. prende in esame le fonti antiche di lingua greca, siriana, araba ed armena e segue lo sviluppo della leggenda, differente e disomogeneo nei diversi ambiti culturali in cui essa si afferma. Ognuno dei testi viene tradotto e interpretato, soprattutto in relazione alle presunte informazioni che concorrerebbero a indicare un'identità tra l'immagine edessena e la Sindone di Torino. Procedendo in senso cronologico, N. si sofferma successivamente sulla curiosa denominazione attribuita dagli Atti di Taddeo alla reliquia edessena – *ράκος τετραδίπλον* – e sulle informazioni in merito al reliquiario nel quale era conservata nella chiesa di Edessa. Un'ampia parte è dedicata a tutta quella produzione letteraria bizantina che coincide e segue l'epoca della traslazione del *Mandyllion* a Costantinopoli (nell'anno 944) e che in larga parte è dovuta o ispirata alla penna di Costantino Porfirogenito: la *Narratio de imagine edessena*, il Sinassario, le odi liturgiche per la festa della traslazione. Un lungo capitolo è dedicato all'esame di alcuni passi particolarmente controversi dell'*Omelia* di Gregorio il Referendario per la ricezione dell'immagine di Edessa a Costantinopoli. Mentre a Bisanzio la tradizione sulla reliquia edessena raggiunge una forma cristallizzata, l'Autore mostra la persistenza, in ambito di lingua araba e siriana, di tradizioni diverse e più arcaiche che non conoscono la storia dell'immagine acheropita. La prima parte del volume si conclude con l'esame di altre fonti sia greche sia latine (Nicola Mesarite, Robert de Clari, Orderico Vitale, Gervasio di Tillbury).

La ricerca è condotta con vigore e acribia: N. riesce a introdurre il lettore nel complesso intreccio di tradizioni locali, spesso confuse e sovrapposte, attraverso un'analisi puntuale delle fonti primarie, condotta sui testi originali opportunamente tradotti. Tale approccio, che rende accessibili a un largo pubblico anche fonti siriane o armena, alcune delle quali poco o per nulla conosciute, soddisfa anche il lettore colto o l'addetto ai lavori, che trova nel ricco apparato bibliografico un quadro obiettivo e verificabile dello *status quaestionis*.

Ciò che emerge potentemente è l'esistenza di una vasta prassi di falsificazione delle fonti, disinvoltamente piegate dalla pleora dei cosiddetti "sindonologi" al sostegno di una tesi preconfezionata: «Si ha l'impressione che si vogliono cercare spie-

gazioni filosindoniche, anche se inconciliabili tra loro, allo scopo di giungere allo stesso risultato già stabilito in anticipo» (p. 125). L'analisi di N. svela plagi, palesi forzature nell'interpretazione delle fonti, errori grossolani, fino a vere e proprie falsificazioni, tali che l'A., al termine del percorso, non può che concludere: «Gli sforzi fatti da parte dei sostenitori dell'identità tra la Sindone di Torino e il Mandilio di Edessa sono basati su forzature, quando non su vere manipolazioni dei testi e delle testimonianze iconografiche» (p. 183).

Sebbene il lavoro riguardi prevalentemente le fonti letterarie, l'ultima parte del saggio offre diversi capitoli dedicati all'iconografia del *Mandyllion* indagando tutti quegli elementi figurativi che sono stati presentati come prova di una sua dipendenza diretta dall'immagine dell'uomo della Sindone di Torino. L'Autore prende anche in esame le copie del *Mandyllion* di Roma e di Genova (sulle quali, probabilmente, sarebbe stato utile spendere qualche altra parola), il cosiddetto "Volto Santo" di Lucca, le rappresentazioni dell'immagine edessena e del ciclo di Abgar nei codici miniati, le icone della tradizione ortodossa concedendosi, infine, anche una piccola digressione numismatica. Il giudizio complessivo è nettamente positivo: il saggio ricostruisce con obiettività le vicende storiche legate alla reliquia edessena e illustra, al di là di ogni ragionevole dubbio, l'inconsistenza delle macchinose teorie che pretenderebbero di identificarla con la Sindone di Torino. Non resta ora che attendere l'ultimo dei tre volumi promessi, magari nella speranza che, a questa cospicua – e pur necessaria – *pars destruens* segua un'altrettanto rigorosa *pars construens*. [Valerio Polidori]

Theodor Nikolau, *Glaube und Forsch. Ausgewählte Studien zur Griechischen Patristik und Byzantinischen Geistesgeschichte*, Sankt Ottilien, EOS-Verlag Erzabtei Sankt Ottilien, 2012 (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Orthodoxe Theologie der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München 10), pp. 482. [ISBN 9783830675334]

Nel volume sono ripubblicati contributi di carattere teologico e storico-ecclesiastico già comparsi in altre sedi fra il 1976 ed il 2010. L'utile silloge si suddivide in quattro parti: *Grundzüge der Griechischen Patristik und Byzantinischen Geistesgeschichte* (pp. 15-170); *Die episkopal-synodale Struktur der Kirche und die ökumenischen Konzile* (pp. 173-254); *Bild und Glaube* (pp. 257-392) e *Gottesdienst und kirchliche Gemeinschaft* (pp. 395-474). [Paolo Varalda]

Θεόδωρος Νικολάου / Theodor Nikolau, *Μετουσία Θεοῦ. Φιλοσοφικές και θεολογικές μελέτες / Participation in God. Philosophical and Theological Studies*, Ἀθήναι, Κέντρον Πατερικῶν Ἐκδόσεων, 2011, pp. 474. [ISBN 9789609849982]

Nel volume sono ripubblicati diciotto saggi di Theodor Nikolau, in parte editi in tedesco ed ora tradotti in neogreco. Tra i molti temi affrontati con la consueta competenza dall'illustre teologo ricordiamo: il significato dell'ellenismo per il cristianesimo e la cultura europea, il problema del libero arbitrio nella filosofia antica, in Clemente Alessandrino e nei Padri della Chiesa, l'uomo come "animale politico" in Basilio di Cesarea, il confronto tra il misticismo di Gregorio di Nissa e quello di Plotino, i rapporti ecumenici fra cattolici e ortodossi e le prospettive di unione delle Chiese. [Paolo Varalda]

Alessandro Pagliara, *Per la storia della fortuna dell'imperatore Giuliano tra Umanesimo ed età barocca*, Roma, Edizioni Nuova Cultura, 2010, pp. 104. [ISBN 9788861345065]

Sintetico, ma esaustivo volume sulla storia della fortuna dell'imperatore Giuliano dall'autunno del Medioevo (*Giuliano in Boccaccio e Jacopo da Varagine*, pp. 16-19) al XVII secolo (*La seconda edizione giuliana del Petavio [1630]*, pp. 88-95). Come appare dall'attenta ricostruzione di P., in questo lungo arco di tempo si assisté al ricupero della figura storica dell'Apostata, che i Padri avevano condannato senza appello in quanto restauratore del paganesimo. Il processo di riabilitazione di Giuliano iniziò con Lorenzo il Magnifico (cfr. pp. 19-24), ma ebbe compimento in Francia tra l'epoca delle guerre di religione (cfr. pp. 55-71, sui rapporti fra l'Apostata e Jean Bodin) e l'età barocca (cfr. pp. 86-88: *Giuliano in Montaigne*). Completa il bel libro un'accurata indagine sulla tradizione manoscritta e a stampa delle opere giulianee (cfr., ad es., pp. 25-33: *Giuliano alla scuola di Vittorino da Feltré*; pp. 35-49: *Gli opera omnia di Giuliano tra XV e XVII sec.*; pp. 77-83: *La editio princeps del Secondo panegirico a Costanzo*; pp. 83-86: *La prima edizione giuliana di Denis Petau [1614]*). [Paolo Varalda]

Lidia Perria, *Γραφίς. Per una storia della scrittura greca libraria (secoli IV a.C.-XVI d.C.)*, Roma-Città del Vaticano, Università degli Studi di Roma «Tor Vergata»-Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana,

2011 (Quaderni di Νέα Ῥώμη 1), pp. 272. [ISBN 978821008870; ISSN 20369026]

Impeccabilmente curato da ex allieve della compianta specialista (Alessia Adriana Aletta, Donatella Bucca, Maria Teresa Rodriguez), il volume consegna ben più di quel manuale didattico che ci si attenderebbe dalla sua lontana genesi (gli *Appunti del corso di Paleografia greca* forniti agli studenti dalla docente), o, meglio, costituisce un elevato paradigma del manuale universitario in ambito umanistico: non un semplice testo strumentale per l'apprendimento, ma una sintesi informata e critica del sapere paleografico e della sua evoluzione moderna, con attenti *status quaestionis* e corredo bibliografico opportunamente selettivo e puntuale (con aggiornamenti indispensabili delle curatrici).

La scansione diacronica, che prende avvio dalla maiuscola di età tolemaica e giunge alle scritture librarie di età umanistico e rinascimentale, fino alla *Druckminuskel*, si avvale di un impianto storico e descrittivo didatticamente esaustivo, di numerosi *specimina* intercalati e in più d'un caso analizzati nella loro peculiarità, di riproduzioni di lettere, legature, etc. Con funzione di apposite unità didattiche, ma sempre trattate con rigore scientifico pur nella loro essenzialità, compaiono varie appendici che attengono a problemi intrinseci all'apprendimento paleografico greco: consuetudini scrittorie (abbreviazioni e *nomina sacra*; tecniche tachigrafiche e brachigrafiche); elementi di cronologia bizantina; *subscriptions*; pronuncia storica del greco; canoni eusebiani; fondamenti di codicologia. [E. V. M.]

Marios Philippides and Walter K. Hanak, *The Siege and the Fall of Constantinople in 1453. Historiography, Topography, and Military Studies*, Farnham-Burlington, Ashgate 2011, pp. XXIV + 760. [ISBN 9781409410645]

Il ponderoso volume, in cui Philippides e Hanak hanno condensato i risultati di lunghi anni di lavoro su una mole imponente di testimonianze letterarie e archeologiche, costituisce la più ampia monografia disponibile sull'assedio e la caduta di Costantinopoli, e si propone come strumento imprescindibile per il bizantinista, sia in chiave didattica sia come punto di partenza per ulteriori ricerche.

La prima parte del volume, *The pen*, è dedicata alle fonti letterarie, di cui gli autori forniscono una rassegna molto ampia e documentata. Il primo capitolo passa in rassegna i resoconti quattro-

centeschi, suddivisi tra quelli che si devono a testimoni oculari (Niccolò Barbaro, Angelo Giovanni Lomellino, Iacopo Tedaldi, Leonardo Giustiniani, Giacomo Languschi, Isidoro Ruteno, Benvenuto, Ubertino Puscolo, "Eparchos" e "Diplovatatzes", Nestor-Iskander, Samuele vescovo, Costantino di Ostrovica, alcuni resoconti francescani) e non (Enea Silvio Piccolomini, Paolo Doti, fra Girolamo da Firenze, Lauro Quirini, Nicola Sagundino, Giovanni Mosco e altri ancora). Si passa poi alle fonti cinquecentesche in lingua greca, ai documenti d'archivio del patriarcato costantinopolitano e del sultanato ottomano, ai resoconti turchi. Il capitolo II analizza in particolare la cronaca attribuita a "Richerio", i già menzionati resoconti di papa Piccolomini, del Tedaldi e del Nestor-Iskander. Il terzo capitolo è dedicato alle cronache dello Sfranze e dello Pseudo-Sfranze e alle fonti di queste compilazioni (Giustiniani, Languschi, Dolfin; si mettono inoltre in luce le affinità con altre narrazioni, quali ad es. quelle del Sansovino e del cd. Anonimo Barberini). Il capitolo IV prende in esame l'insieme di profezie, oracoli, segni premonitori, leggende (come quella concernente l'ultimo imperatore) formatosi immediatamente a ridosso della caduta.

La seconda parte, *The sword*, in cui confluiscono anche ricerche già oggetto di pubblicazione da parte dei due autori, è dedicata alla ricostruzione delle operazioni militari e alla strategia di attaccanti e difensori. Dopo una particolareggiata descrizione della topografia della città e delle fortificazioni (con approfondimenti sulla storia e struttura delle mura teodosiane e del *Mesoteichion*), delle porte civili e militari e delle mura della cinta di nord-ovest, gli autori trattano delle artiglierie, nelle manovre navali (cap. VIII), delle operazioni di terra (cap. IX, con analisi dettagliata del dispiegamento delle artiglierie e delle opere di mina). Il capitolo X è dedicato alla strategia difensiva dei Bizantini. Il capitolo XI presenta le conclusioni: alla luce dell'analisi svolta, gli autori ritengono che la ritirata del comandante Giovanni Giustiniani Longo, ferito, dalla porta di *Pempton* abbia avuto un peso decisivo sulle sorti dell'assedio: «in the end, there was no decisive battle, that history can record. This was a fortuitous turn of events for Mehmed's forces and spelled victory over a brave, but inadequate force» (p. 568).

La trattazione prosegue con quattro appendici: l'utilissima efemeride dell'assedio, seguita dal testo latino con traduzione dell'*Ephemeris* di Niccolò Barbaro (I); una raccolta di testi sull'esecuzione di Luca Notara (II); una breve nota sulla

possibile identificazione del varco settentrionale delle mura teodosiane che le fonti indicano come *Kerkopoporta* (III); una lista provvisoria dei difensori e di «various personalities that played a part in the siege» (p. 629; IV). Chiudono il volume una imponente bibliografia delle fonti primarie (manoscritte e a stampa) e della letteratura secondaria, gli indici dei nomi e dei luoghi.

Il libro è impreziosito da un inserto fotografico con oltre 70 immagini in bianco e nero di molti dei luoghi menzionati; ci si può rammaricare che l'apparato cartografico non sia altrettanto ricco: le poche mappe (4 in tutto) non consentono un riscontro puntuale delle cospicue informazioni topografiche e geografiche fornite nella trattazione. [Luigi Silvano]

Angelo Poliziano, *Vorworte und Vorlesungen, Einleitung, deutsche Übersetzung und Anmerkungen von Otto und Eva Schönberger, Würzburg, Königshausen & Neumann, 2011, pp. 150. [ISBN 9783826045967].*

Traduzione tedesca di due scritti prefatori (alle versioni del *Manuale* di Epitteto e del *Carmide* platonico) e di sette prolusioni universitarie (la *Lamia*, il *Panepistemon*, l'*Oratio in expositione Homeri*, l'*Oratio super F. Quintiliano et Statii Sylvis*, le *praelectiones In Svetonium*, *In Persium* e *De dialectica*) del Poliziano. Alla traduzione, indubbiamente la parte più originale e utile del libro, si affiancano alcune stringatissime note di presentazione e commento ai testi, distribuite fra l'introduzione (pp. 7-14, cui fa seguito una angusta notizia bibliografica alle pp. 15-16) e le *Erläuterungen* di pp. 135-144. Un *Index* (pp. 129-134) fornisce l'identificazione degli autori antichi e medievali menzionati nei testi. [Luigi Silvano]

*La punctuation à la Renaissance, études réunies et présentées par Nathalie Dauvois et Jacques Dürenmatt, Paris, Classiques Garnier, 2011 (Colloques, congrès et conférences sur la Renaissance européenne 69), pp. 190. [ISBN 9782812402944]*

La riflessione teorica sulle pratiche interpuntorie di manoscritti e stampe incunabile e cinquecentesca si va ormai imponendo come fondamentale premessa metodologica per la restituzione dei testi d'epoca medievale e umanistico-rinascimentale secondo criteri che tengano conto, almeno in parte, degli usi storicamente attestati da autori e copisti. L'argomento, a più riprese sollevato e trattato dai bizantinisti nel corso degli ulti-

mi decenni, riscuote ormai largo interesse anche tra studiosi della letteratura medievale e umanistica in latino e nelle lingue volgari (il fervore del recente dibattito scientifico in proposito è bene documentato, tra l'altro, nella miscellanea curata da B. Mortara Garavelli, *Storia della punteggiatura in Europa*, Roma-Bari 2008). E poiché il confronto con altri settori affini alla bizantinistica può spesso risultare fruttuoso, piace segnalare in questa sede il volume curato da Dauvois e Dürenmatt, che raduna studi perlopiù incentrati su volumi stampati nella Francia rinascimentale, che forniscono spunti di riflessione su aspetti teorici (ad es., che cos'è e a che cosa serve la punteggiatura) e storici (particolarmente istruttivi quelli dedicati ai mutamenti della prassi interpuntoria legati allo sviluppo della stampa fra XV e XVI sec. e alla trattatistica cinquecentesca sulla punteggiatura); altri saggi, poi, sono incentrati sull'analisi di casi singoli di stampatori e alle vicende editoriali di alcuni autori in particolare. [Luigi Silvano]

Giorgio Ravegnani, *Bisanzio e le crociate*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 2011 (Universale Paperbacks 602), pp. 176. [ISBN 9788815149565]

Le quattro maggiori spedizioni crociate succedutesi tra 1096 e 1204 sono l'oggetto di altrettanti capitoli della trattazione di R., che delinea, con apprezzabile sintesi, la successione delle trame politiche e dei principali eventi bellici e illustra i rapporti di Bisanzio con i diversi attori occidentali via via attivi nei territori dell'Impero. Anche grazie a opportune citazioni di brevi brani in traduzione dai resoconti di alcuni testimoni oculari degli eventi, sia di parte greca (Anna Comnena, Eustazio di Tessalonica, Giovanni Cinnamo, Niceta Coniata) che latina (come Oddone di Deuil, Goffredo di Villehardouin, Gunther di Paris), l'autore evoca, pur nei limiti di concisione che l'opera si prefigge, il progressivo deterioramento dei rapporti fra le due metà della cristianità medievale, dovuto alle ben note ragioni politico-economiche e incomprensioni culturali, ancor prima che strettamente confessionali, che portarono alla frattura incolmabile tra Bizantini e Latini e alla inevitabile catastrofe. Il volume costituisce una lettura propedeutica accessibile e affidabile.

Il testo è corredato di una tavola cronologica, di un'appendice con carte e illustrazioni e di un indice dei nomi, nonché di una bibliografia ragionata delle fonti medievali (con indicazione delle relative edizioni e traduzioni) e degli studi

che costituisce un buon punto di partenza per orientarsi nella sterminata letteratura secondaria sull'argomento. [Luigi Silvano]

Umberto Roberto, *Le «Chronographiae» di Sesto Giulio Africano. Storiografia, politica e cristianesimo nell'età dei Severi*, Soveria Mannelli, Rubbettino, 2011 (Collana dell'Ambito di Storia dell'Università Europea di Roma), pp. 312. [ISBN 9788849830804]

Indagine sull'interpretazione cristiana della storia, che, a partire da Sesto Giulio Africano, si sviluppa come sintesi tra la riflessione sulle Sacre Scritture e l'eredità del pensiero storico ellenistico-romano ed ebraico. In questo processo, come è noto, si colgono importanti presupposti di tanta parte della successiva esperienza cronachistica bizantina. Oltre a ciò, di particolare interesse per l'ambito di questa rivista è l'appendice 2 del volume (*Osservazioni sulla fortuna delle «Chronographiae»*, pp. 213-222). [Erika Elia]

Cristina Rognoni, *Les actes privés grecs de l'Archevo Ducal de Medinaceli (Toledo)*, II, *La vallée de Tuccio (Calabre, XII<sup>e</sup>-XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, Paris, Association Pierre Belon, 2011 (Textes, documents, études sur le monde byzantin néohellénique et balkanique 12), pp. 316 + CD (Documents). [ISBN 9762910860141]

Il volume segue alla parte di documenti già pubblicata nel 2004 (I, *Les monastères de Saint-Pancrace de Briatico, de Saint-Philippe-de-Bojòannès et de Saint-Nicolas-des-Drosi [Calabre, XI<sup>e</sup>-XII<sup>e</sup> siècles]*: vd. «Medioevo Greco» 5, 2005, pp. 305-306), consegnando allo specialista, con la medesima impostazione e rigorosa applicazione, ulteriori 53 documenti (48 dei quali inediti), in massima parte atti privati che ricadono tra il 1136 e il 1287. L'introduzione informa in maniera esauriente sulla situazione storica, storico-ecclesiastica e ambientale della Vallata del Tuccio tra la fine dell'XI e il XIII sec., sulla natura dei documenti editi, sulle caratteristiche materiali, formulari e grafiche dei medesimi. Ogni testo è preceduto da un regesto, dalla descrizione del testo, dall'analisi strutturale e da note. L'edizione si attiene a criteri coerentemente diplomatici e conservativi. Il volume è completato da un indice prosopografico e dei luoghi bilingue (greco e francese) e da un indice dei termini tecnici e notevoli, e da un'esauriente bibliografia specifica. Di grande utilità il corredo su CD, che include la riproduzione (jpeg)

di tutti i documenti editi e carte geografiche inerenti. [Erika Elia]

Stefan Samerski, *La Nikoepia. Immagine di culto, palladio, mito veneziano*, Roma-Venezia, Viella-Centro Tedesco di Studi Veneziani, 2012, pp. 128. [ISBN 9788883347016]

Sulla base di fonti finora sconosciute il volume segue l'origine e la storia dell'icona bizantina della Nikoepia di San Marco, manufatto che assurge a vero e proprio simbolo identitario della Repubblica lagunare in epoca moderna. I vari capitoli ricostruiscono il percorso di questo "palladio", dal Medioevo alla svolta del XVI secolo, ai tempi successivi, nei quali l'immagine mariana vede radicarsi la propria venerazione da parte del popolo e le proprie connessioni con il mito della nascita di Venezia. [Erika Elia]

Peter Schreiner, *Byzantinische Kultur. Eine Aufsatzsammlung*, III, *Die materielle Kultur*, herausgegeben von Christina Katsougianopoulou und Silvia Ronchey, Roma, Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2011 (Opuscula collecta 8), pp. XXII + 246. [ISBN 9788884983688]

La silloge degli *scripta breviora* di P. Schreiner (I, *Die Macht*: vd. «Medioevo Greco» 7, 2007, pp. 269-273; II, *Das Wissen*: *ibid.* 9, 2009, pp. 362-363) ripropone ora alcuni saggi dedicati alla cultura materiale, toccando aspetti molteplici della storia politica, economica e sociale dei Bizantini, dal commercio alla marineria, all'agricoltura, alla fiscalità, all'esercito, all'organizzazione della casa e dell'economia domestica. Sono contributi ben noti agli specialisti, ai quali forniscono, come sempre nella produzione scientifica dell'illustre studioso, una compiuta informazione sulle fonti scritte messa al servizio non di una panoramica erudita, ma di una sintesi chiara e penetrante di quanto è essenziale e caratteristico, nella prospettiva storica ampia e lucida del "significato" dell'esperienza bizantina nel contesto mediterraneo e balcanico, a confronto con le altre culture e con l'occhio rivolto agli sviluppi diacronici e alla persistenza di Bisanzio nei secoli metabizantini. [E. V. M.]

Renzo Tosi, *'La donna è mobile' e altri studi di intertestualità proverbiale*, Patron Editore, Bologna, 2011 (Testi e manuali per l'insegnamento universitario del latino 121), pp. 356. [ISBN 9788855531160]

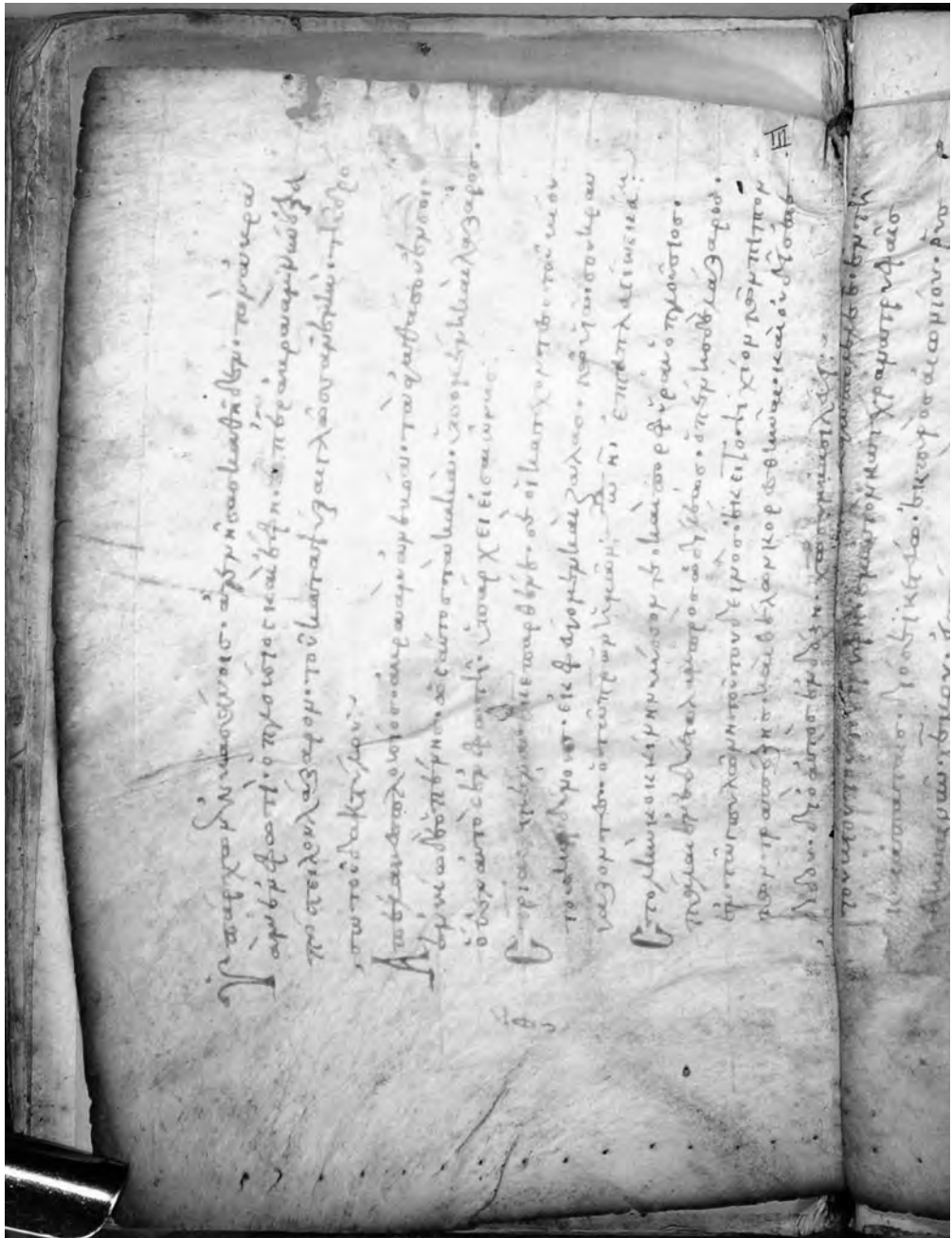
Questa raccolta ripropone, in una nuova e accurata veste editoriale e con sapienti aggiornamenti, una dozzina di saggi tra i più significativi – di cui uno inedito (8. Osservazioni sulla fortuna di omnia vincit amor) – usciti dopo l'importante Dizionario delle sentenze latine e greche pubblicato dall'autore nel 1991. Gli studi vanno dal 1990 al 2008 e testimoniano, una volta di più, la validità di «ricerche che partano dall'antichità per mostrare come i topoi siano stati continuamente ripresi ed abbiano dato luogo a infinite variazioni nella letteratura 'dotta' e nella cultura popolare» (p. 8) europea di tutti i tempi.

Dopo l'Introduzione, che presenta un'ampia esemplificazione dell'affiorare del patrimonio tradizionale, con differenti finalità, anche in ambiti non paludati – esilaranti sono, in questo senso, le molte rivisitazioni di espressioni latine da parte di Totò che qui vengono ricordate –, i contributi raccolti sono i seguenti: 1. *Proverbi antichi in tradizioni moderne* (1991, con riproposizione anche di Note ad alcune sentenze mediolatine, del 1990); 2. *Le forme brevi nella tradizione greca e le radici classiche del genere aforistico* (che riassume una serie di interventi sul tema: *Radici classiche del genere aforistico* [2003]; *I Greci: gnomai, paroimiai, apophthegmata* [2004]; *Le "forme brevi" nella tradizione greca* [2006]); 3. *I Monastici di Menandro: tradizione gnomologica e tradizione paremiografica* (2004); 4. *Aforismi italiani e 'ipotesti' classici* (2003); 5. *Modelli e tematiche classiche negli aforismi di Niccolò Tommaseo* (2004); 6. *'La donna è mobile'?* (2001); 7. *«Veritatis simplex oratio est» da Eschilo a Oscar Wilde* (2000); 9. *Euripide, Oreste, 234: delectat varietas* (2003); 10. *«Homo homini lupus»: da Plauto a Erasmo a Hobbes* (2008); 11. *Hor. Ars 437 «numquam te fallent animi sub vulpe latentes»* (1996); 12. *La musica nei proverbi classici* (2006). Chiudono il volume una bibliografia complessiva (pp. 285-311), l'indice dei luoghi citati (pp. 313-341) e l'indice analitico (pp. 343-355). [A. M. T.]



Alexandro Farnesio Cardinali; viro ampliss.  
 Patrono suo, Romulus Amasaeus. S.  
 Apparere iam cepit in tuo nomine Pausanias  
 meus, multis à me multorum annorum suc-  
 cisiuis operis elucubratus. Nunc aliquid  
 iam mihi aliud, quod tibi donem, inueniendum  
 est; Nam cum uultu, et oratione tua, huma-  
 nitatis plenissima, planum mihi cotidie facias,  
 non desinere te cogitare, qua maxime ratione  
 mihi, meisq; benigne faciendo, fortunam  
 meam subleues; Non debzo ego profecto  
 hunc, quem iam pridem institui, gratie  
 tibi referende cursum intermittere. Ac ad  
 Polybium quidem, quem tibi in latinum ser-  
 monem transferri te uebementer cupere  
 iam pridem intellexeram, acri tondēbam aīo;  
 ita paratus ut eum non prius de manibus  
 ponerem, quam et que alij uertissent ad  
 meliorem formam redegissem. Et nobiles





Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, Peyron 11, f. III<sup>r</sup>. — Su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali. È vietata ogni ulteriore riproduzione con qualsiasi mezzo.



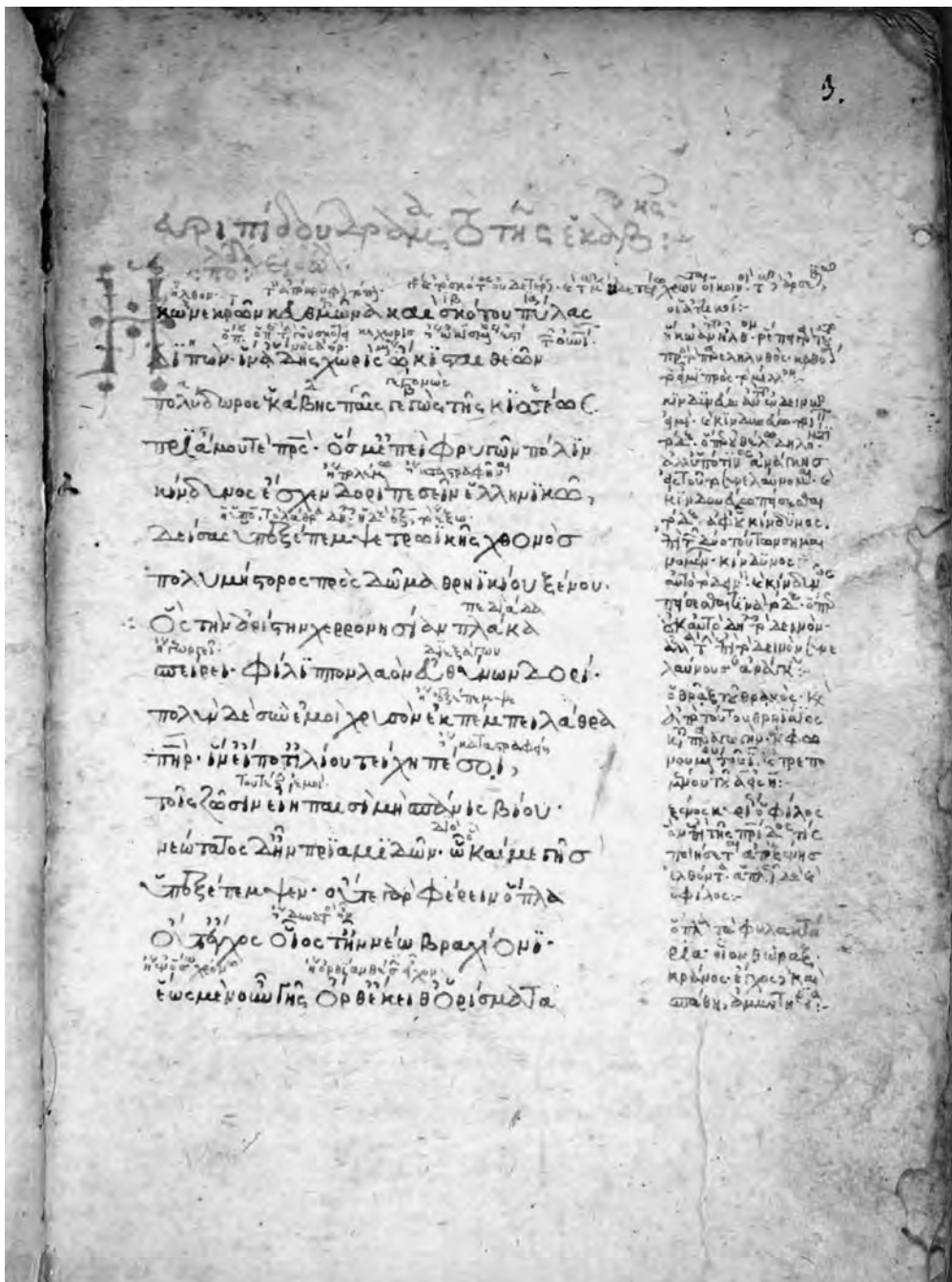
Euripidis tres Tragoediae; Hecuba, Orestes, Phoenissae. 1.

p. 244. 3i. 2.  
et 31. 3.

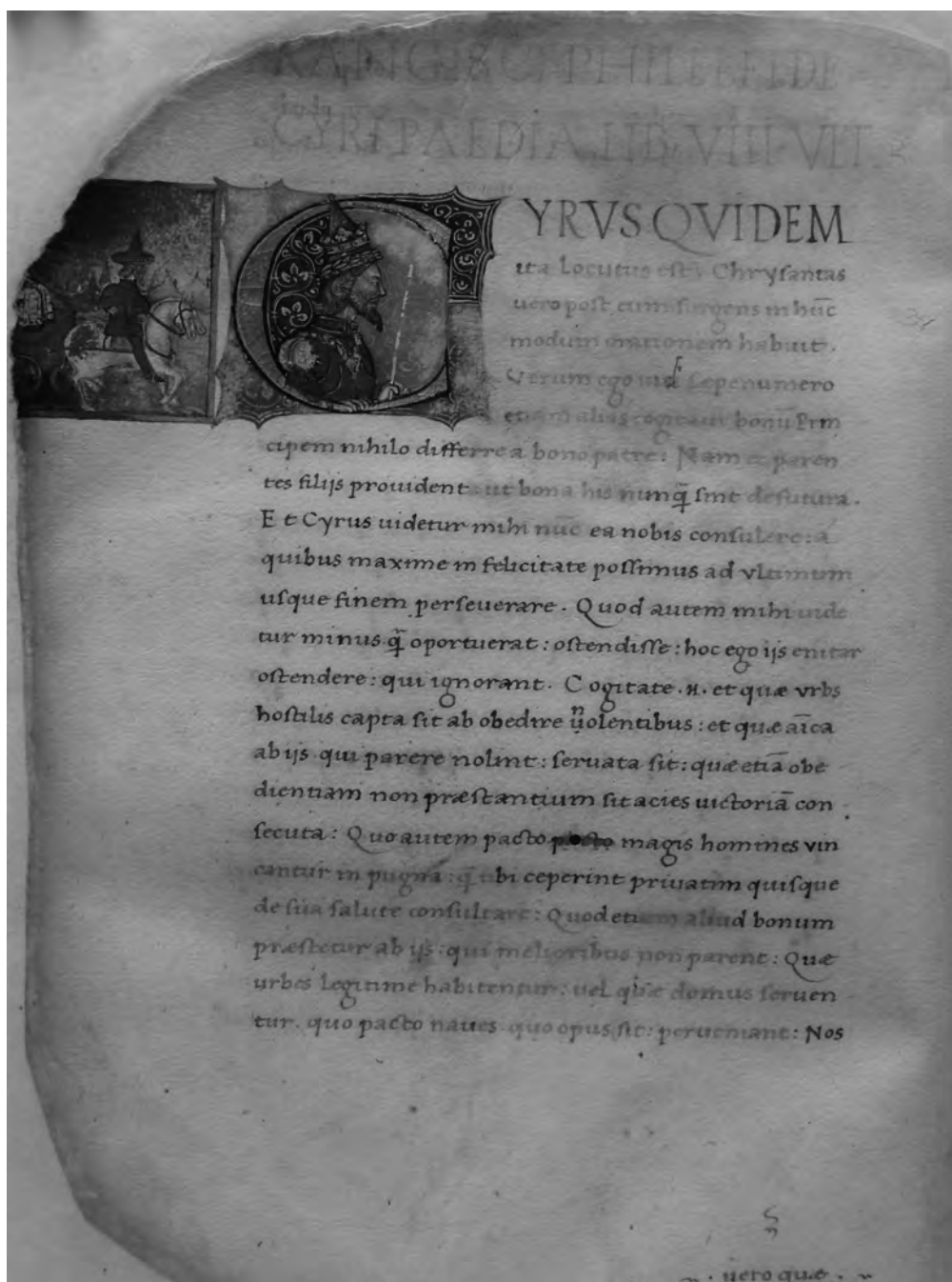
Ὅτι ἐπὶ δὴ τὸ ποινὴν γέρας μεν Ἀθηναῖοι. πρὸ δὲ μὴ σαρξὶ καὶ  
πελάσ. καὶ κλάτω λυγροῦ πώλιος. Γυμνασθεὶς δὲ σὺ σαρχυμίη Τηλε  
πρὸ τῆς ἀπικίας μὴ εὖ. βηὶ κελύου θέρχουτος. καὶ τὴν πέμπτην καὶ εὐ  
δομικὸν θάυμασι δαυ. ὅτ' καὶ εἰ τοῦ ξέρξου ναυτικὸν κατὰ μαμα  
Χυσαν Ἀθηναῖοι, πρὸ τῆρ μὴ ἡ σκεῖ. πομπὴν αἰτίου καὶ τυλευμ. Τε  
πρὸς αὐτῶ χρεῖς μὴν λῶβούτος. ὅτι φάσμα φέρουσ φέροντες, ὁ παῖς  
αὐτῶν κλέσει. Ὁ δὲ καὶ εἰς εἴτου πρόβου. καὶ κελύου γὰρ ταῦτ' Ἀθηναῖοι  
βηὶ τ' ἀνέχουσ ἀρκεμῆ, ἐφοίτην ἀε πόρῶν ἀνέχουσ πρὸς ἀδικω  
καί τισι ἀλλοις. ἀλλήλοισ δὲ ἄν εἴπερ τῆς καὶ εὐ πονεὶν ἐκ δὲ δὴ τῆς  
πρῶτου αἰὶν ἄρ αἰτη. καὶ ἔχουσα βηὶ τελευτῶν. πομπὴν γὰρ εἰς  
Τεχνῆ δὲ ἕρου. ἀ οὐ δικαί σὺ μὲ εἰ δὴ πρὸ αὐτ'. ὅτε γὰρ εὐδὴ κέτι  
ἀρ αἰματος τῆς ὑπόθετον διαιτιμαῖ καὶ ὄνα κρούσῃν, εὐσπερ χρε  
βρα γὰρ εἰς ὅσον προσθεν εὐεπίτου τεχνῆ. ὅτε σαφὴν ἔμελλ  
πλάτος ἄν τ' ἀρκεμῶ. καὶ τὴν εὐ μὴν ἔση ποι κελύου. βηὶ χρεῖς  
καί ρυθμὶ χρεῖς εἴτη. καὶ τῶμας εἰσάγουσ εἴτα. καὶ κελύου εὐ ποκα  
κεῖνος προσ φέρουσ, βου μετός. ἀρ ἀκλειόου δὲ ῥαύτ', ὅλο καὶ εὐε  
μῆκου τ' ἄπαντ'. εὐοῖς κιν, ὅτε εὐ μὴ δὲ στυρίνη. ἡ σὺ κικ εὐ εὐ πο  
τοῦτοισ τῆς ἀρκεμῆσι, ἡ κας περ τ' καὶ δὲ νῆ. κέρξυτο δὲ τοῦ βηὶ ταῦτ'  
εὐώνος, ἐτῶν πεντε καὶ ἄκοσι γάρ. φασὶν αὐτοὺ καὶ ἔργου ῥαφου γέ  
ρονόμα. καὶ εὐ κιν εὐ αὐτῶ περ ἀκίαι εὐ μέρου. Γεν ἀκ εὐ δὲ Γεν  
πρὶ τῆ μὴ μελύτω. βηὶ τ' αὐτῆς ἀπὸ θόια, χροῖ εὐ λην. ἡ οὐσ εὐ  
τρεῖς μὴ σαρξὶ ἀθῆν ἄπορ. μὴ κσι λῶχον ὑπο κει τεύ. καὶ ὁ μαννῆ  
αὐτῶ εὐ ρηί πῆ δὴ. πρὶ λῶχον δι δτε ἆ σὸν τ'. κιν δὲ σὶ ννοισ. καὶ ἀρ εφ  
νός ὄνθος καὶ μὴ σὶ ἔσπ. καὶ σκῆ βρωπός. κασὰ καὶ ὄρ ποφ αἰμα  
σκῆ πῆ ω φησί. ἀρ εφ νόσ ῥα σὶ γέ προσεῖ πῆν ἐν εὐπί δικ. φέρωσ  
δὲ ὄν αὐτῶ ὑπο κει τῆ νη φῆσφο ὦν τ' βηὶ τῆ Γειαι κῆ. καὶ τὴν ἐφί  
βου οὐ φῆρ αἰ κικη. σκαπὸ μῆ ὑπὸ εὐκ κελύου ποτ', εἰ φέρε ἄνα

52. 2. Mj. 2

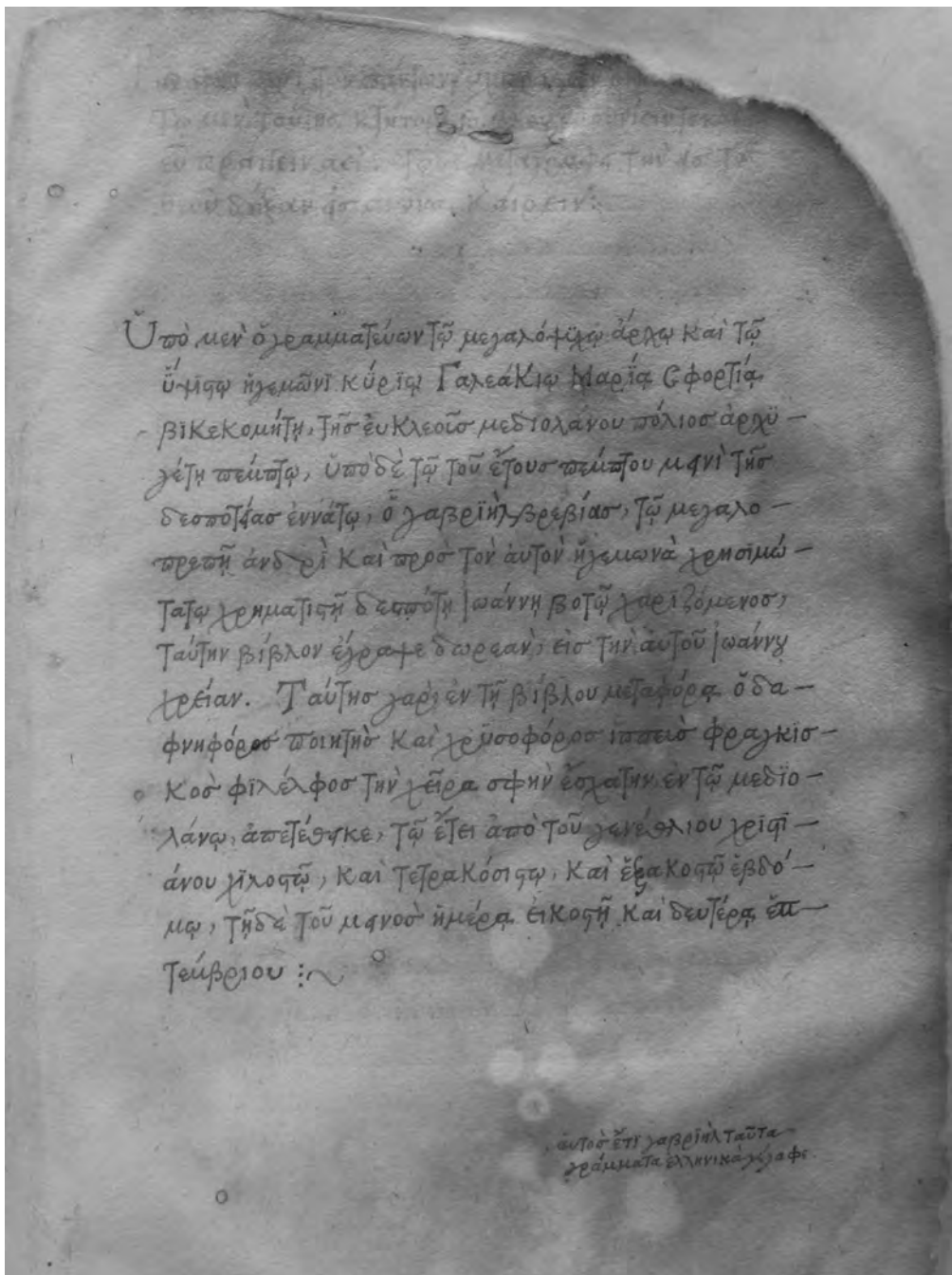
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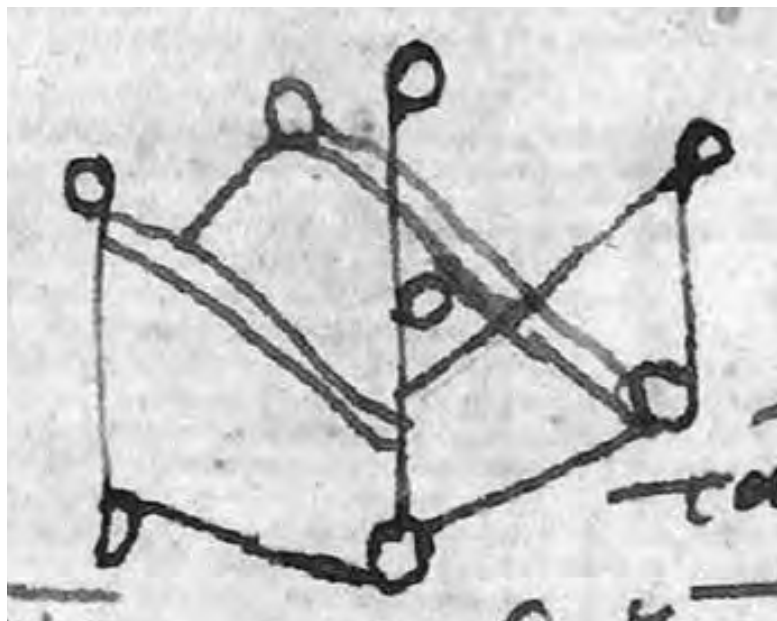




B4. Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, 3632, f. 351. — Su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali. È vietata ogni ulteriore riproduzione con qualsiasi mezzo.



B5. Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, 3632, f. 358. — Su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali. È vietata ogni ulteriore riproduzione con qualsiasi mezzo.



La *vina* (§ I 3; Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, 3632, f. 347<sup>v</sup>). — Su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali. È vietata ogni ulteriore riproduzione con qualsiasi mezzo.



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## Principali abbreviazioni in uso

AASS	<i>Acta Sanctorum</i>
ACO	<i>Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum</i>
ANRW	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt</i>
AOC	Archives de l'Orient Chrétien
BA	Byzantinisches Archiv
BAW	Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften
BBA	Berliner Byzantinistische Arbeiten
BBS	Berliner Byzantinistische Studien
BGL	Bibliothek der Griechischen Literatur
BHG	<i>Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca</i>
BHL	<i>Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina</i>
BHO	<i>Bibliotheca Hagiographica Orientalis</i>
BKV	Bibliothek der Kirchenväter
BT	Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana
BV	Byzantina Vindobonensia
CAB	Corpus des Astronomes Byzantins
CAG	<i>Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca</i>
CBM	Classical and Byzantine Monographs
CCCM	Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis
CCSG	Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina
CFHB	Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae
CIC	<i>Corpus Iuris Civilis</i>
CIG	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i>
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i>
CPG	<i>Clavis Patrum Graecorum</i>
CPL	<i>Clavis Patrum Latinorum</i>
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
CSHB	Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae
CTC	<i>Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum</i>
CUF	Collection des Universités de France
DACL	<i>Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie</i>
DAGR	<i>Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines</i>
Demetrakos	D. B. Demetrakos, <i>Μέγα λεξικόν της Ἑλληνικῆς γλώσσης</i>
DHGE	<i>Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques</i>
DOS	Dumbarton Oaks Studies
DOT	Dumbarton Oaks Texts
DPAC	<i>Dizionario patristico e di antichità cristiane</i>
DSAM	<i>Dictionnaire de Spiritualité, Ascétique et Mystique</i>
DTC	<i>Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique</i>
EBI	<i>Epistularum Byzantinarum Initia</i>
ENI	<i>Epistularum Neograecarum Initia</i>
FGrHist	<i>Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker</i>
FHG	<i>Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum</i>
FM	Fontes Minores
GCS	Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller
GG	<i>Grammatici Graeci</i>
GLNT	<i>Grande Lessico del Nuovo Testamento</i>

HGM	<i>Historici Graeci Minores</i>
IG	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i>
IGI	<i>Indice Generale degli Incunaboli delle Biblioteche d'Italia</i>
IHEG	<i>Initia Hymnorum Ecclesiae Graecae</i>
JGR	<i>Jus graecoromanum</i> , cura J. Zepi et P. Zepi
Lampe	G. W. H. Lampe, <i>A Patristic Greek Lexicon</i>
LBG	<i>Lexikon zur Byzantinischen Gräzität</i>
LChI	<i>Lexikon der Christlichen Ikonographie</i>
LCL	The Loeb Classical Library
LIMC	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i>
LMA	<i>Lexikon des Mittelalters</i>
LSJ	H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, H. Stuart Jones, R. McKenzie, <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> [...] With a Revised Supplement
LThK	<i>Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche</i>
Mansi	G. D. Mansi, <i>Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio</i>
MB	K. N. Sathas, <i>Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη</i>
MBM	Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
MM	F. Miklosich, J. Müller, <i>Acta et Diplomata Graeca Medii Aevi</i>
MMB	Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae
MVB	Mainzer Veröffentlichungen zur Byzantinistik
NR	Nueva Roma
OCT	Oxford Classical Texts
ODB	<i>The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium</i>
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
PB	Ποικίλα Βυζαντινά
PBE	<i>Prosopography of the Byzantine Empire</i>
PG	<i>Patrologia Graeca</i>
PL	<i>Patrologia Latina</i>
PLP	<i>Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit</i>
PLRE	<i>The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire</i>
PMZ	<i>Prosopographie der Mittelbyzantinischen Zeit</i>
PO	<i>Patrologia Orientalis</i>
PRK	<i>Das Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel</i>
PTS	Patristische Texte und Studien
RAC	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i>
RB	<i>Reallexikon der Byzantinistik</i>
RBK	<i>Reallexikon zur Byzantinischen Kunst</i>
RE	<i>Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i>
RHC	Recueil des Historiens des Croisades
RHGF	Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France
RGK	<i>Repertorium der Griechischen Kopisten</i>
RS	Rolls Series
SByz	Supplementa Byzantina
SG	Serta Graeca
SC	Sources Chrétiennes
SH	Subsidia Hagiographica
Sophocles	E. A. Sophocles, <i>Greek lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine periods</i>
ST	Studi e Testi
STB	Studien und Texte zur Byzantinistik
TGL	H. Estienne (Stephanus), <i>Thesaurus Graecae Linguae</i>
TIB	<i>Tabula Imperii Byzantini</i>



TLG *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*  
TLG *on-line* <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/inst/fontsel>  
TrGF *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*  
TU Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Altchristlichen Literatur  
VTIB Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für die Tabula Imperii Byzantini  
WBS Wiener Byzantinistische Studien

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# Medioevo greco

## Rivista di storia e filologia bizantina

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